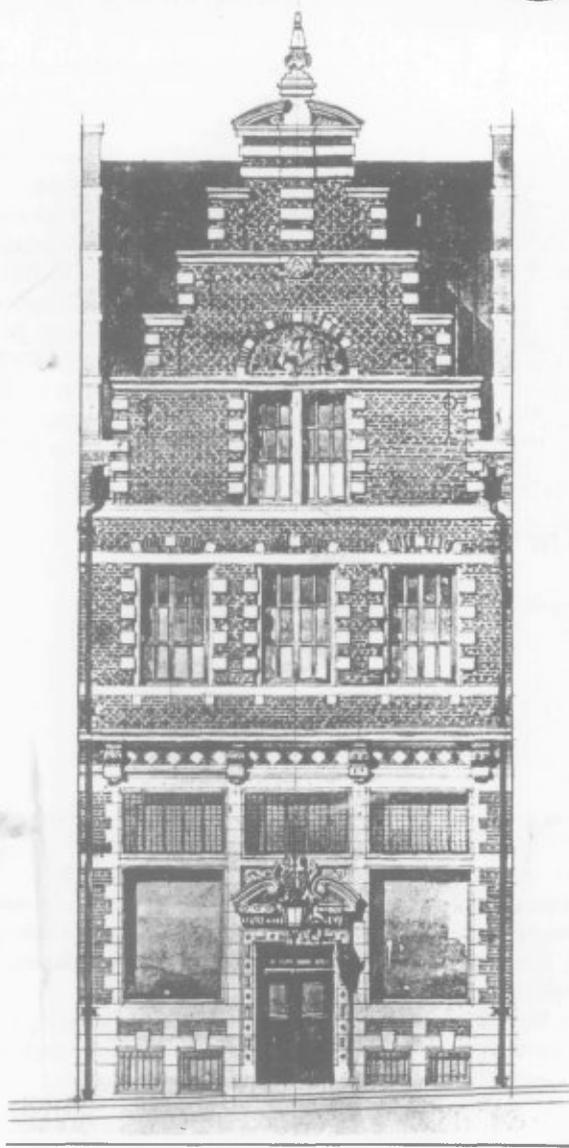


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# Maryland Historical Magazine



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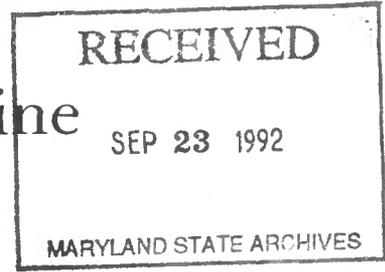
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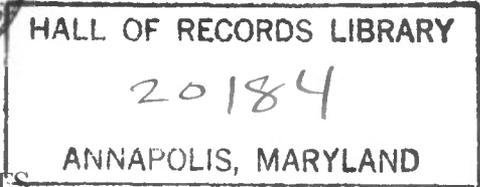
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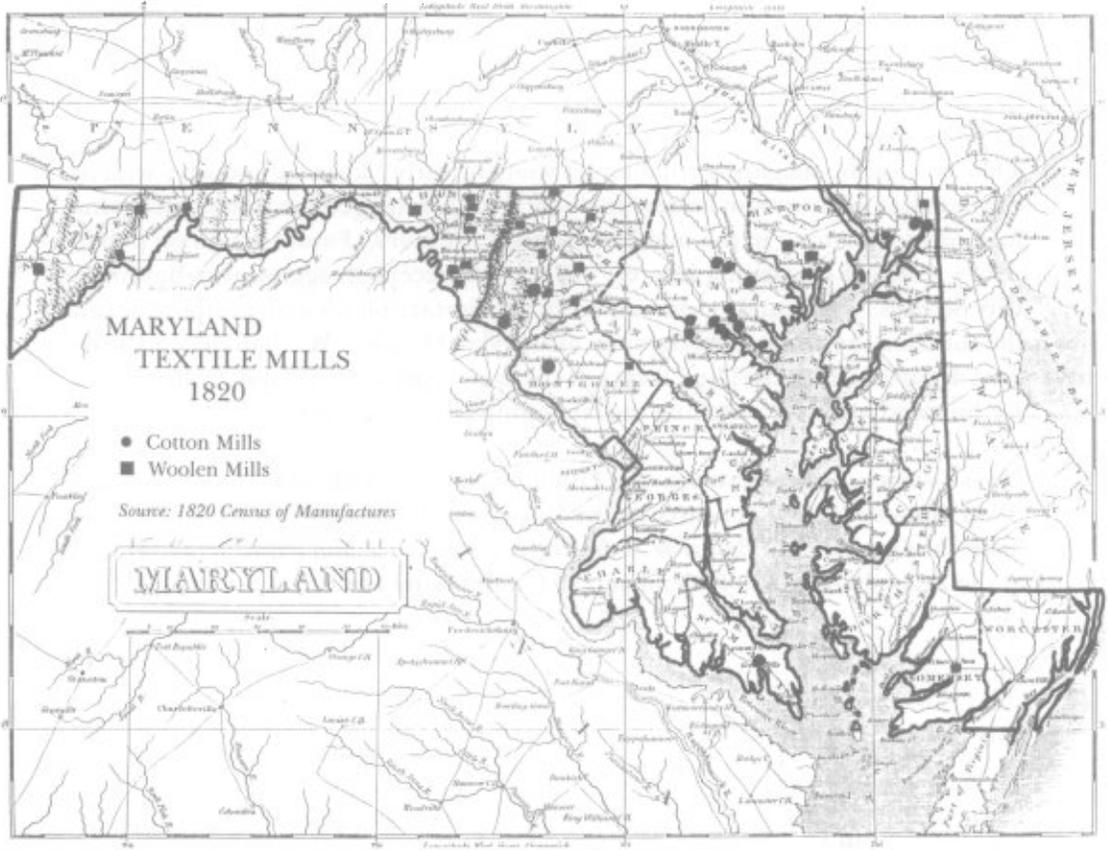
*Editor's Corner:*

This issue of the magazine combines a study of early Maryland industry with an examination of how state leaders in public health managed the campaign against lead-paint poisoning in the middle of our own century. Future essays on public-policy issues of continuing interest will include recent struggles over Baltimore City Schools. This number also serves up two literary pieces and, postponed from the summer, the annual bibliography of Maryland history. We thank Peter Curtis, now departed the McKeldin Library at the University of Maryland, College Park, for his steadfast help compiling the bibliography in years past.

*Cover Design:* Front elevation of a "Building for Jos. Schloss & Son, Archer and Allen, Architects" as it appeared in the *Catalogue of the Architectural Exhibition Given under the Auspices of the Baltimore Architectural Club and the Municipal Art Society* held at the Peabody Institute, December, 1904. (Maryland Historical Society.)

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Maryland Textile mills in 1820, shown on a map of Maryland published in 1824. (University of Maryland, Marylandia Collection.)

# The Early Textile Industry in Maryland, 1810–1850

LYNDA FULLER CLENDENNING

Until fairly recently studies of early American industrialization concentrated on the New England cotton textile industry, epitomized by large integrated cotton mills on the Merrimack River in Massachusetts and personified by the Lowell factory girl. Lured off the farm by relatively high wages, the Lowell girls lived in “strictly chaperoned boarding houses”; “with their neat dresses, correct deportment, and literary weekly” they captured the fancy of most observers and of historians like the approving Samuel Eliot Morison.<sup>1</sup> While Morison admitted that the Lowell factory girls were never typical of mill operatives, he failed to reveal what typical mill life was like. Caroline Ware in her classic 1931 work described the rise of the New England cotton industry as the principal story of American industrialization. She attributed the growth of textile manufacturing to the migration of farm girls and boys to cities and towns where they worked in large mechanized factories built by wealthy merchant families, who in a vigorous spirit of enterprise “furnished a pattern for industrial developments of modern times.”<sup>2</sup>

This generalization stood as the standard explanation of early American industrialization until the 1970s, when Anthony F. C. Wallace extended the regional boundaries of the textile industry story to include Rockdale, a rural village in southeastern Pennsylvania, where family-financed manufacturers operated small mills on Chester Creek. Other historians discovered unique patterns of textile manufacture in the New England countryside; in a mill village near Utica, New York; and in Philadelphia spinning mills and weaving shops as well as neighboring Manayunk mills.<sup>3</sup> No historian has yet undertaken an in-depth study of textile manufacturing in Maryland, which grew competitive between 1810 and 1850. The neglect of Maryland may be attributed to the state’s omission from the 1832 *McLane Report*, which treasury secretary Louis McLane submitted to Congress in lieu of an 1830 census of manufactures. It has been a major primary source for historians of early industrialization. McLane excluded all southern and midwestern states from his survey but extensively documented the textile industry in nine northeastern states (with incomplete coverage of Ohio). A close study of the censuses of manufactures between 1810 and 1850 shows that Maryland textile companies were

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Lynda Fuller Clendenning, a librarian at the University of Virginia, is at work on a study of the state’s Populist party.

TABLE 1: MARYLAND TEXTILE MILLS, 1801–1850

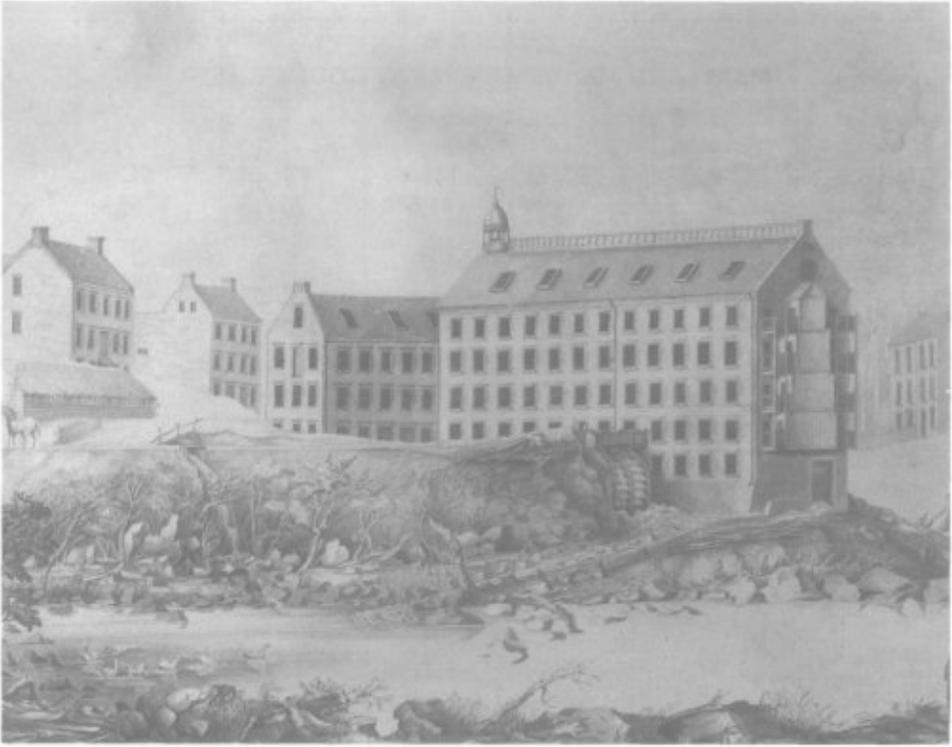
	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
Cotton mills	11	18	20	21	33
Employees		614		2,284	3,247
Woolen mills	1	26		29	41
Employees		196		388	370
All textile mills	12	45		50	74
Employees		820		2,672	3,617

Sources: 1810, 1820, 1840 and 1850 *Census of Manufactures* and, for 1830, Fielding Lucas, *A Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1832), p. 119. Data for some years unavailable.

producing coarse cotton cloth for national and international markets and manufacturing specialized products such as cotton duck. Among the thirty-five states in 1850, Maryland ranked seventh in manufacturing and eighth in cotton manufacture; its mills were fourth largest in number of employees per cotton establishment (see table 1).<sup>4</sup>

Maryland's historical importance lies more in its journey towards industrialization than on its arrival. Maryland merchants responded much the way Boston merchants did to the Embargo Act of 1807 and continuous disruption of commerce with Britain. Because the embargo severely damaged the carrying and re-export trade, they looked for new investment opportunities. The Maryland assembly responded to pro-industry memorials in 1808, when it passed an act incorporating the Union Manufacturing Company (the company erected its first mill at Ellicott's Mills, now Oella, fifteen miles southeast of Baltimore on the Patapsco River). Legislators intended "to encourage Manufactories of all the useful or necessary articles which have heretofore been imported from foreign countries, commencing first with the manufactories of cotton and wool, by means of labour saving machinery." Later resolutions supported the Embargo and sanctified each member who wore domestically produced woolen cloth suits "as a patron of domestic manufacture." Authorizing the state treasurer to subscribe to 150 shares in the Union Company, Maryland legislators demonstrated the state's commitment to manufacturing.<sup>5</sup>

Other cotton carding and yarn spinning mills soon appeared. Incorporated in 1809, the Washington Company built a mill on the Jones Falls directly north of Baltimore and began operations in March 1810—a few months before the Union Company opened. The Powhatan Cotton Works emerged in 1810–1811 on Gwynn's Falls. In Frederick County in 1810 a carding and hand weaving firm established the Fishing Creek Factory, and, according to its proprietor David Boyed, a hand weaving factory was "in business before the War of 1812."<sup>6</sup> The war itself gave mill owners reason to boast of their patriotism. The proprietor of the Tridelphia Cotton Company in Montgomery County, Isaac Briggs, believed that while pursuing his own advantage, he contributed toward the independence of his country.



Detail from "The Union Manufactories of Maryland on Patapsco Falls Baltimore County," drawing attributed to Maximilien Godefroy, c. 1810. (Maryland Historical Society.)

"We have the raw materials," he continued; "if we can ourselves convert them into all the forms our wants require, we shall not need the aid of other nations, and be free from foreign influence. They will petition us for our surplus produce, and in their wish to obtain it, we shall have a guarantee for their good behavior."<sup>7</sup>

The signing of the peace treaty at Ghent in 1815 marked the beginning of a serious setback for the young American textile industry. Britain's pent up supply of goods flooded American markets. Coupled with tight money and low demand, low prices caused many textile bankruptcies throughout the country. Few new mills were built in the New England and Middle Atlantic states, and not until 1823 did the number of new mills approach the war years' average of twenty per year.<sup>8</sup>

Despite evidence of national hardship, Maryland's fledgling industry proved remarkably strong. New mills were built or existing structures expanded during the depression. Eight major textile corporations were chartered between 1815 and 1822.<sup>9</sup> After the war the Warren Manufacturing Company built a large expensive complex on Great Gunpowder Falls fifteen miles north of Baltimore. It was conceived as a complete mill village with two textile mills, grist and saw mills, a company store, and eighty two-story dwellings. In spite of reduced demand, Warren flourished. By 1822 its two rural textile mills employed nine hundred hands who operated seven thousand spindles. Smaller concerns also established

TABLE 2:  
MARYLAND MANUFACTURES BY COUNTY, 1820

WOOL					
COUNTY	#FM	#WM	\$Manu	#Empl	\$Cap
Allegany	2	4	\$1,540	6	\$-
A. Arundel	-	-	-	-	-
Baltimore	-	-	-	-	-
Cecil	4	2	13,000	28	9,000
Frederick	8	7	35,600	91	52,500
Harford	1	3	3,100	13	4,000
Montgomery	1	1	22,500	17	6,000
Somerset	-	1	-	3	-
St. Mary's	1	-	-	-	-
Washington	6	8	-	28	4,200
TOTAL	23	26	\$75,740	196	\$75,700

COTTON					
COUNTY	#CM	#Spin	\$Manu	#Emp	\$Cap
Allegany	-	-	-	-	-
A. Arundel	1	1,150	\$17,000	31	\$14,000
Baltimore	9	17,680	195,104	501	976,425
Cecil	2	-	10,000	38	18,000
Frederick	2	-	6,070	13	-
Harford	-	-	-	-	-
Montgomery	1	996	5,890	15	30,000
Somerset	-	-	-	-	-
St. Mary's	1	264	-	16	6,000
Washington	2	-	3,250	10	5,000
TOTAL	18	20,090	\$237,314	614	\$1,049,425

FM=Fulling mill; WM=Woolen mill; CM=Cotton mill; \$Manu=Value of Manufacture; Spin=Spindles; \$Cap=Capital investment.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Fourth Census of the United States, 1820, Manufactures.*

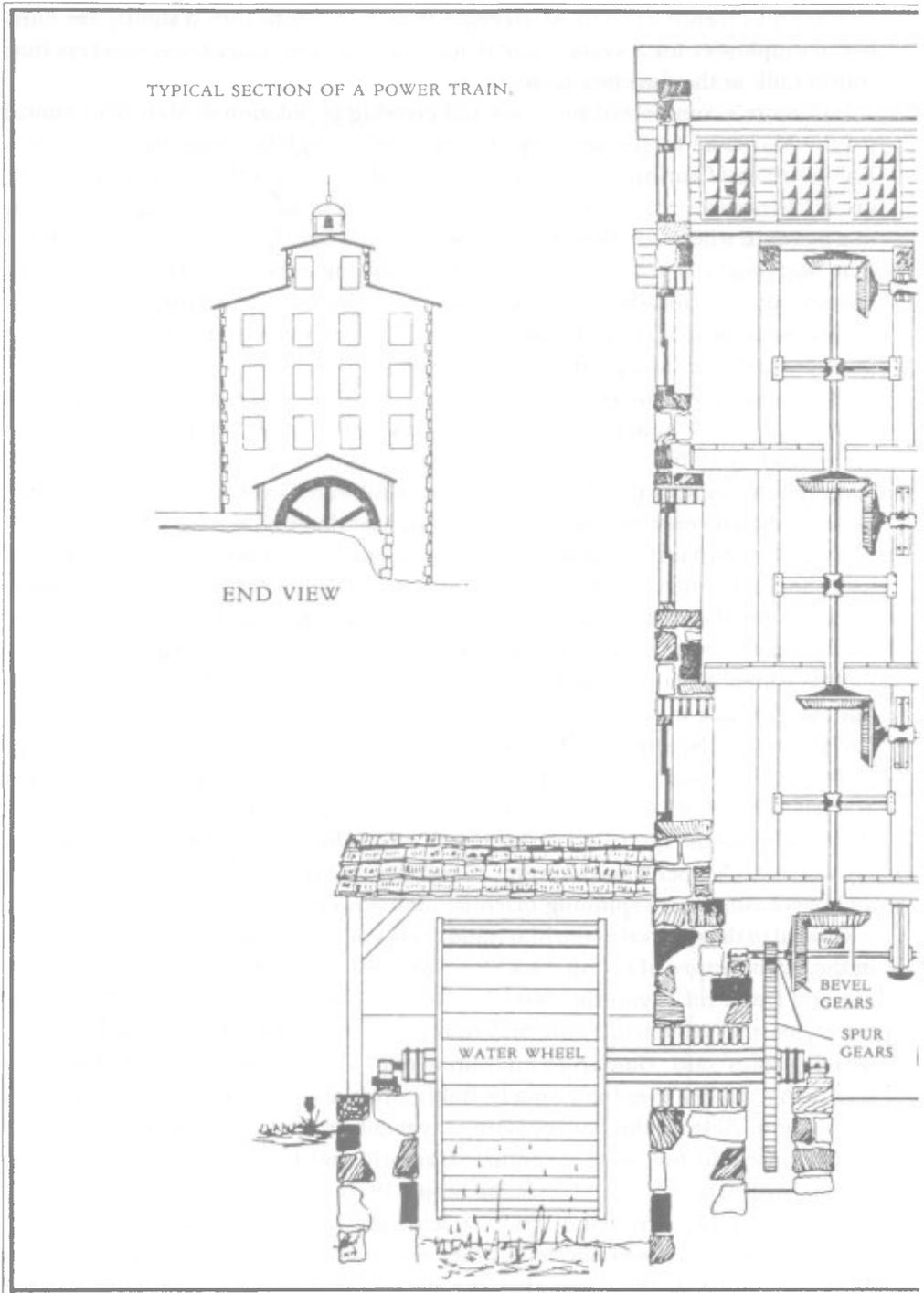
viable businesses. In 1817 an integrated woolen manufactory was established by William Greyson and Son in Frederick County; the Rockdale Factory produced hand-woven wool cloth, kerseys for women's dresses, flannels for shirts and underwear, and blankets from raw wool. The Patapsco Cotton Manufactory, built at Ellicott's Mills during the depression, lost its thirty-five hundred spindles, eighty power looms, and thirty handlooms in a fire early in 1820. By October one of the company's proprietors was confident enough to rebuild, though on a smaller scale. In 1819 David Newland of Montgomery County hired seventeen employees to

operate his recently erected Brookeville Woolen Manufactory, a significant number of employees for a woolen mill that tended to have many fewer workers than cotton mills at the time (see table 2).<sup>10</sup>

Baltimore's commercial successes and growing population doubtless accounted for the Maryland textile industry's persistence through the economic hard times. Baltimore and Cincinnati were the only two urban centers that experienced rapid growth between 1810 and 1820, Baltimore's anomalous population growth owing to a boom in wheat and flour exports before and after the War of 1812. Evidence that Maryland's textile industry expanded during a period when the national industry suffered disastrous setbacks does not, however, conceal the fact that in the 1820 census most Maryland mills reported a 50 percent under-utilization of their machine and spindle capacity and little profit.<sup>11</sup>

Maryland's patterns of textile-industry growth differed from those in New England. Major Yankee factories concentrated in large textile cities such as Merrimack and Providence; in Maryland isolated mills or mill villages were scattered throughout the state along its plentiful waterways, mostly in rural areas. In 1810 the eleven reported cotton mills in Maryland all were within Baltimore County. By 1820 forty-four textile establishments were reported in Maryland, but only nine of the forty-four (all cotton mills) were within the borders of Baltimore County. Family woolen mills dotting the Washington County countryside served local markets. New Frederick County textile mills used both wool and cotton yarn to weave blended fabrics such as satinettes and flannels. By 1840 there were fifty Maryland textile manufactories; spinning yarn and weaving cloth, they employed 2,672 persons. Nineteen of the fifty mills, employing 2,672 persons, were located in Baltimore County. Most of the ten additional Baltimore County mills were erected after 1820, as were the Savage and Laurel Mills in Anne Arundel County. Responding to the increased demand for cotton cloth caused by the expansion of the west and cheaper transportation, existing mills expanded by hiring more hands and purchasing more spinning machines and power weaving looms.

Crucial to the survival of the Maryland textile industry was product specialization in the manufacture of cotton duck cloth for sails. Former Savage Mill apprentice Horatio Gambrill began the manufacture of cotton duck cloth in 1839 when he converted the Whitehall Flour Mill into a factory equipped with five looms for weaving ships' sails. Gambrill's innovation of producing cheaper sail cloth without sacrificing quality eventually made Baltimore the world center of cotton duck production. Aided by his Savage Company mentors, who provided machinery and long term credit for his first venture, Gambrill and his fellow apprentice at the Savage Mill, David Carroll, bought Stony Works. There they were successful enough at cotton yarn manufacture to lease the larger Whitehall Mill. By 1845 Gambrill had purchased and built other mills, doubling his production capacity. After the Civil War the value of cotton duck manufacture in Baltimore reached \$2,500,000.<sup>12</sup> Maryland's textile industry survived against northern competition partly by carving out an exclusive market.



"Typical Section of a Power Train," drawing by Robert Howard for Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1972). Reprinted by permission.

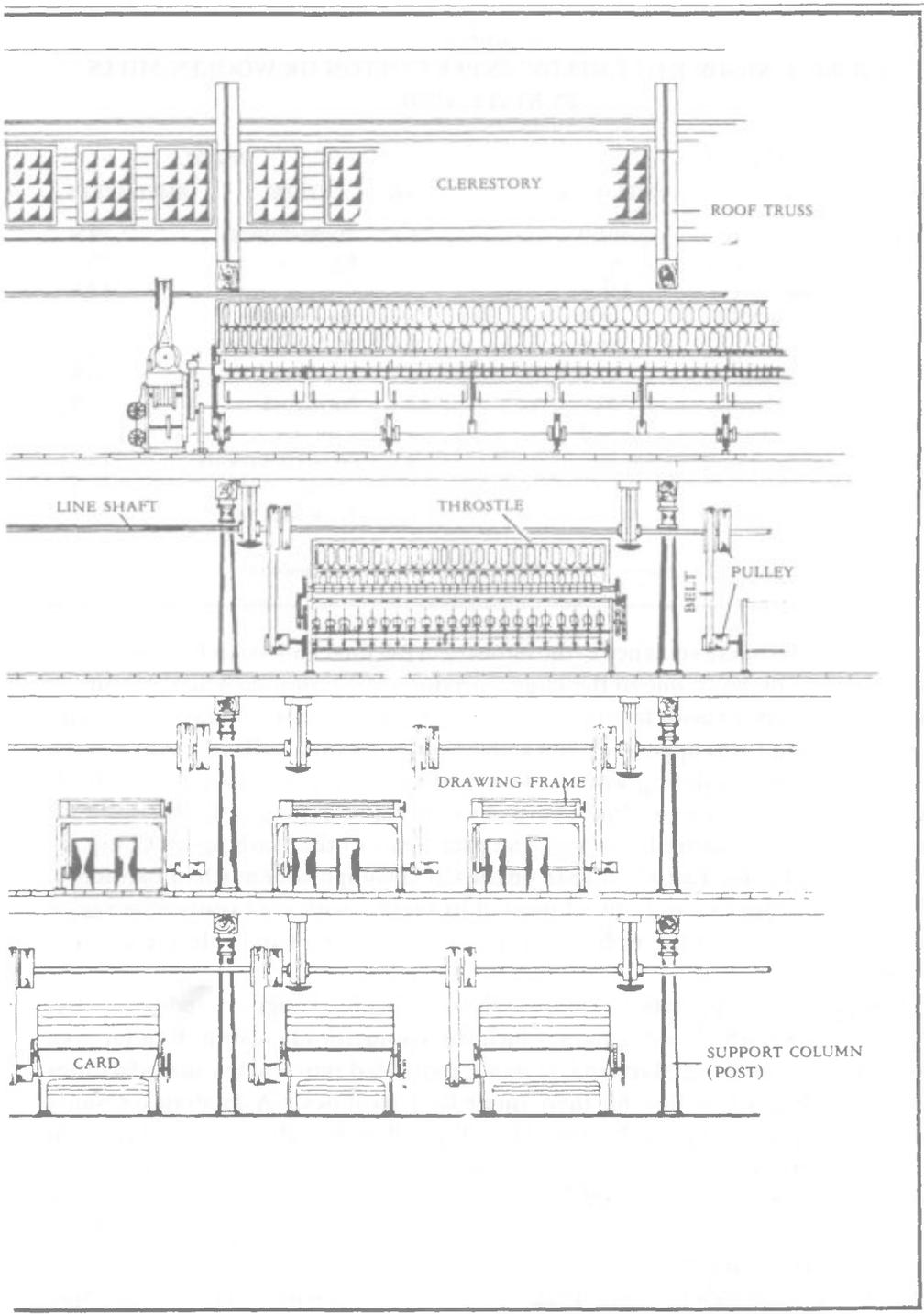


TABLE 3:  
AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES PER COTTON OR WOOLEN MILLS  
BY STATE, 1850

COTTON			WOOL		
RANK	STATE	EMPLOYEES	RANK	STATE	EMPLOYEES
1.	Maine	301.0	1.	Massachusetts	79.9
2.	New Hampshire	282.6	2.	Rhode Island	36.1
3.	Massachusetts	130.5	3.	Connecticut	32.6
4.	MARYLAND	98.4	4.	New Jersey	18.7
5.	New York	75.2	5.	Maine	16.9
6.	Rhode Island	67.6	6.	Vermont	16.8
7.	Pennsylvania	63.7	7.	New York	16.2
8.	Connecticut	56.4	8.	Virginia	13.7
			9.	New Hampshire	10.7
			10.	Pennsylvania	10.1
			11.	MARYLAND	9.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the U.S., 1850, Manufactures.*

Capital investment returned to the industry in full force in 1845, when Gambrill's Woodberry Company, one of the largest producers of cotton duck in the country, introduced steam to assist failing water power at Jones Falls. Four major Baltimore County textile firms appeared. Rockland Cotton Factory, built in 1845, was the state's only calico printing works. The Rockdale Company, dating from 1847, joined Gambrill's two new Mount Vernon Company mills on Jones Falls, the latter employing three hundred laborers. The proprietor of the Washington Company erected the Phoenix Factory in 1848 on the Great Gunpowder north of Baltimore. By 1850 Maryland manufactured most of its textiles within a twenty mile radius of Baltimore, ending the wide geographical dispersion of mills throughout the state.<sup>13</sup>

Outlying textile operations survived by adapting to changing conditions. Between 1820 and 1840 fulling mills, which sized domestically woven cloth for area farm wives in outlying Maryland counties, expanded into woolen manufactories and entered markets beyond their immediate localities. A Frederick County woolen manufacturing family, the Conrats, had moved their carpet factory to Baltimore by 1833, when Charles Varle surveyed the city's manufacturing establishments.<sup>14</sup> Other small mills in the western, eastern, and southern counties persisted. Built in the first decades of the century, these mills remained profitable by producing cloth averaging in value only \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year. The Clifton Factory in St. Mary's County struggled on until 1860, when ships brought Baltimore goods to local landings. Yet the Harford County woolen mill of Washington Hanay, employing four men and four children in 1820, appeared among the state's leading woolen mills in 1868.<sup>15</sup>

TABLE 4:  
RATIO OF MEN TO WOMEN IN TEXTILE MILLS, 1850

COTTON			
STATE	MEN	WOMEN	MEN:WOMEN
Maine	849	3,072	1:3.6
New Hampshire	2,915	9,235	1:3.2
Massachusetts	9,492	20,284	1:2.1
MARYLAND	1,212	2,035	1:1.7
New York	3,379	5,499	1:1.6
Rhode Island	4,847	5,901	1:1.2
Connecticut	2,665	3,313	1:1.2
Pennsylvania	4,238	4,374	1:1.0
WOOL			
MARYLAND	264	106	2.4:1
Pennsylvania	1,808	788	2.3:1
Massachusetts	5,893	4,863	1.2:1
New York	3,974	3,185	1.2:1
Rhode Island	1,040	834	1.2:1
Connecticut	1,893	1,665	1.1:1
Maine	389	390	1:1
New Hampshire	873	1,021	1:1.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the U.S., 1850, Manufactures.*

By 1850 the factory system had established its position in America, displacing most household craft production. The market economy pervaded all but the most isolated areas. Maryland then ranked seventh among the thirty-five states with a total industrial output valued at \$33,943,892.<sup>16</sup> Though a slave state, Maryland remained competitive in cotton manufacturing. Massachusetts, as one might expect, was the leading state in textiles, producing \$21 million worth of cotton yarn and cloth and woolen products valued at \$12 million. The Massachusetts textile-goods workforce (40,632 employees) more than doubled that of second-ranked New York. Maryland ranked eighth in cotton manufacturing with a total product worth \$2 million. Though Maryland produced less than the larger manufacturing states, its cotton manufactories, like Maine's, operated on a larger scale than those in New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Maine led all states in the number of employees per cotton establishment. Maryland ranked fourth (see table 3).

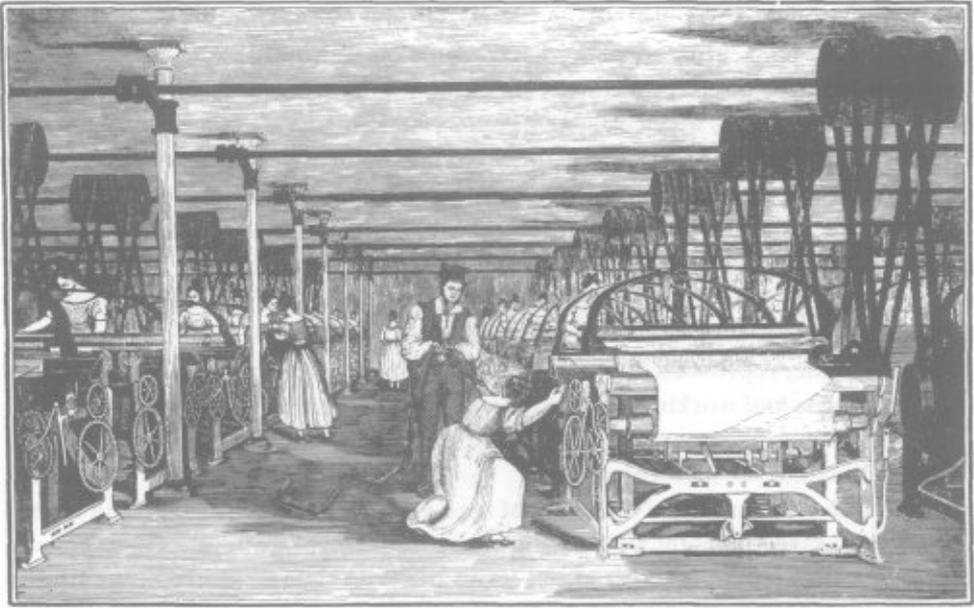
In woolen manufacture, Maryland ranked twelfth among the thirty-five states in 1850, producing \$319,240 worth of woolen textile products. Its woolen mills were quite small, ranking eleventh in the average number of employees. Three hundred seventy employees worked in Maryland's forty-one woolen mills, an average of only nine employees per factory (see table 3).

Like patterns of textile industry growth, financial and managerial arrangements in Maryland factories also diverged from New England practices. After 1813 the large Massachusetts mills were financed by a number of wealthy Boston merchants and their families—the Lowells, Appletons, and Lawrences, to name a few well-known merchant families. In Rhode Island from 1790 to 1815 a score of spinning and carding mills were established by Almy and Brown, the Providence firm joined by Samuel Slater, the English textile artisan who brought mechanized textile production to America. Almy and Brown lent “capital to local entrepreneurs and contract[ed] to market the product,” developing a system of produce goods for national distribution.<sup>17</sup> Maryland mills, on the other hand, were financed in a variety of ways. No one person or group dominated Maryland textiles in its early years. The largest Maryland concerns—the Union, Powhatan, Washington, Warren, and Patapsco companies—were corporations financed primarily by merchant subscriptions. Each company petitioned for state charter and then sold shares to finance the venture. After 1808 Isaac Briggs organized a limited partnership among seven men who financed the Tridelphia Manufactory in Montgomery County (Briggs managed the firm). Each man pledged subscriptions of from two to twenty shares at \$100 per share, \$50 of which was due upon subscription. A bankrupt merchant Michael McBlair built the Maryland Manufacturing Company on the Little Gunpowder, financed entirely by his wife’s family, the wealthy Goodwin and Ridgely merchant clans of Baltimore. Limited partnerships and family financed textile companies resembled Philadelphia textile companies.<sup>18</sup>

Western Maryland mills were family businesses begun in the late eighteenth century by the fathers and grandfathers of the reporting proprietors in 1820. Samuel Rohrer, John Witmer, and David Funck all worked family fulling and dyeing mills. The Rohrer mill was in operation before 1790. Another Washington County establishment was started by Jacob Miller, who as a young man learned cotton and woolen weaving in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, just north of Hagerstown. Miller apparently trained as an apprentice and then bought a small mill in Sharpsburg, training young apprentices in the textile business as he had been trained in Pennsylvania.<sup>19</sup>

The Clifton Factory in Saint Mary’s County was financed over the years by several different partnerships and suggested how rocky these financial arrangements could be. William Hebb, his nephew, and a Leonardtown merchant named Peter Gough joined efforts to build the original mill complex. Gough was to run the concern, while the other two provided land and capital. One of Gough’s subsequent partners in the Clifton venture, Archibald Binney, sued him, charging Gough with cheating him. Binney, besides being thoroughly unhappy with the way Gough kept accounts, was most distressed that his investment brought him no return. Gough, like many early manufacturers, ploughed any earnings back into the factory purchasing more and more machinery instead of taking profits and sharing them with Binney.<sup>20</sup>

Differences between Maryland and New England managerial styles emerged in the pronouncements of G. S. Smith, the newly hired superintendent of the Warren



“Power Loom Weaving,” from George S. White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater* (Philadelphia: 1836).

Factory, who judged Maryland textile factory management to be inferior to New England’s system. In 1831 Smith wrote his wife back home in Petersborough, New Hampshire that:

the people in this part of the world are ignorant of the management of a factory, the duty of an agent. They seem to have perfect confidence in me yet . . . have no doubt that many factories have been a losing concern by improper interference of the Proprietors.<sup>21</sup>

Smith was used to New England managerial arrangements. Usually the major stockholder in the partnership served as the company’s treasurer and remained in Boston. The salaried agent or superintendent, a technician who ran the mill day-to-day, communicated to the owners through weekly accounts he sent to the treasurer.<sup>22</sup> Principal owners of Maryland mills seem to have been more involved in day-to-day operations—precisely Smith’s complaint. Gough in St. Mary’s lived on the premises, kept the accounts, and continually purchased new machinery for the mill. Isaac Briggs, Michael McBlair, and most certainly some of the small mill owners with under ten employees invested more than money in these enterprises. As Isaac Briggs wrote a friend in Baltimore, “Cotton spinning is my business.” Briggs personally studied developments in manufactures around the county, compared Maryland textile wages, and estimated profits on each year of cloth.<sup>23</sup>

Textile manufacturers from Maine to Maryland all faced labor shortages in the early nineteenth century. They generally responded with two well known models of factory organization: the Waltham Plan and the Fall River, or Rhode Island Plan.

The Waltham Plan employed young women from the countryside to operate most of the spinning machinery in large concerns such as Lowell. The Rhode Island (and rural Massachusetts) mills were much smaller and employed entire families, often providing them with cottages. Under the Fall River Plan, used in Samuel Slater's mills, men operated the carding machines and heavy mule spinning machines, women spun yarn on the less physically demanding throstle machines, and children assisted with piecing broken threads and picking up scrap under the mules. The relations between workers and mill owners in rural settings were usually paternalistic, falling between the intimate nature of the artisan shop and the impersonal environment of the large urban factory. The head of the household, male or female, represented all members of the mill operative family in negotiations for wages and working conditions with management.<sup>24</sup>

In organizing their workforces, Maryland textile manufacturers followed neither the Waltham or Fall River model. In 1820 the Union Company in Ellicott's Mills operated primarily by the labor of men and children. The Maryland Manufacturing Company sought widows and their children. Male apprentices, widows, children, and Peter Gough's hired-out slaves made up the workforce at the Clifton Factory in St. Mary's County. In no Maryland mill other than Clifton were slaves reported as operatives. Most of the Frederick County establishments relied on family members as their primary workforce. The 1820 federal census found that seven members of the David Boyed family (Frederick), fifteen G. J. Conratt family members (Mechanicks Town), and five members of the James Karney family (Lewistown) engaged in manufacturing. These numbers nearly equal the number of employees reported for these mills.<sup>25</sup>

As in upper New England, girls in 1820 provided much of the labor in large Maryland textile factories. Of the 501 hands reported working in Baltimore area mills that year, 98 were men and 366 were children, mostly girls. Only 37 women were working in five of the nine county mills, which were much smaller operations. The Union Company reported 104 girls, 16 boys, and 10 men working in the mill.<sup>26</sup> Weekly wages at Union between 1808 and 1818 were listed as follows:

Children age 7-9	\$ .75 per week
Children age 9-10	1.00
Children age 10-11	1.25
Children age 11-12	1.50
Children age 12+	2.20 to 2.25
New adult hands	2.00 to start
Adult piecers	3.00 for fine yarns
Mule spinners	8.00 for one mule; 12.00 for 2 <sup>27</sup>

Michael McBlair's labor problems as a Baltimore County mill owner reflected the prevailing scarcity and preferences. McBlair's son Goodwin, manager of the mill, wrote his father in 1824 that a neighboring mill, Hart's, was raiding the factory

workforce. Hart offered higher wages to Isabella Barnet's two daughters and employment for her husband. Goodwin retaliated by negotiating with a family from Hart's mill, requesting his father's permission to pay Nancy Hanna \$15 per month for her three girls and herself.<sup>28</sup>

While they lasted, apprenticeships in the Maryland textile industry preserved craft traditions and provided an entry to factory management. In 1808 the Union Company built a boarding house for seventy boy apprentices, and yet in the years following neither boys nor apprentices paid dividends as high as unskilled women and girls. Mill operators realized the level of skill needed to run power spinning machines did not reward the investment in craft apprenticeship. Traditional craft practices did not last long in large factories but did occasionally train future owners. David Carroll, a weaver, began his apprenticeship in 1828 at the Savage Factory, where he met Horatio Gambrill, a fellow apprentice, who later became his partner. Carroll recorded his apprenticeship wages as \$104 for the first year, \$154 for the second year, and \$204 for the third year. Both Carroll and Gambrill grew wealthy in textile manufacturing. Craft traditions in the smaller mills did hold on longer in the Middle States and Maryland than in New England, particularly in woolen manufacture.<sup>29</sup>

Maryland's textile labor force resembled but also differed from that of New England. In the lingering artisan tradition lies a possible explanation for the one consistent feature of the Maryland work force: the relatively large number of men working in cotton mills and the preponderance of men in woolen establishments. In 1850 a greater proportion of men worked in Maryland textiles than in any of the major textile producing states except Connecticut and Rhode Island. That more women than men worked in antebellum cotton factories is an accepted generalization of early American labor history. Yet the ratio of women to men in Maryland cotton mills was much lower than in New England's major textile states (see table 4).

How can we explain the persistence of the Maryland textile industry? Those Maryland artisan-entrepreneurs and merchant-manufacturers who built the first textile mills and factories in the second decade of the nineteenth century utilized the timely congruence of favorable business and trade conditions, urban population growth, and expanded and improved transportation routes to hinterland markets to survive the potentially devastating depression period of 1819 to 1823. Baltimore was one of the few American cities to experience population growth in the decade. The National Road to Wheeling was completed in 1818, giving Baltimore the best location among eastern port cities to trade with western, northern, and southern hinterlands. The boom in the flour trade and Baltimore's reputation for excellent flour products provided an economic support in the hard economic times that all trading and manufacturing areas felt after the Panic of 1819. These favorable conditions provided a buffer to the small-scale and fledgling cotton textile industry between 1814 and 1825. These same conditions allowed small rural woolen mills to survive against British competition in fine woolen broadcloth; they responded to local and hinterland demands with less expensive,

medium quality American materials—satinette and cassimere, combined cotton and wool fabrics. Household-produced wool supplied over half the nation's consumption as late as 1830. Wool manufacturing establishments remained small until the widespread use of the power loom for woolens in the 1840s.<sup>30</sup>

The transportation advantage of relatively good roads held by Maryland was soon overcome by New York. In 1825 completion of the Erie Canal made New York the overwhelming leader in trade among eastern port cities, erasing Maryland's advantage of good roads leading west. Neither Baltimore nor Philadelphia was able to build adequate railroad systems soon enough ever to challenge New York again. Completion of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad system to Wheeling in 1853 did provide improved access to western markets, so that—while not dominating its rivals as it had done in the flour trade—Maryland continued to be a viable manufacturing center.

When again challenged by economic depression from 1837 to 1843, the Maryland textile industry survived through product specialization. Manufacturing cotton duck cloth for sails created a small market niche for a number of Maryland textile companies and saved them from much larger-scale operations to the north. By staying small, producing cloth for local markets, and relying on family labor to keep operating costs down, rural woolen mills survived competition from British woolen products.

By 1850 Maryland's textile industry resembled that of early nineteenth-century New England, for steam replaced water power and eliminated the need to build mills on streams. Capital had aggregated into large companies that built mills near the distribution point of Baltimore. New methods of financing, marketing, and distribution integrated Maryland companies into national and international markets. Large numbers of industrial workers, including Irish newcomers, were available to work in urban-centered factories. Thus, the early phase of industrialization was over. Though the Maryland textile industry had to some extent travelled its own road, it had arrived at the same point as the rest of the country.

#### NOTES

1. See Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 1:505. A Library Faculty Research Grant from the University of Virginia made possible the preparation of this paper for publication. I wish to thank University of Maryland history professors Whitman H. Ridgway and David Grimsted as well as Robert Fuller for their valuable comments and criticisms.

2. Caroline Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture; A Study in Industrial Beginnings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), pp. 3–17.

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5. *Laws . . . made and passed at a session of the Assembly, 1808*, ch. 49; *Laws of Maryland, 1809*. November session, resolutions.

6. Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Baltimore, *A Sketch of the History of Manufacturing in Maryland* (Baltimore: Isaac Friedenwald, 1882), p. 37; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and Baltimore County* (2 vols.; Baltimore, 1888), 1:407; *1820 Census of Manufactures*, p. 199.

7. Isaac Briggs to Dr. James Smith, Baltimore, 21 May 1814, Isaac Briggs Papers, Ms. 147, MdHS.

8. *McLane Report*, quoted in Ware, *Early New England Cotton Manufactures*, p. 17.

9. Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry 1789–1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 33. See also Edward K. Muller and Paul A. Groves, "The Emergence of Industrial Districts in Mid-Nineteenth Century Baltimore," *Geographical Review*, 69 (1979): 161–78, for discussion of creation of mill villages and their relationship to commercial centers.

10. *1820 Census of Manufactures*, pp. 199, 22, 239.

11. North, *Economic Growth in the United States*, p. 62.

12. See Horatio Gambrill biography, MdHS Vertical File.

13. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City*, 1:408.

14. Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Samuel Young, 1833), p. 95.

15. Merchants and Manufacturers Association, *Sketch*, p. 37.

16. *1850 Census of Manufactures*, p. 143.

17. See Cochran, *Frontiers of Change*, p. 63.

18. For incorporation of textile manufacturing companies see *Laws of Maryland*, 1805, ch. 49 (Union Company); 1814, ch. 86 (Washington Company); 1816, ch. 83 (Powhatan Company); 1817, ch. 237 (Warren Company), and 1819, ch. 150 (Patapsco Company); Isaac Briggs, Account Book dealing with Tridelphia Cotton Manufactory. Isaac Briggs Papers, Ms. 147, MdHS; McBlair Papers finding aid, Ms. 1355, MdHS.
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21. G. S. Smith to A[biel] Smith, Petersborough, N.H., Warren Factory Papers, Ms. 2308, MdHS.
22. Chandler, *Visible Hand*, pp. 69–70.
23. Isaac Briggs to James E. Smith, Account Book, n.d., Isaac Briggs Papers, Ms. 147, MdHS.
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25. *1820 Census of Population*, Maryland, Frederick County; *1820 Census of Manufactures*, pp. 176, 165, 198, 201, 210.
26. *1820 Census of Manufactures*, p. 44.
27. Briggs Papers, Ms. 147, MdHS.
28. Goodwin McBlair to father, Michael McBlair, 4 October 1824. McBlair Papers, Ms. 1355, MdHS.
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# Public Health in Baltimore: Childhood Lead Paint Poisoning, 1930–1970

ELIZABETH FEE

Childhood lead paint poisoning has been called the silent epidemic of American cities. Lead is believed to be the most important toxic hazard facing children in the United States, and leaded paint and dust are the most concentrated sources of lead exposure.<sup>1</sup> From a strictly scientific point of view, the prevention of childhood lead poisoning seems straightforward: the goal of prevention is “identification and removal of lead in the environment before it enters the child.”<sup>2</sup> Prevention is preferable to cure; a child poisoned by lead paint can be treated in hospital, but the treatment is likely to be lengthy and expensive. In 1984 Maryland spent over \$3.9 million for treatment and special education of children with lead poisoning.<sup>3</sup> In 1986 in Baltimore the average cost per hospitalization of children with lead paint poisoning was over \$10,000, and many of these children had multiple recurrences with multiple hospital admissions.<sup>4</sup> In the United States as a whole, medical costs and the costs of special education for children with lead poisoning have been estimated at over \$1 billion annually.<sup>5</sup>

Prevention of lead paint poisoning is relatively simple in theory but very difficult in practice. Lead-based paints are endemic in older housing. They have been popular for both industrial and household uses because they are easy to apply and highly durable; they hold their color well, dry quickly, and resist cracking. Removing lead paint is, however, a difficult and expensive process and one for which nobody is eager to claim responsibility. Childhood lead paint poisoning is in many ways a classic public health problem, a problem without any simple, effective, and inexpensive solution.

In Europe lead poisoning had been recognized as a cause of convulsions since at least the seventeenth century, and by the nineteenth century many individuals and organizations had called for the prohibition of lead paint.<sup>6</sup> By 1922 at least 3,000 publications already had dealt with various aspects of lead poisoning.<sup>7</sup> Most American observers had ignored these European findings. Noting the toxicity of lead and its continued use in America, Benjamin Franklin lamented “how long a useful truth may be known to exist, before it is generally received and practiced on.”<sup>8</sup> The problem of lead paint poisoning only became a focus of national concern

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in America in the late 1960s and 1970s when popular movements in several cities drew attention to the issue.<sup>9</sup>

For over thirty years, between 1931 and the early 1960s, Baltimore was the only American city to develop an extensive public health program to deal with childhood lead paint poisoning.<sup>10</sup> During this period Baltimore's pioneering program tested new methods in health education and began free diagnostic testing, housing inspection, paint labeling, and campaigns for lead abatement. Although Baltimore was an undisputed early leader in paying attention to childhood lead poisoning, the translation of research findings into public policy was a slow and often ineffectual process; the main issue then, as now, was how to assign responsibility for the problem, given the large economic costs of a truly preventive approach. When the Baltimore City Health Department extended beyond education and diagnostic testing and began to promote housing inspections, paint labeling laws, and lead abatement, it challenged the economic interests of landlords, paint manufacturers, and retailers. By seeing how Baltimore struggled with the lead paint issue, we can better understand the constraints facing a city health department in dealing with a chronic environmental problem and also the ingredients necessary for success.



Perhaps the best early clinical description of childhood lead paint poisoning came from Baltimore. In 1917 Kenneth Blackfan of the Johns Hopkins Hospital observed the symptoms of lead poisoning in children at the Harriet Lane Children's Home in Baltimore:

In the early cases a change in disposition is often the first symptom which is noted. The child becomes fretful, peevish, and often very restless at night. The appetite becomes poor, the breath foul, and frequently hemorrhages occur from the gums. . . . The muscles are often so painful as not to permit of the weight of the bed-clothing. . . . The gait of the patients is described as being characteristic. It is a waddling gait; they walk on the outside of the feet, the toes are dragged, and with each step the legs are swung sideways before the feet are placed on the ground. . . . All types of convulsions are seen. . . . They are very persistent, they show a great tendency to recur, and they are attended by a high mortality.<sup>11</sup>

Of the four young patients Blackfan described, one recovered and three died following convulsions. He traced the lead poisoning of the children to paint. One child was found dead, his lips covered with white lead paint chips from the railings of his crib; two brothers had died after chewing on lead-covered parlor furniture. Blackfan urged that "energetic prophylactic measures be taken with children who habitually eat painted articles in order to guard against the development of lead poisoning."<sup>12</sup>

But what energetic measures could be applied? The cause of lead paint poisoning in children had been identified and would be repeatedly confirmed by other investigators—the lead paint on the furniture, toys, and woodwork frequently bitten and nibbled by small children, especially at the teething stage.<sup>13</sup> Toddlers frequently put things into their mouths and tend to taste anything left within their reach, especially small objects. Since lead-based paint has a somewhat sweet taste, a child who has tried lead paint may feel encouraged to continue. Flaking paint and paint chips found in old and dilapidated housing offer special attractions for children and are easily ingested. But was lead poisoning the responsibility of the parents, the landlords, the paint manufacturers, the paint retailers, the health department, the housing bureau, the medical profession, or the mayor? Most cities simply avoided dealing with the problem. Health departments were still primarily concerned with infectious diseases such as typhoid fever and diphtheria; they had few resources to spare for problems that seemed less urgent. Commissioners of health generally were political appointees who were expected to cope with existing health problems and not rewarded for discovering new ones. In the 1920s, although researchers continued to publish papers on childhood lead poisoning, physicians rarely reported the disease to their health departments, and most health officials were completely unaware of the extent of the problem.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that Baltimore devoted unusual attention to childhood lead paint poisoning was largely due to Huntington Williams, the commissioner of health appointed in 1931. Williams received the appointment at the urging of William Henry Welch, a senior statesman in both medicine and public health and a dominant force in Baltimore and in the nation. Welch's word was close to law on medical matters, and he had long been grooming Williams for the most important public health position in the city. Williams had grown up practically at Welch's feet; Williams's mother and Welch were close friends and would often have dinner together, Welch talking through the problems of public health and Williams listening with close interest. Welch persuaded the young man to devote himself to a career in public health, and he, after attending the Johns Hopkins Medical School, became one of the first students to enter the Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health when it opened in 1918. Welch then told Williams that he should go to New York State to gain experience by working with Hermann M. Biggs, the master of public health administration, politics, and practice.<sup>15</sup> Williams again followed Welch's advice. Finally, Welch told Williams he should return to Baltimore and become the next city commissioner of health. Baltimore's mayor, Howard Jackson, also did what Welch suggested: he promptly offered the young man the position.

Williams brought new energy to the job. Some commissioners of health owed their loyalty to a political leader, a party machine, or to the economically powerful. Williams, however, owed his first loyalty to Welch, who had groomed him; to the Hopkins professors who had taught and inspired him; and to the example of Hermann Biggs, who had demonstrated what an effective public health organization should be. Williams was determined to show them all what he could do if given the chance.



Commissioner Huntington Williams inspects a particularly bad case of flaking lead paint in a Baltimore apartment building in the early 1950s. (Baltimore City Health Department.)

One of Williams's old Hopkins professors soon handed him the problem of lead paint poisoning. Williams later remembered how he had become involved: "Dr. Edwards A. Park, Professor of Pediatrics at the Hopkins Medical School, continued to have children brought to his clinic with lead paint poisoning that was not recognized. He spotted this [the lead line on the gum] and came down to my office and said to me, 'you should do something about this.' I said 'you're absolutely right, and we'll go to work on it at once.'"<sup>16</sup>

Williams realized that Park had not given him an easy task. Both knew that the children were being poisoned by lead paint in their homes. Williams—whose motto in public health work was "educate, don't legislate,"—began with a program to warn parents about the dangers of lead paint. He had already learned a number of lessons about the politics of public health through his experiences in New York. As a result he used public health authority only reluctantly. He avoided any direct confrontation with local medical practitioners; he cultivated and perhaps manipulated the media to his own ends; he nurtured good relationships with successive mayors; and he brilliantly exploited the techniques of health education to promote both public health and his own public image.<sup>17</sup> Williams started a weekly program on local radio station WBAL and began a constant stream of health-education

messages by way of leaflets, newspapers, and a popular monthly magazine, the *Baltimore Health News*. When the health department produced a pamphlet, "Lead Poisoning in Children—A Disease You Can Prevent," 20,000 copies went to well-baby clinics and public places around the city. Later, the department used film and television programs. The Baltimore health department thus became an early leader in using the mass media to communicate with the public.

As the department paid more attention to lead paint poisoning, city hospitals and clinics reported more and more small children admitted unconscious or with convulsions. In 1932 an epidemic of such cases seemed to erupt. More than forty were reported in less than three months, many of them seemingly unrelated to lead paint poisoning. Several patients developed acute encephalitis, and others experienced headaches, vomiting, and dizziness. Most had the characteristic "lead line" at the gums, stippling of the red blood cells, and lead deposits visible by X-ray examination of the wrists.<sup>18</sup> Miriam E. Brailey, an intern at the Harriet Lane Children's Home, investigated. She visited the home of one of the sick children and discovered the cause of "depression disease." In west Baltimore she met Melrose Easter, "whose eyes were bloodshot and whose breath was strong with whisky." Easter nonetheless supplied Brailey with critical information. He wondered aloud if children could get sick from burning pieces of old batteries. The smell was bad, he said, and "even made the food taste." He thought it might be bad "breathing in the vapors."<sup>19</sup> People all through that city block were using discarded storage battery casings as fuel. Easter gave Brailey a large piece. When analyzed, it proved to be heavy with lead.

Baltimore junk dealers confirmed that they had been allowing poor people to take discarded storage batteries for stove fuel. Although the lead plates had been removed for salvage, the batteries still contained large deposits of lead salts. Melrose Easter had been right; when burned, the batteries released massive clouds of lead vapors and poisoned the children.<sup>20</sup>

Health officials immediately advised against distributing the batteries. Public health nurses made home visits to warn families against them; local newspapers and radio stations broadcast the cautions; the city engineer arranged for truckloads of batteries to be disposed of at city incinerators; and, perhaps most important, the Family Welfare Association in 1932 and 1933 distributed safe fuel to needy homes.<sup>21</sup> Williams held up this episode as "an example of widespread cooperation between hospitals, dispensaries, city health, police and engineering departments, junk shop owners and civic relief agencies for the protection of the poor in times of economic distress."<sup>22</sup>

The depression disease of junked batteries had drawn increased attention to lead poisoning. But for many years after the battery casings had been eliminated as a fuel source, the problem of lead poisoning persisted. When hospitals continued to report cases and health department officials investigated them, Park and Williams decided it was time to launch an expanded program of blood testing.

Until 1935 Park had sent specimens to Harold Blumberg, a student at the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, who was skilled in using a spectro-

graph.<sup>23</sup> When Blumberg graduated and left the city, Park lost this diagnostic resource, and he went to Williams at the health department, asking him to take over the task of determining blood lead levels in children. During the depression the city could not afford to buy a spectrograph, so Williams sent Emanuel Kaplan, then a recent Hopkins graduate, to the DuPont Chemical Company in Wilmington, Delaware, to learn a new method for detecting blood lead, the dithizone technique.<sup>24</sup> Recently developed in Germany, it provided the first sensitive quantitative method for measuring lead in blood. Kaplan returned to Baltimore and immediately began measuring lead in children's blood samples.<sup>25</sup>

In 1935 the health department took the unprecedented step of offering free laboratory diagnostic tests to assess the lead levels of any person with suspected poisoning.<sup>26</sup> Offered to physicians as an aid in clinical diagnosis, the service was an immediate success; within the first three years, more than twenty hospitals and one hundred physicians requested the tests. Interest grew so rapidly that the health department decided to use its data to study lead poisoning and potential preventive measures. Baltimore became the only city in the United States with a central diagnostic and reporting mechanism for lead poisoning.<sup>27</sup>

Officials soon discovered that lead poisoning of young children was far more serious than anyone had realized. In three years fifty-seven cases of lead paint poisoning were confirmed, with twenty-two fatalities.<sup>28</sup> Improved methods of detection and a growing "lead consciousness" among physicians led to increased reporting of the problem over the next twenty years.

Approximately equal numbers of adults and young children had been poisoned by lead; adults suffered from occupational exposures to lead, while the children all had a history of chewing objects painted with lead-based paints. Lead poisoning was highest among children of teething age; inspections by the health department's bureau of environmental hygiene revealed that in each case of lead poisoning the child had a "perverted appetite" that manifested itself in chewing paint from cribs, high chairs, woodwork, and window sills.<sup>29</sup> Laboratory examinations of paint scrapings determined that several cases of lead poisoning had been caused by children's furniture and cribs repainted with lead-containing paints.<sup>30</sup>

Early health information and newspaper accounts suggested that parents had to take responsibility for exposing their children to lead-based paints. A typical example of lead poisoning, widely cited in the popular press, was that of a workman who had unknowingly poisoned his child:

A dramatic incident which recently occurred in the southern section of the city is typical of the entire problem. A workman painted the fence of the factory where he was employed. Having some paint left over, he painted his child's high chair and bed. Several months later the infant was dead of lead poisoning.<sup>31</sup>

The main preventive measures of the 1930s were public warnings to parents, not to paint furniture with lead-based paints or allow young children to engage in the "unnatural" act of chewing on painted surfaces. Public health officials may not

have spent much time observing young children, for these reports suggested that infants naturally chewed only food. Inspectors from the city's department of environmental hygiene followed all cases of lead poisoning in 1936, for example, and revealed that in each case "the child had a perverted appetite" manifested by sucking or chewing on painted surfaces.<sup>32</sup> The language of these reports sometimes implied that not only the parents but the children themselves were at fault. In the 1930s landlords and paint companies were conspicuously absent from discussions of the causes of lead paint poisoning.

With the advent of free blood lead testing, health officials were able to identify many cases of previously unreported, nonfatal, lead intoxication. Eighty-nine percent of the 117 cases found between 1935 and 1941 were identified only as a result of the free laboratory testing service.<sup>33</sup> Baltimore's statistics on lead poisoning were startlingly high—much higher than those from any other city in the country. John McDonald, director of the bureau of occupational diseases, and Emanuel Kaplan, then chief chemist at the bureau of laboratories, noted that, according to the federal census, 202 deaths from childhood lead poisoning had been reported from the entire country between 1931 and 1940. Forty-nine deaths, or 24.3 percent of the total, came from the city of Baltimore—although the city constituted less than one percent of the country's population.<sup>34</sup> Based on reported rates, the death rate from childhood lead poisoning in Baltimore appeared to be about fifty times higher than in the rest of the country. Baltimore did not alone suffer from a lead paint problem, but its system of reporting was far superior to that used in other cities. Baltimore was playing an important role in making the problem visible.

In short, paradoxically, the best public health programs sometimes display the highest disease rates. Statistics are the language of public health—problems can only be perceived when they can be counted, and problems cannot be addressed until they are perceived to exist. Making the problem visible, through statistical data as well as by radio shows and publications, was a necessary first step toward its solution.

From their analysis of the data, Baltimore health officials concluded that fatal lead poisoning was, in fact, far more prevalent among children than adults; 86 percent of the recorded deaths were those of children, with an average age of death of two and one-half years. And clearly black children were at highest risk. The mortality rate for black children was five times higher than that for white children in the first five years of data collection.<sup>35</sup> Two-thirds of the almost 300 cases of childhood lead poisoning reported in Baltimore between 1931 and 1951 involved black children—despite the fact that in this period only 18 to 24 percent of the city's population was black.<sup>36</sup>

Although the health department gathered statistics by race and not by income levels, the problem clearly correlated more directly to poor housing than to race.<sup>37</sup> Since inspectors had to visit the homes of the poisoned children to confirm the source of lead poisoning, they could not escape the observation that many of these children lived in the most dilapidated housing in the city.<sup>38</sup> Rents were low, and



"A Child Died Here" runs the caption on this photograph taken on Fairmount Avenue in 1956 from the health department files. Commissioner Williams demonstrates the old method of lead paint removal, using an open flame. (Baltimore City Health Department.)

landlords did not attempt to keep the properties in good repair. Old lead paint peeled from the ceilings, walls, window frames, and furniture and fell to the floor in the form of flakes and chips that the children found and put into their mouths.<sup>39</sup> A chip of paint analyzed under the microscope might show many layers of leaded paint accumulated over the life of the house.

Lead poisoning cases were concentrated in two areas—western and eastern Baltimore. In 1936 a committee on housing had described West Baltimore as "a residential center, long since abandoned by whites, and its ancient three and one-half and four story dwellings packed with Negro families. . . . Bad social conditions are reported by both the police department and the Family Welfare Association over a period of ten years or more. Health conditions are poor. Infant mortality was 131.6 [per 1,000 births] for the year 1931, nearly twice the city wide rate. . . . This area is certainly only usable for Negro habitation unless commerce and industry can absorb it, which seems doubtful. . . ."<sup>40</sup>

From a preventive, public health point of view, the obvious need was to remove lead paint from the homes. In 1941, with the assistance of a housing survey showing that 70 percent of the housing in low-rent areas was "substandard,"

Williams persuaded Mayor Howard Jackson that a new city ordinance was needed to deal with the problem.<sup>41</sup> Jackson signed the Hygiene of Housing Ordinance in early March.<sup>42</sup> The ordinance, which promised a major advance in public-health control of housing conditions, stated that "Whenever any dwelling, or any building, structure, excavation, business pursuit, matter, condition or thing in or about a dwelling . . . is found by the Commissioner of Health to be dangerous or detrimental to life or health, the Commissioner of Health may order that the matter, condition or thing be removed, abated, suspended, altered or otherwise improved, as his order shall specify."<sup>43</sup>

But who was to pay for the removal of the lead paint? Since old buildings usually had many layers of peeling paint, removing it could be time consuming and expensive. Landlords were obviously antagonistic to any requirement that they pay the costs; an attempt to enforce the existing ordinance by requiring the removal of all lead paint from apartment houses would have meant confronting most of the large property owners in the city.

In 1948 the health commissioner began a much more modest program of removing lead paint from apartments where children had already been poisoned. Even in these apartments, landlords had to remove only the flaking sections and paint from surfaces that the child already had chewed. The health department made an effort to locate and notify landlords of properties where a child had been poisoned, asking them to remove flaking paint from all surfaces accessible to children.<sup>44</sup> This limited effort was highly successful; within four years ninety-six notices were sent to landlords, and all but two of them complied. The two resisting property owners were summoned to magistrate's court, where both, found guilty, paid fines; only then did they make the necessary corrections.<sup>45</sup>

In 1948, when a new high of thirty-one cases of lead poisoning was reported, the health department stepped up its program of health education. A leaflet "Lead Poisoning in Children—A Disease You Can Prevent" told parents to observe their children closely, to prevent them from chewing painted surfaces, to remove old paint from woodwork, to repaint only with lead-free paint, and to take children suspected of lead poisoning for immediate examination by the family physician—assuming that these impoverished families had a family doctor.<sup>46</sup> In 1949 the city began to dispatch public health nurses to slum neighborhoods to distribute these leaflets and educational materials.<sup>47</sup> A popular radio broadcast, "Not Fit to Eat," explained the dangers of lead paint and asked parents to warn their friends and neighbors of the problem.

Just as previous publicity in the 1930s had suggested that parents were responsible for lead poisoning when they repainted children's cribs, toys, and furniture, the popular press in the 1940s suggested that parents could be responsible for lead poisoning when they failed to repaint their walls, woodwork, or window sills. Each time the figures were reported on lead poisoning, the health department warned parents to be "on the lookout for this dangerous health hazard," to prevent children from chewing painted objects, and to repaint apartments with lead-free paint or to make sure that the landlord did so.<sup>48</sup>



Stories of lead paint poisoning abounded in Baltimore newspapers during the late 1940s and early 1950s. (Baltimore City Health Department.)

Popular health education, no doubt useful in alerting parents to the hazards of the home, was hardly an adequate response to the problem of lead poisoning. Most tenants of slum housing had no choice but to put up with peeling walls and decaying apartments; they were hovering on the edge of subsistence and struggling to feed their families. They had no extra cash for repairing and repainting their homes.

Landlords had little incentive to keep the apartments in good repair since rents were too low to provide for both repairs and a satisfactory profit margin. Neither tenants nor landlords were likely to do much repainting—with leaded or lead-free paint. But even if they had been inclined to follow the health department's suggestions, lead paint production and advertising were so weakly regulated that one generally could not tell whether a given can of paint contained lead.

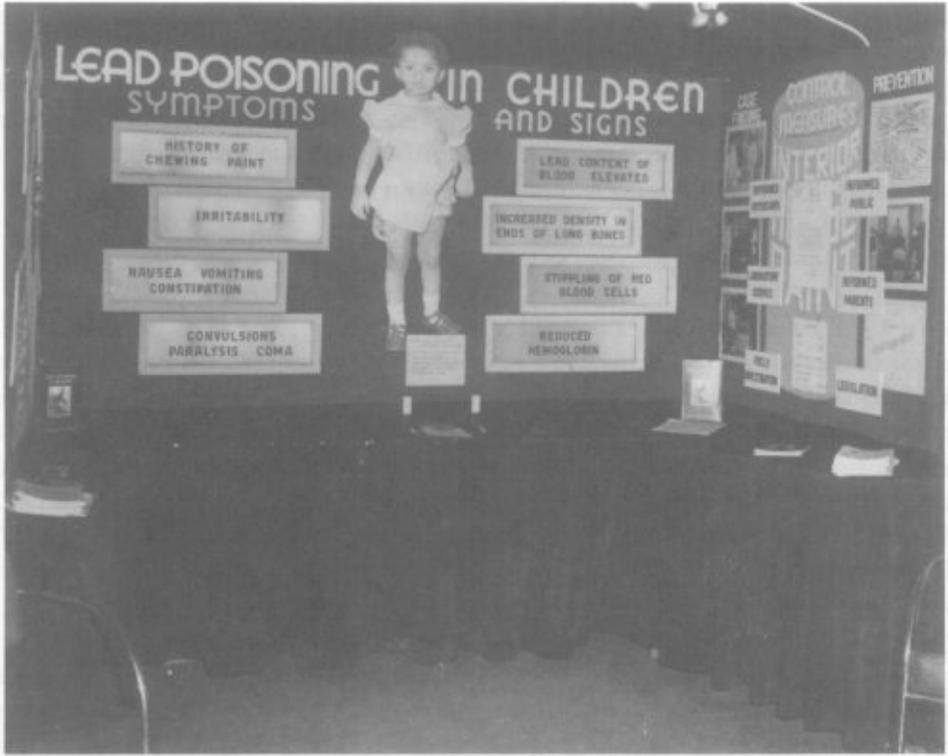


In 1951 health officials witnessed a record number of lead poisonings; local physicians reported seventy-seven cases and nine fatalities, with 90 percent of the affected children living in rental properties in slum or blighted areas.<sup>49</sup> When between 1931 and 1951 the health department made maps of the distribution of lead poisoning in the city, the pattern was curiously familiar: it closely replicated the incidence of tuberculosis and venereal disease. “Lung block,” the term used for areas with high rates of tuberculosis, was virtually synonymous with “lead alley.” Despite quite different scientific analyses of the causes of these diseases, all obeyed the same geographic and economic rules.<sup>50</sup>

The health department now stepped up its case-finding efforts and began to reassess its past efforts. Reviewing twenty years of data, Commissioner Williams noted that 60 percent of the cases had occurred among children between the ages of one and two, at the teething age when children readily put objects in their mouths—perhaps the first clear admission that this behavior was natural for small children and not simply the result of “perverted appetite.”<sup>51</sup> It was time to stop blaming the infants and their parents and to place more of the responsibility on the landlords and paint manufacturers.

The poisoning rate was now 7.5 times higher among black children than white, a racial difference that Williams attributed to environmental factors and economic disadvantage—in other words, to poor housing conditions.<sup>52</sup> Williams now added a new regulation to the existing ordinance on the hygiene of housing. This regulation stated: “No paint shall be used for interior painting of any dwelling or dwelling unit or any part thereof unless the paint is free of any lead pigment.”<sup>53</sup> This was a unique effort to control through legislative means the application of leaded paint. Such a step seems not to have occurred to health commissioners in other cities or, if it did, was not pursued.

If enforced, the new regulation would prevent landlords from adding new layers of leaded paint, but it did not deal with peeling layers of old paint. Putting a layer of lead-free pigment on top of old leaded paint was, at best, a temporary measure, adequate only until the stuff again cracked, chipped, or peeled. Nor did the new regulation address the problem of content labeling. In 1949 the Maryland General Assembly had passed a law making it compulsory to attach warning labels to any toy or children's furniture decorated with lead paint, but legislators—claiming that the law was unenforceable—had repealed it a year later.<sup>54</sup> Some paint manufacturers advertised their paints as free from lead pigment or voluntarily provided



A victim of lead paint poisoning, this charming little girl became the poster child for the health department's 1952 campaign against the hazardous problem. (Baltimore City Health Department.)

content labels on paint cans, but these labels were often more misleading than informative. Content labels with terms such as “chrome yellow,” “chrome green,” and “chrome orange” concealed the fact that these colors contained substantial amounts of lead chromate. The health department then recommended that parents avoid all yellow, green, and orange paints and only use those advertised as lead-free. Twenty-seven years passed before the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission limited the lead content of residential paint sold in interstate commerce to trace amounts (0.06 percent), thus preventing the sale of new lead-based household paints on a national level.<sup>55</sup>

Baltimore health officials were proud of their relatively advanced position in promoting new housing regulations and health education. In 1952 they prepared a comprehensive exhibit on lead poisoning in children for the annual meetings of the American Public Health Association and the American Medical Association.<sup>56</sup> Huntington Williams and his co-workers published a review of Baltimore's experience in *Public Health Reports*, concluding with the confident hope that “the application of principles involving education and the enforcement of measures



At a children's lead screening clinic in Baltimore in the late 1960s, the signboard announces that of the 2,349 children screened to date (out of an annual goal of 10,000) only twenty cases had been diagnosed. (Baltimore City Health Department.)

regulating the use of lead-containing paints will result in a material reduction and the eventual eradication of child lead poisoning in Baltimore City."<sup>57</sup>

Such optimism was short-lived. At the time, health officials still had little idea of the real extent of childhood lead poisoning. Reported cases were running at between thirty and eighty a year—a serious problem, but not yet a monumental one. In 1956, however, a group of researchers from the University of Maryland School of Medicine and the Baltimore City Health Department began to screen infants brought to the city's Well-Baby Clinic and the pediatric outpatient department of the University of Maryland Hospital—both clinics serving predominantly low-income patients.<sup>58</sup> Of the 333 children Bradley studied, 44.4 percent had a frighteningly high incidence of abnormal blood lead values.<sup>59</sup> During the course of the study, eight supposedly "well" children were admitted to hospital with acute symptoms of lead poisoning—unhappily confirming the usefulness of blood-lead tests for diagnosing previously unrecognized lead poisoning and demonstrating that a high proportion of inner-city children were at risk.<sup>60</sup>

In response to these findings Commissioner Williams appointed a Lead Poisoning Prevention Committee that quickly assumed a dominant role in Baltimore's

struggle against the lead paint problem.<sup>61</sup> The first chairman of the committee, William Sallow, was assistant director of the housing bureau—a choice suggesting that the problem was now seen as primarily one of housing rather than of clinical services, laboratory testing, or public health education. Other members of the committee represented the full range of health department activities from public health nursing and statistics to industrial hygiene.

The new lead-poisoning program of 1957 began with a massive preventive effort involving 225 sanitarians, public health nurses, and housing inspectors. Sanitarians and housing inspectors took paint samples from one hundred inner city blocks, and public health nurses visited about three thousand poor families whose children, aged three years or younger, had been registered as recipients of medical care.<sup>62</sup> The study found paint with a dangerous lead content in 70 percent of the 667 houses tested.<sup>63</sup> All public health and housing personnel in Baltimore were urged to pay close attention to the lead-paint threat; the health commissioner's new slogan, "No Baltimore Child Should Die of Lead Poisoning," appeared constantly in radio health broadcasts, newspapers, and pamphlets.<sup>64</sup>

In 1958, despite—or perhaps because of—the publicity, reported cases of child lead poisoning reached a record high of 133 cases and 10 reported deaths—more than twice the rate of any previous year. The increase in reporting led to even more publicity and to growing public concern. In a positive spiral of interest, increased reporting and increased public concern in turn produced a political demand for more aggressive health department action. The Lead Poisoning Prevention Committee now decided to tackle the problem of the labeling of paint cans. Baltimore's health commissioner adopted a new ordinance requiring label warnings on all paint containing more than 1 percent lead. The warning labels were to read: "WARNING—Contains Lead. Harmful If Eaten. Do not apply on any interior surfaces of a dwelling, or on a place used for the care of children, or on window sills, toys, cribs, or other furniture."<sup>65</sup>

Since the first warning labels printed by manufacturers were so small as to be unnoticeable, the city in 1959 added another regulation specifying the size of the warning labels and leaving no detail ambiguous:

- Lid labels. No lid label bearing the warning as required by this ordinance shall be less than 3 inches in diameter for pint and larger size containers or less than 1/2 inches in diameter for cans smaller than pint size. In addition to the warning statement the lid label shall contain the name and address of the manufacturer. The word "warning" preceding the warning statement shall be of larger letters than the name and address of the manufacturer. The warning statement shall be as large as the lid label will permit. The lid label shall adhere firmly to the lid of the container.<sup>66</sup>

Radio broadcasts and the popular press warned parents to read lid labels and to avoid all yellow, green, and orange paints.<sup>67</sup> The health department surveyed all the city's paint dealers and manufacturers to ensure compliance with the new regulations. In some cases repeated visits and threats of legal action or newspaper

publicity were necessary to ensure that producers took the labeling regulation seriously. "We'd write a story in the newspapers that such-and-such a paint was not living up to the laws and was putting in lead for children to chew on," Williams explained, and "the publicity did the work."<sup>68</sup> Leaded paint continued to be manufactured and sold for interior use in the United States long after the problem of childhood lead poisoning had become well known.<sup>69</sup> At least in Baltimore—flooded as it was by health department publicity and warnings about lead paint poisoning—no paint manufacturer, dealer, or construction company could plausibly claim to be unaware of the hazard.

The Lead Poisoning Prevention Committee next decided that effective prevention had to go to the source of the hazard—lead paint in tenement housing. The idea, as Williams announced it, was to create "a new and truly preventive program" by removing lead paint from homes before, rather than after, the children were poisoned.<sup>70</sup> To do so the health department would first have to gain access to tenant housing, which proved no easy matter. Landlords and property owners bitterly contested the right of city officials to inspect housing without a search warrant. "Every step was a struggle," Williams later noted. Well organized, "landlords fought us tooth and nail because we were costing them money," he went on. "They went to the city council and fought our ordinance but they lost because the city council knew that it was good politics to pass that kind of ordinance."<sup>71</sup>

Landlords claimed that the article of the Baltimore City Code allowing health inspectors to enter any house where they expected to find lead paint violated property rights and therefore was unconstitutional. Abraham Givner, owner of an apartment building on 1735 Linden Avenue, filed a test case.<sup>72</sup> With Givner standing on the sidewalk outside his property, representatives of the health department, the buildings inspection engineer, and the fire department had requested permission to enter. Givner had refused. Tried in the Baltimore Criminal Court, he was found guilty of violating three provisions of the Baltimore code and fined \$50 and costs (he received a suspended sentence). He appealed, contending that the proposed or threatened inspection amounted to unlawful search and seizure.

The attempt to inspect Givner's property had not been directly related to the lead paint poisoning program; it was part of a project to eliminate rats, headed by David Davis of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. Davis testified that he had studied the 1700 block of Linden Avenue and there discovered fifty or so rats, many of them using Givner's house as a sort of convention hall. Davis thus had sufficient cause to suspect a "nuisance" as defined in the public health code. Franz J. Vidor, director of the housing bureau, testified that the buildings in this block of Linden Avenue were poorly maintained, lacking in plumbing facilities, and rat infested. He had inspected 264 properties in the area and found building code violations in 260 of them.

The Maryland Court of Appeals heard the case in July 1956.<sup>73</sup> The court asked the central question whether the prohibitions against "unreasonable" searches and seizures also prohibited "reasonable" searches and seizures? It concluded that inspections carried out for the preservation of the health and safety of the public

were “reasonable” and legal; it affirmed the judgment of the lower court against Givner.

Another suit reached the Supreme Court of the United States. In this case a health department inspector had responded to the complaint of a Reisterstown Road resident who had discovered rats in her basement. A health inspector began examining the houses in the area looking for the source of the rats. On 27 February 1958 he knocked on the door of Aaron Frank’s home at 4335 Reisterstown Road. Receiving no response, he looked around the area outside the house, noted that the house itself was in an “extreme state of decay” and that, in the rear of the house, there was a pile later identified as “rodent feces mixed with straw and trash and debris to approximately half a ton.”<sup>74</sup> While he was looking around the property, Aaron Frank had appeared and asked his business. The inspector explained there was evidence of rodent infestation and asked permission to search the basement. Frank refused. The next day, the inspector reappeared with two police officers and swore out a warrant for Frank’s arrest for violating that section of the Baltimore City Code permitting health department inspections whenever there was “cause to suspect that a nuisance exists in any house, cellar, or enclosure.”<sup>75</sup> Frank was arrested, found guilty, and fined twenty dollars. On appeal the Criminal Court of Baltimore also found him guilty, as did the Maryland Court of Appeals. Frank then challenged the constitutionality of the section of the city code under which he had been charged, claiming violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Supreme Court split five to four against Frank. Justice Felix Frankfurter’s majority opinion declared the city code did not violate constitutional rights; the inspection was designed and pursued solely for the protection of the community’s health, made only the slightest restriction on the subject’s claims of privacy, and was conducted with due regard for every convenience of time and place. The Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable searches did not therefore apply to the health department’s efforts “to locate the habitat of disease-carrying rodents.” In a dissenting opinion, four justices declared that the decision violated “the right of privacy which every home owner had the right to believe was part of our American heritage.” In this view, an inspection could only be made with a search warrant issued by a magistrate after a showing of probable cause. The magistrate in each case must weigh the need to invade privacy against the need to enforce the law. In this way, “even the lowliest home in the land” would be protected “from intrusion on the mere say-so of an official.”<sup>76</sup> Had this minority view prevailed, an already overworked and understaffed health department would have found the inspection of buildings for lead paint hazards extremely difficult. But with the Supreme Court decision in its favor, the Baltimore health department decided to begin a more extensive program of building inspections aiming to detect lead paint before children became sick.<sup>77</sup> Since the prospect of inspecting all housing was overwhelming, the Lead Poisoning Prevention Committee decided to concentrate on west Baltimore’s Druid Hill Health District, where officials had discovered the heaviest lead poisoning. Inspectors were to visit every home with

a one-year-old child. Teams of health, building, and urban renewal inspectors would visit approximately 25,000 homes. They would take samples of paint from each apartment and, if they found lead, would then order the landlord to remove the hazard.

To begin the new campaign, Huntington Williams himself, trailed by reporters, visited several homes and collected twenty-six paint samples, sixteen of which were found to contain lead. In one apartment a tenant was discovered painting the walls with leaded paint, and Williams dramatically confiscated the paint—providing reporters good copy and making the point that the program was not a vendetta against landlords. Both landlords and tenants would be held responsible.<sup>78</sup> *Baltimore Health News* presented the drive against lead poisoning as a complete community activity in which each person was expected to do his part:

Paint manufacturers will need to make available the widest possible selection of paints free of lead pigment. Paint dealers or general store agents will be expected to be sure all their lead paint carries the warning label as required by city ordinance, to question customers concerning the proposed use of the paints they purchase and sell only lead free paints for interior use. Home owners, occupants and painters it is hoped will check the labels of the paints they apply inside dwellings to be certain that they contain no lead. Mothers will need to be more careful in watching their small children to see that they do not eat paint, in the same way that they guard them from dashing into a busy street or playing with matches. . . . The lead paint poisoning menace can be overcome if each person learns to do his part in preventing it.<sup>79</sup>

In 1961 the Lead Paint Poisoning Committee reviewed its progress. When paint samples were taken from homes in west Baltimore, there was a 98 percent probability of finding lead. When lead was found in homes with small children, landlords had to remove the lead paint to a height of four feet. In areas where lead paint removal was enforced, however, most families moved out of their apartments within a year—either because they simply wanted to move away from the danger or because their landlords or an urban renewal program forced them out.<sup>80</sup> It seemed likely that many of these families were simply moving from one hazardous apartment to another.

The committee reviewed the statistics suggesting that lead paint, a problem in all older homes, was almost universal in inner city tenant housing and concluded that “while urban renewal and the reformulation of paints could be expected to reduce the amount of lead . . . the presence of lead paint in older homes would continue to be a problem for many years.”<sup>81</sup> Removing lead paint from all housing—obviously the most desirable course of preventive action—seemed an impossible task. Committee members then discussed the possibility of enforcing paint removal only in those census tracts with the highest incidence of lead poisoning. Even this limited goal, they decided, would be impossible in economic terms. To inspect 73,726 dwelling units in the forty-four census tracts of Baltimore

showing ten or more cases of lead poisoning between 1956 and 1962 would require "155 sanitarian-years." Since the city health department had only sixty-four sanitarians assigned to all the sanitary surveillance activities of the city, assigning so many of them to lead-poisoning prevention seemed impossible. This pessimistic conclusion failed to consider targeting areas of the city with a few widely publicized court cases and fining the landlords responsible—tactics that Williams had already used to good effect. But Williams, almost seventy years old and by then head of the health department for thirty years, had reached retirement. The city would not easily find another leader who combined his zeal for health improvement with the political skills needed to undertake imaginative programs and guarantee their success.



Commissioner Williams, after working his entire career on the problem of lead paint poisoning, had moved away from the early health-education approach targeted at parents. Although he never abandoned health education, Williams steadily broadened the prevention program to include housing surveys, diagnostic tests, paint regulations, new legislation, and lead abatement. Williams was willing to challenge established commercial and financial interests, including those of paint retailers and landlords, and he had successfully survived major legal suits against the health department. He had certainly not been able to remove all lead paint from slum housing—a huge task—but he had demonstrated the department's ability to act effectively and built a municipal lead-paint program more advanced than any other in the country. Williams's flair for the media and understanding of the importance of publicity to health department work had made him highly visible in the community and had won the department considerable popular support. Landlords now began to take health department regulations seriously and to factor the possible costs of lead paint removal into their financial calculations.

Yet in 1962 the health department retreated. The Lead Paint Poisoning Committee announced a three-year "hard-sell educational pilot study" with a changed emphasis. The effort to remove lead paint from housing would be abandoned in favor of a new program "intended to impress the person who cares for the child with the importance of watching it and keeping it from nibbling the paint."<sup>82</sup> Health workers would personally explain to parents the hazards of lead exposure. At six-month intervals, health workers would visit each home in the census tracts where lead poisoning was most prevalent and send letters to parents warning of the dangers of lead poisoning.<sup>83</sup> This study was to be scientifically designed, with census tracts divided into study and control areas; the results would be measured by comparing the relative numbers of children with elevated lead levels in each area. In the meantime most other preventive activities, such as housing inspections and paint analyses, were allowed to lapse. The latest plan built on the old assumptions of the 1930s: that the main problem was parental ignorance. If parents were only alerted to the dangers of lead paint, they would be able to control

the hazard by closely observing the children, keeping the home scrupulously clean, and repainting with lead-free paint.

In fact, the hard sell educational program produced few results. After three years of the project investigators were unable to find any difference in blood lead levels between children in the study and the control areas. Probably Williams's many years of avid publicity had paid off; parents in both the study and control areas were already doing what they could to minimize lead-paint dangers. The project's failure may thus have reflected a broader pattern of success—both physicians and community members had already become “lead conscious.”<sup>84</sup> They did not need more health education; they needed a concerted effort to remove lead from people's homes.

In 1965, while the health department continued some health-education efforts, Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin turned over responsibility for enforcing housing code regulations to the city's department of housing and community development.<sup>85</sup> Two years later the Supreme Court reversed its earlier decision giving officials the right to inspect housing for health hazards; after 1967 they would need a search warrant to conduct housing inspections.<sup>86</sup> Justices framed their decision entirely in terms of protecting the privacy rights of homeowners against “warrantless administrative searches.” Renters, or the children of renters, presumably had no countervailing rights to non-toxic housing. Despite the court's claims to the contrary, having to obtain a search warrant for housing inspections made them extremely difficult, expensive, and time-consuming.

In Baltimore, as in other cities, children with high blood lead levels continued to be admitted to hospital for treatment. When a child was identified with high blood lead, health department officials would order owners to remove lead paint from peeling surfaces accessible to children. The response was essentially after-the-fact, and it could take weeks or even months before landlords removed the hazard. Most of those houses had new areas of peeling paint within a year, and many children were readmitted to hospital care several times after being returned to their homes.<sup>87</sup> Methods of lead abatement then being used often increased the lead hazard by generating increased lead dust. Not surprisingly, the health department in 1970 still listed lead poisoning among children as a significant problem in Baltimore—a total of 1,143 children had been reported poisoned that year, of whom 205 were white and 938 were black.<sup>88</sup> In 1973, when the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare contributed \$150,000 toward the city's lead-paint-poisoning program, the number of diagnoses doubled again; the problem seemed to worsen when anyone paid close attention.<sup>89</sup> By this time landlords received ten days in which to burn away existing lead paint and apply a fresh coat.<sup>90</sup> Health officials waited until a child was diagnosed with lead poisoning before inspecting the home for lead.

While Baltimore's efforts against child lead poisoning were slowing down in the 1960s, other cities were beginning to direct increased attention to the problem, perhaps due to an “awakening of social conscience.”<sup>91</sup> As encouragement, the Johnson administration's War on Poverty channeled funds from the Office of

Economic Opportunity through local community action agencies, especially those organized around neighborhood health centers and welfare rights, and thus forced health departments to become more responsive to the concerns of the poor. The civil rights movement and the politically mobilized inner-city black populations pressured health departments to pay more attention to the appalling health conditions in city slums and ghettos.

For the most part recognition of the problem of lead paint poisoning still depended on the case-finding approach. When Chicago in 1966 and New York in 1970 began prospective mass-screening programs, they found 25 to 45 percent of the children in high risk areas to have elevated blood lead levels.<sup>92</sup> At this point more than four thousand scientific papers had been published on the subject of lead poisoning, but outside of Baltimore few efforts had been made to communicate this body of knowledge to the inner city communities most affected by the silent epidemic. Nor had the knowledge found its way into effective prevention programs.<sup>93</sup>



The mobilization of local community groups in cities across the country finally brought national attention to the issue of childhood lead poisoning. In 1970 the U.S. Surgeon General advocated mass screening to identify children with elevated blood lead. In 1971 the federal Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act provided funding to help communities carry out screening and treatment programs. A report by the National Research Council in 1976 recommended that manufacturers add no lead to paint and set an upper limit of 0.06 percent of lead in dried paint products.<sup>94</sup>

The problem of new leaded paint largely had been solved—but old paint with a far higher lead content remained (and still remains) on the walls and woodwork of millions of homes in the United States.<sup>95</sup> Continued research on lead paint poisoning has shown that even asymptomatic children and those with low levels of lead exposure can sustain neurological damage, reduced I.Q. levels, learning disabilities, delayed speech development, and mild mental retardation.<sup>96</sup> The history of lead-poisoning prevention is thus not yet a success story. An estimated 42 million homes nationwide (21 million of those built before 1940) currently contain leaded paint, and between 3 and 4 million children experience adverse health effects.<sup>97</sup> In Baltimore, as in other cities, the problem of how to deal with childhood lead paint poisoning continues to divide landlords and tenants, public officials and inner-city residents, public health workers, and community activists.

#### NOTES

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5. George Provenzano, "The Social Costs of Excessive Lead Exposure During Childhood," in Herbert L. Needleman, ed., *Low Level Lead Exposure: The Clinical Implications of Current Research* (New York: Raven Press, 1980), pp. 299–315; see also D. Berwick and A. Komaroff, "Cost Effectiveness of Lead Screening," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 306 (1982): 1392–98. Recent estimates have run as high as \$28 billion: Leon Jaroff, "Controlling a Childhood Menace: Lead Poisoning Poses the Biggest Environmental Threat to the Young," *Time*, 25 February 1991, p. 69.

6. The most comprehensive account of the history of lead poisoning is Lloyd G. Stevenson, "A History of Lead Poisoning" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1949). For a brief summary of the early uses and knowledge of lead toxicity see Marjorie Smith, "Lead in History," in Richard Lansdown and William Yule, eds., *Lead Toxicity: History and Environmental Impact* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 7–24. In the United States the pioneer in studying industrial lead poisoning was Alice Hamilton, *Exploring the Dangerous Trades: The Autobiography of Alice Hamilton, MD* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1943); Alice Hamilton, *Industrial Poisons in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1925).

7. Else Blänsdorf, *Blieliteratur* (Berlin: Springer, 1922). Cited in Stevenson, "A History of Lead Poisoning," p. 301.

8. C. P. McCord, "Lead Poisoning in Early America: Benjamin Franklin and Lead Poisoning," *Industrial Medicine and Surgery*, 22 (1953): 394–99. Cited in Jane S. Lin-Fu, "Lead Poisoning and Undue Lead Exposure in Children: History and Current Status," in Needleman, ed., *Low Level Lead Exposure*, p. 6.

9. Jane S. Lin-Fu, "The Evolution of Childhood Lead Poisoning as a Public Health Problem," in J. Julian Chisolm, Jr. and David M. O'Hara, eds., *Lead Absorption in Children: Management, Clinical, and Environmental Aspects* (Baltimore: Urban and Schwarzenberg, 1982).

10. Richard Rabin, "Warnings Unheeded: A History of Child Lead Poisoning," *American Journal of Public Health*, 79 (1989): 1668–74.

11. Kenneth D. Blackfan, "Lead Poisoning in Children with Especial Reference to Lead as a Cause of Convulsions," *American Journal of Medical Science*, 153 (1917): 877–87. See also H. M. Thomas and Kenneth D. Blackfan, "Recurrent Meningitis Due to Lead in a Child of Five Years," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 8 (1914): 277–380.

12. Blackfan, "Lead Poisoning in Children," p. 887.

13. See J. C. Ruddock, "Lead Poisoning in Children with Special Reference to Pica," *Journal of the American Medical Association* (hereafter *JAMA*), 82 (1924): 1682–84; C. F. McKhann and E. C. Vogt, "Lead Poisoning in Children," *JAMA*, 101 (1933): 1131–35.

14. R. A. Strong, "Meningitis Caused by Lead Poisoning in a Child of Nineteen Months," *Archives of Pediatrics*, 37 (1920): 532–37; Ruddock, "Lead Poisoning in Children"; McKhann, "Lead Poisoning in Children," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 32 (1926): 386–92; McKhann, "Lead Poisoning in Children: The Cerebral Manifestations," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 27 (1932): 294–304; McKhann and Vogt, "Lead Poisoning in Children."

15. Charles-Edward A. Winslow, *The Life of Hermann M. Biggs: Physician and Statesman of the Public Health* (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1929).

16. Author's interview with Huntington Williams, 12 September 1984.

17. District health officers who worked under Williams in the Baltimore health department judged his leadership less kindly than I do in this article. Abraham Lilienfeld and George Silver complained that Williams would take no major step if it meant incurring the wrath of the organized medical profession. In Silver's words, he "never strayed far from obsequious response to the mandates of the State Medical Society. He had to be dragged reluctantly to the full execution of his duty" (personal communication with author, February 1990). Members of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health were frequently irritated by Williams's caution in dealing with what he deemed to be politically sensitive matters. At the same time Williams was willing to employ talented and aggressive young health officers who had few compunctions about making waves; he preferred the "radicals" in the health department to those he referred to as "dead wood."

18. Robert A. Kehoe, "The Diagnosis of Lead Poisoning," *Baltimore Health News*, 18 (1941): 154–55, discusses some of the difficulties of diagnosing lead poisoning. This article is excerpted from Kehoe's address to the Industrial Health and Welfare Study Group of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, 27 March 1941.

19. Huntington Williams, Wilmer H. Schulze, H. B. Rothchild, A. S. Brown, and Frank R. Smith, Jr., "Lead Poisoning from the Burning of Battery Casings," *JAMA*, 100 (1933): 1485–89. See also "Lead Poisoning from the Burning of Battery Casings," *Baltimore Health News*, 9 (1932): 73–74.

20. The lead hazard of storage batteries already had been recognized as a problem in occupational health; see, for example, L. Greenburg, A. A. Shaye, and H. Shilonsky, "A Study of Lead Poisoning in a Storage-Battery Plant," *Public Health Reports*, 44 (1929): 1666–98.

21. Williams et al., "Burning of Battery Casings," pp. 1487–88.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 1489.

23. Harold Blumberg and T. F. McNair Scott, "The Quantitative Determination of Blood Lead and Its Value in the Diagnosis of Lead Poisoning," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, 56 (1935): 276–93. The spectrograph was an expensive and somewhat exotic piece of scientific equipment in the 1930s and was primarily used to test for trace amounts of metals.

24. Emanuel Kaplan, personal communication with author, 3 June 1990. For details of the technique see Elwood S. Wilkins, Jr., Carl E. Willoughby, Elmer O. Kraemer, and F. L. Smith II, "Determination of Minute Amounts of Lead in Biological Materials: A Titrimetric-Extraction Method," *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry, Analytical Edition*, 7 (1935): 33–36.

25. Emanuel Kaplan and John M. McDonald, "The Blood Lead Value as an Aid in the Diagnosis of Lead Poisoning," *Journal of Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics*, 63 (1938): 17.

26. Emanuel Kaplan and John M. McDonald, "Blood Lead Determinations as a Health Department Laboratory Service," *American Journal of Public Health*, 32 (1942): 481–86.

27. J. Julian Chisolm Jr. notes that, at the time, one could only get blood samples from children analyzed for lead in Boston, Baltimore, and Cincinnati. Baltimore was the only health department with the interest and ability to run the tests as a regular diagnostic service; testing could be done in Boston and Cincinnati only on a research basis (J. Julian Chisolm Jr., personal communication with author, 1 June 1990).

28. "Lead Poisoning in Children," *Baltimore Health News*, 14 (1937): 109–10.

29. Marcia Cooper, an assistant professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, would later study the phenomena of pica among the population of the Eastern Health District of Baltimore. She found that adults as well as children sometimes ate dirt, clay, and plaster and suggested that the behavior was caused by nutritional deficits; in children such practices could lead to, or be associated with, mental retardation. See Marcia Cooper, *Pica: A Survey of the Historical Literature as well as Reports from the Fields of Veterinary Medicine and Anthropology, the Present Study of Pica in Young Children, and a Discussion of Its Pediatric and Psychological Implications* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1957).

30. "Lead Poisoning in Children," p. 110.

31. "Lead Poison Kills 22 Here in Three Years," *Baltimore Sun*, 4 April 1937.

32. "Lead Poisoning in Children," p. 109.

33. John M. McDonald and Emanuel Kaplan, "Incidence of Lead Poisoning in the City of Baltimore," *JAMA*, 119 (1942): 870–72. Adults with high blood lead levels were reported to the Bureau of Occupational Diseases which was thus able to identify numerous cases of industrial lead exposure.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 871.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 871.

36. Huntington Williams, "Lead Poisoning Killed 83 Children," *Baltimore Health News*, 28 (1951): 113.

37. Various efforts had been made in the 1920s and '30s to deal with the effects of substandard housing on health although health departments, in the main, were still reluctant to deal with housing issues. Leaders of the health and housing efforts were the members of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association. Charles-Edward A. Winslow, professor of public health at Yale University, chaired the committee, and Huntington Williams was a member. See Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association, *Housing for Health* (Lancaster, Pa.: Science Press, 1941). The issue of health and housing was not yet associated with the question of lead paint; *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing*, published by the American Public Health Association in May 1939, contained details about ventilation, lighting, etc. but no references to lead.

38. Emanuel Kaplan notes that inspectors were only sent out when a child had a blood lead level of at least 65 or 70 micrograms per 100 grams of whole blood—an extremely high level by current standards (Kaplan's personal communication with author, 3 June 1990).

39. Williams, "Lead Poisoning Killed 83 Children," p. 114.

40. W. W. Emmart, *Report of the Joint Committee on Blighted Districts and Housing in Baltimore*, Baltimore (December 1936), pp. 5–6, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

41. The Housing Authority of Baltimore City, with the Assistance of the health department of Baltimore City, the School of Hygiene, Johns Hopkins University, and the United States Works Projects Administration, *Baltimore: Low Rent Housing Survey: 1941* (Baltimore: Housing Authority of Baltimore City, 1941).

42. "Chronology of Lead Paint Poisoning Control: Baltimore, 1931–1971," *Baltimore Health News*, 48 (1971): 34–40.

43. Hygiene of Housing Ordinance #384 6 March 1941; see *ibid.*, p. 35.

44. Huntington Williams, Emanuel Kaplan, Charles E. Couchman, and R. R. Sayers, "Lead Poisoning in Young Children," *Public Health Reports*, 67 (1952): 230–36.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

46. "Lead Poisoning in Children—A Disease You Can Prevent," Baltimore City Health Department leaflet (1949), reprinted as "Suggestions for Parents," in *Baltimore Health News*, 26 (1949): 124.

47. George W. Schucker, Edward H. Vall, Elizabeth Kelley, and Emanuel Kaplan, "Prevention of Lead Paint Poisoning among Baltimore Children," *Public Health Reports*, 80 (1965): 969.

48. "Lead Poisoning in Children Is Preventable and Can Be Fatal," *Baltimore Health News*, 26 (1949): 122-24.

49. *Baltimore City Health Department Annual Report for the Year Ending 1951* (Baltimore: City Health Department, 1952), p. 44.

50. Housing Authority of Baltimore City, *Baltimore's Housing Situation in Charts: Based on 1950 Census of Housing* (Baltimore: Housing Authority of Baltimore City, 1954). This publication shows clearly that one found the oldest, most dilapidated housing in the overcrowded, largely black areas in West and East Baltimore.

51. See Williams et al., "Lead Poisoning in Young Children," p. 234.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

53. Regulation 17, adopted 29 June 1951, pursuant to the authority of Baltimore City Ordinance 384, see Williams, "Lead Poisoning Killed 83 Children," p. 116.

54. Williams et al., "Lead Poisoning in Young Children," p. 234.

55. "Consumer Product Safety Commission: Controls on Lead-Based Paint and Toys and Furniture Bearing Lead-Based Paint," in National Research Council, *Lead in the Human Environment* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1980), pp. 463-68.

56. *Baltimore Health News*, 48 (1971): 36; Huntington Williams also gave a talk at the annual conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund in 1950; see Huntington Williams, "Law Enforcement and the 'Baltimore Plan,'" *Housing and Health* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1951), pp. 19-30.

57. Williams et al., "Lead Poisoning in Young Children," p. 235.

58. Researchers used a diagnostic test, qualitative urinary coproporphyrin III, then widely used in industry to test workers for undue lead absorption, but never before had the test been used to screen large numbers of children. See Rudolph K. Waldman and Roy M. Seideman, "Reliability of the Urinary Porphyrin Test for Lead Absorption," *Archives of Industrial Hygiene and Occupational Medicine*, 1 (1950): 290-95.

59. J. Edmund Bradley, Albert E. Powell, William Niermann, Kathleen R. McGrady, and Emanuel Kaplan, "The Incidence of Abnormal Blood Levels of Lead in a Metropolitan Pediatric Clinic," *Journal of Pediatrics*, 49 (1956): 1-6.

60. Bradley et al. noted that serious lead intoxication could sometimes occur at lower blood levels than the then accepted "normal" limit of 0.05 mg. percent (*ibid.*, p. 5).

61. See "A New Health Department Committee on the Prevention of Lead Poisoning," *Baltimore Health News*, 33 (1956): 80-81.

62. "Prevention of Lead Poisoning," *Baltimore Health News*, 34 (1957): 125-27.

63. Emanuel Kaplan and R. S. Schaul, "Determination of Lead in Paint Scrapings as an Aid in the Control of Lead Paint Poisoning in Young Children," *American Journal of Public Health*, 51 (1961): 65-69.

64. The health department noted that although children's toys made in the United States were generally free of lead paint, imported toys often used high lead-content paints; the department publicized this fact and alerted the U.S. Public Health Service to the danger.

65. Baltimore City Lead Paint Labelling Ordinance, no. 1504, 9 June 1958; Huntington Williams, "Letter to Persons Concerned with the Manufacture, Sale, or Use of Lead Paint in Baltimore," 10 June 1958, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library; "Lid Labels for Lead Paint," *Baltimore Health News*, 36 (1959): 122–23.
66. "Lid Labels," p. 122.
67. Huntington Williams and Joseph Gordon, "Death at the Window Sill," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 13 May 1958.
68. Author's interview with Huntington Williams, 12 September 1984.
69. Rabin, "Warnings Unheeded," pp. 1671–73.
70. "Drive on Lead Paint Opened by City," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 9 February 1960.
71. Author's interview with Huntington Williams, 14 September 1984.
72. For a summary of the case see "Court of Appeals of Maryland Upholds Right of Entry," *Baltimore Health News*, 33 (1956): 93; *Daily Record*, 28 August 1956.
73. "Court of Appeals of Maryland," pp. 85–95.
74. "Aaron D. Frank, Appellant, vs. State of Maryland, On Appeal from the Criminal Court of Baltimore, Maryland, Supreme Court of the United States," *Daily Record*, 25 May 1959, p. 2.
75. Rule # 120, Article 12, Baltimore City Code.
76. "Aaron D. Frank, Appellant, vs. State of Maryland," p. 3.
77. "U.S. Supreme Court Upholds Baltimore Health Code—Right of Entry," *Baltimore Health News*, 36 (1959): 121.
78. "True Prevention: Lead Paint Poisoning," *Baltimore Health News*, 37 (1960): 11–13.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
80. Schucker et al., "Prevention of Lead Paint Poisoning," pp. 969–74.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 970.
82. Donald Bremner, "New Method Used to Fight Poison by Lead Paint," *Evening Sun*, 17 July 1962.
83. Schucker et al., "Prevention of Lead Paint Poisoning," pp. 970–73.
84. Despite the fact that this project produced no clear results, 1965 was the first year since 1931 in which Baltimore reported no child death from lead paint poisoning. See "Four Children Poisoned by Lead Paint in '66," *Evening Sun*, 15 June 1966.
85. For a sample of popular health education materials on lead paint poisoning see *Lead Paint! The Silent Killer*, Child Lead Paint Poisoning Project, Baltimore City Health Department. Using a lively comic book format, the publication makes clear that parents have primary responsibility for protecting their children from lead paint poisoning. More than 100,000 copies of this comic book were distributed. See "City Child Lead Poisoning Drops by 35 Percent," *Evening Sun*, 2 January 1975.
86. The appellant in this crucial case had leased the ground floor of an apartment building in San Francisco and had refused to admit a housing inspector; an *amicus curiae* brief in the case had been filed by Homeowners in Opposition to Housing Authoritarianism. See *Camara v. Municipal Court of the City and County of San Francisco*, 387 U.S.: 523–40, 1967.

87. Chisolm, Mellits, and Quaskey, "Relationship between Level of Lead Absorption in Children."

88. "Child Lead Paint Poisoning Still a Threat," *Baltimore Health News*, 47 (1970): 120. See also Larry Lewis, "The Quiet Epidemic," *Baltimore News American*, 17 January 1971.

89. "Found Out 42 Years Ago, Baby-Killer Is Still Around," *Baltimore Sun*, 22 August 1973.

90. Farfel, "Evaluation of Health," notes that the traditional methods of lead abatement by open flame burning, sanding, and scraping actually increase children's risk of lead poisoning. See also E. Charney, B. Kessler, M. Farfel, and D. Jackson, "Childhood Lead Poisoning: A Controlled Trial of the Effect of Dust-Control Measures on Blood Lead Levels," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 309 (1983): 1089-93.

91. Lin-Fu, "The Evolution of Childhood Lead Poisoning as a Public Health Problem," pp. 1-10; and Lin-Fu, "Lead Poisoning and Undue Lead Exposure in Children: History and Current Status," pp. 5-16.

92. National Research Council, Committee on Biologic Effects of Atmospheric Pollutants, *Lead: Airborne Lead in Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1972), pp. 132-40.

93. Jonathan M. Stein, "An Overview of the Lead Abatement Program Response to the Silent Epidemic," in H. L. Needleman, ed., *Low Level Lead Exposure*, p. 280.

94. National Research Council, Commission on Toxicology, Assembly of Life Sciences, *Recommendations for the Prevention of Lead Paint Poisoning in Children* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1976), p. 10.

95. Federal regulations now prohibit leaded paint in federally owned properties or those constructed with federal assistance and require the reduction of lead paint hazards in the homes of children poisoned by lead. These regulations reduce new inputs of lead into the environment but do little to eliminate the large reservoir of lead in non-federally owned urban housing.

96. H. Needleman et al., "Deficits in Psychologic and Classroom Performance of Children with Elevated Dentine Lead Levels," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 300 (1979): 689-95. A recent follow-up study of the children in this first report found that the deficits were long-lasting. See Needleman et al., "The Long-Term Effects of Exposure to Low Doses of Lead in Childhood," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 322 (1990): 83-88.

97. Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, *The Nature and Extent of Lead Poisoning in Children in the United States: A Report to Congress* (Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, July 1988), pp. 1-40, 1-47.

# Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

## Capt. John Smith's "Sting Ray" and the Cownose Ray

WILLIAM R. KLINK

One of the most famous entries in Capt. John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (1624), an account of his explorations in the New World, tells of his being stung by a sting ray and almost losing his life to its venom. Smith's description helps create the image of himself as a larger-than-life explorer who can overcome any obstacle, including certain death.

According to Philip L. Barbour, ed., *Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631)* (3 vols.; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986) 2:168–69:

But it chanced our Captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a ryding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she strucke into the wrest of his arme neere an inch and halfe: no bloude nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swollen his hand, arme and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded his funerall.

According to the *Generall Historie*, his men prepared a grave for Smith where the incident occurred, but he recovered, aided by a potion from Dr. Russell, and ate the fish for supper. He then named the island Stingray Island to commemorate the event.

Smith's attack was real, but he wrote the account of the incident less for the historical record than for practical purposes. Smith, who sometimes used the information provided by others to write his book, was prone to exaggerate, even to fabricate his story, which was propaganda for the Crown and other possible future underwriters of his explorations.

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A seventeenth-century mapmaker depicted the Chesapeake Bay replete with many imaginary and exotic creatures—much as the stingray must have appeared to Capt. John Smith on his voyage of 1608. Detail from *A mapp of Virginia discovered to ye Hills* by Virginia Farrer, 1651. (John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University.)

While it is remotely possible that the fish that stung Smith was a Northern or a Southern ray, it most likely was a cownose ray, *Rhinoptera bonasus*. Other fish in its zoological group are sharks, skates, and other kinds of rays. Since Smith was fishing with his sword and stabbed the fish, it is likely that he saw the paired dark fins of the cownose break the surface amidst a school of such fish. At times the cownose migrates in large schools into the Chesapeake Bay and into the lowermost portions of its tributaries. In shallow water the cownose ray stirs up mud and sand while rooting over the beds. A school of these would have made any explorer feel as Smith did, that he could stab as many of them as he wanted. If he had been bitten instead of stung by this fish, he would have been injured by the grinding plates in its mouth, which it ordinarily uses to crush clams, oysters, and other mollusks. As for its edibility, Smith must have enjoyed the revenge of eating it rather more than its taste.

There is the possibility that he might have called the fish an eagle ray, a name that seems noble but certainly less threatening. Eagle rays, after all, were to be seen along the routes of many of Smith's previous trips; they were found near the Azores, Canaries, and most obviously around Plymouth, England. They were known from Africa to Great Britain and on the western side of the Atlantic, from Argentina to southern New England. Certainly, however, a report of being attacked by an exotic sting ray in the wilds of the New World would make a stronger impact on English readers of the seventeenth century and afterward than being threatened by the familiar eagle ray—which one could see in Plymouth harbor.

To be fair, the distinction between eagle rays and cownose rays did not appear until the nineteenth century, following new distinctions in the taxonomy developed by Linnaeus. Yet Smith was an old salt who probably could distinguish among somewhat-similar fish. He probably knew that the fish was a mere cownose ray: waging battle and gaining final revenge against a sting ray rather than a cownose ray was the work of one who was manly and marketable. Truly the name Stingray Isle marks a menacing spot, while Eagle Ray Island seems homey. Who would find Cownose Ray Isle a place of derring do? Who would invest money in the adventures of one who fell victim to a cow?

# The Rockville Academy: Applications for the Position of Principal in April, 1862

GEORGE M. ANDERSON

When in the spring of 1862 the Rockville Academy sought a new principal, ten men responded to an advertisement in the *Baltimore Sun*. Their letters are of interest because several reflected the impact of the Civil War upon private schools of the period.<sup>1</sup> The letters also provide an idea of the qualifications expected of teachers.

Having received its charter from the Maryland General Assembly in 1809, the Rockville Academy was among the earliest schools in Montgomery County. It was also among the longest lived: it remained in operation for over a century. Sixty years after the granting of the charter, its board of trustees decided to commission a short history of the academy and called upon one of its members, Judge Richard Johns Bowie, to carry out this task.<sup>2</sup> Bowie's *Historical Sketch of the Rockville Academy* appeared in 1870. Only fourteen pages in length and with more rhetorical flourishes than factual matter, it nevertheless conveyed a sense of how the trustees perceived the institution. Judge Bowie described it as holding a middle place between elementary schools and colleges and being accessible to all classes.<sup>3</sup> The original building stood at the southwest corner of South Adams Street at Jefferson Street, on a spacious plot of land where its larger successor, built in 1890, still stands. The state of Maryland helped the academy from the beginning by contributing \$800 annually for eight "free scholars." Part of this contribution, however, went toward the salary of the assistant principal, a position filled only if the enrollment exceeded thirty. When the number of students fell below that figure, the entire burden of administration and teaching rested on the shoulders of the principal alone.<sup>4</sup>

In 1862 the position of principal became vacant. The president of the board of trustees, James W. Anderson,<sup>5</sup> consequently placed an advertisement in the "Wants" column of the *Baltimore Sun* on Wednesday, 2 April.<sup>6</sup> The notice elicited ten responses. Elbridge H. Gerry<sup>7</sup> wrote from Shrewsbury, Pennsylvania, south of York. Two were from Baltimore and two from Annapolis. The others were from Ellicott's Mills (Howard County), Sweet Air (Baltimore County), West River (Anne Arundel County), Fallston (Harford County), and Dunkirk (Calvert County). If residents of Montgomery County applied, their letters have not survived. Local

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Father Anderson, pastor of St. Aloysius Church in Washington, D.C., has been researching the history of Montgomery County for many years.

applicants may have presented themselves directly to the board for the interview that was scheduled for all applicants on 16 April 1862, making prior communication unnecessary.

Four letters reflected the wartime air of uncertainty. George M. Ettinger of Annapolis blamed civil war as the cause of his lack of employment. He had been teaching at the Piedmont Classic and Scientific Institute in Liberty, Virginia, until the war broke out. Robert Chalfant, writing from the Fallston Academy (of which he was principal) testified that he was loyal to the federal government and had no interest in the rebellion. (Board president Anderson's own interest in loyalty testing was great: he had lost his clerical position in the sixth auditor's office of the U.S. Treasury Department by refusing to sign the oath required of federal employees.<sup>8</sup>) George Lynn-Lachlan Davis alluded to the conflict in speaking of his opposition to the same oath of allegiance that Anderson had refused to sign in 1861 and to any oath except that provided in the Maryland constitution. A more oblique reference to the war occurred in a letter from James T. Chaney, who recommended an unidentified student at Dickinson College as being "right on the national question."

The applicants' academic qualifications varied widely. Ettinger wrote of having thirteen years teaching experience. He had been in charge of several academies and seminaries, was especially proficient in mathematics, and was preparing texts on arithmetic and algebra for publication. He did not mention a college degree and perhaps had none. Gerry, however, identified himself as a graduate of Dickinson College. Charles G. Fisher had not only a bachelor's diploma but also a master of arts degree from Franklin and Marshall. B. F. Myers, a Presbyterian minister, was a graduate of Jefferson College. Chalfant spoke of having graduated from the University of Lewisburg (later Bucknell), and Davis had received a first degree in the arts—apparently from Frederick College. He went on to study the law and become a member of the Maryland bar. Because of his faulty command of English, the least qualified was perhaps Gustav Wagner, a German native from Baltimore.<sup>9</sup> He addressed his short note to "the Presettent [sic] of the Rockville Academy."

Some of the applicants evidently felt that their private lives might have a bearing upon their chances for obtaining the position. Gerry explained that while his references were good, he was not a practicing member of any religious denomination. Chaney commended his applicant as not only moral, but temperate and truthful. Marital status may also have been a consideration. Fisher observed that if a married man were required, he would be ineligible. Married men like Ettinger and Myers made a point of mentioning the fact. Davis spoke of his small son.

Several applicants referred to their ages. Chaney's candidate was a senior at Dickinson who could hardly have been much more than twenty-one. Gerry was twenty-five and Ettinger thirty-one. Having graduated in 1857, Chalfant in 1862 would have been in his mid-twenties. The oldest of the men may have been Davis, who was forty-nine.

reported that he had resigned because of ill health. T. N. Conrad of the District became principal in his place—an arrangement that proved to be temporary, however, because four months later the *Sentinel* noted that Keenan had resumed his position as principal.<sup>15</sup>

Because Davis's letters form a unit, they appear as a group at the beginning of those that follow. The rest follow in chronological order.

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Baltimore, Apl. 10, 1862

Dear Sir:

The shortness of the time, I fear, will not admit of your reply to my note of the 5th inst., addressed to you at Triadelphia; and I therefore beg permission, without any more delay, to send the enclosed papers to you at Rockville, under cover addressed to the care of the President of the Board.

The testimonials are from the Revd. Profs. Hunter & Burrowes, and the Revd. Docts. Maclean & Bascom. Appended to the one from Doct. Maclean, is also a testimonial from Prof. Topping, of this City.

Mr. Hunter presided at Frederick college, while I was a pupil of that institution; and Mr. Burrowes, the tutor in Languages at Princeton, was many years later a Professor at La Fayette College. Doct. Maclean, the Professor of Languages at the time of my connexion with Princeton, is now the President of that institution; & Doct. Bascom was President of Transylvania University in 1848, and several years later a Bishop of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church.

Several of the enclosed papers were intended for another occasion; but connected with my note to you of the 5th inst., they are not the less pertinent, it strikes me, to the present application.

Additional testimonials could also be forwarded. But so far as the election may depend upon the strength and weight of testimony, the Trustees of the Rockville Academy will, I am confident, have ample means of understanding the nature of my qualifications. Nor was my claim rejected by the trustees of Randolph Macon College. The testimony was perfectly satisfactory; but, in consequence of some pecuniary embarrassments, they abandoned the idea of electing a Professor of Languages.

Begging you to excuse the trouble, I am giving you, I remain, Dear Sir, most truly, Your friend & Servt., Geo. L. L. Davis.

Baltimore, Apl. 12, 1862

Sir:

In consequence of the tardiness of the mail to Triadelphia, or the absence of Mr. Allen Bowie Davis, I fear, I shall not receive a reply to the note addressed him, upon the 5th inst. Will you now allow me to enclose a copy of that note; and to transfer to yourself the request contained in it?

You are also at liberty to break the seal of a second communication (if it be yet accessible, or still in your possession), which was written to him about the 10th,

Davis addressed three letters to Anderson, who actually saw four because in the second letter Davis enclosed a copy of a note to Allen Bowie Davis, a prominent Montgomery County resident and delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1850–51. Therein Lynn-Lachlan Davis, a struggling attorney, spoke of his habits as being those of a student, one who had spent the preceding fifteen years primarily in libraries, records offices, and historical reading rooms. In truth Davis was well known to the Maryland Historical Society of his day. In May, 1857, he had read before the society a “Paper upon the Origin of the Japan expedition,” which was subsequently printed in 1860 as a pamphlet.<sup>10</sup> Its purpose was to show that, although Commodore Matthew Perry was the leader of the expedition to Japan in 1850, the idea originated with Commodore John Henry Aulick, an adopted son of Maryland. Davis was so deeply attached to his native state that he welcomed any occasion to enhance its reputation. If credit for initiating trade relations with Japan was really Aulick’s, and if Aulick was a Marylander by adoption, then—to Davis’ way of thinking—Maryland shared in Perry’s honors. In 1855 Davis had published his major work, an account of religious toleration in early Maryland.<sup>11</sup> In it he praised provincial Maryland for its liberal stance and dedicated the volume “to THE STATE.” The work was still being read with interest a year after he made his application for the principal’s position. “Looked over Davis’ ‘Day Star,’ and was very much pleased, and am sorry that I did not read it before,” a Jesuit scholastic (seminarian) at Loyola College in Baltimore, John Abell Morgan, wrote in his diary in early 1863. “The Maryland Catholics,” Morgan continued, “have just cause for self-complacence in considering the noble actions of their forefathers.”<sup>12</sup>

The basis of the connection between George Lynn-Lachlan Davis and Allen Bowie Davis is unclear. Nothing in the two letters originally intended for the latter implies a blood relationship. George Davis’s father-in-law, Ezekiel Forman Chambers, was a U.S. senator (1826–34) who later served as a Kent County delegate to the 1850–51 constitutional convention, however, and there may have met Allen Bowie Davis. Chambers may have urged his son-in-law to seek a helpful letter of recommendation.

As a well known jurist, Chambers must have been disappointed at Davis’s indifferent performance as an attorney incapable of supporting his family through the legal profession. On the other hand, he would have applauded his fidelity to the state of Maryland. Chambers’ own fidelity was equally strong, not only to Maryland but also to the South. He had been elected president of the convention that met on 18 February 1861 at the old Universalist Church at Calvert and Pleasanton streets in Baltimore. The mood of this gathering was distinctly pro-South. Although opposed to secession if avoidable, Chambers said in a speech to the convention that he advocated it “when the only remaining alternative is dishonor and degradation”—a statement that drew applause.<sup>13</sup>

In the end, the trustees chose neither George Lynn-Lachlan Davis nor any of the other applicants. They selected instead John F. Keenan, of whom little is known except that he was a resident of the District of Columbia.<sup>14</sup> He initially remained as principal only a year. A notice in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* of 24 April 1863

“upon business relating to the Rockville Academy,” and directed to the “care of Jas. W. Anderson, Esq., Pres’t. of the Board, Rockville, Maryland.” I am, Sir, Yr. Obt. Servt.,  
Geo. L. L. Davis

Baltimore, Apl. 5, 1862

Dear Sir:

The misfortunes of life place me in a new attitude. I wish to become a candidate for the post of Principal, in the Rockville Academy; and must beg you to submit my name to the Trustees, under such auspices, and with such remarks, from your own pen or lip, as you may think proper.

I am a member of the Bar. For the last twenty years, I have paid but little attention to any branch of education; and, without some preliminary study, would not undertake to answer some even of the simplest questions in Languages and Mathematics. If I were called upon to teach, I would indeed, for many weeks, be obliged to review the text-books at night, as the only means of keeping pace with my classes, and doing them strict justice in the day-time. I ought to say, that except at Sunday Schools, and as an *amateur* in the case of my little son, and the children of several friends, I have had, as a teacher, no experience whatever.

But I am naturally very fond of children; and think, I would become much interested in the art of teaching. It is also an easy thing to revive the knowledge of a language, or to recover any other branch once fully acquired, but afterwards partially lost. My habits are those of a student; and the last fifteen years have been chiefly spent in libraries, historical rooms, and record offices. I may truly say, I have lived among books & manuscripts; and from what I have written as an author, you can readily see, how far I am an *enthusiast*, in anything I may undertake to teach, study, or illustrate.

I wish, I could at this moment place my hand upon a testimonial from the Rev. Doct. Maclean, the President of the College, in which I was admitted to the first degree in the Arts; and who says, if I rightly remember, that I was “an unusually good scholar,” especially in the classics. I could also refer to the Revd. Geo. Burrowes, subsequently a Professor at La Fayette College; to the Revd. John Hunter, a short time Professor at Canonsburg, but known to myself as a pupil of Frederick College, where he presided; and (upon points of history & general scholarship) to Mr. Chief Justice Taney, of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Upon receipt of your reply, I will send you some testimony, if you think it worth while, and I have time enough before the day of election.

No religious or political tests, I presume, are exacted of the Principal. But to prevent any misapprehension, upon one point, in the present state of the public mind, I ought to add, that I am opposed to the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, and to all other kinds, except the official one provided by the Constitution of Maryland. In politicks, I am a State-right Whig. Begging you to excuse the liberty, I take, in addressing you, I remain, Dear Sir, Most truly your friend & servt., Geo. L. L. Davis

*Writing two weeks after the trustees' examination of applicants, Davis requested Anderson to return his letters of recommendation.*

Annapolis, Md., Ap. 3d, 1862

Gentlemen:

In the Baltimore "Sun" of the 2nd inst. appeared a call for a Principal of your Academy; I would feel under obligations to you for some definite information in regard to it, as I am disposed to become a candidate for the position. Please have the kindness to inform me of the number of Students usually in attendance, their general advancement, charge for tuition, and such other information as will give a tolerable idea of the standing, etc., of the School.

For your information I will state, that I have an experience of teaching of upwards of thirteen years. During the greater portion of this time I have been in charge of schools ranking as Academies and Seminaries. For several years past I have held positions as Prof. of Mathematics, to which branch of study my attention has latterly been chiefly directed. I have in course of preparation a course of Mathematics School Books, the first parts of which—an Arithmetic and an Algebra—are now ready for the press. My last engagement was in [the] Piedmont Classic and Scientific Institute, Liberty, Va., which closed in the breaking out of the war—the Institute having been temporarily suspended.

I shall cheerfully present myself for examination, but would prefer your action at an earlier day than the one mentioned above. I am in correspondence with the Trustees of several Schools, who are at this time, or very soon will be, taking their action.

I am married, with a small family; thirty-one years of age, and have been educated for the profession of teaching in one of the best Normal Schools in the country. For the present, I would refer you to—

Rev. C. K. Nelson, D.D., late Pres. of St. John's College, Annap.

Prof. D. J. Capson, St. John's College

[Prof.] Wm. H. Thompson, St. John's College

William Harwood, late Prof. in U.S. Naval Academy

Rev. J. Radcliffe Davenport, D.D. Annapolis, Md.

Hon. A. Randall, etc.

Awaiting your response, I am, Yours etc. Geo. M. Ettinger

Shrewsbury, Pa. April 3rd 1862

Seeing your notice in one of the Baltimore sheets advertising for Teachers to appear on the 16th inst. for examination if they desire the situation, I would therefore request you as Secy. to inform the board that if on the 16th they are not satisfied with the applicants, that I would offer myself as teacher to supply the vacancy. I cannot attend the examination on that date, on account of business and furthermore, as a graduate of Dickinson College, I must follow out the general rule as long as circumstances will permit and if I cannot succeed with this rule, I will allow myself to be examined, which to me is of little importance.

I can give as references the best citizens of the place in regard to moral character, but I am sorry to say I am no member of church, though I am a good 'peace 'compromise 'democrat.'

I am about twenty-five years of age with some experience in teaching, having taught in Shrewsbury and schools around the place. I assisted Dr. A. Dinsmore in our Academy previous to my entering college, and, have therefore his recommendation to the profs. of that institution.

Very often in advertisements similar to yours, I have seen "those that cannot present themselves for examination, need not apply." Upon this I base the privilege of addressing you.

Please write to me as soon as convenient. I am with much respect Yours etc.  
Elbridge H. Gerry.

P.S. For references address any of the following gentlemen, i.e. B. F. Koller, Henry Latimer, F. B. Stover, Dr. H. G. Bussey, Dr. Joseph Coblents, John Hoshour or Rev. A. Berg. Direct Shrewsbury York Co. Pa.

West River Md. April 4th. 1862

Sir:

I have observed your advertisement in the "Baltimore Sun" for a Teacher, as Principal of the Rockville Academy. Please be so kind as to inform me if the Teacher will be required to enter on his duties immediately after his examination and appointment; and if a single man would suit to fill the position. I am at present Assistant Teacher in the West River Classical Institute, of which I send you a Catalogue. I am qualified to teach the branches set forth in your advertisement, and can give you satisfactory references as to scholarship and character. I should like to become an applicant, if it would not conflict with my present engagement. Please write to me immediately, as I should be glad to hear from you before the time for the examination and appointment of a Teacher (April 16th). Yours very respectfully—J. R. Garrison

Ellicott's Mills, Md. Friday, Apr. 4 /62

Sir:

Observing the advertisement in the paper for a Teacher as Principal of the Rockville Academy, I have a desire to seek further information ere I make up my mind to apply.<sup>17</sup>

My present position is of a private nature and in the filling of it I am made to labor under difficulties. Hence I would like to make a change for the better.

I would inquire of you, whether a *married* man is required, or not. If so I would be out of the list.

My situation is such too, at the present time that it would be difficult for me to attend an examination, but might possibly, if there were any possibility of getting the position, contrive some means of getting to the examination. Of course, I cannot expect any possibility if I do not attend as others. Will there be much of an

answer to the call for candidates? I expect to go to Washington at the Easter holidays. I might so arrange matters so as to be at the examination.

I have been engaged at teaching for several years. Have rec'd from my *Alma Mater* two diplomas—A.B. & A.M. I can give the best of references.

My reason for desiring a change is the want of encouragement, and, with it, lack of support.

I was under the impression you had some months ago elected a Teacher. Has he left, and why?

Devoted to the cause of education I feel able to do duty where it is to be done.

I trust I shall not be imposing upon you by asking you to reply to my inquiries.

Awaiting your reply I remain Very respectfully Yours etc. Chas. G. Fisher

P.S. What has been the attendance at the Academy?

Fallston, April 7, 1862

Dear Sir

My attention has just been called to your advertisement in the "The Sun" of last week, calling for a teacher for [the] Rockville Academy.<sup>17</sup> The situation being such as I desire, you will pardon me for addressing you this note of inquiry.

Would you be so kind as to inform me by return mail, whether my prospects of success would warrant my suspending my school for the purpose of attending your examination on the 16th inst., and also state whether the opening of the Academy would interfere with my present quarter which closes about the first of May, proximo.

I graduated at the University at Lewisburg, in the class of 1857, since which time I have been engaged in teaching. I am twenty five years of age and unmarried. As to my success in teaching, I can refer to my former employers, and patrons, and as to my qualifications, to the faculty of the University, whose names and addresses will be given, should circumstances render it necessary.

Hoping you will use the enclosed stamp, and honor me with an early reply, I am, Sir With great respect Yours truly Robt. Chalfant

Sweet Air Md April 7th 1862

My dear Sir:

In the Sun of Friday, I notice that the Trustees of [the] Rockville Academy advertise for a Principal for their School. I am desirous of obtaining a situation as Principal of some well-sustained Academy or Seminary. I have had some five years experience in conducting Schools of a high order. I am a Presbyterian Minister, married, a graduate of Jefferson College and of W.T. Seminary. I wish a permanent situation. What do you suppose will be [the] amount of Tuition fees? Or what do you think would be the whole amount of Salary? What is the condition of your Academy? What, its prospects? Will you [be] kind enough to give me whatever necessary information respecting your academy is desirable for me to know? If your inducements are such as I desire, I will visit you immediately. In regard to such business I am well aware that personal interviews are the most satisfactory.

Please answer immediately on the reception of this. With sentiments of high regard, I am, Yours truly, B. F. Myers

Baltimore April 7th 1862

Dear Sir

I the undersigned do hereby declare to you that I am A Teacher of Latin and Greek and have been teaching these two branches and the Mathematics and Several others branches in an high College for Several years please address me a letter as quick as possible to

Ter-tu-le-a-mus                      Gustav Wagner  
Tertius<sup>18</sup>

Dunkirk, Calvert County, Md. April 9th 1862

I observed in the Sun your advertisement for a teacher as Principal of the Rockville Academy. There is a young man raised here, who will close his Senior year at Dickinson College in June next who would suit you exactly, your time is a little too early for him however. He is rigidly temperate strictly moral—never told an untruth in his life, right on the national question. If you should not make a permanent selection on the 16th, or for a quarter only you may hear from him if you please. Very Respectfully James T. Chaney

P.S. In addition to what you wish taught he would teach French & German if necessary or wished.

Reference— John L. Dufief Esq

Annapolis April 11th 1862

Dear Williams:<sup>19</sup>

You are aware that I was appointed some time ago to the Rockville academy, and that I at that time reluctantly declined accepting, partly in consequence of the uncertainty as to whether the Legislature might not withdraw the State Funds, and partly because my situation here would probably prove more lucrative, though my duties here were quite onerous (the male & female departments of our school numbering considerably over a hundred pupils). Since then, however, things have somewhat changed. The question as to State funds is no longer a 'vexed' question. And our School House (we had an excellent school house) has burnt down. This, together with the failure of some of our usual sources of income, has hampered our finances, and I have therefore sometimes regretted that I did not accept the appointment of which Mr. Brewer notified me. I should have written to him to this effect after the burning of our school house, had I not supposed that the situation had been filled. By the papers, however, I perceive that no appointment has as yet been made.

I will therefore thank you to say to Mr. Anderson, (whose advertisement I saw only today) that I would now be willing to accept of the situation, if desired.

I hope that the reasons that I have assigned will relieve me from any imputation in your judgement of vacillation or proper want of decision.

Having corresponded with you before on the subject, I direct to you now, instead of Mr. A. himself, that you may either communicate to him orally my reasons, or lay this letter before the Trustees, as in your judgement, you may deem most advisable. Believe me ever your friend, & obt. svt. Ezekiel Hughes

Fallston April 12, '62

Dear Sir,

Your esteemed favor of the 10th inst. is before me. Upon consideration I have concluded not to be present at your examination if that is a sine qua non. Of course this will need no answer.

But as I do not withdraw my name as an applicant for the situation you offer, I deem it proper to speak with reference to a matter delicately alluded to in your letter, where you speak of the actions of men being apt to be disturbed by considerations which have no immediate connection with scholastic studies. Allow me here to avow my loyalty to the government of our Fathers, and the absence of all interest in the present rebellion. Without further comment, believe me Yours with esteem Robert Chalfant

Rockville, Apr. 13th, /62

Sir:

Enclosed you will find a letter addressed by Mr. Ezekiel Hughes to myself, to which in compliance with his request, I respectfully ask your attention and that of the Board of Trustees of the Rockville Academy. Mr. Hughes, as you will remember, was elected some time since, Principal of the school; and his reasons for not promptly accepting the situation will be understood by a perusal of the letter referred to. He is prepared now to come at once, and to assume the duties of the school when directed by the Trustees. Very Truly Yours R. M. Williams

West River Classical Institute Md.<sup>20</sup>

Rev. R. G. Chaney A.M. Principal

Gentlemen

Should Mr. J. R. Garrison, our assistant Teacher, be elected Principal of the "Rockville Academy," we hesitate not to say that he will discharge his whole duty with faithfulness & ability. Very respectfully, Rev. R. G. Chaney

Sir:

Your favor of the 8th Inst. was duly received. I wish to be an applicant for the situation as Principal of the "Rockville Academy;" but circumstances are such that I cannot be present at the examination and election on the 16th Inst. You will therefore please lay this letter before the Board of Trustees, as an application for the situation. If elected, I can take charge of the School without delay. I am qualified to teach the Greek, Latin, and French languages, the branches of Mathematics (Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying), all the usual English branches,—and Book-keeping by single or double entry. I am ready to be examined on any of the above branches. I enclose a letter of recommendation from

Rev. R. G. Chaney, A.M.—Principal of the “West River Classical Institute,” in which I am at present engaged as Assistant Teacher. I send also a Catalogue of the Institute, that the Board of Trustees may see the branches I am at present teaching. If any further recommendation should be deemed necessary; I can refer to Mr. L. Richards, A.M., Principal of Union academy, Washington, D.C.; also to Rev. B. N. Brown and Rev. J. W. Hoover of the Baltimore Conference, now in Washington.

Please write as soon as the election comes off, informing me of the result; and if I should be elected let me know when you would expect me to take charge of the School. Yours Very Respectfully J. R. Garrison

#### NOTES

1. Some schools simply closed, while others continued with reduced staff. At the Rockville Academy the assistant principal, J. Gibson Cannon, left to enlist as a private in the Confederate army only four months after the search for a principal described in this article. For more on Cannon see George M. Anderson, S.J., “The Civil War Courtship of Richard Mortimer Williams and Rose Anderson of Rockville,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 80 (1985): 121.

2. Minutes of the Rockville Academy (hereafter referred to as Minutes), 5 July 1869. They are now in the possession of the Montgomery County Historical Society in Rockville. The volume containing the pre-Civil War minutes long has been missing; extant minutes begin with the entry of 2 August 1866.

3. Richard Johns Bowie, *A Historical Sketch of the Rockville Academy* (Annapolis: George Colton & Son, 1870), p. 8.

4. Minutes, 6 September 1869.

5. James Wallace Anderson (1797–1881) lived near Rockville on a farm called Vallombrosa. Both his father, Dr. James Anderson (ca. 1770–1836), and his uncle, Richard Anderson (1752–ca. 1820), were among the original eight trustees in 1809. James’s brother, Dr. John Anderson (ca. 1805–1867), was its treasurer in the 1860s.

6. *Baltimore Sun*, 2 April 1862. The advertisement noted that the principal would receive an annual salary of \$400 plus three-fifths of the tuition fees and teach Latin, Greek, and mathematics.

7. I have discovered nothing to suggest that this Elbridge H. Gerry was related to the famous Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts (1774–1814).

8. For an account of Anderson’s refusal to sign the loyalty oath see George M. Anderson, S.J., “An Early Commuter: The Letters of James and Mary Anderson,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 75 (1980): 228.

9. On the large German-speaking population of Baltimore, see Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 157–68.

10. Davis, *Paper Upon the Origin of the Japan Expedition* (Baltimore: John H. Murphy and Co., 1860).

11. Davis, *The Day-Star of American Freedom: or, The Birth and Early Growth of Toleration in the Province of Maryland* (New York: C. Scribner, 1855).

12. Diary of John Abell Morgan, S.J., St. Aloysius Gonzaga Archives, Washington, D.C.

13. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, 19 February 1861. For accounts of the convention's later meetings, see *ibid.*, 20 February and 13–14 March 1861.

14. Boyd's *Washington and Georgetown Directory* (Washington, D.C.: Thomas Hutchinson, 1862) lists John F. Keenan as living at 335 B Street south, near the U.S. Capitol.

15. *Montgomery County Sentinel*, 21 August 1863, refers to Keenan as Colonel Keenan. His name does not appear in F. B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903). He may have held the title of colonel in a local militia, perhaps in an honorary capacity. Such was the case with James W. Anderson, whom Governor Lowe appointed a lieutenant colonel in the Maryland militia in 1850.

16. Charles G. Fisher was principal of the Parsonage School at Ellicott's Mills. The stationery on which he wrote described the school as "an English and Classical School for Boys" away from "the allurements and influences of the city." Tuition was from \$15 to \$25, with modern languages extra. School hours were from 9 A.M. to 12, and from 1:30 P.M. to 4. The description concluded with a statement by the former principal, Rev. C. Huntington, who explained that because of illness, he had transferred leadership of the school to Fisher, whom he commended to patrons as "a competent and faithful Instructor."

17. Chalfant's stationery provided another glimpse into the make-up of one of the small private schools of the 1860s and is consequently of considerable interest. Unlike the Parsonage School, the Fallston Academy was for both boys and girls. Located in the village of Fallston, it was nineteen miles from Baltimore and three from Bel Air, accessible by the mail stage from Magnolia Station daily, or the Baltimore and Bel Air stage tri-weekly. For students living at a distance, boarding was available with families in Fallston. There were three branches of study: English (grammar, geography, and arithmetic), natural sciences (philosophy, chemistry, physiology, and bookkeeping), and mathematics (algebra, geometry, and trigonometry). Tuition was \$15 for each of the two yearly sessions of twenty-two weeks each, beginning respectively on the first of May and the first of November. There was an extra charge for Greek and Latin. Hours were equivalent to the Parsonage School's.

18. The meaning of these Latin words in Wagner's handwriting is unclear; they are a jotting in the left-hand margin.

19. Richard M. Williams, a Rockville attorney, was married to James W. Anderson's niece, Rose.

20. At the top of Chaney's stationery is an engraving of the West River Classical Institute: a three-story building with two inset porticoes at the center, each with a veranda. A belfry surrounded by a balustrade sits atop the slanted roof that projects out over the third-floor windows. Students stroll between the building and outlying shrubbery.

# German Immigrants at Antietam

C. EUGENE MILLER

This contribution to the magazine began with a genealogical inquiry into the life of Erhard Futterer, an immigrant from Baden, Germany, who was severely wounded at the Battle of Antietam on 17 September 1862 as a soldier in the 20th New York Volunteer Infantry.<sup>1</sup> More than 125 years have passed, and few Americans know that the 1,200 native-born Germans who formed the regiment were Turners, German-American gymnasts.<sup>2</sup> These men had a strong devotion to their adopted country, organized their regiment early in 1861, and fought in several major battles during their two years of service.<sup>3</sup> At Antietam, however, in their charge toward Dunker Church led by Col. William Howard Irwin, the Turners reached their hour of glory.<sup>4</sup>

Confederate general James Longstreet compared the charge to a meteor that had lost its fire.<sup>5</sup> As the charge reached its climax, Gen. William Buel Franklin's Sixth Corps had 12,000 fresh troops on the field, with opportunity to support Irwin's men; a total Union victory could have been achieved. But the attack was not supported, and, because Irwin's brigade suffered over 200 casualties, it has been described as ill-conceived.<sup>6</sup>

The contribution of these German-American immigrants to the Union cause at Antietam has also received little attention because only a few of the documents written in German by participants in the battle have been translated into English.<sup>7</sup> Herman Bennecke, a member of the New York Turnverein's war council in 1861 who rose to the rank of captain in the 20th New York, was a participant at the battle. In a narrative poem, written in German, he described the events that took place on America's bloodiest day and detailed the 20th New York's role in the fighting. His lines of verse established that the regiment was a Turner regiment, that it led the entire Sixth Corps while crossing the creek, and that it came upon the field at the head of the second division's third brigade. Bennecke dramatically confirmed that Gen. William F. Smith ordered the regiment to engage the enemy and that Irwin, responding to Smith's orders, heroically pursued the rebels and pushed them beyond the Dunker Church. In describing this pursuit, Bennecke portrayed the excitement of the men of Evan Thomas's 4th U.S. Artillery as the Turner Rifles relieved the besieged battery. The reader can feel the determination of the Turner regiment as it crossed the Hagerstown Pike and moved abreast of the Dunker Church. Joined by the 33rd and 77th New York regiments, the 20th New York positioned itself in the manner Edwin Forbes rendered in his famous painting.<sup>8</sup>

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C. Eugene Miller is professor emeritus, Speed Scientific School, University of Louisville.

# Rekruten verlangt.

## Hauptquartier des 6ten Regiments der Maryland Volontaire.

Baltimore, den 12. Juni 1862.

\$13 — der Sold eines Monats — vorausbezahlt.

Ich habe das Commando des vorbenannten Regiments und die Controle der Rekruten in  
**Camp Hoffman, Lafayette Square, Nord-Fremontstr., Baltimore, Md.**

übernehmen und alles ist jetzt zur Aufnahme von Rekruten in Bereitschaft. Jeder wird jedem Rekruten  
geliefert, sobald er eingeschrieben und in's Lager gekommen ist. Dieses Regiment tritt mit der "bühlich gezogenen  
Musik," der besten jetzt gebrauchten Waffe, und den besten Anordnungen versehen werden.

Rente.	Monatlicher Sold.
1 Sergeantenmajor .....	\$21.00
1 Quartiermeister's Sergeant .....	21.00
1 Gemeindeführer's Sergeant .....	21.00
1 Feldwachtmeister .....	21.00
1 Tambourmajor .....	21.00
10 Erste Sergeanten, jeder .....	20.00
40 Sergeanten, jeder .....	17.00
80 Gefreite, jeder .....	13.00
20 Tambours, jeder .....	12.00
10 Trompeter, jeder .....	12.00
10 Fühltrier, jeder .....	14.00
20 Ordonnen, jeder .....	13.00
1 Musikführer .....	105.50
5 Musiker, jeder .....	34.00
3 Köche, jeder .....	29.00
5 Pferde, jeder .....	17.00

570  
 1  
 600  
 4  
 3  
 1  
 125  
 110  
 16

Rekruten werden jedem Soldaten von der Regierung frei geliefert und ihm \$3.50 pro Monat für Heide  
verwilligt. Er erhält, wenn entlassen, \$100 baar, ebenso Bounty Land, Contingenz und Pension, wenn im  
Dienst beschädigt oder verunzert. Die Summe von \$13, der Sold eines Monats, soll jedem Rekruten, nach der  
Bestimmung des Congresses, vorausbezahlt werden. Das Geseh findet auf dieses Regiment Anwendung aus der  
Bezahlung erfolgt daher.

Camp Hoffman ist ein freundlicher, gesunder Platz, mit guten Kasernen und vorzüglichem Hygieneverhältnisse  
versehen und liegt im Herzen der Stadt.

Col. Schley, der Commandeur des 5. Regiments der Maryland Volontaire welches gegenwärtig in Camp  
Hamilton, Helling Manor, Pa. stationirt ist, wird die Aufsicht zu führen fortfahren und für Rekruten, Heide,  
Transportmittel und Alles, was nöthig ist und zur Bequemlichkeit dient, sorgen, bis das Regiment völlig organisiert  
und rekrutirt ist. Er würde zu diesem Zweck von Gen. Grant, auf dessen ausdrückliches Verlangen, unter  
Instruktionen vom Kriegsministerium emanirt und bevollmächtigt und wird in dieser Eigenschaft fungiren, bis dieses,  
sowie das 4. Regiment völlig gebildet ist. Keine andere Organisationen als diese beieen sind autorisirt oder  
angenommen.

**Col. Wm. Louis Schley, 5. Regt. Maryland Volontaire,**  
Mofv. : Sup. der Maryland Volontaire.

A German-language recruiting poster calls for volunteers for the 6th Maryland Infantry, a regiment formed in Carroll County and Baltimore City, in June 1862, just months before the Battle of Antietam. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Those persons of German ancestry can be proud that the Turners played an important role in the Battle of Antietam. It was fortunate for the Union that these Turners were capable of translating quickly their skills of gymnastics into those skills of war which enabled them to help halt the Army of Northern Virginia at a critical period of the war.

“In der Schlacht am Antietam” appeared in 1893.<sup>9</sup> My English translation below is the first, I believe, ever to be published.

*In the Battle at Antietam*

The first ray of the rising sun breaks through the brightening grayness  
On to a new day; it sends its friendly beam far and wide over the quiet valley.  
The ray gently greets and invigorates the woods and fields; It awakens Nature,  
quietly and lovingly, from a soft slumber.  
The flowers’ buds open wide; they spread their sweet perfume.  
In the woods, a choir awakens, sending joyous sounds through the air.  
Not even the smallest plant nor the tiniest stalk, not even  
The golden fruit is unaware of the sun’s searching face;  
Her face reflecting in little drops of dew, which consecrate and  
Give pleasure, as heaven’s light warms earth’s new beginning  
With a gentle fresh breath and—as far as the eye can see—  
Stands the purest kind of sanctuary, curtain’d by the heavenly light.  
But suddenly, a thousand reverberating echoes resound in the woods.  
Near and far—drums and bugles call out their sonorous commands,  
“Form lines; set ranks!” In a blink of an eye, tranquility vanishes from the scene.  
As these foreboding military calls engulf the woods and valleys,  
Battalions are on the move, accompanied by pounding horses’ hooves.  
Line upon line of soldiers, set like planks in a fence, raise a thousand voices in  
one “Hurrah!”  
In this wild chattering, the damp ground opens with a vast explosion heard  
everywhere;  
It’s the batteries continuously belching until bugles ring out again.  
A stillness sweeps down; Quiet!—And on the field a cemetery is exposed,  
And to the open graves small, stiff, stretchers are rushed in;—  
It is the calm before the storm, a truce with but hollow hope;  
Each army uses this brief lull to take a deep breath. Suddenly,  
A Salvo! The battle’s terrifying renewal signal; and a fiery abyss  
Of screeching, crashing, exploding shells erupt through the valley;  
Like hail, this storm of shells, sickle-like, mows down the ranks  
Of men; So thick is its rain and bloodied is its course, that  
The valley is sowed with dead, strewn like fallen ripened fruit.  
Undaunted, the regiments storm forth; Oh! How they pursue their fate with bat-  
tle courage;  
And then bleeding they fall back, torn apart by iron and lead.  
Yes, the field of battle undulates, like a tornado howling at full speed;  
To and fro the furious winds of battle blow,  
And brave men fall, like a thousand crumpled stalks of corn.  
Flames, smoke, and black powder form thick, gray, clouds;  
The triumphant sun’s light vanishes more and more,

And where the struggle is the hottest, terrible death ensues.  
 And through it, the proud Union Banner, in full majesty, waves on high.  
 Opposing lines clash, hour after hour; soon the tongue of victory hangs in  
 bloody balance.

On the right and on the left, lines of courageous soldiers waver;  
 See troubled Burnside's Legion there in a long, wild, hot struggle;  
 Without limit of sacrifice it pays dearly for a single bridge.  
 See Sumner, whose brave Corps, surrounded by the Rebel, endures grave  
 punishment.

Watch Mansfield—a brave hero—as he drops and sinks in death.  
 Look to the right. Maybe a Victory there! Union men break through and storm  
 the wooded heights.

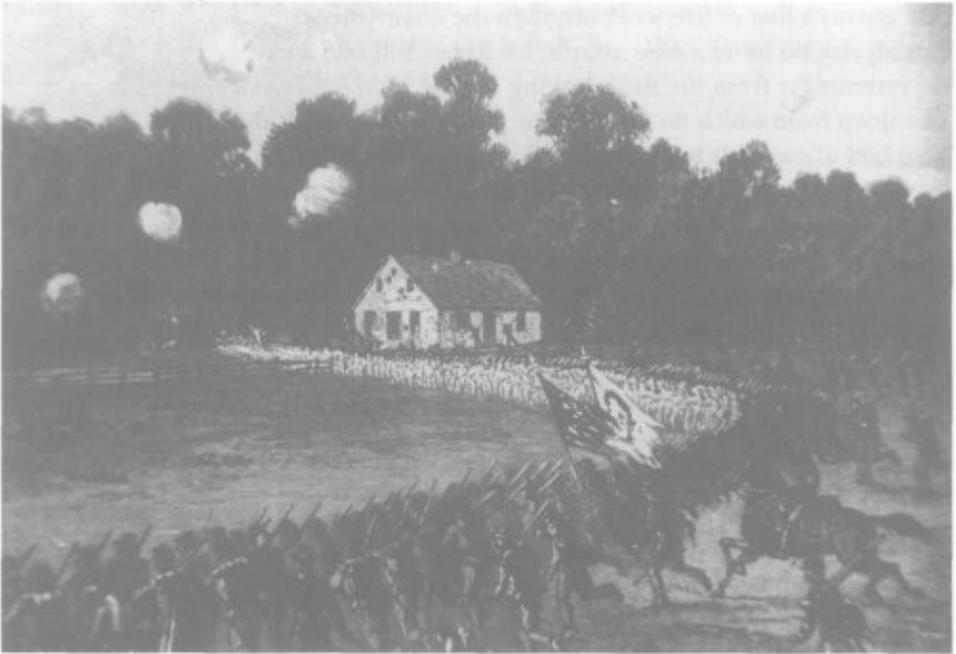
Victory! Victory! On that ridge of hills the Star Spangled Banner waves!  
 Joe Hooker's there; he turns the enemy lines; he drives the Rebel before him.  
 But no Victory! Joe Hooker falls in the charge; a lead ball rips at him; he drops.  
 The enemy masses fresh troops; they press against the Union's brave men.  
 And eighty of their cannons spurt hell into the Union ranks.  
 The valiant Corps is shattered; it wanes; the enemy has opportunity; he storms  
 forward,

And the Union line breaks; the men run; now the Rebel Yell  
 Fills the air. The Rebel presses on with all of his might.  
 But stopped by Sedgwick's men, he pauses; a fierce fight rages again,  
 And endlessly the Rebel feeds fresh troops into the fray  
 Until the Union's fragile wall crumbles under these repeated assaults.  
 Great is the blood-redness now; great is the danger; fear strikes; the day may be  
 lost!

But, Ah! In this peak of battle, a great welcoming of deliverance!  
 See those long lines; they are Franklin's bayonets. Ah! Hi!  
 See how they glitter in the flaming sun! — "Hurry! Hurry! Forward! This way!  
 This way!"

And again the order, "Hurry! Hurry!" Loudly, the General bellows,  
 "On the double quick." His call is heard and forward races the Sixth Corps.  
 There directly ahead is the Antietam Creek; the enemy can be seen from there.  
 "Through it! Through it!" comes the command, "No matter how deep it be,"  
 Again the command, "Through it! There's no time to build bridges boys!"  
 In the lead the Turner-Regiment is already climbing the far bank,  
 And through the water the brigade follows the Germans quickly—Battalion  
 after Battalion.

In the nearby woods stands the enemy assault column, deep and broad;  
 Loud and clear the excited General gives his order,  
 "Put that German Regiment to the front! Fix bayonets on the run!"<sup>10</sup>  
 The Germans roar back to him a hearty "Hurrah!," which echoes in the air with  
 "Charge! Move On! Forward! Press on! Thrust the bayonet!" And again  
 Another command is given, "Fire low today boys! Fire low!"<sup>11</sup>



Col. William Irwin leads the 20th New York in a charge toward the Dunker Church on 17 September 1862. From a sketch made at the time by battlefield artist Edwin Forbes. (Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* [New York: 1887], 2:646.)

And like a storm-swept stream, comes snarling out of its bank,  
 Flooding all before it, the Germans leading the brigade, carry  
 The assault, pressing hard upon the enemy; And they pursue him,  
 Charging successfully through a besieged Union battery.  
 The gunners' shouts are heard; Those who bravely stood their ground  
 Rejoice as they stand in their place of endurance, covered with smoke and black  
 powder.

"Give it to them!" A shout rises from the center line; and, over fence and stone,  
 The Germans go forth, bayonets slashing freely and "Hurrahs" belching forth.  
 Suddenly, a rebel cannon cracks; in a flash, the front line falls.  
 Far and wide, the field is covered with dead and wounded men.  
 But Union cannons crack back—and the German's leader calls again,  
 "Fire low!" and the brave boys in line fire low.  
 But this struggle cannot be entrusted to rifles alone;  
 It's the bayonet that must be trusted; it is a weapon true.  
 So forth with a loud "Hurrah," and in spite of deadly cannister feed,  
 The Germans surge on the enemy, gaining with great sacrifice, the prize of victory.  
 Their flag drops, falling upon the slain soldier who carried it;  
 But another hand retakes it, pressing forth the victory charge.

The enemy's line of fire weakens; then the enemy flees!  
 He can risk no more a new assault; his Rebel Yell dies away.  
 He retreats far from the field, leaving behind his troops to sleep;  
 The sleep from which no men awake; they can only await the bier;  
 That bed of ease; it's but a plain and simple stretcher which  
 Has carried many other brave men before; now it carries  
 An admonition to all the people in the land of the free, "Here I died, America's  
     Son, prepared you be as was I!"  
 The sun departs now, but her light which so friendly welcomed her ascent,  
     lingers  
 As it curtains this long battle, the brave dead, and the victorious army.

## NOTES

1. See C. Eugene Miller and Forrest F. Steinlage, *Der Turner Soldat: A Turner Soldier in the Civil War, Germany to Antietam* (Louisville, Ky.: Calmar Publications, 1988).

2. *Historical Journal: A Souvenir of the Centennial Celebration of the New York Turnverein* (New York: New York Turnverein, 1950), p. 11. Founded by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn at Berlin in 1811, German Turnerism was a philosophy of gymnastic exercises with physical, mental, and social objectives. Turners supported the abortive 1848 revolution in the German states. Before 1860 ten thousand Turners had sought refuge in the United States. The first American Turnverein was founded in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1848; the New York Turnverein was established 6 June 1850. See Henry Metzner, *History of the American Turners* (Rochester, N.Y.: National Council of American Turners, 1974), pp. 9–16, 41–42; *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia: National German American Alliance, 1909), pp. 737–47.

3. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), Part III, pp. 1412–13. The 20th New York regiment's field service ended 6 May 1863. After mustering out, the 20th was ceremoniously received in New York City on 10 June 1863.

4. Thomas W. Hyde, *Following the Greek Cross or Memories of the Sixth Army Corps* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1894), pp. 94–97. Miller and Steinlage, *Der Turner Soldat*, reprints photographs of the monuments at Antietam dedicated to the 20th New York, the Turner Rifles.

5. James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, James I. Roberts, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960 [orig. publ. 1896]), p. 254. See also Alfred H. Guernsey and Henry M. Alden, *Harpers Pictorial History of the Civil War* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 2:400.

6. See, for example, Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1983), p. 250.

7. Charles P. Lorch had translated articles from the German magazine *Bahn Frei*, published by the New York Turnverein. See Karl Schaltenbrand ed., *American*

*Turner Topics* (Detroit: American Turners, 1947), vol. 12, no. 3, p. 36. On the 20th New York, see "20th Regiment New York Volunteers Take Veterans Tour of Battlefields," *Lehigh Railroad Magazine* (New York, 1906), pp. 1–15.

8. Jacob D. Cox, "The Battle of Antietam," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols.; Secacus, N.J., 1983 [orig. publ. 1887]), 2:646.

9. See *Jahrbuecher der Deutsch-Amerik Turnerei* (New York: Organization des Nord Amerikanischen Turnerbund, 1893), band III, heft II, 72–74.

10. Bennecke wrote, *Es sprengt der General herbei und sein Befehl toent laut und weit: "Das deutsche Regiment voran! —Das Bajonett auf jeden Lauf!"* Bennecke references this quote to Gen. William F. Smith, who said in English, "Put that Germany Regiment to the Front! Fix your bayonets boys!"

11. Bennecke wrote, "*Vorwaerts faellt das Bajonett! Zielt tief heut' Jungens, haltet tief!"* Bennecke references this quote to Gen. William H. Irwin, who said in English, "Fire low today, Twentieth! Fire low!"

# Baltimore Rises from the Ashes: George Archer and His Step-Gable Schloss Building

IRMA WALKER

When Baltimore's Great Fire of 1904 was finally brought under control, 140 acres of the city's most valuable commercial properties and financial institutions had been reduced to rubble and ashes. The devastated area of the financial and commercial district included the blocks east of Liberty and north of Lombard streets, where the fire began and spread to blocks as far north as Lexington Street, between Charles and St. Paul streets, to the western embankment of Jones Falls and south to the harbor from McLure's to Union Dock, where it was finally brought to a halt. The fire started about noon on Sunday, 7 February, and, fanned by winds of 30 miles per hour in changing directions, ended only late Monday afternoon after having reached firestorm temperatures of an estimated 2,500 degrees.<sup>1</sup>

Among the ruins was the well-known Charles Street merchant-tailoring establishment of Joseph Schloss & Son. Using loans, the owners planned to rebuild on Lexington Street, on the land of the Central Savings Bank. The Schlosses, who maintained close ties with their European roots, decided to evoke that background by means of a step-gable structure.<sup>2</sup> This medieval style, brought to this country by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutchmen, but not widespread, could evoke professional reliability and craftsmanship and a sense of noblesse and restrained grandeur, as many German, Dutch and Belgian prototypes revealed.

Despite the pressing demand for architects, Schloss & Son was fortunate to find one who was interested in recreating Old-World style. This man was George Archer, a designer with an unquestionable reputation for imaginative and punctual work and one who excelled in satisfying his clients' needs and wants. Son of a private schoolmaster, Archer was a graduate of Princeton College. His professional career had carried him within two decades from draftsman to planner of churches, banks, elaborate residences, impressive business structures and educational facilities.<sup>3</sup> During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a time of rapid economic expansion marked by a growing appetite for architect-designed edifices, Archer, a pace setter, was foremost among the architects who experimented with successive stylistic revivals.

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Irma Walker, a native of Germany, studies German architecture and historic preservation.

Archer had been born in Churchville, Harford County, in 1848.<sup>4</sup> Whatever formal instruction Archer received in architecture, he scouted its growing place in academic learning in his adulthood. “The colleges are paying much more attention to the study of architecture each year,” he told an interviewer with the *Baltimore Sun* in 1893, “and there are some . . . which pay particular attention to it,” naming the University of Pennsylvania and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. While he insisted that “architects, like poets, are born, not made,” he admitted that “drafting is, of course, very essential, and the knowledge of mathematics one of the greatest qualifications,” as were the knowledge of engineering and practical experience.<sup>5</sup> To acquire these skills, he studied and worked with Baltimore’s city hall architect, George Frederick, which proved to be a professional stimulus that helped him become a highly competent designer.



George Archer, c. 1890. (From *Men of Maryland* [Baltimore, 1905].)

This greater interest of colleges in teaching architecture in the 1890s as compared to the 1860s, when Archer was college age, reflected the increased desire for architect-designed structures; the demand was surely the result of a Gilded Age boom economy that thrived at a time of industrial expansion. George Archer’s role in his capacity as architect of that period was twofold: he educated the general public to the advantages of an architect-designed building, that is, of getting a stylistically up-to-date plan that took into consideration the client’s lifestyle as well as his pocketbook. “He prepares designs . . . with that intelligent apprehension of wants and requirements of his patrons which renders his efforts so highly appreciated,” an 1890 evaluation reads, further praising the beauty and originality of his designs along with his practical and economical plans.<sup>6</sup> But Archer did more than that. A mover and doer, he helped bring about changes in the state’s architectural scene, including that of Baltimore, a city which had been “perhaps of all other cities (in the United States) . . . the farthest behind in regard to modern ideas of architecture,” according to an 1893 *Baltimore Sun* report which explained that “not until very recently has the city held an office building which was so constructed as to give its occupants the advantages of the day.”<sup>7</sup>

In the early 1870s, however, George Archer was still relatively obscure. Having come to Baltimore, presumably from Churchville, he supported himself with work as a draftsman, or an artist in Frederick’s office, using Division Street as his address.<sup>8</sup> But by 1875 his situation had changed. Now on his own, he joined the Baltimore chapter of the American Institute of Architects as associate and could



Schloss Building, 5 East Lexington Street, Baltimore, built in 1904 by George Archer. Photograph by Fred Shoken, 1983. (Courtesy Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation.)

afford to move into the heart of the city, to 25 North Charles Street.<sup>9</sup> It was an area that would remain his business address until his death—even after he and the younger Raymond Allen formed the architectural firm of Archer and Allen. Between 1880 and 1885 the *American Architect and Building News* recorded seventeen Archer plans for Baltimore structures, including designs for churches, businesses, warehouses, residences, and stables. Even earlier his home village gave him the opportunity to design a church; and Bel Air, as well as neighboring Perryville, boasted one of his churches by the early eighties. At the end of the century Archer's competence was undisputed in his home county, for in Bel Air alone he had designed two banks, a church and a residence, along with a country estate outside the town, each in a different architectural style.<sup>10</sup> Such accomplishments must have helped to put him on the list of desirable architects after Baltimore's Great Fire.

Apart from the destruction by fire of buildings he had designed,<sup>11</sup> Archer was one of the lucky downtown professionals who escaped unscathed. Fourteen years earlier he had moved his office into the new Central Savings Bank building, designed by Charles Carson, at the southeast corner of Charles and Lexington streets.<sup>12</sup> This structure survived the flames, the only one in the block bordered by Charles, Fayette, St. Paul, and Lexington streets to do so; its neighbor to the east, another Central Savings Bank property, perished.

If Archer's ease with new styles appealed to the Schlosses, his reputation as a businessman whose "splendid qualifications recommended him specially to capitalists," according to a Baltimore review, attracted the Central Savings Bank officers who provided the land and money for the new Schloss building in downtown Baltimore. They must have been impressed with the review's claim that "Archer's integrity is sufficient guarantee that all contracts are carried out faithfully and promptly." With such appraisals then as a talented designer and dependable businessman, Archer became the Schlosses' and the bank's choice for architect.<sup>13</sup>

The task confronting the designer was to make plans for a three-story commercial building of red brick with step-gable roof suitable for containing a first-floor salesroom, offices, cutting and sewing rooms, and sanitary facilities, the building to be erected on the twenty-seven-by-seventy-eight-foot lot at 5 East Lexington Street, adjoining the Central Savings Bank. Archer decided on a three-bay structure, Georgian at the ground level and Gothic inspired above; its brickwork was to be in Flemish bond, the foundation of granite and the trim of Indiana limestone.

Archer's plan, as it appeared in a 1904 Maryland Institute scrapbook, was slightly modified. The completed structure showed two basement windows, French doors and a plain transom above, as well as two metal-framed bay windows on the main floor, suitable for displays. The double door was framed by stone posts and lintel decorated with squares and circles and topped by a broken scroll pediment embellished with fruit and flanking a cartouche. Two rusticated pilasters separated the bays and, extending above the entrance, met the segmental stone lintels over three shallow-arched mezzanine windows. While keystones articulated these lin-

tels, pellet-studded brackets supported a cornice that served as a dividing line between the elaborate shop and its less ornate upper stories.

Archer continued to divide his facade with narrow horizontal stone bands. He illuminated the second floor with three eight-over-eight windows and framed them again with quoins, sills, and lintels above which he placed shallow, stone-studded brick arch designs. Limited by the gable, he centered his paired third-floor six-over-six windows, divided them with a stone post, and framed them like those below. But above the lintels he embellished them with a semi-circular stone and brick arch that encompassed both windows, and with a brick-circled stone diamond superimposed on a lateral brick fish-bone design. He trimmed the gable's steps with stone as well. Not only were the caps of stone but each riser sported two stone quoins. A central corbel, extending from the last row of steps to the terminating double-step, formed the base to the finial topping the whole structure.

Archer's facade drew primarily on continental step-gabled architecture; Archer's roof, however, in its Schloss-Building application, was the designer's innovation. To gain space, the architect adapted the earlier popular Second Empire style: he joined the gable roof in T-fashion to the mansard roof and fitted it like the gable with steps at both ends of the building's east and west elevation. The copper roof was unusual as well; for few others could boast of such beautiful and practical covers, which had the reputation of lasting for centuries. Crowning the Schloss establishment, the copper roof must have provided a splendid sight when new.

Not only did Archer's facade design capture the essence of a long-established business with old-world craftsmanship, his interior plan did so as well. The architect enhanced the deep salesroom with weathered oak beams and oak furniture, and installed a large fireplace at its end to create a feeling of comfort and even luxury. He placed fitting cabinets and a staircase beyond that fireplace, offices on a mezzanine and a balcony overlooking the premises below. Merchants and architect, however, paid attention not only to customers' well-being but to that of the workers as well. Cutting and sewing rooms on second and third floors were ventilated, and modern sanitary facilities installed, to serve not only present but also future needs.<sup>14</sup>

Despite Archer's conscientiousness and foresight, "future needs," unfortunately, or at least wants, have changed for the Schloss Building; its authentic gabling, still visible on the facade, are now hidden. Recent occupants covered over walls, beamed ceilings, and fireplace to create the matter-of-fact look preferred by modern business. The currently growing interest in restoring interiors, however, holds out the hope that eventually the formerly handsome interior will reappear.

Like a ray of sunshine, the Schloss Building rose as one of the first after the devastating 1904 Baltimore fire. Designed by the prominent local architect George Archer for the burnt-out tailoring firm of Joseph Schloss & Son, it embodies both Georgian and Second Empire features but is primarily noted for its step-gable, unique to downtown Baltimore in its application. Unlike other Archer-designed edifices, some of which either perished in flames or fell victim to the wrecking ball to make room for Charles Center, it still graces the heart of the city. A significant



Step-gable building dating from the late sixteenth century, Mittelstrasse 40, Lemgo, Germany. (Photograph by Irma Walker.)

architectural feature in Baltimore's business and government district, it is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

#### NOTES

1. Harold A. Williams, *Baltimore Afire* (rev. ed.; Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1979), p. 4.

2. According to David Schloss's obituary in the *Baltimore Sun*, 1 February 1943, David, son of Joseph and co-owner of the establishment, went to Europe annually.

3. *Twenty Years After: Class of '70, Princeton College: Record of Members No. 3, 1870-1890* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1891), p. 8. Questionnaire for Princeton University, *General Biographical Catalogue 1746-1916*, Class of 1870. Prepared by his father for college, Archer entered Princeton as a sophomore in 1867 and graduated in 1870. Alumni file card 5851, supplied by the Princeton University Archives, bears the notation "A.M. Princeton 1873."

4. According to Churchville Presbyterian Church's "roll of infants," George Archer was born 7 March 1848, baptized as the 206th child since 1741, and received as church member in 1863. His death on 6 January 1920, was recorded in the *Baltimore Sun*, 8 January 1920.

5. C. Milton Wright, *Our Harford Heritage: A History of Harford County, Maryland* (Baltimore, Md.: French-Bray Printing Co., 1962), p. 409; "Talks with Architects," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, 11 June 1893.

6. *Illustrated Baltimore* (New York: American Publishing and Engraving Co., 1890), p. 168. The publishers claim that their reports on Baltimore businessmen have authentic sources and are rendered accurately.

7. "Talks with architects."

8. Baltimore City directories, 1871-75. At 188 Division Street Archer is listed as draftsman in each year except for 1872, when he calls himself artist.

9. Architects' File: George Archer, Peale Museum, Baltimore.

10. Marilyn Larew, *The Town of Bel Air* (Edgewood, Md.: Town of Bel Air and Maryland Historical Trust, 1981), pp. 59-60.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 60. Among Archer's lost buildings was a four story brick-and-stone structure with a one-hundred-foot tower at the corner of Lombard and Hanover streets, designed in May of 1884 for the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

12. Actually, Archer had moved to that address as early as 1876 (called 52 Lexington Street at the time, because then Greenmount Avenue rather than Charles Street served as the dividing line between east and west Baltimore); he transferred his business to a Charles Street address while the new bank building was under construction.

13. *Illustrated Baltimore*, p. 168.

14. See Schloss building sketch in the Maryland Institute scrapbook.

# Maryland History Bibliography, 1991: A Selected List

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COMPILERS

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## Book Reviews

*The American Dream of Captain John Smith.* By J. A. Leo Lemay. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991. Pp. ix, 287. Notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

### The First American?

If you think that the white man should never have set foot on the soil of North America and that the world would have been better off if the Indians had kept their lands, then J. A. Leo Lemay's *The American Dream of Captain John Smith* is not for you.

Professor Lemay makes no bones about being a devoted fan of Captain Smith. "Smith had the good qualities that he respected in others, and was himself the most courageous, industrious, persevering, skilled, benevolent, and humane person in early Virginia. He had not the stuff of which braggarts are made" (p. 112). While men like John Winthrop of Massachusetts tried to create a "Modell of Christian Charity" in the New World, in part to counter Smith's radical notions of social order, "Smith looked forward. . . . He hoped to create a society where all people had the opportunity to fulfill their own personal ambitions in this world" (p. 212). In essence Smith was ahead of his time, a preview of the American to come. Indeed all of the terms that could be used to describe him (individualist, pragmatist, self-made) were as yet not known in Smith's day and would not gain wide currency in our language until nearly two hundred and fifty years later. So far ahead of his time was he in his vision of America and what Americans might become, that the world would have to wait for Benjamin Franklin before there would be any serious commentary on what made Americans different from and superior to their European counterparts (p. 87).

In a prose style that at times is encumbered by unnecessary references to what the author is about to prove (pp. 76, 143), has proven (p. 126), or is the first to point out (p. 201), Lemay makes a strong, eminently readable, case for his hero. For a convenient summary of his argument the reader should turn first to the short conclusion where Lemay reiterates that Smith was not a braggart, did not mistreat and causelessly kill Indians, but was an idealist, a humanist, kind, compassionate, a humanitarian, benevolent, in sum a noble character, universally competent. From Lemay's perspective Smith was a social visionary who thought American society should be less aristocratic and more egalitarian than Europe. "His vision of the transforming experience of America made him the first person to celebrate the American—for the American, Smith believed, should be a new and different kind of person" (p. 226). For Lemay, Capt. John Smith was the greatest single founder of the English colonies in America.

Is Lemay convincing? Is he right? Those are two separate questions, but despite the growing legions of Smith critics who say his attitude toward Indians was

atrocious, who argue that he could not have drawn two such splendid maps (Virginia and New England), and that no one person could have done all that he claimed to do, Professor Lemay has my vote. He is not only convincing, but to the degree that any historian can ever be right about the past, he seems to come closest to the truth as any one scholar could, given the surviving evidence.

The strength of Lemay's argument really lies in the work of Philip Barbour, who painstakingly compiled every known scrap of evidence about Smith as well as writing a first-rate biography in 1964 entitled *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (MacMillan & Co., 1964). With *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith* (3 vols.; University of North Carolina, 1986) in hand, Lemay could probe and reflect upon Smith's contributions in the way that previous scholars could not. In doing so he writes persuasively on Smith's role in defining by example what an American could be.

It is Lemay's contention that the dream of America advocated by Smith was radical for its day. In contrast to the poet John Donne—who disparaged a world in which “Prince, subject, father, sonne, are things forgot/ for every man alone thinkes he hath got/ to be a Phoenix, and that there can bee/ None of that kinde, of which he is, but hee” (p.33)—Smith saw a world in which men became “gentlemen” by working hard and treating people fairly regardless of station or status. He does so, not so much with bravado, but with what at times is self-deprecating humor. For example, take Smith's description of one fishing expedition where he found “in diverse places that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan, but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with” (p.110).

To Lemay, Smith not only understood what an American could be, he gave good advice that was not, and still is not, always followed. Smith argued that many of the virgin qualities of America (such as its forests) ought to be protected from over-development, that the Indians should be treated humanely and on terms that treated them as equals (or nearly so). Such an approach did not mean, of course, that the Indians did not have to give way to the settlement of the Europeans. On the contrary, Smith viewed the diversity of the Indian world as inferior to his own, and their lands available for the taking, if such “taking” were done through honest barter and negotiation. The key, of course, was what each side meant by barter and negotiation. Lemay makes it clear that Smith took the Indians on their own terms, but would not relinquish his dream of the New World populated by a new breed of individuals devoted to “more pleasure in honest industrie, then in . . . dissolute idlenesse” (p. 27). The Indians, in Smith's view of the world, had to give way to progress, but it was a progress that did not have to entail extermination, rather an accommodation that was at best represented by the marriage of colonist John Rolfe to the Indian princess Pocahontas. Smith pushed the horizons of his vision beyond the hierarchical elitist social structure of his day to a vision of a world in which Indians and Englishmen could have no part unless they adopted his philosophy of station derived from hard work.

In the end, Smith gained little from his efforts. As he pointed out in his last published work, the work of his hands had produced little personal gain. Alone,

despairing, and without children to comfort him, he died in 1631 at the comparatively young age of fifty-one or fifty-two without any personal stake in the New World he had so vigorously promoted. At the end he saw little hope: "The Winter's cold, the Summer's heat alternatively beat/ Upon my bruised sides, that rue/ because too true/ That no relief can ever come. . . ." (Barbour, *Three Worlds*, p. 393). He could not have been more wrong. His motto had always been "to conquer is to live." In his waning moments on earth, what Smith failed to realize was that his belief in the doctrine of work and example could prevail, that he was both prophetic and right when he wrote:

What so truly sutes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things unknowne? Erecting Townes, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue and gaine . . . finding employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: So farre from wronging any, as to cause posteritie to remember thee; and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise (p. 96).

EDWARD C. PAPPENFUSE  
*Maryland State Archives*

*Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744.* Edited by Carl Bridenbaugh. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992, [orig. publ. 1948]. Pp. xxxii, 267. Introduction, maps, notes, index. \$29.95.)

There is nothing new about the book except the publisher, but it is nonetheless valuable. Copyrighted in 1948 by the University of North Carolina Press, this edition of the *Itinerarium* is made available in a new printing with no changes either in the text or notes or in Bridenbaugh's excellent introduction. Dr. Hamilton's travel diary will continue as one of the most often-quoted sources in early American history, unmistakably useful and readable.

The *Itinerarium* is the diary of a journey taken by Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis (late of Edinburgh, Scotland) from his home in Annapolis to what is today Maine, and back to Maryland. He started out by horseback on 30 May 1744 at 11:00 in the morning, accompanied by his African-American slave Dromo, and returned on Thursday, 27 September, arriving in Annapolis at 2:00 in the afternoon, completing, by Dr. Hamilton's reckoning, 1624 miles. Hailed as "a delightful and authentic slice of mid-American life" by the late Adrienne Koch in the *New York Times Book Review*, and a "priceless" description of men and manners, "erudite and witty," by others, such judgments have been reinforced by continuing scholarly reliance on the diary. There are few studies of colonial urban life, of medical practice of the time, of social, economic or political development, or of early cultural activities published since 1948 which do not draw on Hamilton's observations to support other sources of information.

Hamilton's view of provincial America was shaped by his class consciousness and Scottish background. His commentaries were provoked by, to him, notable dif-

ferences between the new society and the old world, particularly the shift away from the traditional class structure revealed in the boldness of American interpersonal relations. As he traveled north, Hamilton was surprised by the underlying similarities of colonial societies in spite of their divergent seventeenth-century origins and variegated political institutions. Only upstate New York contrasted with what he saw as common characteristics. In language, architecture, aesthetic sense, and behavior, the Dutch deviated from British-American norms. Dr. Hamilton offered no explanation for the uniformity, but he does reveal the existence of extensive personal and family contacts that cut across provincial boundaries among the English-speaking population. Intercolonial connections are obvious in the contacts Hamilton made during the journey: of people with mercantile connections in New England who had lived in Maryland at one time or traded in the Chesapeake Bay area; of Massachusetts sons residing in Maryland; of New York relatives of Maryland merchants; of other travelers from South Carolina and Virginia he met in Boston or Philadelphia. Most were of the polite "better sort" and thus shared a culture of class and education, but there were others of "ruder" manners. Certainly such continuous contacts at these various levels of society helped to break down provincial isolation.

The diary is as much a commentary on Dr. Hamilton as it is on the societies he visited. We see the upstart lower classes through his eyes. He was intrigued and attracted by good-looking women and embarrassed by the accent and coarseness of the Scots tradesmen and tavern keepers. A convivial soul, he attracted like personalities—well bred aristocratic members of polite society—and shared their camaraderie, intellectual discourse, and smutty jokes. As he had been in Edinburgh, Hamilton was thoroughly accepted in the cultured urbane societies of the larger towns of North America. His longing to create a similar atmosphere in Annapolis led to the establishment of the Tuesday Club with a small coterie of local wits the following year.

Bridenbaugh's introduction stands as a significant essay on the importance of the diary as a literary masterpiece and its value for "accurate and comprehensive reporting" on colonial America. Bridenbaugh's original commentary does not need revision. However, a new edition of the work might have updated its extensive notes in light of more recent research or placed the editor's contributions to our understanding of colonial life and culture (Bridenbaugh died last year) in some perspective. A new introduction could have emphasized Hamilton's role in the intellectual and cultural life in Maryland and comment on the recent publications of his other writings: *The Records of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis*, ed. Elaine G. Breslaw (University of Illinois Press, 1988), and *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, ed. Robert Micklus, 3 vols. (University of North Carolina Press, 1990) as well as the music of the club in John Barry Talley, *Secular Music in Colonial Maryland* (University of Illinois Press, 1988). Certainly the publisher assumed (correctly I think) that there was a new audience for the travel diary following the appearance of these other Hamilton works.

The *Itinerarium* will continue to be a source of information for scholars of early American life, but it should hold a special attraction for those interested in colonial Maryland history. Hamilton's personality, interests, and idiosyncrasies, his food preferences, his comments on ferries and inns, his references to the African-American slave Dromo as traveling companion, his reactions to the people he met during his travels in Maryland as well as elsewhere, all convey a sense of what life was like for a sophisticated resident in mid-eighteenth-century Maryland. At all times he compared qualities in other places to his home province, sometimes favorably but usually with caustic effect. He was especially uncomfortable in the Chesapeake Bay climate, thinking it unhealthy and the cause of the high mortality, sickly complexions, and short stature of locals compared to those in New England. His earlier criticisms of the hurley-burley of Maryland politics were somewhat muted as he discovered similar "jarring" dissension elsewhere.

Hamilton lived in Maryland for almost twenty years (from about late 1738 to his death in 1756) and, in spite of his criticism, was very much a part of the community. He lived in Annapolis, practiced his physician's and apothecary's crafts in its environs, and married Margaret Dulany, daughter of one of the richest men in the province. His reflections are, therefore, artful commentaries on the Maryland he had adopted.

Happily, Dr. Hamilton's travel diary with its delightfully amusing and perceptive comments on early America is now available in this new printing to those who were not able to purchase it before.

ELAINE G. BRESLAW  
*Morgan State University*

*Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795-1821*. Edited and translated by Margaret Law Callcott. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Pp. xv, 407. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$39.95 cloth; \$14.95 paper.)

In 1794 Henri Stier, a wealthy and conservative Catholic, fled with his family from Belgium to escape the advance of the French Revolution into his native country. By 1803 all of the family had returned to Belgium, except for daughter Rosalie, who remained in Maryland, having married the planter George Calvert in 1799, when she was twenty-one. *Mistress of Riversdale* comprises the letters Rosalie wrote back to her family, as well as some they sent her in return, as they have been translated, edited, and compiled, with connecting narrative, by Margaret Law Callcott.

Those who are interested in the history of women and the family in early national Maryland and the local history of Maryland in this period will want to read this intriguing collection of letters. The life of Maryland plantation society, as well of that of the capital city, come alive in Rosalie Stier Calvert's letters. We learn who attended which dinners and dances, and who wore what. When the oldest Calvert daughter, Caroline, made her Washington debut in 1818, her mother enlisted the

help of her sister in Belgium to purchase the most stylish wardrobe available. The garments and accessories are described in lavish detail. Similarly, *Mistress of Riversdale* is a valuable resource for information about the home furnishings and gardens of the planter elite.

Women's historians will find Rosalie Stier Calvert both typical and exceptional for her sex and class. Temperamentally she was similar to many other plantation mistresses of the time. Her expressions of affection for her parents, husband, and children are conventional—affectionate yet restrained. Her pose of equanimity was shattered only by the sudden deaths of a nine-year-old son and three-year-old daughter in 1820. She had already borne the deaths of two other children (five more survived her), abandonment by her parents and siblings, and the emotional distance of her husband with remarkable composure, at least in her letters to her family in Europe.

Indeed, these letters are most revealing not about the emotional texture of family relationships, but about business dealings. When Henri Stier returned to Belgium, he left his daughter in charge of Riversdale—the home he had built, and his business affairs; she also served as custodian of the family's extremely valuable collection of paintings until it could be shipped back to him. Rosalie Calvert managed these complex affairs with a skill astonishing not only to many historians, but to her own family, as well. In 1816 her father instructed her to charge him with the “expenses of the person who helps me prepare my accounts.” She replied that she did it all “entirely by myself, without any assistance,” and she scolded him gently “for having so little appreciated” her talents (p. 319). Rosalie Calvert served as her father's agent in America, not only buying and selling property and stock in different banks but deciding which investments were most advantageous, explaining her rationale after the fact: “You will be surprised to hear that I have sold \$24,600 worth of 6 Pcts. to pay for your [Bank of] Washington shares, but here is the explanation” (p. 317).

Where was Rosalie Calvert's husband, whom we might have expected to take over management of his father-in-law's investments? Rosalie Calvert complained that her husband “has so much to do outside that he troubles himself literally with nothing in the house” (p. 304)—not even home construction or repair, or care of horse and carriage, and certainly not his wife's family's business affairs. Although Callcott describes it as a “good marriage,” there is little evidence from these letters of any sort of deep attachment between Rosalie and George Calvert. Rosalie Calvert said she would have been content with only two children, but even after her health began to falter, she continued to endure unwanted pregnancies. At the same time George was fathering another family with his slave mistress. For him this must have been a parallel family—each one had a daughter named Caroline (the mulatto daughter of that name was born first), and he manumitted and attempted to provide for his mistress and their children even before his death. Rosalie Calvert's letters give no direct indication of whether she knew of her husband's second family and her children's half-siblings, but from time to time she commented on the dissipation of American men, noting that “even among the

married there are few who are faithful to their spouses. . . . [I]n my whole circle of friends I am unable to find one whose conduct I could call above reproach" (p. 233). Earlier she had observed that "the power of a wife over her husband is boundless when she knows how to govern with moderation and method. If he slips away now and then, it is easy to bring him back. . ." (p. 114).

The general reader will be grateful to Callcott for the skill with which she has woven these letters into a fluid narrative. Academic historians may be somewhat disappointed. The editor has deleted passages she considered repetitive; some of the most interesting sections terminate in ellipses, and one cannot help wondering what has been omitted. The editor has also corrected some, but not all, of Rosalie Calvert's spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing "since her sentences and paragraphs are overly long by modern standards" (p. xv). Likewise, the editor's chapter introductions, notes, and conclusion better serve the need of the general reader than the academic.

JAN LEWIS  
*Rutgers University, Newark*

*The Very Quiet Baltimoreans: A Guide to the Historic Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Baltimore.* By Jane Bromley Wilson. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1991. Pp. xiv, 130. Index, illustrations. \$29.95.)

A number of unusual facts about burial customs are set forth in this volume. Robert Purviance (1734–1806), who supplied salt for Washington's army, has two grave sites in Westminster Cemetery. John Henry Alexander (1812–1867) was buried in Old St. Paul's cemetery, at his own request, at midnight. Rev. William Wyatt of St. Paul's Parish got into trouble with his vestry when he permitted the burial of a convicted murderer from the penitentiary.

A number of unusual memorial markers are described. Loudon Park contains a monument to the memory of five young newspaper boys who died when the steamer *Three Rivers* caught fire on 4 July 1924. The tomb of the Buchanan and Calhoun families in Westminster Cemetery is shaped like a pyramid.

Unusual epitaphs and numerous inscriptions are included. The writer Dorothy Parker left her estate to Martin Luther King, Jr., and after his death to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Her ashes are buried on the grounds of NAACP headquarters with the inscription "Excuse My Dust." The graves of Lorenz Jacobs and his wives Ursula and Elizabeth in Green Mount Cemetery are inscribed "Here is my man," "He is mine also," and "These both are mine."

This book is not a complete listing of every individual buried in Baltimore cemeteries, but it is an informative, readable history of Baltimore burial grounds. The opening chapters deal with Westminster Burying Ground, Old St. Paul's, Green Mount, Baltimore, and Loudon Park cemeteries. Ensuing chapters discuss national, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, African-American, and family cemeteries.

The last three chapters deal with crypt burials, the burial of strangers and the destitute, and vanished cemeteries.

The compiler has included much information on what has happened to many of the cemeteries (large and small) in the latter part of the twentieth century. Many bodies originally buried in smaller cemeteries were moved to larger ones. Laurel Hill Cemetery, an African-American cemetery formerly on Bel Air Road, suffered an ignominious fate: some remains were taken to rest in Carroll County, tombstones were crushed by a bulldozer, and the site was paved over to make way for a shopping center.

In addition there are a number of photographs of tombstones and maps of the larger cemeteries. A six-page bibliography lists the sources used by the compiler.

The foreword states that the book is intended as a reference work, a guide book, and as a leisurely way to view history. The compiler has succeeded admirably on all three counts. She states that cemeteries have been "destroyed by neglect, road-building, institutional expansions, housing, commercial growth and civic indifference." If the book will protect just one cemetery from these depredations, the compiler states she will have deemed it a success. Readers who find helpful information here will know it is already a success.

ROBERT BARNES

*Perry Hall*

*The Scent of Eternity: A Life of Harris Elliott Kirk of Baltimore.* By Donald G. Miller. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990. Pp. 730. \$31.95.)

Today the name of Harris Elliott Kirk (1872–1953) is obscure to all but a few Baltimoreans. Standard reference works in American biography and religion make no mention of the man who held one of the longest pastorates of Baltimore's clergy. But during his prime Kirk was widely regarded as one of the country's most gifted Protestant preachers. His more than fifty-year ministry at Franklin Street Presbyterian Church (1901–1953) and his involvement in the city's social life made him, in the words of Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University, "a Baltimore institution." According to the *Baltimore Sun*, commenting on the celebration of Kirk's fiftieth anniversary at Franklin Street Church, "the life of Baltimore is richer at many points because he has lived and worked here." Kirk commanded the attention not just of Baltimore's Presbyterians but of "the entire community."

In *The Scent of Eternity*, a former president of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, has written a detailed and full account of Kirk's life and career. Unfortunately, the biography is so full of facts and so skimpy on assessment that the drama and significance of Kirk's life fail to emerge. Kirk was born in Giles County, Tennessee, to parents impoverished by the Civil War. As a child he suffered through many bouts of sickness, partly the result of his premature birth. His parents' health was no better. His mother died when he was only four, his father when he was fifteen. These were not promising beginnings for anyone, let alone a man who would live into his eighties and pastor one of Baltimore's historic churches. After trying his

hand at real estate, Kirk eventually attended Southwestern Presbyterian University (later Austin Peay) to prepare for the ministry. Upon graduation, Kirk pastored churches in Nashville and Florence, Alabama, before accepting the call to Franklin Street Church at the age of twenty-nine.

Kirk thrived in Baltimore. In addition to his clerical duties (two sermons each Sunday), he conducted Bible studies for students at Johns Hopkins and the University of Maryland. He had a more formal arrangement with Goucher College, where he became a part-time professor of religion. Kirk was also deeply involved in the city's cultural life. He served on the board of trustees of the Peabody Institute, was a member of the Political Literary Club, and active in supporting the Enoch Pratt Free Library and Walters Art Gallery. Outside Baltimore, Kirk taught classes on a part-time basis for Princeton Theological Seminary and Union Seminary (Virginia). He also preached widely throughout the United States and in England. His literary output while in Baltimore was also remarkable, especially given his other responsibilities. Between 1916 and 1943, Kirk wrote eight books, the most notable of which was *The Consuming Fire*, published in 1919 by Macmillan.

Still, for all of Miller's attention to these many aspects of Kirk's life (and there are more), and for all of the author's obvious affection for his subject, the book falls flat. Miller never really goes beyond the sermons, the lectures, and the newspaper clippings to show why Kirk is important or why anyone should bother to read almost seven hundred pages on a little-remembered minister.

This does not mean that Kirk was insignificant. But his significance lies not in profound thought or exceptional accomplishments. Rather, the fact that Kirk had such a broad appeal in his day suggests that his thought and career illustrate well the tensions and dilemmas of twentieth-century white Protestantism. At a time when many historians are researching the decline of mainline Protestantism, Kirk would seem to be an ideal case study of that descent. For even though he was a Baltimore institution, by the end of his career the church to which he ministered no longer held the cultural prominence that it once had. After World War II a subtle but nonetheless significant shift occurred, and Kirk as well as other mainline Protestant ministers found that their religion was becoming marginal to American society. In Kirk, then, one finds the seeds of the Protestant establishment's decline. Unfortunately, Miller celebrates Kirk's career without looking at larger patterns in twentieth-century American culture.

D. G. HART

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*Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740–1789.* By Albert H. Tillson, Jr. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991. Pp. ix, 228 pp. Notes, index. \$30.00.)

Professor Tillson brings to the Appalachian frontier counties of present-day Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky the attention of a historian favorably dis-

posed to the social interpretation exemplified by Levi-Strauss and Isaac Rhys. His book illustrates its strengths and weaknesses.

Merits outweigh flaws. Tillson distills data from manuscripts in many collections (usually on microfilm and under William Preston's name) and from many printed sources. He provides a fresh, sound interpretation of the disorganized activities of the Tories of western Virginia, almost all of whom were common folk, and the generally restrained countermeasures of the patriotic elite. While admitting the effectiveness of the patriots, he is apt to describe them as authoritarian, rather than prudent. Although he does not link well the Loyal Land Company with the activities of James Patton between 1736 and 1752 and of William Preston between 1752 and 1782, Tillson does provide a satisfactory record of the latter's leadership without calling him either a hero or a monopolizer.

Flaws in this work sometimes result from trying to fit Transmontane Virginia onto a Procrustean bed fashioned by Rhys Isaac. For instance, Tillson does not recognize that until 1783 there was an accommodation between the colony's Anglicans and Presbyterians concerning the establishment of religion west of the Blue Ridge: the General Assembly authorized there Anglican Parishes, which in fact had Presbyterian ministers and vestries. Without defining the word elite, he strains, if he does not falsify, the different qualities of Preston and Col. Arthur Campbell, since the former was (despite rumors to the contrary) consistently a patriot after 1775 and the latter a separatist seeking different flags of convenience at different times. Making slight reference to the elite's possession of slave laborers and crops of tobacco, Tillson offers only statistics of land ownership to differentiate the frontier elite from their commonfolk neighbors. If enlisted men represented the common folk of Montgomery County, how does one account for their role in the disputed congressional election of 1792 (admittedly three years after Tillson's point of termination)? The county militia then demonstrated persistent deference to the elite by sealing off the county seat's polls from Francis Preston's opponents. Preston served his term before the House of Representatives decided against him in settling the nation's first contested election to Congress. Although Tillson discusses early settlements in Greenbrier County, Preston land titles in Kentucky, and the events before and after the Battle of Point Pleasant, his book's one map does not locate Point Pleasant, or any town, any Virginia county, or any part of the present states of West Virginia and Kentucky.

Despite these limitations, Tillson's *Gentry and Common Folk, 1740-1789*, is the best study of a neglected region that at the time of the American Revolution possessed the Continental Army's only domestic source of lead.

GEORGE GREEN SHACKELFORD  
*Blacksburg, Virginia*

*Lincoln, the South, and Slavery: The Political Dimension.* By Robert W. Johannsen. (Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge and London, 1991. Pp. xii, 124. Notes, index. \$19.95.)

A distinguished student of the Civil War's causes and political sources, Robert Johannsen here analyzes how Lincoln's political ambition affected his views on slavery and sectional conflict. Johannsen writes that, "nearly all [Lincoln's] public statements on the slavery question prior to his election as president were delivered with political intent and for political effect" (p. 7). Portraying Lincoln as a calculating party politician, Johannsen argues that Lincoln developed antislavery views in the 1850s to win Northern votes. Lincoln believed "it was more important to retain a strong and united support within the [Republican] party than to worry about Southern threats" (p. 113). Johannsen concludes that Lincoln's and the Republican party's antislavery position unnecessarily exacerbated sectional tension to fulfill party goals.

Divided into four sections, *Lincoln, the South, and Slavery* traces Lincoln's move from indifference toward slavery as a Whig Congressman in the 1840s to his belief in 1860 that American slavery had produced a "house divided" and doomed to fall. After the Whig party collapsed in the early 1850s Lincoln turned to slavery as an issue to build a new political base opposed to his Illinois rival, Stephen A. Douglas, and the Democrats. Johannsen maintains that defeating Douglas more strongly influenced Lincoln's thinking about slavery than did concern for the peculiar institution. In 1854, Lincoln joined the ranks of Republican free-labor politicians by attacking Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act as a conspiracy to extend slavery. Lincoln's 1858 Illinois Senate campaign against Douglas propelled him to national fame. Lincoln's support for slavery's ultimate extinction distinguished Republicans from moderate Democrats like Douglas, who by 1858 had broken with Southerners over admitting Kansas as a slave state. Johannsen writes that by 1860, "Lincoln knew . . . that [Republicans], could carry a national election without the support of a single Southern state" (p. 94). Acting on this knowledge, Lincoln ignored sectional reconciliation during the 1860 presidential campaign in order to win Northern votes. Johannsen believes that Lincoln's silence antagonized Southerners and accelerated the coming of war.

Johannsen focuses narrowly on Lincoln's speeches and political philosophy. He eloquently and concisely presents students of mid-nineteenth-century politics with a provocative interpretation of Lincoln's pre-presidential career. Students of Maryland will not find specific references to Lincoln's involvement with the state, yet scholars interested in Maryland's local consideration of Civil War-era political debates will find Johannsen's framing of those issues useful.

*Lincoln, the South, and Slavery* rigorously challenges Lincoln's popular image as a politician who somehow was above politics. Analyzing how ideas meshed with self-advancement gives us a more objective view of Lincoln. Johannsen also suggests that we reconsider Douglas's advocacy of popular sovereignty as a rea-

soned and reasonable solution to sectional conflict, reminding readers that it was Douglas, not Lincoln, who toured the South in the final days of the 1860 campaign arguing for peace.

Johannsen's study of Lincoln is apparently influenced by his earlier prize-winning writing on Douglas. Yet praise for Douglas leads Johannsen to exaggerate criticisms of Lincoln's motivation. Johannsen writes that, the doctrine of popular sovereignty's "simplicity was a major part of its appeal, and a principle reason why Douglas's opponents felt obliged to twist it into something sinister and dangerous" (p. 89). Similarly, Johannsen maintains that Lincoln did not share Douglas's "positive view of human nature" or "faith in the virtue of the people" (p. 91). While Johannsen's jabs at Lincoln do not detract from the substance of his argument, his attempt to de-mythologize Lincoln loses sight of the sincerity with which many Republicans, including Lincoln, opposed slavery's extension.

Johannsen implies that Republican political strategy brought on the Civil War sooner than Douglas's moderate approach would have done. In debunking Lincoln, Johannsen re-enters the moral and political debates of the 1850s. While Republican antislavery appeals helped push sectional tensions to the breaking point, did postponing or avoiding the Civil War offer a better alternative? The answer depends on the perspectives of the participants, slaveholders and slaves, Northerners and Southerners, soldiers and civilians—and on twentieth-century scholars' point of view. Students of Lincoln and the Civil War will find that Johannsen adds much fuel to the debate.

FRANK TOWERS

*University of California, Irvine*

*The Confederate Regular Army.* By Richard P. Weinert, Jr. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1991. Pp. 135. Illustrations, maps, two appendices, including a list of regular army officers and organizational chart, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Richard Weinart's book recognizes the contributions of the "regular" army of the Confederate States. The very existence of such a force, let alone any contribution it may have made, is little known. Readers of Civil War military history are generally aware that the Confederate Congress commissioned five Confederate general officers early in the war, but few are aware that there was any Confederate equivalent to the "old Army"—the U.S. Regulars. The Confederate professional soldiers were administratively distinguished from state military forces, and from volunteer and later conscript soldiers, by congressional enabling legislation passed on 8 March 1861. The "Act for the establishment and organization of the Army of the Confederate States of America" envisioned a force of over 15,000 men which actually amounted to a little more than 1,500 men. Half of these were officers, both staff and line. Most regular officers commanded the provisional forces familiar to us. The little-known regular units were at battery and company level. They were, in the author's words, of "virtually no tactical significance." The entire

force, even with a roster bearing such names as Alexander, Armistead, Beauregard, Jackson, the Johnstons, Lee, et al., was, also in the author's words, "only a footnote in history."

Footnotes are often the most rewarding parts of a book; can a book be made out of one? What this volume does, it does well. It is clearly written, generously illustrated, and includes excellent maps. The histories of the regular formations are probably definitive. Company A, 1st Confederate Regular Cavalry, the 1st Confederate Light Artillery Battery, Company C, 15th South Carolina Heavy Artillery Battalion, and the Corps of Engineers all saw service interesting and varied enough to please those who read and enjoy unit histories. Nor does the author lose sight of the larger military context enveloping these units in Tennessee, Louisiana, and in the defence of Charleston. In another area, however, Civil War military history would have profited if the author had developed a point he raised earlier in the book. He noted that

The Act of March 6 [1861] was deliberately conservative in forming a smaller military establishment than that of the United States, but adhering to the principles of military organization familiar to its Confederate authors.

I am intrigued by the words "deliberately conservative." Is this a description merely of the numbers and resources involved, or is there a larger point to be developed here? Were the Congress, President Davis and Secretary Walker of one mind in this? How "deliberate" was their conservatism? The author has worked downwards in his study, looking at the rank and file. Perhaps we could learn more by looking upward in the regular army hierarchy. What can explain the creation of Samuel Cooper's post as adjutant general? He seems to have performed his duties in good clerical fashion and is pictured in this book, but never appears otherwise. Is his appointment attributable to deliberate conservatism? He was, after all, the ranking general in the Confederacy. There is also Col. Lucius Northrup, another Confederate regular. His post as commissary general was certainly a vital one, and his performance has been much criticized. Perhaps his performance was at first satisfactory by "regular," conservative standards, standards that become increasingly irrelevant as pressures mounted. Or it may have been that he was simply incompetent.

In short, readers may wish this book, good in itself, had gone upward in the regular army hierarchy and deeper in analyzing basic Confederate military thinking.

BRANDON H. BECK  
*Shenandoah University*

*Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill.* By Hal Bridges. Introduction by Gary W. Gallagher. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991 [orig. publ. 1961]. Pp. xxi, 318. Notes, index. \$11.95.)

*Three Months in the Southern States, April-June 1863.* By Arthur J. L. Fremantle. Introduction by Gary W. Gallagher. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991 [orig. publ. 1864]. Pp. xxix, 329. Index. \$9.95.)

At the fifty-sixth meeting of the Southern Historical Association in November, 1990 there were no sessions on the Civil War. Random chance aside, it is hard not to suspect that there is a gulf between the concerns of professional historians and the interests of the American public. In a society generally unconcerned with its past, the Civil War has been and is the one topic in American history that excites broad public interest. This the University of Nebraska has recognized by republishing out-of-print secondary and primary works on the war such as the two books under review, one a 1961 military biography and the other an eyewitness account of the war in 1863.

Hal Bridges's *Lee's Maverick General* is a competent, standard-issue military biography of one of the Confederate army's corps commanders. Daniel Harvey Hill combined a deserved reputation for courage and hard fighting with an unfortunate tendency for irascibility, sarcasm, and speaking his mind; he was, in the language of the day, a "croaker." Impolitic and with few friends in high places, Hill was vulnerable in the political infighting among Confederate generals and leaders. The result was that after distinguished service in the east, especially during the Seven Days Campaign, Hill was made the scapegoat for Confederate failings at Chickamauga in the west and relieved of command. Bridges is a partisan of his subject, and in treating Hill's controversial actions at Chickamauga (and other battles) and his contentious relations with other Confederate generals (including Bragg and Lee) he provides a historian's brief to exculpate his hero. The result is the kind of minute examination of battle chronology that delights Civil War buffs.

Arthur Fremantle's *Three Months in the Southern States* is a justifiably famous source on aspects of the Confederate war effort ranging from anecdotes about rebel commanders to descriptions of social conditions on the home front. Fremantle, a colonel in the British army, was an expert military observer, and while he favored the southern cause (largely because he was so impressed with the fighting abilities and spirit of its army) he provided a clear-eyed view of the summer campaign of 1863 as Lee invaded Pennsylvania. His book is written plainly in diary form, and he rises to some eloquence in its climactic account of Gettysburg.

These reprints are not new or updated editions but facsimile reproductions. They are introduced with short essays by the Penn State historian Gary Gallagher which place both the subject and the publication in a slightly wider context. Given their reasonable price, they can be recommended as additions to the bookshelf of anyone interested in the War.

DAVID C. WARD  
*Smithsonian Institution*

*The United States Infantry: An Illustrated History, 1775–1918.* By Gregory J. W. Urwin; illustrated by Darby Erd. (London: Blandford Press, 1988; repr.; New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 1991. Pp. 176. Illustrations, select bibliography, index. \$14.95 paper.)

This book will have broad appeal both to military enthusiasts and to general readers of American history who find scant attention paid to military affairs in standard sources. This is not a set piece study of battles and strategy. Rather it is a survey of the role of the infantry as an institutional segment of American society. It joins an earlier, similar work by the author on the history of the cavalry. A chronological narrative, this work traces the development of American infantry from its origins in colonial militias down through the First World War. Though not footnoted and with only a selected bibliography, the book is a synthesis of recent thinking, based on sociological methods, by leading military historians.

The author concentrates on the organization and tactics of the infantry and the changes wrought upon those things by evolving technology. Particularly helpful to this reader was a cogent discussion of the numerous and confusing organizational changes experienced by the infantry and often alluded to in other works but never sufficiently explained. The author also keeps his reader apprised of the numerical strength of the infantry, a figure which fluctuated wildly over short periods of time, usually as Congress reacted to military crises by building up the army, then deflating it when the crises passed. An unfortunate implication of congressional parsimony was a chronically understrength infantry force during "peacetime," when the army nevertheless had missions to suppress various native peoples which required more manpower than Congress would admit. The author is also interested in the background and character of the officers and men who made up the infantry. He discusses the role of education (or lack thereof), immigration, social origins, and other determinants of the quality of the men who served in the infantry. Also considered is the interface between regular infantry and state volunteers during wartime.

Unlike many military studies, this one does not ignore the tools of the warrior's trade. Weapons, equipment, and uniforms all get their due.

The book is lavishly illustrated, which will broaden its appeal, and the well-selected graphics serve to enhance the book's informational content. Many illustrations are contemporary to the periods under consideration; starting at about the time of the Civil War, period photographs are used. Other illustrations are by modern military artists. The cover is graced by a full color vignette from Don Troiani's powerful painting of the 8th Wisconsin charging Confederate works at Vicksburg, under the eye of its regimental mascot, a bald eagle named "Old Abe." Also represented are, for the French and Indian War, works by Gary Zaboly, and for later periods work by the dean of American military artists, the late H. Charles McBarron, Jr. Unhappily, these paintings are reproduced in small, black-and-white formats that blunt their impact. The chief illustrations in the book are a series of thirty-two color plates by Darby Erd illustrating American infantry

uniforms from the Revolution through the First World War. Mr. Erd is a frequent contributor to the Military Uniforms in America series published in the *Military Collector and Historian*, the journal of the Company of Military Historians. While not as accomplished an artist as Troiani and McBarron, Erd adequately demonstrates the variety and appeal of military uniforms before modern times, though one can not help but notice that some of his figures' poses owe an unacknowledged debt to earlier published illustrations by George Woodbridge.

In all, the book is recommended for both the general history reader and the academically-oriented who seek background information on the military as an institution in American life.

ROSS M. KIMMEL

*Maryland Department of Natural Resources*

*Not in Vain: A Rifleman Remembers World War II.* By Leon C. Standifer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. Pp. xvi, 273. \$24.95 cloth.)

For combat veterans of World War II, *Not in Vain* will awaken old memories. Many may not want to remember. Leon C. Standifer, however, has analyzed the personal forces that motivated him to fight and to overcome fear. A Southern Baptist from a small town in Mississippi, Standifer entered combat with strong moral convictions. Several months with the infantry, however, and he began to question those beliefs.

In 1943, when Standifer was eighteen, townspeople told him, "If you wait to be drafted, you'll wind up in the infantry—just wait you'll see what kind of people are in the infantry." Drafted in August, Standifer eventually was transferred to the 94th Infantry Division at Camp McCain, Mississippi, as a rifleman.

Here Standifer's story really begins, because it was here that close friendships and serious preparation for battle took place. Once in Europe, Standifer's unit first spent three months keeping 25,000 Germans penned up in Lorient in Brittany. Standifer notes that German troops were not beasts, as American propaganda pictured them at that time, but quite human. He brings out a very important aspect of combat, and that is team loyalty; even when sent to a hospital with a high fever, Standifer fought to return to his unit. He had lived for almost a year among these men of the 94th Division. His unit was his home. Finally, describing the fierce fight at Nennig in January 1945, Standifer sharply etches the violence and terror of battle. His sudden killing of a German SS soldier in self-defense leaves him emotionally drained. In a field of frozen German corpses, he finds war at its worst.

This book will appeal to anyone who is interested in the European Theater of World War II. It will also appeal to anyone who has been in combat and wrestled with the ethical conflicts of war.

D. RANDALL BEIRNE

*University of Baltimore*

## Exhibit Reviews

Fred Wilson, guest curator. "Mining the Museum." The Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21210. Temporary exhibition, April 1992–February 1993.

In November 1989 the Maryland Humanities Council organized a conference entitled "Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage." The council asked participants to explore *how* we know what we know about the past: how scholars attempt to unveil the past through their search, selection, and interpretation of clues provided by old newspapers, texts, public documents, diaries, letters, oral histories, prints, paintings, photographs, and artifacts and implements.

Fred Wilson, guest curator for "Mining the Museum," an exhibit currently on view at the Maryland Historical Society, examines these same resources in a similar quest. Wilson has mined the collections of the society, hunting for the ores that contain clues to *his* history as an artist of African-American and Carib Indian descent.

The conference organizers and Wilson shared a second objective, however: to make the consumers of history and of museum exhibits aware of, attentive to, even suspicious of, the process of sifting and selection that precedes the writing of a history text or the installation of an exhibit. No text, no exhibit perfectly recreates the past; rather, they reflect the biases inherent in the sources and in the perceptions and experiences of the historian or curator.

Wilson's selection and arrangement of artifacts are thus deliberately provocative, designed to awaken the sensibilities of the museum visitor, to make him or her aware of the stories that have not been told, the experiences that have been ignored, the people who have been invisible even when they have been in full view.

One steps off the elevator on the third floor of the museum directly into the exhibit, confronting the Advertising Club's "Truth Trophy" and six pedestals. Three are surmounted by busts of Andrew Jackson, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Henry Clay; three support nothing but nameplates of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Benjamin Banneker. Leaving aside the irony of an advertising organization awarding a trophy for truth, where is the truth in our history if we speak only of Jackson, Bonaparte, and Clay but not of Tubman, Douglass, and Banneker?

In an area devoted to paintings and prints, Wilson employs a variety of techniques to draw attention to African-American figures considered marginal both by the artists who drew them and the curators who have exhibited them in the past. The caption of a landscape by Francis Guy identifies by name the anonymous slaves working in the fields. Prints and watercolors depicting Baltimore street scenes have been covered with semitransparent overlays; holes in the overlays highlight the African-American figures otherwise barely noticeable as part of the incidental

background activity. Spotlights focused on several portraits of white gentry families draw attention to the almost obscure African Americans who occupy the perimeters of the paintings. Recorded voices asking “Who washes my back?” and “Who calms me when I am afraid?” compel the viewer to confront the inhumanity of a society that often separated slave children from their parents.

Wilson powerfully employs the juxtaposition of traditional decorative arts museum objects with items of a similar medium which rarely find a home in an art exhibit. The case entitled “Metalwork 1793-1880” contains ten pieces of elegantly fashioned Kirk silver—and one pair of plain iron slave shackles. “Cabinetmaking 1820-1960” positions four ornately carved chairs in a semicircle facing a wooden whipping post. Museums traditionally celebrate the craftsmen who created elegant objects of silver and wood and the wealthy families who purchased them, rarely the artisans who fabricated the metal and wood items of daily use, and almost never the slave men and women whose resistance to bondage caused them to be shackled or whipped.

“Mining the Museum” occupies a relatively small space that is packed with a series of exhibit areas. Most—those described above and others—work very well; because part of their effectiveness comes from the stimulus to thought provided by the shock of the unexpected, they are best left for the viewer to discover independently. Others are less effective: they are too busy, assume too much knowledge on the part of the viewer to provide a context lacking in the exhibit itself, or confuse the message of the exhibit as a whole. A case containing arrowheads, for example, displays them exposing the surface on which their accession numbers are painted. Museums do, as part of their collections management process give every item in the collection an accession number and the process does thus reduce those objects to anonymous numbers—but curators give accession numbers to *every* item, whether made by Native Americans, African Americans, Anglo-Americans, or members of any other racial or ethnic group. The question of how museums process collections should not be confused with the larger questions of what they choose to collect and how they choose to display the collections.

Visitors will benefit by exploring the exhibits with the assistance of the leaflet, “Do You Have Questions About *Mining the Museum*,” available on the table next to the elevators. While “Mining the Museum” is an exhibit designed to challenge viewers to ask and answer their own questions about the objects on display and the reasons for their selection, there are no accompanying text panels to provide any context for choices Wilson has made. While the leaflet notes that “there are no right and wrong answers to the questions that the artist poses, it helpfully supplies information that “may help you answer some of your own questions,” including those of why Wilson chose to include a particular object or to group various items together.

“Mining the Museum” represents an unusual collaboration among curator Fred Wilson and The Contemporary (Museum for Contemporary Arts) and the Maryland Historical Society as sponsoring organizations. Its success depends as well upon a cooperative engagement by the viewer in the dialogue that Wilson has

created between objects and audience. Those who enter into the dialogue will be amply rewarded—and should never experience a museum exhibit in quite the same way again.

JEAN B. RUSSO

*Historic Annapolis Foundation*

Richard Flint, curator. “Mermaids, Mummies, and Mastodons: The Evolution of the American Museum.” Peale Museum of the Baltimore City Life Museums, 225 Holliday Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202. Temporary exhibition, December 1990–June 1992.

Museums in America did not develop in a linear fashion. Americans first transplanted the Renaissance-inspired “cabinet of curiosities,” diverse collections displayed in random fashion by amateur collectors. Beginning in the 1780s the Peale family established museums with collections arranged in scientific order; they were museums that managed through most of their existence to be both educational institutions and popular attractions. In the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century the Peale institutions in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York struggled unsuccessfully to compete with museums that offered more “popular” attractions and amusements and had little if any scientific and educational content. In the 1850s and 60s the cycle reversed and museums were established that were able to combine scientific, educational, and popular attractions in a manner that very much resembles our museums today.

The patriarch of the Peale family, Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), hoped to be best remembered not as the portrait painter and friend of George Washington but for what he regarded as his greatest cultural contribution to the new republic, the Philadelphia Museum. At the height of its popularity, the second decade of the nineteenth century, Peale’s “world in miniature” contained more than 100,000 objects, and had achieved national and international reputation. Donations of specimens came from local Philadelphia artisans and Pennsylvanian farmers, Southerners and Western settlers, merchants and ship captains, as well as eminent American and European scientists and London collectors—testimony to the museum’s wide influence and popular support. In the museum’s peak year of 1816 almost 48,000 people paid twenty-five cents for an admission ticket to view Peale’s exotic collection of birds, shells, minerals, fishes, and quadrupeds.

“Mermaids, Mummies, and Mastodons: The Evolution of the American Museum,” an exhibition curated by Richard Flint which ran from December 1990 to June 1992 at the Peale Museum of the Baltimore City Life Museums, succeeded to a great extent in recreating the content and *feel* of Peale’s Philadelphia masterpiece. (This in contrast to the 1982–83 exhibition on Peale’s Philadelphia Museum, curated by two of this nation’s most prestigious and wealthiest museums, which managed only to gather together a lot of original Peale museum objects and even more portraits that were never in his museum and failed miserably to historically recreate Charles Willson Peale and his world.) The heart of Flint’s exhibition was

a room meant to recreate the famous Long Room of Peale's Philadelphia Museum. Flint's Long Room contained objects of the original Peale collections: birds, minerals, insects, and ethnological specimens from the American West, Asia, and the Pacific islands.

But what made this a good historical exhibition was the way the room was designed. The cases looked like and were arranged much like Peale described them and depicted them in his famous painting of the *Artist in his Museum*. A mastodon skeleton—necessarily recreated of the approximate dimensions of the original—dominated the center of the room. Peale's portraits of Revolutionary war heroes were located high above the cases of specimens, meant to indicate the higher position of man in nature, but not to dominate a museum devoted primarily to natural history and not art. Even the lighting of Flint's Long Room was designed to look like and approximate the candle power of the gas lights Peale had installed in 1816 for his "Evening Illuminations" of the museum. Much of what had been in Peale's museum has been lost, dispersed, and destroyed, but within those limitations (and perhaps others of space and budget), Flint's room brought us much closer than ever before to the look and feel of this early American museum. It should, however, be noted that Flint in an effort to achieve some of the diverse flavor of an institution that lasted more than half a century resorted to some temporal flatness and historical inaccuracies. Tom Thumb's suit and a figure of the world's fattest man were not a part of the Philadelphia museum's "rational amusements" when Charles Willson Peale was in charge, although Peale devoted a section of his museum to *Lusus naturae*. And although Peale depicted the mastodon skeleton in the Long Room in his *Artist in His Museum*, it was not placed there in the Philadelphia museum. But changes over time are better explicated in history books (or should be) than in museum exhibitions.

There were three other rooms to this exhibition. An entrance room, utilizing broadsides and engravings of seventeenth and eighteenth-century European and English collections, introduced the visitor to the Renaissance concept of the museum as a cabinet of curiosities, its random collection of specimens in contrast to Peale's systematic arrangement along the latest (eighteenth-century) scientific lines (i.e., Linnean classification for animals). Other objects in this room which prepared the visitor for the Long Room were three of the remaining fifteen bones of the mastodon skeleton, original tokens, and admission tickets, original museum wall labels, and an original 1825 exhibition catalogue from the Peale Baltimore museum. Photographic reproductions of portraits of the Peales lacked vividness in contrast to the authentic objects in this area.

A third room included a hodgepodge of specimens, taxidermy tools, children's books, posters, and broadsides supposed to inform us of "the role of museums and related educational forces in the spread of knowledge from scholars to the general public" (exhibition brochure). The objects in this room were of too diffuse a nature to succeed in conveying any single impression or point of view.

A fourth room focused on the Peales' Baltimore museum and museums that competed with and succeeded it. The problem here is that so little remains of the

Baltimore Museum, both in terms of artifacts and description. Although the current Peale museum in Baltimore is still housed in the original structure, built in 1814 as the first building in America specifically designed to be a museum, too much interior reconstruction has taken place to allow us any definite impression of the original. In addition, we know very little about how Rembrandt and Rubens Peale arranged the museum.

“Mermaids, Mummies, and Mastodons” should serve as a beginning for exhibitions in which museums examine their own history. But it attempted too much, at times itself becoming what American museums were in the mid-nineteenth century: diluted and popularized, too dilated in focus and heuristically ineffectual. (Unfortunately there was no catalogue, which for an exhibition this ambitious and diffused might have pulled together the many themes and ideas presented in the four rooms.) A more successful approach would have limited the exhibition to the Philadelphia Museum (of which we know a great deal)—perhaps an impossible expectation for an exhibition produced by the Peale Baltimore Museum. Still, the Peale Museum and Flint are to be congratulated for enabling us to walk back in time into Peale’s world.

SIDNEY HART  
*Peale Family Papers*

## Books Received

A magnificent example of documentary scholarship, *The Letterbook of James Abercrombie, Colonial Agent, 1751–1773*, makes the records of a key player in Virginia's colonial history accessible to a general readership. In 1919 the Virginia Daughters of the American Revolution donated the original manuscript (virtually illegible) to the commonwealth. The work of John C. Van Horne and George Reese, this massive volume will be of interest to professional and amateur historians alike. Virginia deserves congratulations for supporting the editors and seeing the book into print.

Virginia State Library and Archives, \$40

Volume 18 of *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, covering the period September 1781 to July 1782, opens with Gen. Nathaniel Greene's movements against British forces in the Carolinas and the encirclement of Cornwallis at Yorktown; it also includes material that documents chronic congressional fiscal problems and the attempts of Vermont to conclude a separate peace with the British. The editors culled more than 22,000 documents in deciding which papers to publish.

Library of Congress, \$37

Richly illustrated (in both black and white and color), the National Park Service's new handbook, *Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, vividly recounts how the canal came into being, its engineering achievements, and the social life that developed along the waterway in its heyday. One can now visit and walk along the canal with renewed appreciation for the contributions the C&O made to American technology and transportation. The volume belongs in the NPS's series of popular studies in industrial history. About 100 pages in length, it contains a guide for further reading and an index.

United States Department of the Interior, \$4.50

In *Chronicles of a Virginia Family: The Klomans of Warrenton*, Erasmus Helm Kloman, Jr., tells the story of a family whose emigrant ancestor, Felix Kolman, left Germany for Maryland in 1837. One of the emigrants's children, William Christopher, belonged to the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland and served in the Confederate army as a surgeon (Maryland Germans typically sided with the Union); another son, Edward Felix, rode with Col. John Singleton Mosby's partisan rangers in Northern Virginia (where the Helms had settled). The author's father graduated from the University of Maryland medical school in 1910 and served in the 29th Division during World War I. A lively, discriminating account of a family with ties on both sides of the Potomac.

Heritage Books, \$18.50

## Letters to the Editor

*Editor:*

I have to thank—and admire—Mary Markey and Dean Krimmel for their exhaustive work in pinpointing the location of Poe’s “other” Baltimore home in Mechanics Row, Wilks Street (now Eastern Avenue), in their investigative piece on “Poe’s Mystery House: The Search for Mechanics Row” in the winter 1991 of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. It does indeed appear that, in my “Poe Tour of Baltimore” (*Maryland* magazine summer 1974), I chose the wrong block as well as the wrong side of the street for the location of the house.

The authors seem to lend credence, as I did, to the reminiscences of the lady known as “Mary” who was quoted in an article in the March 1889 issue of *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* (“Poe’s Mary” by Augustus Van Cleaf) to have claimed she was a childhood sweetheart of Poe’s and to have lived in what is now Little Italy, on “Essex Street” (apparently meaning Exeter Street). It had always mystified me why, if as I thought, Poe lived round the corner from Mary—who I assume lived on the *west* side of Exeter north of Eastern Avenue (borne out by the fact that she said she lived next door to her landlord, a Mr. Newman, and the 1827 city directory lists a Lawson Newman living at that location)—she clearly stated that Poe always walked on the other side of the street on his way home. This statement makes perfect sense if Markey and Krimmel are correct and Poe lived round the *other* corner, and not behind Mary’s house.

On the other hand, I would question their conclusion that Poe’s house was located at the *eastern* end of Mechanics Row, next to the Harford Run canal (now Central Avenue), if we accept Mary’s claim that she and “Eddy” Poe waved handkerchiefs at each other from their garret windows. There indeed may be merit in Markey and Krimmel’s hypothesis of taking the known residents of the row as given in the city directory, then assuming that a census-taker might go from door to door down the row, and so come last to the house where Poe lived with his aunt, Maria Clemm. However, hankie waving between the west side of Exeter Street and a full block away seems unlikely.

Christopher T. George  
*Baltimore*

# Notices

## UNDERGRADUATE ESSAY PRIZE AWARDED

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society congratulates the winner of the third annual undergraduate essay contest, Sandy M. Shoemaker of Goucher for "A City Upon a Hill": Baltimore's Civil Rights Movement, 1935-55." She will receive the prize of \$250. The deadline for next year's contest is 30 June.

## PARKER GENEALOGICAL CONTEST

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

1. Entries must be typewritten or in printed form and include an index.
2. References to sources from which information was obtained must be cited.
3. Entries will be judged on quality of content, scope and organization of material and clarity of presentation. Decision of the judges will be final.
4. Entries for contest for any given year must be mailed prior to 31 December 1992 to Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.
5. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the author.

## NORRIS HARRIS GENEALOGICAL SOURCE RECORD CONTEST

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

1. All entries must be submitted in typewritten or published form and include an index if not arranged in alphabetical order.
2. Entries will be judged on scope, originality of the project, volume, and value to the genealogical researcher.
3. Entries must be original work, i.e., never before abstracted for public use, or published in any other work, serially or otherwise.
4. Entries should be submitted to the Norris Harris Genealogical Source Record Contest, c/o Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument

Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, and must be received by 31 March 1992.

5. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the entrant.

#### PARKER AND HARRIS PRIZES AWARDED

The Genealogy Committee of the Maryland Historical Society herewith announces the 1991 winners of the two contests for the best genealogical works received in the society's library during the fiscal year 1991-92.

The first prize in the Sumner A. and Dudrea Parker contest for the best work on Maryland families was awarded to J. Rieman McIntosh for *Genealogy and History of the Rieman Family of Baltimore descended from Daniel 1755-1829 a native of Germany* (1986). The second prize was awarded to Norris Eugene Stoner who compiled and edited *Our Stoner Family, 1732-1991. The Family of Jacob Stoner "II" (1781-1836) of Botetourt County, Virginia and Some Other Descendants of his Grandfather Jacob Stoner "I" (1731/32-1804) of the Spring Garden Farm, Frederick County Maryland* (Second edition, 1991).

The Norris Harris prize for the best source record book on Maryland was awarded to Rosemary B. Dodd and Patricia M. Bausell, who edited *Abstracts of Land Records Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Vol. 1 (1662-99)*. It has been published by the Anne Arundel Genealogical Society. Second prize was awarded to John W. Powell, who compiled *1850 Census, Anne Arundel Co., Md. including Howard district*. It was also published by the Anne Arundel Genealogical Society.

#### EVENTS AT HISTORIC ST. MARY'S CITY

Maritime Heritage Weekend will occur on 19 and 20 September, 11 A.M. to 5 P.M. There will be sea chantey music and demonstrations of maritime crafts as well as a special children's activity area for the "Half-Shell Sailor."

Experience the celebration of a successful tobacco harvest on 10 October, 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. at the "Harvest Home Celebration at Maryland's 17th-Century Capital." The "Grand Militia Muster at Historic St. Mary's City" will feature the flavor of hearth cooking, the sound of musket fire, and all of the museum's attractions including the Maryland *Dove*.

The lead coffins project, which is slated to begin in October, is \$100,000 shy of the funds needed to make it Maryland's most significant archaeological dig. For more information about the project, contact the Historic St. Mary's City Foundation, at Box 24, St. Mary's City, Maryland 20686.

#### ORDNANCE MUSEUM FOUNDATION ESTABLISHED AT ABERDEEN PROVING GROUND

To assist in saving valuable pieces of history, an Ordnance Museum Foundation at Aberdeen Proving Ground hopes to raise enough money to build a 74,000-

square-foot addition to the existing museum. The foundation, according to executive director Mr. Edsel A. "Dean" Docken, Sr., has been incorporated by the state of Maryland and has received tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service.

Docken noted that the foundation has a fund-raising goal of \$4.5 million.

Charter memberships in the foundation will be available through 31 December 1992. Individual charter memberships are available for \$100, while corporate charter memberships are available for \$5,000. All checks should be made payable to The Ordnance Foundation, Inc. and mailed to the foundation at P.O. Box 688, Aberdeen Proving Ground, MD 21005. Donations are tax deductible.

#### CANDLELIGHT WALKING TOUR OF HISTORIC CHESTERTOWN

On 19 September, from 6 to 10 P.M., sixteen eighteenth-century homes will open their doors and welcome visitors to enjoy the interiors of these private residences. Contact The Historical Society of Kent County, Inc. at 410-778-3499 for further information.

#### EVENTS AT THE FREDERICK COUNTY LANDMARKS FOUNDATION

Join in celebrating Oktoberfest on 17 and 18 October with a juried craft show, plenty of German food, a Biergarten, a German Band, and an open house of the Schifferstadt architectural museum. For more information call 301-663-3885.

#### TOBACCO BARN ANTIQUES SHOW TO BENEFIT ST. THOMAS' PARISH

St. Thomas' Parish invites you to attend their thirty-third annual antiques show and sale on 25 and 26 September from 11 A.M. to 8 P.M. and on 27 September from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M. For information call 301-627-8469.

#### GOUCHER COLLEGE OFFERS NEW PROGRAM IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Goucher College's Center for Continuing Studies will offer a new adult evening program in historic preservation. Hailed as a "landmark in historic preservation in the United States," the ten-course program is the first of its kind to be offered in the country.

For more information phone Leslie P. Litchenberg, Media Relations Specialist, at 410-337-6126.

#### EXHIBITION AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

"1492: An Ongoing Voyage," a quincentenary exhibition opened in August. It explores the issues surrounding the dramatic meeting of two separate and complex parts of the world from 1492-1600.

## Picture Puzzle

For a change of pace this issue's Picture Puzzle shows an institution outside of Baltimore. Where is this location, and approximately when was the photograph taken?

The summer 1992 Picture Puzzle shows Hancock, Maryland awash on 18 March 1936, in what some call the "ultimate flood" in Maryland. The Potomac rose almost fifty feet above regular levels in some areas and swept away most of the bridges spanning the river. In Washington the Lincoln Memorial was surrounded with sandbags as a precautionary measure.

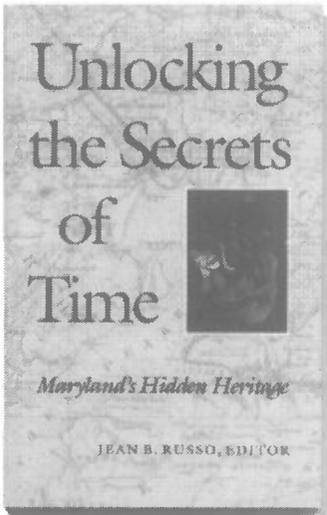
Congratulations to the following individuals who correctly identified the spring 1992 Picture Puzzle: Carlos P. Avery, Brig. Gen. J. Albert M. Lettre, Albert Morris, Wayne R. Schaumburg, and Joseph Wiesenfeld.



# Unlocking the Secrets of Time

## *Maryland's Hidden Heritage*

edited by JEAN B. RUSSO



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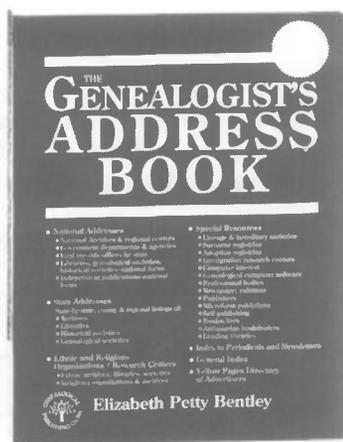
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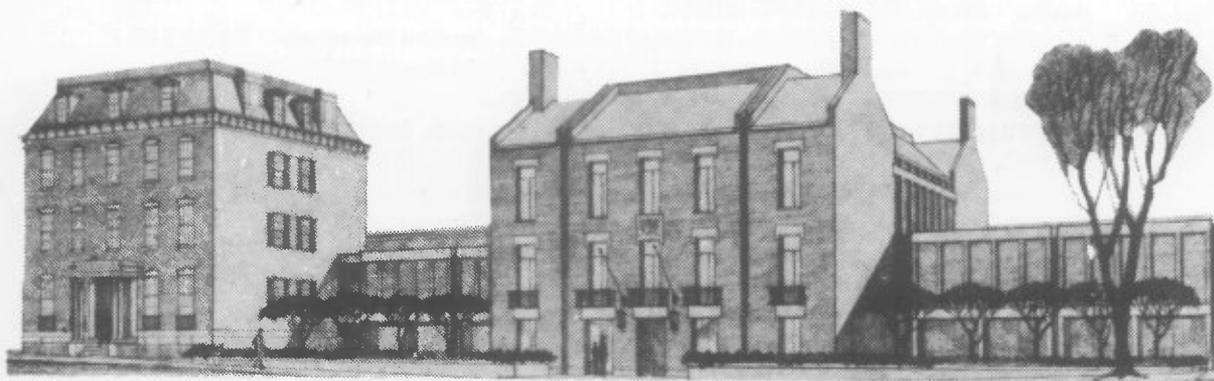
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## Maryland Historical Society Publications List Best Sellers

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