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# *Historical Magazine*



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Founded 1844*

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# MARYLAND

## *Historical Magazine*

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## *Just Another Day in Publishing*

Managing Editor Pat Anderson and I were working late one evening when it happened. Our security detail was preparing to close the building, and we were trying to put the finishing touches on this issue before they chased us away from our desks. It was a Thursday, and we had already missed an episode of "Your Maryland" that I had earlier recorded on WYPR (the program airs on Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.) and one I dearly wanted to hear and have not heard yet—"The Music of Point Lookout."

All of our pre-press is now done electronically in our offices, and we were checking the digital photographs for size and resolution. We had nearly finished Robert W. Schoeberlein's article on "Maryland's Shame" when I inadvertently blew up one of the photos on the computer screen. Pat let out a shriek. There before us were several men, patients in a mental health facility in the 1940s, in a condition not normally seen on these pages. We spent several minutes laughing at ourselves and at the situation, and vowed to throttle the author next time we saw him. Just then the guards blinked the lights.

The next morning we faced the question of what to do. The magazine had already been laid out. If we decided to pull the photograph, we would have to re-lay the entire issue, and it was already well behind schedule. That practical consideration was not overwhelming but it did force us to address rather than avoid the problem. Is frontal nudity on anything other than a marble statue suitable material for the *MdHM*? That prompted a full editorial discussion the next day. Book Editor Donna Shear weighed in with strong arguments against publishing the photograph—it was unnecessary, having been described in the prose and might offend surviving family members. Pat, too, leaned against publication on grounds of, well, we just don't do those things.

I argued that, while those objections were well taken and well argued, the photograph should be published. It was a photographer's effort, as part of a reform movement, to show the dismal conditions in which Maryland housed its mentally ill citizens. This sad photograph is, of itself, an artifact, a document, and it accurately portrays those conditions. The *MdHM* presents different views of Maryland history, but it also records the elements of that history as they come to light. The photograph should appear unaltered. Editor Shear, giving not an inch of ground, shot back that to do so would be puerile, exploitative, and deliberately inflammatory.

We were still in an uneasy state of indecision when, guided no doubt by Providence, Rob Schoeberlein himself walked in the door. A devoted historian and

thoroughly likeable man, as anyone who has ever sought his assistance will attest, he is also deeply committed to mental health reform and to discovering Maryland reform history. Rob explained that he had intended the photograph to appear next to one taken in 1931, thereby demonstrating how conditions and treatment had deteriorated after nearly two decades of budget cuts. We had not positioned them together in the original layout, but once we did everything seemed to fall into place. The photographs in combination are far more powerful than words can describe. (They now appear together on page 60.) All was logical and well. The photograph would run in the article. Then Rob went one step further, explaining that the photograph in question was never actually published in the *Sun's* "Maryland's Shame" feature. It was not the historic document that I had thought it was—no one had ever seen it.

In the end we compromised and decided to run the photograph with a few more blackouts than the photographer intended. That compromise preserves both our dedication to history and the *MdHM's* tradition of decorum. We hope you agree with our decision, but if you do not, at least know by virtue of this brief discussion that very few things are easy in this business. In publishing, there are no "normal" days.

R.I.C.

## Cover

### *Lizette Woodworth Reese (1856–1935)*

Pictorialist Emily Spencer Hayden took this photograph of acclaimed poet and author Lizette Woodworth Reese. Reese, a native and life-long resident of Waverly, taught literature for more than forty years at Western High School. She wrote her first verse at the age of seventeen and subsequently published her first collection, *A Branch of May*, in 1892. A self-described member of the "old school of the Victorian period," Reese wrote romantic poetry and nostalgic memoirs. Upon her death in 1935, H. L. Mencken predicted that she would endure in local memory as long as Edgar Allen Poe. A *New York Times* survey of poetry rated her sonnet, "Tears," as one of the greatest ever written. (Maryland Historical Society.)

# “The Papists . . . have shewn a laudable Care and Concern”: Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Slave Religion in Colonial Maryland

BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY

In the early 1750s, a slave named Richard fell ill at the plantation of his master Thomas Reader in St. Mary's County, Maryland. As Richard's condition worsened, the worried owner asked if he should send for an Anglican clergyman. Reader, who was a vestryman of All Faith Parish, had instructed his slaves in the Anglican faith and had taken for granted that his slaves were Anglican. Consequently, he was stunned when Richard refused the offer of Anglican assistance and instead requested that his master send for a Catholic priest. In spite of Reader's opposition, word of Richard's request reached the local Jesuit priest, possibly through the Catholic overseer who worked on Reader's plantation. The priest could have been excused for ignoring this request from the slave of a well-placed Anglican. Since 1751 an anti-Catholic and anti-proprietary faction in the Lower House of Assembly had been seizing every opportunity to stir up trouble for Catholics. This faction hoped to dispossess wealthy Catholic landowners while also weakening the proprietary government that traditionally protected them. Rising tensions on the colonial frontier between the British and French governments added to the woes of Maryland Catholics, whose loyalties consistently came under scrutiny in times of conflict with Catholic France. Despite these unfavorable circumstances, the priest wrote to Reader and asked his permission to visit Richard, who “desires my Assistance to prepare him for his last End.” Reader's reply is not recorded, but it seems unlikely that he allowed the Jesuit to minister to the dying bondsman. Instead, Reader bitterly complained to the assembly that his “Negroes are perverted and turn'd Roman Catholics, unknown to him.”<sup>1</sup>

The story of the slave Richard suggests that the Catholic Church and the Church of England at least in theory competed for slaves' souls in colonial British America. One aspect of the competition included what economists might term supply. How seriously did Catholics and Anglicans take their responsibility to Christianize the slaves? In other words, did Catholics and Anglicans supply slaves

*Dr. Hardy is the director of the Maryland Historical Society Library.*

with an equal opportunity to become Christians? This question has some relevance for the long-standing historiographical debate over the conditions of slave life in different areas. The first part of this essay addresses this debate by comparing the attitudes of Anglican and Catholic clergy and laymen regarding their responsibilities to instruct the slaves in the tenets of their respective faiths and provide access to the sacraments and rites of their particular churches. The other aspect of the competition between the Catholic Church and the Church of England for slaves' souls involved what economists might term demand. Why might slaves have found one Church more appealing than the other? The second part of this essay will explore that question.

Some fifty years ago, historians began searching for the origins of the racism that was becoming a major political and social issue in the United States. Latin America, by contrast, seemed to them a land relatively free from prejudice. Beginning with Frank Tannenbaum, historians argued that this difference could be traced back to the colonial period. Latin American slavery, they argued, was less severe than British slavery, pointing to several factors that ameliorated the harshness of enslavement. First, Roman law, which was used in a modified form in Latin America, recognized slaves as human beings with legal rights to marry, own property, and receive manumission. The Spanish and Portuguese governments protected these rights and insisted that slave owners not physically abuse their slaves. By contrast, English common law regarded slaves as chattel property with no legal rights, and the English government left the treatment of slaves entirely up to the owner. Additionally, Iberians had a much longer history of mixing with other races than did the English, who were much less tolerant of miscegenation. Finally, the Catholic Church played a significant role in improving the situation of Latin American slaves by regarding slaves as the spiritual equals of whites, insisting that slave marriages be treated as sacrosanct and encouraging their manumission. The Church of England, by comparison, did little to improve slaves' lives.<sup>2</sup>

The work of Tannenbaum and his followers sparked a heated debate over the status of slaves in the Americas and stimulated a tremendous amount of research.<sup>3</sup> In recent decades, however, historians have delved into other topics relating to slavery. They have applied the techniques of quantitative analysis to try to determine the actual conditions of slaves' lives and have used social science methods, particularly those of cultural anthropology, to uncover the factors and processes which have shaped African American culture. In the process, they have restored slaves to their rightful place as active participants in shaping their own lives and culture.

The work of these historians calls into question the legitimacy of comparing slavery in Latin America and British America. Basic factors such as working conditions, profitability, and climate determined the quality of slaves' daily lives. The percentage of African-born slaves in the population, the ethnic backgrounds of

the slaves, and the size of plantations all affected the development of African American culture. Consequently, law, church, and government played lesser roles in slaves' lives than historians had previously argued. Many slaves in the Caribbean, whether in English or Spanish colonies, raised sugar, a physically demanding crop best cultivated on large plantations in brutally hot climates. The horrendous demographic experience afforded slaves little opportunity to establish families. Given the profitability of their economic activities, however, sugar planters could easily afford to buy replacements for their dead workers, leading to a constant influx of new slaves from Africa and consequently to relatively strong survivals of African cultural forms. By contrast, slaves in the English mainland colonies, especially north of the Carolinas, benefited from a milder climate and less demanding crop routines and lived on smaller plantations. Mainland crops, with the exception of rice, were not sufficiently profitable for the planters to easily afford replacement slaves. Instead, they had to ensure that their slaves received sufficient nutrition, shelter, and clothing to remain healthy and reproduce. Consequently, mainland slaves lived longer, raised families, and eventually established extensive kin networks. They had closer contact with whites, and their culture tended to mix West African and European practices.<sup>4</sup>

In the debate over the nature of slavery in the Americas, the two sides take different positions regarding the role of religion in the treatment and experiences of slaves. One side argues that it was one of several important factors, while the other side argues that it was less important than environmental and economic factors. Colonial Maryland provides a unique opportunity to compare the roles of the Catholic and Anglican Churches in an environment where other factors affecting the treatment of slaves—crop, climate, law, and government—were equal.

The great importation of slaves into the Chesapeake colonies did not begin until the 1680s and 1690s. Therefore, any study of slave religion in colonial Maryland must of necessity focus on the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The Church of England and the Catholic Church operated under quite different situations during these years. Until 1692 the Maryland assembly had not singled out any church for status as the established church. Several Anglican ministers had served in Maryland prior to 1692, supporting themselves by planting tobacco and receiving voluntary contributions from their congregations. Most of the clerics did not stay long, and the weakness of the Church of England frustrated many Protestants. In addition, some of the Protestant elites resented the favoritism Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, showed Catholics. In 1689 these disgruntled colonists, calling themselves the Protestant Associators, seized the opportunity the Glorious Revolution in England afforded and overthrew Lord Baltimore's government in Maryland. In 1692, a royal governor arrived from England, and the assembly passed an act establishing the Church of England as the state church of Maryland. The jus-



*The Slye family chapel at Bushwood, St. Mary's County, c. 1900. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

tices of the peace and the freeholders laid out thirty parishes, the sheriffs began collecting a tax of forty pounds of tobacco per taxable person for the support of the Church, and the vestries began recruiting ministers. The final establishment act, passed in 1702, did not require attendance at Anglican services but did require that all white births, marriages, and deaths be duly recorded in the parish register.<sup>6</sup>

By 1692, as the Church of England formally organized in Maryland, the Catholic Church had already existed for nearly sixty years, although it never benefited from status as the established church of Maryland. Instead, the priests, mostly Jesuits, owned and operated plantations, using the profits to support the mission. With the establishment of the Anglican Church, however, the situation of the Catholic Church deteriorated. The biggest setback came in 1704, when the assembly forbade any celebration of Mass. (The assembly modified that provision some months later to allow Catholics to celebrate Mass in private homes but not in public chapels<sup>7</sup>). Despite worship restrictions, the Catholic population grew at a slightly faster rate than the overall population. The percentage of Catholics in Maryland's population increased from 7.0 percent in 1710 to between 9.0 and 9.9 percent in 1763.<sup>8</sup>

The Anglican Church stood, in some ways, in a much more favorable position than the Catholic Church, but that better position did not necessarily translate into a greater concern for the spiritual condition of the burgeoning slave popula-



*Prefect Apostolic John Carroll believed Maryland's Catholic slave owners neglected the spiritual care of their slaves. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

tion. On the whole, the Catholic Church appears to have achieved slightly greater success in ministering to slaves' souls, judging from the attitudes towards slave religion exhibited by the institutional churches, especially the clergy, and Anglican and Catholic slaveholders.

Based on John Carroll's report, historians have sometimes argued that eighteenth-century Maryland Catholics ignored the spiritual condition of their slaves.<sup>9</sup> Carroll, the Maryland-born superior of the Catholic priests working in the United States, complained in 1785 that Catholic slaveholders in his native state paid little attention to the religious education of their slaves.<sup>10</sup> However, the historical value of using Carroll's statement to condemn colonial slave owners is questionable. First, Carroll left Maryland at age thirteen in 1748 and did not return until the eve of the American Revolution, following the papal suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. His experiences with Catholic masters and slaves came during and after the Revolutionary War—years in which the Catholic population fell. In these same years master-slave relationships suffered from severe disruptions because of British attempts to foment a slave uprising. Additionally, many planters switched from raising tobacco to grain.<sup>11</sup> Given the suppression of the Jesuits and the deteriorating state of the Catholic community, it stands to reason that Carroll found Catholic masters neglectful of their slaves' spiritual lives in 1785. His comments, however, did not necessarily reflect the attitudes of Maryland's colonial Catholics.

Evidence from the colonial period further discredits John Carroll's statement. Only one priest in colonial Maryland is known to have commented on masters'

attitudes, and he expressed views contrary to Carroll's. Joseph Mosley, an English-born Jesuit, served on both the Eastern and Western Shores in the late colonial period. He did not think highly of slaves and described them as "a stubborn, dull set of Mortalls that do Nothing but by driveing." Nevertheless, he wrote to his sister in 1774 that "the Negroes that do belong to ye Gentlemen of our Persuasion; & our own, are all [Christi]ans and instructed in every [Christi]an duty with care."<sup>12</sup>

The careful attention paid to slaves' religious lives was not a recent development at the time Mosley wrote. Nearly sixty years earlier, in 1714, the Jesuit superior William Hunter petitioned the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, the missionary arm of the Catholic Church, for the right to allow Catholics to marry people who had not been baptized. According to Hunter, although Catholic slave owners usually had their own slaves baptized, they often could not find baptized spouses for their bondsmen, particularly with the influx of slaves directly from Africa in the early eighteenth century. Hunter recommended that Catholic slaves be allowed to marry unbaptized bondsmen. They could then continue to enjoy the sacrament of marriage in the Catholic Church, rather than being forced to marry without the Church's sanction or to forgo marriage entirely. Hunter's petition indicates that even at this early date, slaves belonging to Catholic owners received baptism, and it demonstrates that the Catholic Church in Maryland regarded slave marriages as important, even though provincial law failed to recognize those same unions.<sup>13</sup>

Rites of passage such as baptism and marriage are considered sacraments in the Catholic faith, and the priests regularly provided access to them regardless of race or social standing. The only two surviving parish registers, which date from the 1760s and 1770s, include many slave baptisms. Joseph Mosley's Eastern Shore register, in fact, records 235 slave baptisms compared to 179 white baptisms.<sup>14</sup> Baptism alone, however, is not enough to show that slaves were committed Catholics. In the antebellum Church, the rate of baptism among the slaves of Catholic masters was high, but the baptized slaves tended to be Catholics in name only, failing to attend Mass or marry in the Church.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, Catholic slaves in colonial Maryland frequently married in the Church. On the Eastern Shore, slaves accounted for virtually the same percentage of Catholic marriages (58.9 percent) as they did baptisms (56.8 percent), suggesting that most Catholic slaves did marry in the Church. Joseph Mosley carefully noted the names of the bride and groom and frequently the names of the two or three official witnesses to marriages required by church law. In at least two cases, Mosley obtained dispensations for slaves to marry who were more closely related than church law allowed.<sup>16</sup>

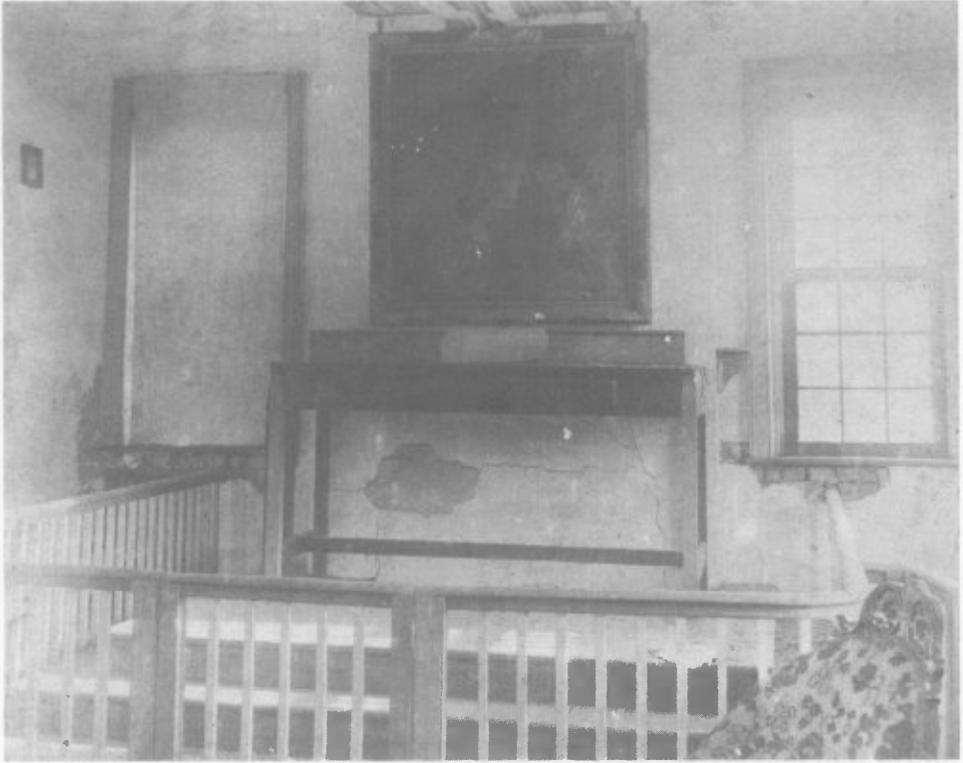
Catholic slaves apparently also had access to the final sacrament in a Catholic's life, the last rites (or extreme unction) as seen in the example of the Jesuit priest who tried to attend to Thomas Reader's dying slave Richard. Little evidence regarding last rites survives, but more is known about Catholic funerals. Catholic

slaves were often buried with the appropriate ceremonies, at least among Joseph Mosley's congregations. Nonetheless, although slaves accounted for nearly three-fifths of the baptisms and marriages at which Mosley officiated, they accounted for fewer than two-fifths (37.8 percent) of the funerals. Mosley presided at only forty-two funerals for slaves on the Eastern Shore, compared to sixty-seven services for whites. Of the twenty-four funeral sermons Mosley noted in his diary during the colonial period, only one was for a slave, a child belonging to James Tuite, a wealthy planter.<sup>17</sup> Whether it was Mosley's decision not to preside at slave funerals, or the preference of the slaves themselves, is not clear.<sup>18</sup>

The Jesuits owned few slaves until layman James Carroll's 1729 bequest. Of these thirty-one bondsmen, slaves such as Tomboy and Jerry already had "a sence of Christian duties," and Carroll asked the Jesuits to instruct all the slaves "in the Christian doctrine."<sup>19</sup> By 1765, the Jesuits owned 192 slaves, and they normally made sure that their slaves were, as Carroll had requested, well-instructed in the faith.<sup>20</sup> The Jesuits also realized that Catholic owners had to treat the slaves well if their religious message was to have any impact. As George Hunter, the Jesuit superior, observed in 1749, "Charity to Negroes is due from all[,] particularly their Masters. As they are members of Jesus Christ redeemed by his precious blood, they are to be dealt with in a charitable, Christian, paternal manner." Such treatment, concluded Hunter, would "at the same time [be] a great means to them to do their duty to god, & therefore to gain their souls."<sup>21</sup>

*Compton Chapel, Prince George's County, c. 1900–1910. (Maryland Historical Society.)*





*Compton Chapel interior, c. 1900–1910. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

The Jesuits expected Catholic slaveholders to instruct their slaves, lead them in prayers, and supervise their moral development. On Sundays and holy days, Catholics were to attend Mass if possible. By the 1760s, most Western Shore Catholics could attend Mass at least twice a month. Eastern Shore Catholics, due to the dispersed nature of the mission, could attend Mass only once every four to eight weeks. The priests would hear confessions before the Mass.<sup>22</sup> On Sundays or holy days, when Catholics were unable to attend church services, the Jesuits recommended that “all Masters & Mistresses . . . have publick prayers, catechism, or some spiritual readings in their families, and procure that all their servants & slaves be present.”<sup>23</sup>

In their sermons, the Jesuits frequently reminded their parishioners that God would hold them accountable for the slaves’ spiritual lives. Joseph Mosley (although he praised Catholic slaveholders’ treatment of their slaves in letters to his sister) twice lashed out in sermons delivered to the Newtown congregation in St. Mary’s County. They had failed to instruct their “ignorant children & servants” in the Catholic faith. Another Jesuit, John Lewis, in 1761 preached a sermon in Annapolis, probably at the home of Charles Carroll, the richest Catholic and one of the largest slave owners in Maryland at the time. Lewis warned masters and mis-



*Mary Digges Lee, c. 1758. Her father insisted that the slaves she took to her marriage be allowed to attend Mass. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

tresses of families about treating servants and slaves “with contempt & loading [th]em with injurious language.” He insisted that masters meet their obligations “to watch over [the slaves’] Souls, to see that they frequent ye Sacraments, that they are punctual at their Prayers, that they neither learn nor retain any vitious habit.” Masters were, concluded Lewis, to ensure that the slaves were “instructed & comply with all ye duties of a Christian.”<sup>24</sup>

Lewis may have chosen to deliver this sermon at Annapolis because the Annapolis Carrolls, of all the major Catholic slaveholders in Maryland, seemed the least concerned about their slaves’ spiritual condition, judging from an incident in 1769. Henny, a twenty-year-old slave, was engaged in an adulterous affair with an overseer. The Carroll family’s chaplain insisted that they break up the affair by removing the slave to another quarter. Charles Carroll of Carrollton reluctantly acquiesced, not considering the slave’s morals any of his business. The incident prompted Carroll to criticize not the adulterous lovers but the interfering priest. Priests were, complained Carroll, “troublesome animals in a family.”<sup>25</sup>

Other Catholic slaveholders took a far greater interest in their slaves’ spiritual welfare. Ignatius Digges of Prince George’s County, a kinsman of the Carrolls, accepted responsibility for ensuring his slaves would have access to Catholic services. When he was apprenticing a mulatto slave named Jack to a carpenter in 1771, Digges wrote into the contract that the slave be permitted “to go on Sundays and Hollydays to Church, when the said Ignatius Digges shall Direct.” Jack’s status as a mulatto raises the possibility that Digges may have taken a special interest in

This Indenture witnesseth that Ignatius Digges of Prince Georges County and Province of Maryland Gentleman doth bind his Slave mulatto Jack to William Nicols of said County Carpenter to learn his trade as a Kitcher, as a Carpenter and Joiner, and with him the said William Nicols after the manner of an apprentice to serve from the day of the date hereof for and During the Term of four years next coming; During which term the said apprentice his said master shall fully fully give and all his lawfull commands Obey, and further the said Ignatius Digges boundeth that in case the said apprentice should be sick that he will take him home at his own expence, and the said William Nicols shall procure and provide for him the said Jack sufficient meat Drink Appoynted Lodging, and all necessary Tools for Learning his Trade. The said William Nicols is also to pay his Levy, and permitt the said apprentice to go on Sundays and Holydays to Church when the said Ignatius Digges shall Direct. The said Nicols further agrees that he will not During the Term aforesaid carry or permitt the said apprentice to go out of the Province in any way whenoff the parties have hereunto sett their hands and Seal this the thirty first day of July Anno Dom. 1771

Witness -

David Crauford

Ignatius Digges

Wm Nicols

Apprenticeship agreement drafted in 1771 between Ignatius Digges and William Nicholls in which Digges' slave Jack shall have permission to attend church. (Maryland Historical Society.)

him as a possible kinsman, but other evidence indicates that Digges was concerned about all his slaves. Before allowing his daughter Molly to marry a Protestant, Digges required his future son-in-law to agree to allow any slaves Molly brought to the marriage to practice Catholicism.<sup>26</sup>

Although Ignatius Digges' agreement with his son-in-law is the only explicitly

*An ADDRESS to Serious Christians  
among our selves, to Assist the Society  
for Propagating the Gospel, in carry-  
ing on the Work of Instructing the Ne-  
groes in our Plantations abroad.*

**T**H E Design of the two follow-  
ing Letters, which have been  
lately sent to our Plantations  
abroad, is, I. To convince the Masters  
and Mistresses there, of the Obligation  
they are under, to instruct their Negroes  
in the Christian Religion. II. To answer  
the Objections that are usually made against  
it: And III. To exhort the Ministers  
and Schoolmasters within the several Pa-  
rishes, to Assist in this good Work, as far  
as the proper Business of their Stations  
will permit.

*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts advocated religious instruction for slaves. (David Humphries, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Containing their Foundations, Proceedings, and the Success of their Missionaries in the British Colonies, to the Year 1728 [London: Printed by J. Downing, 1730].)*

documented case of a Catholic slave owner protecting the religious life of bondsmen brought to an interfaith marriage, the arrangement appears to have been relatively common. For example, late in the colonial period, Eleanor Bryan, a Catholic, married Samuel Abell, a nominal Anglican who served as sheriff of St. Mary's County. At least some of their slaves followed Eleanor Abell's religion. In the last decade of the colonial period, twelve Abell slaves were baptized in the Catholic Church and another Abell slave married in the Church.<sup>27</sup>

Clearly, the Catholic Church as an institution in Maryland, and individual Catholic slaveholders such as Ignatius Digges and Eleanor Abell, felt a deep sense of responsibility for the spiritual condition of their slaves. There is also no evidence to indicate that any priests shirked their obligations to tend the slaves' souls. Catholics, as the evidence shows, left a mixed record. Some Catholics, such as the Annapolis Carrolls, felt no responsibility whatsoever for their slaves' religious lives, though they appear to be exceptional. Despite the Catholics' recognition of their slaves' spiritual needs, they accepted the assumptions of black inferiority common to most white Marylanders. Even a priest as dedicated as the English-born Mosley, who regularly ministered to slaves, did not escape that attitude.

The Church of England expressed equal concern about slaves' religious lives but apparently faced greater resistance from its slaveholding members than did the Catholic Church. Church authorities in England encouraged Anglican ministers to catechize and baptize slaves. Many ministers tried but others did not, and additional obstacles limited Anglican slave outreach.

One challenge the Church of England faced during the early years of its establishment in Maryland was that many Anglicans did not view the sacrament of baptism as necessary for themselves, let alone for their slaves. By the late 1600s, many Marylanders had grown up unchurched and were relatively unfamiliar with Anglican practices and beliefs.<sup>28</sup> They probably shared the attitude of slaveholders in neighboring Virginia. There, according to the complaint of an anonymous slave to the bishop of London, many masters kept their slaves ignorant of Christianity, because they "doo Look no more up on us then if wee ware dogs."<sup>29</sup> Additionally, many slaveholders feared that baptism might result in freedom for their slaves, despite a 1671 Maryland law that clearly stated baptism did not make slaves free. Owners also worried that perhaps Christian slaves would be more rebellious than non-Christian slaves.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the slaveholders' fears, the Anglican Church did try to encourage the baptism and instruction of slaves. Edmund Gibson, the bishop of London, in 1723 asked Anglican ministers in the colonies to describe their conversion efforts. In response to his queries, nineteen of twenty-three Anglican ministers in Maryland claimed that at least some slaves in their parishes were baptized, but only two reported that many slaves attended church.<sup>31</sup> Gibson did not find the responses

FOUR  
 SERMONS,  
 UPON THE  
 Great and Indispensible Duty  
 Of all CHRISTIAN  
 MASTERS and MISTRESSES  
 To bring up their  
 NEGRO SLAVES  
 IN THE  
 Knowledge and Fear of GOD.

PREACHED AT THE  
 Parish Church of *St Peter* in *Talbot* County,  
 in the Province of MARYLAND.

---

By the Rev. *THOMAS BACON*,  
 Rector of the said Parish.

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Then *Jacob* said unto his Household, and to all that  
 were with him, Put away the strange Gods that are  
 among you, and be clean. GEN. xxxv. 2.

But as for me and my House, we will serve the LORD.  
 JOSH. xxiv. 15.

Well done!—thou hast been faithful over a few Things,  
 I will make thee Ruler over many Things: enter  
 thou into the Joy of thy LORD. MAT. xxv. 21.

from America satisfactory, leading him to issue a series of pastoral letters in 1727. In a letter addressed to the people of England, he sought contributions to support Anglican missionaries to the slaves, unfavorably contrasting the evangelical zeal of Anglicans with that of Catholics. "The Papists," he admitted, "both the inhabitants of their Plantations abroad, and the several Countries in Europe to which they belong, have shewn a laudable Care and Concern" for baptizing slaves. While startling, Gibson's comments must be viewed with caution. An unfavorable comparison of Anglicans to Catholics would presumably inspire greater donations. Gibson also appealed to Anglican slave owners and clergymen in America to instruct the slaves in their faith, pointedly dismissing the excuses they had offered previously.<sup>32</sup> Virginians responded positively to Gibson's appeal until newly-baptized slaves began clamoring for freedom, sparking fears of a slave insurrection in 1731. Any interest by the slaveholders in promoting Christianity crumbled under the weight of these fears.<sup>33</sup>

Marylanders reacted less favorably to the bishop's appeal. In 1731, Gibson's representative in Maryland, Commissary Jacob Henderson, asked the clergymen to explain what they did to promote slave baptisms. Virtually all nineteen respondents tried to persuade slave owners to instruct their slaves or bring them to church for catechizing, but with varying success. Seven reported that they had instructed and baptized a number of slaves. Alexander Williamson of St. Paul's Parish in Kent County complained that some slaves were "so grossly Ignorant, that there is no possibility of Instructing them," and others who could be instructed were "so egregiously wicked as to render Baptism ineffectual." Other slaves, however, led "Exemplary Lives," and these Williamson baptized. The remaining clergymen, except two newcomers, criticized the slaveholders in their parishes for refusing to allow their slaves to be instructed or for being indifferent to their slaves' spiritual condition. Thomas Fletcher of All Hallows Parish in Somerset County described his parishioners as "generally so brutish that they would not suffer their Negroes to be instructed, catechized, or baptized."<sup>34</sup>

Charitable organizations in England joined the bishop of London in trying to encourage Anglican slaveholders to take their slaves' spiritual condition seriously. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded in 1701, tried to assuage slaveholders' worries about the dangers of converting slaves to Christianity. The society's missionaries in America distributed pamphlets and preached sermons that might persuade slaveholders to allow their slaves to have instruction. Their efforts, however, met with relatively little success. The Associates of Dr. Bray, founded in 1724, also sent missionaries to America, supplied books to colonial ministers willing to catechize slaves, and supported schools for slaves, but the Associates focused their efforts on other colonies, not on Maryland.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the efforts of English and American churchmen, many Anglican-owned slaves remained outside the Church of England, because of their owners' reluc-

tance to instruct them. After visiting the southern colonies in 1739, the itinerant Anglican minister George Whitefield published a letter castigating southern whites for their cruelty towards the slaves. He accused them of intentionally keeping the slaves "ignorant of christianity" out of the fear that "teaching them christianity would make them proud, and consequently unwilling to submit to slavery."<sup>36</sup>

In 1743, Thomas Bacon, the Anglican rector of St. Peter's Parish in Talbot County, echoed Whitefield and rebuked his parishioners for their lack of concern for their slaves. It was, he observed, a "grievous reproach to us," that so many slaves "should be taught little more of our religion, than if they had remained in the Heathen, barbarous countries from whence they were brought for our service and benefit." White Anglicans in Bacon's parish apparently objected to slaves being "baptized at the same time, and in the same manner with white people." Bacon ignored these objections and the racism on which they were based, insisting that the slaves and their owners were equal in God's eyes.<sup>37</sup>

By the late colonial period, according to Jesuit Joseph Mosley, Anglican slaveholders had not significantly improved their record. Mosley believed that the slaves of Catholic masters were much better instructed than any other slaves in Maryland. "The Negroes of all other Persuasions," he told his sister in 1774, "are much neglected, as you imagine, & few ever christened."<sup>38</sup> Because the law establishing the Anglican Church did not require that the baptisms, marriages, or deaths of slaves be recorded in the parish registers, it is difficult to determine the accuracy of the criticisms of Anglican slaveholders. The baptisms reported in the responses to Gibson and Henderson went largely unrecorded in the parish registers. In fact, the only Anglican minister in Maryland known to have consistently maintained a slave register was Joseph Colbatch of All Hallows Parish in Anne Arundel County. He kept a record of the slaves that he baptized, married, or buried from 1722 to 1731.<sup>39</sup>

Colbatch was unusual among Anglican ministers in that he officiated at slave marriages. Although Catholic priests frequently presided at slave marriages, as both the Catholic registers and William Hunter's 1714 petition indicate, Anglicans were less concerned about slave marriages. In the Anglican Church, unlike the Catholic Church, marriage was simply a rite, not a sacrament. Anglican church registers list very few slave marriages. Since it cost sixpence to register marriages and the law did not require the registration of slave or mulatto marriages, few slave marriages would have been recorded even if an Anglican minister had officiated. Moreover, given that Anglican ministers charged for performing marriages, it is unlikely that many slaves had ministers at their weddings. Colbatch recorded only twelve marriages between blacks in the nine-year period from 1722 to 1731, and few ministers matched even this record.<sup>40</sup> Thomas Bacon also officiated at some slave marriages, despite protests by some white parishioners. Bacon reassured the slaves, "whatever thoughtless objection may be made by silly, proud

people, at your being treated like Christians, and your banns published," he would continue to treat them as he would "any other Christian . . . let their colour or rank in the world be what it will."<sup>41</sup>

Although Anglican ministers could charge fees for marriages, attending to the dying was one of the duties they performed without additional compensation. Consequently, slaves may have been able to count on clerical support in their last days. Thomas Reader appeared to take for granted that an Anglican minister would be willing to attend to his dying slave. Bondsmen, however, did not expect an Anglican minister at their burial. Although at least one Catholic priest, the Jesuit Joseph Mosley, sometimes presided at the slave funerals, most Anglican slaves apparently were buried without clerical assistance. By his own testimony, Thomas Bacon attended only a few slave funerals. Joseph Colbatch recorded only two black burials compared to 171 black baptisms in the years from 1722 to 1729, indicating that many slaves in his parish must have been buried without his attendance. Anglican ministers normally charged fees and it seems unlikely that most masters would spend the money on a funeral for a slave. It is impossible to be entirely certain, however, because slaves were not listed in the parish registers, nor did they have administration accounts in which funeral costs might appear.<sup>42</sup>

Overall, Anglicans' slaves apparently had relatively few opportunities to experience rites of passage within their Church. The hierarchy of the Church of England considered the slaves' spiritual welfare important but sometimes failed to convince ministers and masters. While most ministers did try to baptize slaves, the resistance of slaveholders frequently frustrated their efforts, even as late as the 1740s. The ministers themselves may have hindered slaves' access to other rites by insisting on payments to perform marriages and funerals. Joseph Colbatch, the lone Anglican minister who recorded information about slaves' marriages and funerals officiated at only twelve marriages and two funerals.

Despite its minority status and the legal discrimination it faced, the Catholic Church achieved slightly greater success in ministering to slaves than the Anglican Church, judging from the limited evidence available. Both Churches considered instruction and baptism of their members' slaves an important moral obligation, but the Catholic Church did a better job of persuading those members to cooperate. It also provided slaves with easier access to rites of passage than did the Anglican Church. The Catholic Church apparently outperformed the Church of England in supplying slaves with the opportunity to become practicing Christians.

That Catholic clergy and laymen believed the souls of slaves worthy of attention undoubtedly helped attract bondsmen to the Catholic Church. Other factors affected the relative appeal of the Catholic and Anglican Churches. Historians of colonial America have observed that enslaved African Americans found emotional, egalitarian, Protestant sects such as the Baptist and Methodist Churches



*St. Francis Xavier, Newtown, St. Mary's County is the oldest operating Catholic chapel in Maryland. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

far more inviting than the rational, formalistic, and hierarchical Anglican Church. They have shown that the dissenting Protestant sects provided slaves with outlets for ecstatic behavior and opportunities for communal participation and preaching opportunities not possible in the Church of England, which tended to represent and reinforce the existing social order.<sup>43</sup> Most colonial historians have failed to realize, however, that the Catholic Church in Maryland, while not egalitarian, nevertheless possessed considerable appeal for slaves.<sup>44</sup> Though limited, adequate sources exist to support some tentative conclusions about the relative merits of the Catholic and Anglican Churches in the eyes of the slaves.

The Catholic Church enjoyed a great advantage over the Church of England in that some features of Catholicism resembled some traditional West African practices, a familiarity which slaves may have found comforting.<sup>45</sup> For example, one aspect of Catholicism to which many African-born slaves could relate was the idea of purgatory. Many West African cultures shared the belief that people's spirits lived on after death and that certain burial rites were necessary to make sure the deceased's spirit received a proper welcome in the spirit world. Failure to observe these rites could cause the person's spirit to become an outcast. In some West African cultures, the resemblance to purgatory was even greater. A supreme

god judged the dead based on their life's works. Some he sent to the good homeland. Others he subjected to misery, although he might eventually allow the suffering into the heaven-like homeland.<sup>46</sup> Catholics believed that, depending on people's behavior during life, God sent many souls to purgatory or hell, rather than to heaven. Souls in purgatory could be relieved of their suffering and sent to heaven through prayers and masses said on their behalf. Catholics relied on their priests, friends, and relatives to pray for them after death. The priests also preached sermons on All Souls Days reminding Catholics of their duty to help the suffering souls in purgatory by their prayers and good works.<sup>47</sup> In the Catholic faith and many West African religions, the living could improve the situation of their deceased loved ones through their prayers or other actions. Anglicans, by contrast, did not believe in purgatory and denied that prayers could help the dead.<sup>48</sup>

African-born slaves also could find parallels between the worship of the lesser divinities of their native land and Catholic devotion to the saints. Although all African religions featured a supreme god, West African religions in particular also accepted the existence of lesser divinities, who were brought into being by the supreme god and enjoyed specific areas of influence. Some groups also believed that certain ancestors became deified and continued to take an interest in family affairs. Humans could approach the supreme god directly or use the lesser divinities and ancestors as intermediaries. In an effort to please specific lesser divinities, humans could follow certain dietary practices or wear clothes of a particular color, depending on the divinity in question. In some African cultures, the supreme god or some of the lesser divinities were female.<sup>49</sup> Catholics celebrated a multitude of saints' days, each preceded by a day of fasting. They did not worship the saints, but asked them, especially Mary, to intercede with God on their behalf.<sup>50</sup> In Latin America, some cross-identification of African lesser divinities with Catholic saints occurred. A similar process could have quite possibly happened in Maryland.<sup>51</sup> Anglicans, by contrast, did not honor the saints as Catholics did, so there was little opportunity for cross-identification with African lesser divinities.<sup>52</sup>

Slaves could find some similarities between the Catholic use of relics and sacred objects and the practices of some African cultures. Many Africans believed charms and amulets held spiritual power and would ward off illness, although talismans provided protection from all sorts of evil. In Bakongo culture the form of the cross symbolized the intersecting worlds of the living and the dead and often appeared on charms.<sup>53</sup> Archaeologists have discovered quartz crystals and a polished black stone at the Charles Carroll House in Annapolis which they believe some of the Carroll slaves may have used to symbolize the presence of ancestral spirits who protected them. Many African American archaeological sites have yielded blue glass beads, used to ward off evil.<sup>54</sup> Catholics used the sign of the cross frequently, believing it protected them from temptation and trouble and they sprinkled themselves with holy water to protect themselves from Satan's powers.

In addition to using holy water and crossing themselves for protection, pious Catholics also, according to Joseph Mosley, carried “small crucifixes & Reliques of Saints” around their necks. Candles blessed at Candlemas ceremonies provided Catholics with protection against hostile and evil forces and comforted them in times of sickness.<sup>55</sup> No evidence survives that slaves possessed crucifixes or other relics, but they certainly could use holy water and candles and make the sign of the cross as protection. Catholics used beads to pray the rosary, not as protection. Given that the beads were relatively cheap, African Americans apparently had access to them. The Jesuit accounts record the sale of beads to one “Nig. Jones.”<sup>56</sup> Once again, Anglicans engaged in no comparable practices.

Although slaves may have found the Catholic Church appealing in part because of the similarities between the Catholic Church and traditional African religious practices, other aspects of Catholicism may have also attracted slaves. One of those aspects was the church calendar. In addition to saints’ days, the Catholic Church calendar also included many holy days of obligation. On holy days, Catholics were to attend Mass, and, depending on the day, either fast or abstain from eating meat.<sup>57</sup> The Catholic Church required its members to refrain from most labor on holy days. On those days, Catholics were also to avoid having others work for them. This was a potential benefit for slaves who worked for Catholic masters, if their masters obeyed the Church’s instructions. Widespread disobedience as well as the financial hardship which the labor requirements caused masters may have prompted the Maryland Jesuits’ 1722 decision to draw up new regulations governing labor on holy days. These regulations allowed those Catholics who were “hands belonging to or working in the Crop” to labor on holy days from the beginning of May to the end of September. The regulations did protect them from working on four of the most important holy days during this time—Ascension Day, Whitsun Monday, Corpus Christi Day, and Assumption. All other Catholics, including house servants, were to abstain from work unless they had special permission from their confessors or an urgent necessity to labor. Although most slaves were agricultural laborers and would not have been exempt according to the 1722 rules, even they presumably gained four days’ rest through the Jesuits’ intervention.<sup>58</sup> Catholic masters apparently obeyed the new regulations. In none of their surviving sermons or letters did the Jesuits criticize masters for making their slaves work on holy days. By contrast, as of 1730, the slaves of Anglicans could count on having days off only at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.<sup>59</sup>

Gaining days free of work may have been a practical advantage drawing slaves to the Catholic Church. Additionally, differences in the number, size, and elegance of Catholic and Anglican Church buildings may have made attendance at Catholic services more convenient and less intimidating than attendance at Anglican services. After 1692, when the Church of England became the established church, the vestries began building parish churches. At first, many of the build-

ings were made of wood and were relatively plain, but by the mid-1700s, Anglicans built large, elegant, and very formal brick churches. Some congregations racially segregated members. Some forty-three parishes existed by the 1760s, spread out across the entire colony, each with a parish church. Some parishes also maintained one or more chapels-of-ease nearly as elegant as the main church. By contrast, most of the fifty Catholic chapels that existed in the 1760s were clustered on the lower Western Shore and the middle of the Eastern Shore, providing Catholics with shorter trips to attend services than many Anglicans enjoyed. The Catholic chapels tended to be small, plain, and unpretentious. About two-thirds belonged to laymen and were either small buildings attached to gentry homes or simply a room inside a house designated permanently or temporarily as the chapel-room. Even the chapels owned by the Jesuits were typically smaller and less elegant than the Anglican churches.<sup>60</sup> One historian has argued that the Baptists and Methodists in Virginia succeeded in attracting slaves in part because their church buildings were far less intimidating than Anglican churches. If that was true, then surely slaves in Maryland found the Catholic chapels less intimidating than the Anglican churches as well.<sup>61</sup>

The formation of families and kinship networks was a critical step in the development of slave communities and an important source of assistance and comfort for individuals.<sup>62</sup> The Catholic Church provided some concrete benefits in terms of family life. The choice of godparents for a child presented an opportunity to reinforce and expand family ties. The Jesuits did not always note the names of godparents, especially for slave children, but sufficient records survive to indicate a significant difference in the choice of godparents for slaves on the Eastern Shore and in St. Mary's County. As can be seen from Table 1, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, nine-tenths of the godparents of blacks were also black. Slaves who acted as godparents tended to come from the same plantation as the child or to live nearby. In 1769, when seven slave children, probably belonging to the Blake family in Queen Anne's County, were baptized, two slave men served as godfathers. One of the men, Thomas Gooby, was godfather to three of the children. Gooby, at age seventy-two, was the oldest slave on the Blake plantation and serving as a godfather may have been recognition of his respected position in the slave community. Godparents did not always come from the ranks of the senior slaves. The godfather to the other four children baptized that day was Gervaise, also a Blake slave, who was only twenty-four years old. All of the godmothers were Blake slaves as well, but their ages are more difficult to determine.<sup>63</sup>

In contrast to the situation on the Eastern Shore, blacks in St. Mary's County acted as godparents for other blacks only one-third of the time. Frequently, the godparents were either the masters themselves or their friends or relatives. For example, Thomas Spalding served as godfather to his slave Anastasia, baptized in 1760. The godmother was Mary Spalding, who was either Thomas' wife or sister.

TABLE 1: Godparents of Catholic Slaves, 1760–76, Percentage by Race

	Eastern Shore	St. Mary's County
Slave baptisms	N=235	N=291
Known white godparents	9.7% (N=26)	68.1% (N=77)
Known black godparents	90.3% (N=242)	31.9% (N=36)

Sources: Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA; Walton's Diary, #6.3, MPA.

Note: The parish registers do not always include the names of the godparents. On the Eastern Shore the godparents of slaves were not listed by name in 79 cases (33.6 percent); in St. Mary's County, the godparents of slaves were not listed in 230 cases (79.0 percent). In some cases, for both black and white baptisms, the name of only one godparent was listed in the register.

Occasionally, a slave and a white person would together become godparents. John Smith's slave Hellana was baptized in 1760, with John Smith, Jr., and Judith, a Smith family slave, acting as godparents.<sup>64</sup>

In the late colonial period, godparenthood served different functions for Catholic slaves on the Eastern Shore, where it reinforced kinship networks, and in St. Mary's County, where it apparently helped tie blacks and whites together into one religious community. Several factors probably accounted for this geographical difference. Blacks on the Eastern Shore tended to live on relatively large plantations and formed a large percentage of the Catholic population, probably outnumbering white Catholics.<sup>65</sup> As a result, black Catholics on the Eastern Shore already enjoyed extensive kin networks and probably had a relatively wide pool of black godparents available for their children. In St. Mary's County, nearly two-thirds of all slaves lived on plantations with no more than twenty slaves, and the development of kin networks was probably not as far advanced as it was among Eastern Shore Catholics. Smaller slave owners, such as those in St. Mary's County, may have felt closer to their slaves than did people who owned many slaves and may have insisted on serving as godparents or selecting godparents for their slaves.<sup>66</sup>

Anglican slaves, as indicated earlier, were less likely to be baptized than Catholic slaves, but for those who were baptized, godparenthood may have served similar functions as among Catholics. Of the Anglican clergymen who reported baptizing slaves in 1731, only two mentioned godparents. Hugh Jones of William and Mary Parish in Charles County reported that slaves stood as godparents for their fellow bondsmen, and in John Fraser's parish in Prince George's County, masters and mistresses served the same role.<sup>67</sup>

Slave marriages in the Catholic Church provided slaves with a way of formally establishing and reinforcing family ties not available to slaves in the Church of England. Joseph Mosley frequently noted the presence of many bondsmen at these festive wedding celebrations. In 1770, when a slave named Simon married Mary, a slave belonging to Theodore Wetherstrandt, many others witnessed their

wedding, including some from Charles Blake's plantation at Wye. Wetherstrandt and Blake were brothers-in-law, so many of their slaves were probably related. The wedding provided the slaves with an opportunity to reaffirm their family ties.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the lack of legal recognition for slave marriages, a few Catholic owners tried to keep slave families together. In 1773–74, Charles Carroll of Carrollton kept 385 slaves at various quarters. About half of the adults lived with their spouses, a far higher percentage than found at the plantations of three Anglican great planters.<sup>69</sup> Another Catholic, Richard Bennett, who was one of the wealthiest men in Maryland, ordered in his will that the families of his slaves should not be broken up. No other Catholic slaveholders, however, specifically ordered that all slave families remain intact, and some Catholic slaveholders openly disregarded the Church's insistence that slave marriages should be respected and slave couples should be kept together. In his 1737 will, Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's County gave his two daughters the right to choose six slaves each out of his estate. He also designated four slaves to be given to his son and three grandsons and ordered that the remaining sixteen slaves be equally divided among his other four children. Sewall's death must have led to the separation of several families, despite the Church's recognition of slave marriages.<sup>70</sup>

The failure of the Catholic Church in colonial Maryland to protect slave families probably stemmed from its far weaker position than the Catholic Church in Latin America. In Maryland, the Catholic Church was not the established church with the legal standing, authority over public morality, and independent wealth that the Church in Latin America enjoyed. Rather, it faced discrimination, wielded authority over only a small percentage of the population, and depended heavily on the gentry. Consequently, the Church in Maryland was in no position to insist that its members keep slave families intact or, as the Church did in Latin America, encourage the manumission of slaves. There is no evidence of any of the priests in Maryland encouraging manumission in any way. The Catholic Church in Maryland did treat slaves as spiritual equals in some ways, particularly in access to the sacraments. Even so, the Jesuits were more likely to neglect to record the details of baptisms and marriages for slaves than they were for whites. And priests tended to hold masters more accountable for their slaves' spiritual lives than they did the slaves themselves. What the slaves felt while attending Mass or participating in Catholic rites of passage is not known.

Despite the obstacles that the Catholic Church faced, it did have a marginally better record than the Anglican Church in Maryland. The Anglican Church encouraged the instruction and baptism of slaves, but the resistance of Anglican slaveholders prevented it from reaching as many slaves as Church leaders would have liked. Even when baptized, slaves rarely enjoyed Anglican marriages or funerals. Occasionally, slaves of even such committed Anglicans as the vestryman Thomas Reader rejected their owners' church and turned instead to the Catholic Church.

Slaves may have found the Catholic Church in Maryland more appealing than the Church of England for a variety of reasons. The Catholic Church's beliefs and practices shared some similarities with traditional African religions, such as the belief in purgatory, the use of relics, and the devotion to saints. The Church calendar provided an opportunity for a few extra days' leisure. The Catholic Church's chapels were not as intimidating as the elegant parish churches of the Church of England. Finally, the Church also provided an opportunity to strengthen and extend family ties through baptism and marriage. Any of these reasons might have drawn Thomas Reader's slave Richard to reject his owner's church and ask instead for a Catholic priest to comfort him in his dying days.

#### NOTES

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the American Catholic Historical Association annual meeting and the Washington Area Seminar on Early American History. The author wishes to thank Stephen Hardy, Denvy Bowman, and anonymous referees for their comments.

1. Reader described the incident in a sworn statement on October 26, 1753. The Committee of Grievances of the Lower House of Assembly included his statement and the letter from the priest to Reader in a report to the Lower House in October 1753; see William Hand Browne and others, eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 50:203–4 (hereafter cited as *Arch. Md.*). Reader owned over five thousand acres and won election to the Lower House in 1754; see Edward C. Papenfuse and others, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 2:675–76. For details of the political struggles of the early 1750s, see Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), ch. 7; Timothy Bosworth, "Anti-Catholicism as a Political Tool in Mid-Eighteenth Century Maryland," *Catholic Historical Review*, 61 (1975): 553; Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland at College Park, 1993), 254–308.
2. Frank Tannenbaum first made the argument in favor of Latin America in *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946). Stanley Elkins elaborated on Tannenbaum's thesis in *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); see also Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). The definitive work on American racial attitudes is Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1968). For a comparative study of slave law, see Alan Watson, *Slave Law in the Americas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).
3. Many of the early arguments may be found in Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969). See also Ann J. Lane, ed., *The Debate over Slavery: Stanley Elkins and His Critics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), and Donald Gray Eder, "Time under the Southern Cross: The Tannenbaum Thesis Reappraised," *Agricultural History*, 50 (1976): 600–614.

4. For an excellent, brief analysis of the historiography, see Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 161–71; see also Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, “Introduction: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas,” in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, ed. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992): 1–45. For Latin America, see Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). For the British colonies, see Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998); John B. Boles, *Black Southerners, 1619–1869* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736–1831* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); and James Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992). Important works on Chesapeake slavery include Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986); Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1998); Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); and Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter’s Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997).
5. Russell R. Menard, “From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System,” *Southern Studies* 16 (1977): 360–71. Ira Berlin argues that the earliest slaves, or the “charter generations,” were relatively cosmopolitan Atlantic creoles and conformed to Christianity in an effort to win acceptance; later generations of African-born slaves were from the interior of Africa and were more reluctant to adopt a new religion. See Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 42, 102–3.
6. *Arch. Md.*, 13:425–30, 24:265–73; Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland at Large, With Proper Indexes* (Annapolis: Printed by Jonas Green, 1765), 1763, c. xviii, sect. xxiii; Carol van Voorst, *The Anglican Clergy in Maryland, 1692–1776*, Outstanding Studies in Early American History, ed. John Murrin (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 13, 24–26, 57–58, 101. For the Glorious Revolution in Maryland, see Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland’s Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974). The best work on religious affairs in seventeenth-century Maryland is Michael James Graham, S.J., “Lord Baltimore’s Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983). For the struggling state of Anglicanism, see Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 51–55. A taxable was defined as any white man or any blacks, male or female, at least sixteen years old.
7. *Arch. Md.*, 26:46, 340, 431. Some of the land came to the Jesuits as gifts from lay Catholics, but the Jesuits acquired most of it by purchase or by transporting people to Maryland under the terms of the headright system. See “The Title of our Lands deduced from the first Taken up, to the present possessor, whether by sale or Bequest to him descending,” in “The Old Records,” #4½, Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University (hereafter cited as MPA).
8. There were 2,974 Catholics in Maryland according to a census of Catholics taken in 1708, which can be found in Colonial Office: America and West Indies (CO 5): CO 5/716, Public

Record Office, photostats at the Library of Congress; the overall population of Maryland in 1710 was 42,741, according to the Census of Maryland, 1710, CO 5/717. A report in the handwriting of the vicar-apostolic of London, who supervised the Maryland mission, broke the Catholic population down by county and put the total Catholic population at 16,178 around 1763. See Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster, Vol. XLI, no. 207, London; photostat, Library of Congress. The population of Maryland in 1761 was 164,007, rising to 180,040 in 1765; see Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631-1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1958), 109, 122-37.

9. Maryland slaves accounted for one-fifth of the state's Catholic population in 1785; see John Carroll to Leonardo Antonelli, March 1, 1785, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J., ed., *The John Carroll Papers* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 1:179-80; Randall M. Miller, "A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South," in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, ed. Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983), 14; Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroads Publishing, 1990), 35; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 112.

10. John Carroll to Leonardo Antonelli, March 1, 1785, *John Carroll Papers*, 1:179-80.

11. The decline in Catholic numbers was minor in absolute terms, but the percentage of Catholics in Maryland's growing population decreased to 6.3 percent. According to Carroll, in 1785, there were about 15,800 Catholics in Maryland. See Carroll to Leonard Antonelli, March 1, 1785, *John Carroll Papers*, 1:179. The population of Maryland in 1782 was 252,633. See Karinen, "Maryland Population," 206-20. On the disruptions in Maryland caused by the Revolution, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); and Jean B. Lee, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994). The Revolution also greatly affected African Americans; see Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1986).

12. Joseph Mosley to his sister, June 5, 1772, and October 3, 1774, in Joseph Mosley Papers, Early Maryland Jesuit Papers, Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University.

13. In 1723, Propaganda Fide agreed to Hunter's proposal. See Gerald P. Fogarty, "Slaves, Quakers, and Catholic Marriage in Colonial Maryland," *The Jurist*, 35 (1975): 142-61; and Luca Codignola, comp., *Vatican: Archives of the Sacred Congregation "De Propaganda Fide"*, Finding Aid No. 1186 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, 1983), Scrittura Originali Riferite Nelle Congregazioni Generali, 597:329rv-330rv.

14. For the registers, see Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA; Walton's Diary, #6.3, MPA.

15. Randall M. Miller, "Slaves and Southern Catholicism," in *Masters & Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870*, ed. John B. Boles (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 131; Miller, "The Failed Mission," 152-54.

16. See Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA. Mosley officiated at fifty-three slave weddings and thirty-seven white weddings on the Eastern Shore from 1764 to 1776. For the dispensations, see the entries in Mosley's diary dated December 15, 1766, and Whitsun holy days, 1776. James Walton was not as conscientious as Joseph Mosley about recording slave marriages. Mosley recorded one slave marriage for every 4.4 slave baptisms on the Eastern Shore, while Walton recorded one slave marriage for every 48.5 baptisms in St. Mary's County. Given the Jesuit superior's concern with slave marriages as early as 1714 and Mosley's contemporaneous commitment to

marrying slaves, it seems likely that the discrepancy is due simply to Walton's failure to record slave marriages. See Walton's Diary, #6.3, MPA.

17. Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA; for the funeral sermon for a slave, see the entry dated November 26, 1768.

18. Sylvia Frey has noted that in the antebellum period, African American Christians insisted that their own communal leaders conduct their funerals. See Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 301–2. See also David R. Roediger, "And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death and Heaven in the Slave Community, 1700–1865," *Massachusetts Review*, 22 (1981): 163–83.

19. James Carroll's will, dated February 12, 1728/9, proved June 27, 1729, Wills 19:791–99, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (hereafter cited as MSA); James Carroll's inventory, Inventories 15:496–505, MSA. The Jesuits had occasionally received other slaves as bequests and owned some slaves in 1717, when William Hunter had deeded all the Jesuits' movable property to a lay trustee. See Wills 6:85–90 and 20:75–80, MSA; and William Hunter to Thomas Jameson, deed of gift, January 30, 1717, #100½, MPA.

20. "Full Account of Plantations of Maryland Mission, 1765," #202A12, MPA.

21. Father George Hunter's notes on his spiritual retreat at Port Tobacco, December 20, 1749, #202A7, MPA.

22. "Full Account of Plantations of the Maryland Mission, 1765," #202A12, MPA; John Mattingly's Relation, September 6, 1773, Scrittura riferite nei Congressi, America Centrale, I: 608, Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Rome, printed in "Documents: The Jesuit Missions in 1773," *Catholic Historical Review*, 2 (1916): 316–18; Joseph Mosley to his sister, October 14, 1766, and November 5, 1773, Joseph Mosley Papers. Catholics in colonial Maryland did not have access to the sacrament of confirmation, which required a bishop.

23. "Regulations concerning the observance of Holydays in Maryland, approved by Bonaventure Giffard, vicar-apostolic of London, December 21, 1722," in "The Old Records," #4½, MPA.

24. Mos-2 and Le-6, American Catholic Sermon Collection (hereafter cited as ACSC), Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University. See also As-9, Be-6, Mos-6, and Ro-26 in the same collection.

25. Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, October 30, 1769, item 408 in Ronald Hoffman, ed., *The Charles Carroll of Carrollton Family Papers* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives and the National Historical Records and Publications Commission, 1985), microfilm edition.

26. Indenture between Ignatius Digges and William Nicholls, July 31, 1771, box 6, Clement Hill Papers, MS. 446, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Thomas Sim Lee to Ignatius Digges, July 9, 1771, transcript, Thomas Sim Lee BIOS, Special Collections, MSA.

27. *Bio. Dict. Md. Leg.*, 1:97; Walton's Diary, #6.3, MPA. The Abells are the clearest example, but there are many other cases of Catholic slaves belonging to Protestant men in St. Mary's County and the Eastern Shore. These slaves obviously depended on their masters' good will to allow them to continue practicing Catholicism. Some Protestant owners did not cooperate. In 1749, Anglican Edward Lloyd, for example, inherited a large but unspecified number of slaves from his Catholic uncle Richard Bennett, and some of these slaves were surely Catholics. However, no Lloyd slaves appear in Mosley's register for the Eastern Shore, which began in 1764. See Bennett's will, dated September 29, 1749, Testamentary Proceedings 35:22, MSA; Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA.

28. At commissary Thomas Bray's visitation in 1700, the clergy complained that there were many adults who refused to be baptized. See "Journal of Dr. Bray's Visitation, May 23rd, 1700," Archives of the Bishop of London, Fulham Palace Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library, microfilm at the Library of Congress, 2:144–45.

29. The letter to Gibson is printed in its entirety in Thomas Ingersoll, "Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg': An Appeal from Virginia in 1723," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 51 (1994): 781–82.
30. John C. Van Horne, "Impediments to the Christianization and Education of Blacks in Colonial America: The Case of the Associates of Dr. Bray," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 50 (1981): 247–52; Jordan, *White over Black*, 180–87. Virginia slaveholders expressed similar fears; see Edward L. Bond, *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2000), 196–203.
31. Responses to the Bishop of London, Fulham Papers, 3:48–71.
32. [Edmund Gibson], *Two Letters of the Lord Bishop of London: . . . To both which is prefix'd, An Address to Serious Christians among our selves, To Assist the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in carrying on this Work* (London: Joseph Downing, 1729), 5, 14–21, 28–31; Denzil T. Clifton, "Anglicanism and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 39 (1970): 68.
33. The insurrection apparently amounted to little more than talk, although it cost at least four slaves their lives. See John K. Nelson, *A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons, and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690–1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 263–64; Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 69–70. Anthony Parent believes slaveholders became more interested, not less, in converting their slaves, arguing that "Christianizing the slaves was part of a larger attempt to create an acculturated and more servile labor force." See "Either a Fool or a Fury': The Emergence of Paternalism in Colonial Virginia Slave Society" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982), 253, quoted in Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, 153.
34. "A Visitation at Oxford, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland," June 16, 1731, and "A Visitation at Annapolis, on the Western Shore of Maryland," July 21, 1731, Fulham Papers, 3:151–52.
35. Clifton, "Anglicanism and Negro Slavery," 55–57; Marcus W. Jernegan, "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, 21 (1916): 509–11; Van Horne, "Impediments to Christianization," 244–46.
36. "A Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South-Carolina," January 23, 1740, printed in *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A.* (London, 1771), 4:38–39.
37. [Thomas Bacon], *Sermons addressed to masters and servants and published in the Year 1743, . . . By the Rev. William Meade* (Winchester, VA: John Heiskell, 1813), 4, 8, 17; [Thomas Bacon], *Four Sermons, Preached at the Parish Church of St. Peter, . . . Two Sermons to Black Slaves, and Two Sermons for the Benefit of a Charity Working-School . . . Orphans and Poor Children, and Negroes* (London, 1753; repr., Bath, 1783), 75.
38. Joseph Mosley to his sister, October 3, 1774, Joseph Mosley Papers.
39. *Arch. Md.*, 24:268; "A true Copy of Negroes & Mulattoes that have been Baptized Married & Buried in & near the Parish of All-hallows in the Province of Maryland by the Revd Mr Joseph Colbatch from the Year 1722 to the Year 1729," Fulham Papers, 3:126–31. It is possible that other Anglican ministers kept similar records that have not survived. Lorena Walsh found that annually anywhere from ten to twenty-seven slaves belonging to the Burwells of Virginia were baptized in the mid-1700s; *From Calabar to Carter's Grove*, 153. John Nelson cites numerous examples of individual Anglican ministers who baptized large numbers of slaves to argue that slave baptism was relatively common in mid-eighteenth century Virginia; *A Blessed Company*, 264–67.
40. The anonymous Virginia slave who wrote to the bishop of London in 1723 had complained that "matrimony is deened us." Some fifty years later, the situation remained un-

changed, according to Philip Vickers Fithian, a tutor at Nomini Hall in Virginia, who reported that slaves in that colony were never formally "married, their Lords thinking them improper Subjects for so valuable an Institution." See Ingersoll, "Release us out of this Cruell Bondage," 782; journal entry for January 26, 1774, in John Rogers Williams, ed., *Philip Vickers Fithian Journal and Letters, 1767-1774* (Princeton: University Library for the Princeton Historical Association, 1900), 100; *Arch. Md.*, 24:268; Fulham Papers, 3:126-31.

41. Bacon, *Four Sermons*, 75.

42. Bacon, *Four Sermons*, 4; Fulham Papers, 3:126-31; Van Voorst, *Anglican Clergy*, 233-34.

43. The literature on slave culture and religion is tremendous, but much of it concentrates on the nineteenth century and projects back to the eighteenth century, based on nineteenth-century sources. The premier work on slave religion is Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion*. For the Anglican Church and the dissenting Protestant sects, see also Roger Bastide, *African Civilisations in the New World*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 153; Boles, *Black Southerners*, 154-62; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, ch. 5; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982), 171-72; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 28-29, 87-88, 272; Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 178-203. Historians of Catholic slave religion have virtually ignored the colonial period, instead focusing on the antebellum era; the best works are the essays in Miller and Wakelyn, *Catholics in the Old South*, and Davis, *History of Black Catholics*.

44. According to Frey and Wood, the "vast majority of bondpeople found little in Anglicanism with which they could or wished to identify." *Come Shouting to Zion*, 75.

45. For a discussion of the relationship between African religions and Christianity, especially of the role of continuous revelation, see John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 235-71. Thornton argues that the acceptance of continuous revelation by both the Catholic Church and African religions made it relatively easy for Africans to accept Catholicism, both in the New World and in parts of Africa, such as Kongo. By contrast, Protestants were far less willing to accept continuous revelation, at least until the Great Awakening and the rise of evangelical sects which emphasized the Holy Spirit.

46. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 13; Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 174-75; Frey and Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion*, 22-25; E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1973), 174-76, 187; Geoffrey Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion*, 3rd ed. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), 98, 137.

47. Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, sacrifice, ceremonies and observances of the Church: by way of question and answer* (London, 1737), 140-44; At-3/1, Gr-1, ACSC.

48. Richard Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Man* (London, 1706; repr., London, 1747), 429.

49. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 8-10, 22-24; Idowu, *African Traditional Religion*, 148-52, 165-73, 180-88; Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion*, 24, 32-34, 48-49, 64; Dominique Zahan, *The Religion, Spirituality, and Thought of Traditional Africa*, trans. Kate Ezra Martin and Lawrence M. Martin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 49-50.

50. [Richard Challoner], *A Manual of Catholic Prayers* (Philadelphia, 1774), 3-4; John A. Gurrieri, "Holy Days in America," *Worship* 54 (1980): 426.

51. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 22-25; Bastide, *African Civilisations*, 155-57.

52. Bastide, *African Civilisations*, 162.

53. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 14; Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion*, 114-16; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Random House, 1983), 108-31; Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early*

- African America, 1650–1800* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 110–16.
54. George C. Logan, "Archaeology at Charles Carroll's House and Garden and of his African-American Slaves," 1992, report on file at the Charles Carroll House, Annapolis, Maryland; Robert Farris Thompson, *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas* (New York: Museum for African Art, 1993), 57–59; Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground*, 116. There have been relatively few archaeological investigations at eighteenth-century Catholic sites in Maryland. For two studies of Jesuit sites, see Julia A. King and Dennis J. Pogue, "St. Inigoes Manor: An Archaeological History," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, 34 (1986): 353–59; Dennis J. Pogue, "Archaeological Investigations at St. Francis Xavier Church in Newtown," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, 31 (1983): 1–6.
55. Challoner, *Catholic Christian Instructed*, 12, 258; Mos-8, ACSC; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 16–18.
56. The Maryland Jesuits bought rosary beads from the English Jesuits; see the account book of the London procurator of Bruges College, entries for June 17, 1772, and March 11, 1773, Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, London. The Jesuit accounts record selling beads to several Marylanders, including "Nig. Jones." The Jesuits normally used "nig" to indicate slaves. See Walton's Diary, #6.3, MPA, folio 24.
57. Maryland and English Catholics observed thirty-six holy days annually, in addition to those such as Easter and Pentecost which always fell on Sundays. See Challoner, *Catholic Christian Instructed*, 199–209. In Latin America, African-born slaves observed their own traditional religious holidays on the days they were not required to work, usually Sundays and Catholic holy days. If slaves associated a particular African divinity with a Catholic saint, they would observe the sacrifices and feast days for the African divinity on the feast day of the Catholic saint. See Bastide, *African Civilisations*, 155–57.
58. "Regulations concerning the observance of Holydays in Maryland," in "The Old Records," #4½, MPA; Challoner, *Catholic Christian Instructed*, 216–17.
59. Lorena S. Walsh, "Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in the Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620–1820," in Berlin and Morgan, *Cultivation and Culture*, 177.
60. For the Anglican churches, see van Voorst, *Anglican Clergy*, 157–67; Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 58–65; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press for the Architectural History Foundation, 1986), chs. 4 and 5. For the Catholic chapels, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 64–66.
61. Sobel, *The World They Made Together*, 181. Large Georgian mansions built in the eighteenth century proclaimed their owners' status atop society and certainly could be considered as intimidating as the Anglican churches. However, Dell Upton has argued that poorer whites, not slaves, were the intended audience. While small planters normally would have approached the gentry mansions from the front or at least would have had to go through several barriers to enter the gentry houses, slaves would have approached the houses by less intimidating routes, such as from the sides or the rear, and faced fewer barriers to gaining access to the homes. See "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 364–66.
62. The classic work on slave families is Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Random House, 1976). See also Mary Beth Norton, Herbert G. Gutman, and Ira Berlin, "The Afro-American Family in the Age of Revolution," in Berlin and Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom*, 175–91. Michael Mullin cautions that, "the effort to push back into the eighteenth century a model of stable, two-parent monogamous slave families with

little 'divorce' will not do in the Caribbean and may be unsuitable for the colonial South as well," a warning echoed by James Walvin. See Mullin, *Africa in America*, 173; Walvin, *Black Ivory*, 200.

63. Mosley's Diary, entry for July 25, 1769, #6.4, MPA. For the slaves' ages, see Inventories 73:170-81, MSA.

64. For these specific baptisms, see the entries dated August 21, 1760, and October 12, 1760, in Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA.

65. See Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA. There were several Catholic families in Queen Anne's County who owned large numbers of slaves, especially various members of the Blake family.

66. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 338, 394-95. White baptisms predominated, 673 to 291, among St. Mary's County Catholics; see Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA, and Walton's Diary, #6.3, MPA. The entire congregation of St. Inigoes in St. Mary's County owned only thirty-three slaves around 1768; see Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions in St. Mary's County, Maryland*, 2d ed. (Abell, Md.: n.p., 1976), 70.

67. "A Visitation at Annapolis, on the Western Shore of Maryland," July 21, 1731, Fulham Papers, 3:151-52.

68. See entry for July 1770, in Mosley's Diary, #6.4, MPA; for the Blake-Wetherstrandt connection, see Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 425.

69. The list of Carroll slaves can be found in Ledger X, item 4383, in Hoffman, *Carroll Family Papers*, microfilm. Allan Kulikoff compared the experience of the Carroll slaves to that of slaves belonging to the Addison family and James Wardrop of Maryland and Francis Jerdone of Virginia, all large slaveowners. He found that whereas 51 percent of the Carroll male slaves and 49 percent of the Carroll female slaves lived with their spouses, for slaves belonging to the other planters he studied, the numbers were only 26 percent of men and 33 percent of women. See Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 364-71, 388.

70. Richard Bennett's will, dated September 29, 1749, Testamentary Proceedings 35:22, MSA; Nicholas Sewall's will, dated April 16, 1737, Wills 21:775-76, MSA; Nicholas Sewall's inventory, Inventories 22:404-7, MSA.

# SPOT LIGHT

on mental health

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Aaron Sopher

## Something To Do, Spring Grove State Hospital

PAUL V. LEMKAU, M. D.—“If not continuously used, even faculties once developed may atrophy.”—Page 5

Artist Aaron Sopher's sketches of state mental hospital interiors helped draw attention to the deplorable conditions under which many patients lived. (Courtesy Maryland Mental Health Association.)

# “Maryland’s Shame”: Photojournalism and Mental Health Reform, 1935–1949

ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN

The ninth day of January 1949 dawned like most lazy Sunday mornings in Maryland. Across the state legions of sleepy-eyed citizens sat down to the breakfast table for their first cup of coffee, a few drags on the day’s “best tasting” cigarette, and a glance at the front page of the daily newspaper. For many, it was neither the caffeine nor the nicotine rush that roused them from their grogginess at an early hour. Unfolding the *Morning Sun*, these Marylanders fixed their eyes upon the front-page headline—“Maryland’s Shame: The Worst Story the Sunpapers Ever Told.” At the bottom of the page they found a grim image, six columns wide, of an overcrowded wardroom at a state mental hospital. Turning the front page they came face-to-face with a young boy bound in a straight-jacket and lying on a bare floor, his legs covered in raw sores. The accompanying text described in painful detail the intolerable conditions in all five of Maryland’s state mental health facilities. The next ten days brought dozens more disturbing photographs as the newspaper series visually documented its assertion that the institutions warranted the label, “Maryland’s Shame.”

During the early part of the twentieth century, Maryland state mental hospitals had been lauded as the optimal curative environment in which mentally ill citizens might benefit from therapy and humane treatment. What had changed to produce the horrors of “Maryland’s Shame”? What had precipitated this terrible decline in patient care, and, most importantly, what would be Maryland’s response? This article, based upon diverse primary sources ranging from unpublished confidential reports and press photographs to the letters of patients, explores the roles played by hospital administrators and the media in the growth of public advocacy for Maryland’s mentally ill.

## Maryland State Mental Hospitals in 1946

The roots of the state mental hospital system date back to the eighteenth century. The Public Hospital of Baltimore (known today as Spring Grove Hospital Center) first admitted patients into its facility in 1798 and holds the distinction of being the country’s second oldest mental institution. Its eventual relocation to a new and larger building in a rural setting, much delayed by the Civil War and persistent funding problems, occurred in 1872, with the transfer of 112 residents.

*The author is Director of Special Collections at the Maryland State Archives.*



*Main building, Maryland State Hospital for the Insane at Spring Grove, 1877. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

By the 1890s a burgeoning patient population caused many to be housed in tents during the summer months. The overcrowding prompted the General Assembly to authorize funds for a second state facility, Springfield Hospital, which opened in 1896. Even with this new hospital, more than a thousand men, women, and children suffering from mental illness, most indigent or without relatives to care for them, still languished in county almshouses bereft of therapy and proper care.

The first years of the twentieth century heralded a seemingly new era for the mentally ill in Maryland. New hospital construction, largely driven by activist physicians and sympathetic politicians during the Progressive Era, gave a large number of patients access to therapy in a humane and modern environment. Serving originally as a facility solely for African Americans, Crownsville Hospital came into being in 1911. The Eastern Shore Hospital, opened in 1915, alleviated the need of local families to make the arduous trip to see relatives confined in western shore hospitals. The state hospital patient population grew from approximately 1,700 in 1911 to just over four thousand by 1929. The state hospital system included a fifth institution. Technically not a mental hospital, Rosewood Training School, opened in 1889, initially served as a special education and skills training center for white mentally retarded (developmentally disabled) children.

The fortunes of the state mental facilities and their inhabitants always have been intimately connected to the economy. From the end of World War I to the onset of the Great Depression, the national average of per capita patient-care expenditures in mental institutions increased. Between 1929 and 1930, however,



*Crownsville State Hospital, 1912. Organized patient activities served as a significant form of patient therapy before the advent of psychotropic drugs. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-48a.)*

per capita expenditures began to decline, a downward trend that continued until 1934, when it bottomed out. Thereafter, per capita expenditures increased, reaching pre-Depression levels by 1940.<sup>1</sup>

Maryland followed the national trends, but per capita expenditures were well below the national averages.<sup>2</sup> Conditions at state mental hospitals began to deteriorate with the onset of the Depression. Increased patient populations combined with decreased operational funding affected the quality and frequency of daily care and therapeutic activities. "From 1928 to 1932 there were no serious cuts in appropriations and the hospitals were going through a period of fairly rapid development," the mental health commissioner, George H. Preston, wrote in 1935. "All waiting lists . . . [for admittance were] eliminated. In 1933, a twenty-five per cent cut was requested. In 1934, salary cuts were put into effect . . . since 1933 there have been serious cuts . . . which have crippled the hospitals and prevented any really satisfactory development."<sup>3</sup> In 1935 the number of patients in Maryland mental hospitals exceeded the available beds, a trend that persisted through the next decade and a half.<sup>4</sup> By 1936 overcrowding in the system had reached a critical level, prompting a freeze on admissions until a slot opened with a patient's recovery or death.<sup>5</sup> Though several buildings had been completed and equipped, they went unoccupied for want of furnishings and staff.

Per capita expenditures, however, are poor yardsticks with which to measure the level of care provided at the mental hospitals. The general treatment of patients, access to therapy, the discomfort experienced in overcrowded facilities, the



*A scene from the "Industrial Department" at Spring Grove State Hospital, c. 1915. Patients are making raffia baskets. The teacher of this class was once a violent patient. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-109.)*

quality and quantity of food, even the skill of the staff cannot be assessed from these figures. Other intangible factors affecting patient care simply cannot be boiled down to dollars and cents.

Brutality perpetrated upon patients witnessed and documented by a physician from Johns Hopkins Hospital prompted a major investigation at Springfield in 1935.<sup>6</sup> A state investigating committee spent two months gathering evidence from witnesses that included both hospital personnel and patients. They charged attendants with knocking down, choking, slapping, and cursing patients, locking them in chairs, and leaving them alone to soil themselves. One attendant, re-hired after being fired for an earlier cruelty, faced new charges of abusing a patient. Another employee when feeding a difficult woman lost patience and threw the plate at her, cutting her nose. A pair of attendants had enjoyed "tantalizing [two] patients and causing them to fight" so that they could break it up by "kick[ing] the Sam Hill out of them."<sup>7</sup>

A general review of all the state mental facilities followed. The special study committee, organized by Maryland's professional medical society, the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, and commissioned by Governor Harry Nice in Febru-

ary 1936, conducted surveys of the five institutions and made its final report in December. Prefacing their report by remarking that their work was hardly exhaustive but the result of only ten weeks' investigation, the committee noted a general overcrowding of the facilities, "inadequately developed" outlets for occupational therapy, and unfavorable living conditions and low salaries for medical personnel. The study concluded that the medical and nursing care of patients, though better than that provided in "backward states," was "in general below" that found in similar institutions elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

The committee's recommendations for immediate action began with securing funding in the next state budget for opening and operating previously completed new wards and buildings. The members also implored the governor to authorize a commission of "competent citizens" and experts to perform a more thorough examination of the needs and existing facilities for the care of the mentally ill. The committee estimated the cost of the study, which they thought would require two or three years to complete, at approximately \$15,000 per year.<sup>9</sup> The members also recommended that funding for the study come from the New York-based Rockefeller Foundation, the same organization that had underwritten the committee's work. In response to the report, the state's legislators showed their support for a more thorough review of the facilities by passing a strong resolution. They then wholeheartedly distanced themselves from any obligation to provide funding by including the phrase: "such a study shall impose no expense upon the State of Maryland."<sup>10</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation, which already had undertaken a research project to assess the condition of mental hospitals in a sampling of other states, turned down Maryland's request. No thorough study of Maryland's hospitals ever materialized.<sup>11</sup>

By the close of 1939 fiscal conservatism, mandated by the state, made maintaining standards of care, providing regular therapy, and attracting and retaining qualified attendants increasingly difficult. Despite occasional press revelations that all might not be well within the system, conditions at the state's mental hospitals appear to have caused little disquiet among the majority of Marylanders and their political representatives. Few if any outside the medical community knew that the hospitals stood at the edge of a precipice.

World War II set in motion a series of circumstances that ultimately spelled disaster for the Maryland mental hospitals. The staff pay cuts mandated in 1934 as a cost-cutting measure during the Depression had seriously affected the quality of care and overall conditions within the facilities. Attendants, the primary caregivers for patients, had the distinction of becoming the longest working, lowest paid state employees. Working seventy-hour weeks, living at the end of the hall or upstairs from their patients, and knowing that novice prison guards earned higher wages did not induce devotion to their profession. The war brought an abundance of higher paying defense industry jobs to the region and prompted an exo-



*Dr. George Hinrichs Preston, 1937. A Baltimore native and Johns Hopkins Medical School graduate, Preston served as Maryland's Commissioner of Mental Hygiene from 1928–1949. (Courtesy of the Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives, Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.)*

pus of attendants from the hospitals. By 1942 some institutions only had half of their normal staffing complement. Despite successive recruitment campaigns, few new applicants materialized. A handful of conscientious objectors eventually joined the staffs of several of the hospitals.<sup>12</sup>

The depleted ranks and the quality of the remaining attendants brought, in some cases, dire consequences to the hospitals. Dr. George H. Preston, Maryland's Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, routinely forwarded reports of alarming events to Governor Herbert O'Connor and other state administrators. Some officials joined Preston in communicating their own profoundly disturbing observations. "Two small, helpless, defective children at Rosewood choked to death on their food . . . because no responsible individuals were available to see that their food was cut in small enough pieces." A Springfield attendant "was found to be actively insane, sicker than many of the patients he was supposed to care for." "Not only do we have a serious shortage in attendants, but a large proportion of those we do have . . . would hardly get a passing mark on an intelligence quiz. Drunkenness amongst the attendants is, apparently, on the increase and this disturbs me quite a bit." "It was necessary to carry three attendants bodily off the wards at Spring Grove because they became so drunk after pay day." At Springfield two drunken attendants unlocked the door of the women's ward, then solicited and performed



*Kniesche's caption, "Eighty-one working patients sleep in this basement at Cottage "I" Springfield. They have no recreation space (and) few chairs. They go to bed after dinner because there is no place to sit and visit." (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-135a.)*

sex acts with a patient as her roommate slept nearby. "Two patients in the Division for the Feebleminded at Crownsville [were found] pregnant and had apparently become so while patients at the institution."<sup>13</sup>



*Old main building, Spring Grove, 1948. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-128b.)*

Several factors combined to prompt the best and the brightest psychiatrists on staff to flee the Maryland system. First, in keeping with a general national trend, psychiatrists eschewed the faded prestige of hospital careers for more financially lucrative private practices.<sup>14</sup> Second, the most talented Maryland mental health professionals could garner higher salaries, in one case double the amount, by accepting work in another state's system.

Preston, in a confidential, unpublished November 1944 report to the Board of Mental Hygiene that he also sent to the governor, opined that the conditions "are worse than they have been at any time since my appointment as Commissioner in 1928."<sup>15</sup> He singled out Spring Grove as the institution most "fallen behind its pre-war standard." Of the eight doctors on staff, he described three as being competent (one had "no training in psychiatry"), three others suffered from personal problems or psychological limitations that minimized their effectiveness, and the remaining two were "a disinterested individual who avoids work whenever possible" and "not a competent laboratory person . . . employed on an emergency basis." Preston declared that sanitary conditions on the wards at Spring Grove "are worse than I have ever seen them . . . at any time in any State hospital . . . [with] bed bugs and bed bug eggs on two-thirds of the mattresses."<sup>16</sup>

Patients throughout the Maryland system lived in deplorable conditions. Hospital visitors viewed shabbily dressed residents in overcrowded and sparsely fur-

nished wardrooms in buildings whose paint-flaked walls showed ample evidence of deferred wartime maintenance. By November 1944 the Eastern Shore and Springfield hospitals suffered shortages of bed linens, with the latter institution reporting "[we] are experiencing some difficulty at times of even being able to supply our beds, particularly in the wards where we have sick and untidy patients."<sup>17</sup> Newspapers spread over the tops of mattresses proved to be a handy and available substitute. Proper cloth for the manufacture of patient clothing did not exist in great quantities anywhere. The thin blue cheviot material fashioned into women's clothing at Spring Grove was unsatisfactory for dresses and only suitable for wearing indoors.<sup>18</sup>

Conditions at Spring Grove continued to decline. In October 1945, Preston toured the women's ward in the old Main Building and drew up a letter to the hospital board of managers urging them to view the conditions for themselves. He had found women living in near total darkness, rotting floors, dishes being washed in lavatory sinks, and "many patients in restraint and isolation, some of them surrounded by large puddles of urine." In one ward dining room, "the floors were dirty and many of the chairs were encrusted with dried food . . . the serving room . . . in spite of constant and strenuous efforts . . . [was] literally crawling with roaches . . . [and] the whole place smells outrageously."<sup>19</sup>

Hospital conditions continued to worsen even after the war's end. In 1946 a shortage of certain staple foods caused some patients' daily caloric intake to fall below minimum standards.<sup>20</sup> Though each hospital ran a dairy, none could supply its entire patient population with an adequate supply of milk, and most inhabitants went without. Repeated campaigns to attract and hire attendants accomplished little. Spring Grove had only half of the employees it needed to care for three thousand patients; the other institutions faced similar staffing deficits. Lack of staff meant that more patients had to be kept in restraint. Only a minuscule number received therapy.

Several members of the Medical-Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland chastised their own organization for "in no official way [taking] cognizance of the fact that there was a mentally ill patient in the State of Maryland . . . despite the fact that there are more beds occupied by mentally ill people than are occupied by all other types of illnesses combined." The faculty's own Mental Hygiene Committee reported in 1946 that:

All Maryland hospitals are overcrowded beyond any reasonable standard of comfort or safety . . . [with] practically no new buildings constructed during the period of the war. The pay, working hours, and living quarters for employees are the poorest of any group of state employees, and, in consequence, Maryland has never made its state hospital service attractive enough to obtain and keep enough competent personnel.

The group, which included the superintendent of Springfield State Hospital as chairman, summed up its feelings as follows:

The care of the hospitalized mentally ill is largely a public responsibility and the manner in which this service is rendered by governments may be one way of measuring the type of civilization in which one lives. We could do as Hitler did,—liquidate them; we could do as was done up to quite recent times,—chain them; we can do as is still done to a large extent,—lock them up securely and restraint them in a more or less humane manner; we can do a good job as is done by many public hospitals, or we can do a little more than a fair job as is done in Maryland, and be satisfied.<sup>21</sup>

### **Public Interest in Maryland Mental Hospitals, 1946–1949**

From the Depression to the end of the Second World War, the plight of Maryland's institutionalized mentally ill remained hidden from public view. Hospital administrators generally discouraged volunteers or citizens unrelated to patients from visiting their facilities. Official memoranda and scathing confidential reports outlining the deteriorating conditions lay buried on bureaucrats' desks in Annapolis. Occasional newspaper articles focused on the hiring woes of the hospitals. Even the medical community, who earlier had been the steadfast ally of state mental institutions, failed to acknowledge the needs of the mentally ill. The very few Marylanders who desired information on the conditions at the mental hospitals during the 1930s and 1940s had no choice but to wade through numbers presented in an official state publication.

The biennial report of the Board of Mental Hygiene served as the singular major source of information regarding the hospitals. Before 1932 the reports consisted of the commissioner's lengthy narrative of his findings and actions performed, and a brief overview of each hospital written by its resident superintendent, followed by a few simple statistical tables. Sometimes the narrative included a superintendent's plea for a special need. In a cost-cutting measure prompted by the Depression, the post-1932 reports dispensed with narratives, merely listing the arrival and departure of professional staff and incorporating large foldout statistical tables. No longer were administrative pleas for more buildings or additional program support presented in plain language. Scrutiny of the charts served for both the layman and the legislators as the primary vehicle for ascertaining the health of the hospital system.

No one viewed the press as a potential ally in the cause of mental health care. Hospital administrators saw in newspaper accounts of improper care at the hospital only a cause of heartache for patients' families, not a mechanism to lobby for general support from the governor, the General Assembly, and Maryland's citi-



*Student nurses, under the watchful eye of supervisor Nora Coakely, take the pulse of patients in a female ward in the main building at Spring Grove Hospital, 1931. Patients appeared to receive humane care in a comfortable and uncrowded setting. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-102.)*

zenry.<sup>22</sup> Even a small group acting as public advocates for the mentally ill believed that "publicity in regard to certain [uncomplimentary] findings will cause definite prejudice in the public mind, and set back a long time the program of educational endeavor in regard to the insane and the hospitals."<sup>23</sup>

Over time, the role of the public press in informing Marylanders about hospital conditions would become more important but during this period articles appeared infrequently and often only after a perfunctory, staff-directed tour of the facility. In one such piece, P. Stewart Macaulay characterized Springfield Hospital as "the best example of what is being done in Maryland" regarding the care of the insane, and he presented a positive view of the facility. Springfield, he wrote, "violates every popular idea of what an 'insane asylum' should be. There are no vast gray walls and no damp, dark cells."<sup>24</sup> The article, which appeared sometime around 1933, contained two photographs, one of the neo-classical facade of the nurses' residence and another of a spacious patient dining room, sunlight streaming through the banks of windows. No bars or grills appeared on the windows, and some were even open.

A staff-directed tour of a hospital, whether by its brevity or by its intent, often missed much. In 1935, just two years after Macaulay's article, shocking allegations

concerning the mistreatment of Springfield's patients surfaced and attracted much attention. The *Baltimore Sun*, under sensational headlines, described incidents of brutality against patients, pest-ridden facilities, and cases of misfeasance perpetrated by the hospital board. An article entitled "Tells of Finding Bugs in Hospital," reported that an investigator at Springfield found "huge roaches, foul odors and empty beer bottles."<sup>25</sup> A following editorial encouraged Governor Nice to investigate the matter thoroughly and, if necessary, dismiss the entire board, because "the non-political public will not long be tolerant of a brawl in which those 2,500 unfortunates are forgot."<sup>26</sup> The next day an editorial cartoon depicted a male Springfield patient with his head bowed and his face obscured, sitting in despair within his jail-like room. The caption read: "Ultimate Consideration Belongs To HIM."<sup>27</sup> The state investigating committee found that the board of managers had been derelict in their duty of oversight. Ultimately, Governor Nice "suggested" that the board members resign.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the sensational facts revealed in the *Sun*, no public outrage manifested itself in the form of letters to the editor. Neither did a torrent of angry correspondence reach the governor's desk. If the revelations caused anguish among patients' relatives, no outcry for reform at Springfield or elsewhere materialized. Widespread and noticeable public advocacy for the mentally disturbed simply did not exist.

Marylanders may have read some of the firsthand patient accounts published in the late 1920s and 1930s. Many of these narratives depicted mental institutions as therapeutic environments administered by efficient, sympathetic administrators. No longer places of despair, hospitals were sanctuaries of hope where people recovered their senses before rejoining the greater society once more. The brave new world of modern psychiatry appeared to be on the verge of a revolution as new therapies actually cured the chronically insane. Or so it seemed. Positive bias, especially in the later works, obscured potential and actual problems. Innovative therapies had not effectively "thrown open the doors" of these institutions, and by the late 1930s, the settings described within these books had been radically altered for the worse.<sup>29</sup>

By the mid-1930s two small, Baltimore area private groups were interested in Maryland's mentally ill. The Mental Hygiene Society, founded in 1915, consisted of a core of approximately fifty health care professionals. In addition to the operation of the Baltimore psychological screening clinic, its primary focus, the society pursued public outreach activities through occasional conferences, lectures, and publications. Prior to 1933 the group had displayed little direct interest in the state institutions, though its members did perform surveys of state hospitals when requested by officials and engaged in cooperative projects with the Board of Mental Hygiene.<sup>30</sup> The second group, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Patients, arose in 1932. The extent and composition of its membership is un-

known. Founded by Dr. George Wegefarth, a former mental patient, this organization occasionally produced literature and pamphlets publicizing incidents of mistreatment at hospitals in Maryland and elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, the literature often contained diatribes written by Wegefarth against his own relatives, former acquaintances, and business associates. There is no evidence to suggest that the Board of Mental Hygiene or state officials took the group seriously. Neither advocacy group consistently lobbied state politicians.

World War II itself may have been a catalyst for greater public curiosity and awareness about psychiatric disorders. The armed forces classified nearly two million draftees as being mentally unfit for service and rejected them.<sup>32</sup> "There were more psychiatric casualties requiring separation from the service than all other casualties combined," the Medical-Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland's Committee on Mental Hygiene reported in 1946.<sup>33</sup> Articles in postwar popular culture magazines dealing with the psychological problems experienced by U.S. servicemen perhaps awakened a nascent interest in the general public.

Not until 1946, however, did the issue of mental illness and the state of America's mental hospitals come into public focus. Concerns previously swept aside by the urgencies of the war bubbled up in the public consciousness and were reinforced in the nation's media. *Life Magazine* published an illustrated article by Albert O. Maisel entitled "Bedlam 1946" accusing America of neglecting its mentally ill and tracing the pioneering work of the *Cleveland Press* in exposing the intolerable conditions at Ohio's institutions.<sup>34</sup> Millions of *Life* readers saw a series of dramatic photographs starkly depicting sparsely furnished rooms and naked patients labeled "Overcrowding," "Forced Labor," "Nakedness," and "Idleness" and "Neglect." "Despair" featured a nude, emaciated, elderly woman with her face downcast strongly reminiscent of concentration camp images that had appeared in the public press just a year earlier. Maisel's article would be republished as a public awareness brochure and the images used again and again in other publications.<sup>35</sup>

Mary Jane Ward's 1946 semi-autobiographical novel, *The Snake Pit*, provided readers with a literary description of conditions at a New York state hospital as it recounted the daily routine through the eyes of a patient. The work became a Book of the Month Club selection and reached an even larger audience when it appeared in condensed form in the May 1946 *Reader's Digest*. While the *Life* magazine exposé provided emotionally laden textual descriptions, Ward presented readers with a patient's visceral reactions to the dehumanizing details of the current hospital practices, painting an unflattering portrait of these institutions. Her hospital made no provision for daily personal hygiene or attention to appearance. Bathroom stalls lacking doors (and visually monitored by staff) contained only a few sheets of toilet paper rationed for use. Wardrooms were decrepit and without carpet, the staff was indifferent, and the food, unappealing to begin with, was served on dirty plates.

The year 1946 also would prove to be a turning point in the attitude of Maryland's own commissioner of mental hygiene. For reasons unclear at present, Preston, who earlier had been reluctant to appeal to the public press, began to view the media as an ally in the fight to improve hospital conditions. "State hospitals are touchy and frequently defensive," he wrote. "Many are afraid of newspapers. Superintendents take visitors through wards . . . [and] show the best and avoid the worst. Nothing has blocked progress more than the custom of dressing up hospitals for inspection. They should be undressed and served raw. . . . Admit that state hospitals are forced to neglect some patients. The hospitals themselves must publish before conditions can be improved."<sup>36</sup> Preston also invited the U.S. Employees Service to conduct a survey of the hospitals, ostensibly to review hiring practices and general employee satisfaction. This study, funded by the federal government, would also note the general conditions at the facilities.<sup>37</sup> Ten years had elapsed since such a survey had been undertaken by any outside group.

Preston's new spirit of activism presaged a similar philosophical change of stance by the American Psychiatric Association, (APA). In its May 1946 annual meeting, the "organization broke with its long-standing tradition of timidity and institutional isolationism and went on record urging every state mental hospital superintendent to take the lead in exposing to public view any bad conditions that prevail." The APA urged that the facilities open their doors to public scrutiny in an effort to induce state legislatures to grant more money and build public awareness and support for sweeping changes.<sup>38</sup>

Preston encouraged Maryland groups to adopt a more activist stance. In July he wrote the president of the Maryland Mental Hygiene Society to suggest a plan. Believing that progress could only result from recruiting a "a large group of well-informed laymen," Preston suggested a public meeting relating to "what a lay group might do to promote better psychiatry." Although the commissioner distanced himself from any connection to the proposed meeting, he did offer his assistance behind the scenes.<sup>39</sup> For a speaker, Preston suggested Edith Mendel Stern, a psychiatric social worker and writer, who had penned a popular general guide to psychological disorders. A few days earlier, at the 1946 fiftieth anniversary ceremonies for Springfield Hospital, Stern in the presence of Governor Herbert O'Connor had lambasted the state government for the recent decline of the institution and "assailed the low appropriations for the care of the mentally ill by the Maryland Legislature."<sup>40</sup>

At approximately the same time, a Baltimore organization focused its interests on the hospitals.<sup>41</sup> During the summer of 1946, Marie Bauerschmidt, a local reformer, brought to the attention of the officers of the Maryland Junior Association of Commerce, or "Jaycees," that the state hospitals were deplorable and commented that something had to be done.<sup>42</sup> The group hoped to inspect the state institutions and compile a report of its findings. Preston arranged for the mem-

bers of their Public Health Committee to tour the facilities. The Jaycees issued a final scathing report in January 1947.

The press also may have played a part in arousing public attention. The *Sun*, over a series of days, alerted its readers to a food shortage at the hospitals, a shortage worse than anything experienced during wartime.<sup>43</sup> In May 1946 official reports note that the per patient caloric intake at Springfield Hospital fell below 1,700 per day when the acceptable daily caloric intake ranged from 2,200 to 3,300, depending upon the person's level of activity. A resident at the facility implored the state's highest executive, "Patients in this Mental Hospital must be treated Better by the Doctors and the Attendants. You Governor H. O'Conor ordered that all Patients must be fed better. . . . And if the Money runs out you will call the Md. General Assembly for . . . more cash."<sup>44</sup> Angry letters to the editor began to appear in the *Sun*. O'Conor quickly authorized an emergency infusion of cash to re-supply the institutions.

The death of a patient and the ensuing press coverage of the details brought additional public notice to hospital conditions. J. Frank Miller, an eighty-six-year-old resident of Springfield, grasped a safety pin at bedtime on the night of August 15, 1946. The ward attendant, James Weicht, fearing that Miller might harm himself, attempted to take the pin away, thereby initiating a scuffle, during which the elderly man suffered a fractured jaw and leg and numerous bruises around the face. Weicht was unscathed, but Miller later died of a cerebral hemorrhage directly attributed to his injuries. Weicht's actions, labeled as vicious and entirely unnecessary, led to his arrest on the charge of manslaughter.<sup>45</sup> In court testimony, Weicht admitted that he had slapped Miller, causing him to fall, and had then kicked him because "I was afraid he would scratch me" with the pin.<sup>46</sup> The former attendant, who had been discharged from the army in 1943 due to a nervous condition, was found guilty and sent to prison.

By the fall of 1946, the Volunteer Citizens' Committee, a group interested specifically in Maryland hospitals, had organized under the leadership of Mrs. Marjorie Simpson, a local socialite, who hosted its early meetings at her Baltimore home.<sup>47</sup> The committee, initially consisting of eight women and one man, sought to "stimulate interest in and improve the State's mental hospitals" by conducting its own tour of the various facilities and issuing its findings. By December, it boasted more than seventy members, including many influential individuals from the civic, religious, and medical communities.<sup>48</sup>

Under the title "State Hospital Visit Causes Nightmares, Woman Declares," Simpson recounted to *Baltimore Sun* readers her visit to Springfield, which she described as "the best of Maryland's State mental institutions." She did not blame the hospital administrators for the overcrowded and "depressing" conditions but indicted the "the individual citizens of Maryland, the taxpayers whose money maintains the state" since "no tax support has ever gone ahead of public desires."

Preston answered her charges in the next morning's edition, commenting that conditions were crowded but "certainly not shocking" in all areas of the hospitals. He went on to reiterate the acute shortage of attendants and the steps taken to identify and recruit suitable hirees. Simpson reaffirmed her charges the very next day, adding "I do not think that belittling the situation will help things at all. . . . Something must be done, and it should be done now."<sup>49</sup> In fact, Preston privately had encouraged Simpson to found the organization. In his official correspondence he admitted, "I started [her] on this job with the deliberate intention of arousing public opinion. The only thing that has troubled me is Mrs. Simpson's publication of her nightmares. As you will have seen by this time another group has also gotten a little out of hand. However, I believe it can all be used as capital."<sup>50</sup>

In mid-November 1946, Dr. Preston issued a call for all interested Marylanders to assist in improving the conditions within the hospitals. His public appeal, printed in the *Sun*, was prompted by radio broadcast comments made by members of the Jaycees citing "shocking, filthy, and dangerous" conditions.<sup>51</sup> Preston stated that what the hospitals needed most was a state-wide group of organized people informed to stimulate public interest. He admitted to failures and believed that "the public should know" and "all the facts, both good and bad, should be presented."<sup>52</sup>

Preston's call for assistance seems to have struck a chord among certain circles. Several additional organizations, mostly women's groups, came forward to express an interest in studying or discussing aspects of Maryland's mental hospitals. The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, the Junior Women's Club, the Women's Civic League of Baltimore, and the League of Women Voters of Maryland all expressed a desire to learn more about the situation. Of these, the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs assumed the leadership of what might best be described as one of the state's first organized and regularly sustained private volunteer programs. Besides supplying wards with amenities such as radios and phonographs, the federation eventually undertook its own survey of mental hospitals in the fall of 1947. Sometimes, unaffiliated individuals came forward and offered assistance. Mrs. Stanley Lowener initially made a neighborhood door-to-door appeal on behalf of the patients that resulted in little interest. She next had a small notice printed in the *Sunday Sun* that elicited an overwhelming response from across the state. When an article in the *Sun* appeared describing Lowener's efforts, her cellar soon became "chock-full of everything from corsets to a practically new phonograph."<sup>53</sup>

The adverse and controversial publicity brought a proposed state budget that included an additional three million dollars, "practically doubl[ing] the funds available for the operation of the state hospitals."<sup>54</sup> Libby Brown, of the Volunteer Citizens Committee, told Preston that she had "heard rumors to the effect that we were getting in your hair," to which he replied, "You and the people who are help-

Dr. Silas W. Weltmer first served as the clinical director of Spring Grove Hospital. He gained promotion to superintendent in 1935 and held the position until 1949. (Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 4067.)



ing you have certainly not been bothering me. . . . In large part it was the agitation you stirred up that put the State Government in the frame of mind to give us very large increases in money.”<sup>55</sup>

By 1948, in order to sustain the public’s and legislators’ interest, hospital administrators had begun to enlist mass media for their cause in a more deliberate manner. Doctors from Spring Grove delivered scripted interviews over a Baltimore radio station on topics such as treatment procedures in the hospitals, a case study of a fictitious patient, and descriptions for the layman of various mental illnesses.<sup>56</sup> The broadcasts approximately fifteen minutes long were geared to dispelling myths, such as the then-popular notion that electroshock therapy was a panacea. The content of the scripts encouraged frank public discussion on the general issue of mental health maintenance. No broadcast, however, touched upon current hospital conditions.

Newspapers would ultimately prove to be the most effective vehicle for building public awareness. Preston systematically fed information and ideas to the press. The doctor urged the editor of a Towson newspaper to come visit the hospitals so that he might “know what is actually going on here at the present time.” Lou Azreal, a columnist for the *News-Post*, rival to the *Sun* and the second largest

Baltimore daily, began to feature regular opinion pieces that touched upon controversial subjects relating to the state mental hospitals, such as the suspicious deaths of patients. Some administrators followed the commissioner's lead. The superintendent at the Eastern Shore Hospital, Dr. Robert May, penned several two-paragraph news items for the local Cambridge newspapers that were "published without changing so much as a comma."<sup>57</sup>

Not all Maryland hospital administrators were enthusiastic about publicizing conditions in their institutions. Dr. Silas Weltmer, Superintendent of Spring Grove, appears to have been the most reticent. That facility, with several of the oldest buildings in the state hospital system, exhibited some of the worst problems. Weltmer had read *The Snake Pit* and reviews of the forthcoming film version. He opined that the movie "serve[d] no useful purpose since it presents a far from true picture of the nationwide care of mental sickness, and must depend for its success on its sensationalism developed on an unusually ugly picture of one of our nation-wide problems. I have no faith in this type of exploitation presented under the guise of public education to accomplish anything constructive." Other reasons also prompted his reluctance. Weltmer believed that publicity would defame unjustly the dedicated members of his staff, who as a result would become demoralized. He also thought that enumeration of all the failures and questionable incidents likely to surface in a journalistic exposé would reinforce the stigma seemingly forever connected to mental hospitals. Nonetheless, Weltmer did agree that publicity focusing upon the overcrowded and understaffed hospitals might help garner additional monies in the new budget.<sup>58</sup>

### "Maryland's Shame"

During the summer of 1948, in advance of the final draft of the new state biennial budget, the movement to intensify the public awareness campaign relating to hospital conditions entered a new phase. For the first time, Maryland press officials were welcomed into all the facilities to gain firsthand impressions, gather facts, and, most importantly, take photographs.

The prospect of allowing press photographers into the institutions was broached with some of the patients. A psychiatric social worker leading an August group therapy session at Springfield opened the session by mentioning all the things good and bad that had resulted from the recent spate of articles and photographs. That quickly drew criticism. Some group members pointed out "how unfair it was to publish pictures of naked women, as from their own experience on disturbed wards they were well aware of the impossibility of keeping clothes on some patients. One patient said that she 'would rather be dead than have her picture taken when she was disturbed.' Another said she could not see why anybody would want to take pictures." The social worker went on to describe how a series of images documenting a patient's journey to health might lessen the public's

fear of state hospitals and mental illness. The group reacted favorably to that idea, even suggesting approximately twenty scenes for a photo narrative.<sup>59</sup>

By mid-August of 1948, in spite of the wishes of certain patients for hopeful pictorial narratives, photojournalists and reporters began roaming the hospital wards to document some of the current, unflattering conditions. William Manchester of the *Evening Sun*, assisted by staff photographer Ralph Dohme, produced a series of illustrated articles that ran from August through November 1948 that emphasized the overcrowded conditions at the hospitals.<sup>60</sup> Manchester started with Crownsville, the most crowded, and visited all five state facilities. In Weltmer's absence, Preston escorted the reporter through Spring Grove, "showing him particularly the crowded portions but giving him a chance to see the less crowded and more favorable things." The commissioner told Weltmer, "I think this is sound procedure, because it is emphasizing overcrowding, is being done in a relatively conservative way, and will help ultimately with money. There will be disagreeable times, and some of the relatives will be made very uncomfortable, but I think we cannot help that."<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, Manchester's series was done so conservatively that it failed to promote greater sympathy in the legislature or widespread public outcries for immediate change. Several factors may have contributed to its failure. The articles of the series ran several weeks apart, diminishing the effectiveness of the campaign, and the titles minimized the magnitude of the situation. The heading of the piece on Springfield was: "Springfield State Hospital Is Pleasant, But Crowded." Descriptions, while sometimes spelling out unwholesome conditions, were more technical than emotionally charged and were presented through the eyes of the hospital administrator. No effort was made to connect the reader with the plight of an individual patient, and Ralph Dohme's photography was much understated compared with the images in *Life's* "Bedlam 1946" article.

Although Dohme's Crownsville photographs illustrated the concept of overcrowding, they did little to build the case for intolerable or unwholesome conditions. Empty beds crowded together implied a problem, but did not communicate a sense of urgency. The wards Dohme selected to photograph appear to have housed individuals with less serious psychiatric disorders. Properly clothed patients, who did not exhibit stereotypical forms of mental illness, probably did little to evoke outrage or sympathy in readers, and in fact few apparently took notice.

Nevertheless, some citizens wrote to the governor in reaction to Manchester's series. One person thought the state hospitals and other facilities "no better than the Concentration Camps of Hitler and Stalin" and asked, "Are not people more important than roads and bridges?" A husband and wife found it "surprising that such primitive conditions are allowed to continue," adding that "if the present staffs . . . are not capable of doing these jobs then let us get people who are." In his



Photographer Robert Kniesche purposefully posed these Rosewood residents to illustrate their age range. The Sun caption read “Children 6 to 60. Many of Rosewood’s ‘children’ stay there until they die of old age. More than half are over 21, some are as old as 70.” (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-145b.)

reply to the couple, Governor Preston Lane mentioned that in 1947 he had doubled appropriations for the hospitals and was at “a loss myself to understand why conditions have not been improved.”<sup>62</sup>

Improved conditions, of course, could not come about through a singular infusion of money. A general disinterest in the hospitals exhibited by a succession of governors and state legislators ensured that unsatisfactory conditions persisted. A late August 1948 request by Preston urging key members of the legislature to appoint committees to tour the hospitals, spending one full day at each, appears

to have elicited no response from lawmakers. Several months later, the Mental Hygiene Society of Maryland planned a private showing of *The Snake Pit* for state legislators and other key officials, presumably so that they might view an approximation of conditions within Maryland's hospitals.<sup>63</sup>

Preston then permitted another *Sun* reporter, Howard M. Norton, accompanied by Robert Kniesche, head of the newspaper's photography department, to tour the hospitals for two full months in the fall of 1948.<sup>64</sup> This time the scope of the study was to be far wider, and it exposed the more unseemly details of the institutions. Norton had a reputation as a no-nonsense investigative reporter. Dropped behind German lines during the hard-won Italian campaign of World War II, he had delivered to the world the first report of Mussolini's death (he stood nearby as partisans mutilated the dictator's corpse). Recently he had won a Pulitzer Prize for his series of articles on the scandalous administration of workmen's compensation in Maryland. Now he wielded his pencil and his notebook inside the halls of the state hospitals. One of Springfield's board members, Helen Tingley, wrote Governor Lane to warn him: "Knowing Mr. Norton to be a Hatchet Man, I feel you should be prepared for his articles." She went on to note that a number of pictures were taken, "showing beds tightly packed closely together, and patients sitting without an inch of space," with the intention of contrasting them with more idyllic conditions present in 1914.<sup>65</sup> Norton and Kniesche would finally focus the attention of state officials and the general public on Maryland's mental health institutions.

Robert Kniesche's photographs, for which he would later win an award, may have lacked the dramatic foreboding and artistic qualities of those featured in *Life's* "Bedlam 1946" series, but they effectively conveyed the intolerable to the viewer. His series mixed spontaneous photographs and photographer-orchestrated scenes. Kniesche, as did the Brady Studio photographers during the Civil War, sometimes arranged the subject matter to provide a better photograph for his intended narrative. At the Rosewood Training School for Mentally Retarded Children, for example, Kniesche sat younger patients alongside older ones to present viewers with the contrast in residents' ages. Though that was feasible at Rosewood, it is doubtful Kniesche could have successfully accomplished such staging at the four mental hospitals. The ward scenes at those institutions are more likely the result of the photographer's eye scanning selectively for subject matter within a constantly changing setting. During his visit to Springfield, "one of the [female] patients immediately fell enamoured of him, hugged and kissed him violently and he rushed out of the cottage, white and scared as a ghost."<sup>66</sup>

By mid-December 1948, Howard Norton had finished work on his series. Dr. Preston personally reviewed the drafts of Norton's first seven articles, those that specifically related to the institutions, checking facts for accuracy and occasionally suggesting revisions. Preston, knowing the exposé was going to be harshly



*On January 9, 1949, thousands of Marylanders awoke to this image of a crowded day room at Springfield State Hospital. Sun photographer Robert Kneische noted on the back of the image, "only 126 chairs are provided for its 226." (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-133b.)*

*Kneische cropped this photograph for the more dramatic effect pictured above. (Maryland State Archives.)*



critical of the institutions, notified the Board of Mental Hygiene in a confidential memorandum of its impending publication, warning them that the articles "will undoubtedly produce a volume of adverse public opinion." Superintendent Weltmer remained doubtful of the probable outcome, believing "the only possible hope of benefit from the Norton outburst would be the stimulation of a supplemental budget. The chance of success of such a manouever is one to a thousand. . . . I can see little chance of its doing anything but considerable harm to our cause."<sup>67</sup>

Little that Norton documented and Kniesche portrayed in photographs could be considered positive in hospitals that had been recently labeled "pleasant, but crowded." Norton chose the title "Maryland's Shame" perhaps as an allusion to Albert Deutsch's recently published exposé *Shame of the States*, a book of grim reports and grainy photographs of conditions at mental hospitals across the nation. "Maryland's Shame" revealed to the public all the sordid details, shortages, and systemic problems that had characterized the Maryland state mental hospitals for the past twenty years. Much of this same information had been passed on to a string of governors and other state officials in letters and reports only to be summarily buried within thick administrative files.

Norton's series would join a growing number of exposés on American mental hospitals. The December 1948 release of the movie *The Snake Pit* delivered similar scenes, replete with the wardroom chaos, chilling screams, and the routine degradation of patients. *Time* magazine, with the film's star Olivia DeHavilland on its cover, informed readers, "Even the hospital conditions shown in the picture, bad as they are, are actually far better than those in most state institutions."<sup>68</sup>

The initial article of the "Maryland's Shame" series arrived on Marylanders' doorsteps on January 9, 1949. The public outcry came swiftly and appears to have been directed largely at Governor Lane.<sup>69</sup> After reading just the first installment in the series, dozens of concerned citizens sat down to pen or type notes of outrage at conditions that many termed "un-American." Given the political climate of the times, characterized by both national and state efforts to ferret out Communists from public service, the use of the term un-American was not without special meaning. Soviet Communists had supplanted Nazis as the ultimate political evil. To allow mentally ill American citizens to live under such conditions violated the democratic principles upon which the nation was built. Many requested that funds from public projects be immediately redirected to alleviate the sufferings of the patients. One citizen demanded: "I think it is time we dropped the thoughts of stadium, Bridges, Office Buildings and Roads that we can do something for the large number of inmates of these institutions . . . now locked up in the state of Maryland's filthy concentration snake pits with no care or attention."<sup>70</sup> Lane, in his January 5 address to the newly convened General Assembly, had minimized the seriousness of Maryland's hospital conditions by commenting that "precisely



Sun caption, "PICTURE OF A GIRL GOING INSANE. This 'psychopathic' girl was sent to Spring Grove over a year ago for treatment that would adjust her to normal life. Instead of getting help, she was put in the 'violent' ward, then into solitary confinement in a dark cell, where she lies day and night on a thin mattress on an odorous floor. She is growing more bitter and sullen. Lately she has begun cutting herself to get attention. She still gets no treatment. Soon she will be a chronic case." (Maryland State Archives, MSA-S-195-129.)

the same situation exists in every state of the Union, without exception."<sup>71</sup> Many citizens rejected this excuse and demanded immediate action.

Norton's straightforward report to Marylanders, supported by photographic evidence and placed daily on the front page, conveyed the urgent message that the improvement and reform of mental hospitals could wait no longer. Unlike Manchester's flowing paragraphs, Norton used a staccato style of writing, short sentences filled with vivid descriptions, all designed to provoke a visceral reac-

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tion. "Attendants have been known to steal patients' money . . . get drunk on duty and even rape female patients" appeared under the sub-heading "Patients Grow Worse Instead of Better." "Thousands of State-supported patients live like animals. Some roll in their own excrement on the floor at night. Others sleep on thin, reeking mattresses on equally reeking floors because there aren't enough beds."<sup>72</sup>

Kniesche's photographs, often three or more columns wide, were notable in two important ways. First, they provided strong evidence to support controversial statements within the articles. The legs of a young boy restrained in a straight jacket bear smudges which the caption describes as being "his own and other children's filth."<sup>73</sup> A photograph of the men's ward dormitory at Spring Grove features nude men lying upon bare mattresses without blankets because such articles were simply not available. The photographs also evoked empathy. The photograph of the young boy described above prompted one viewer to ask the governor: "Imagine Him who took little children in his arms and blessed them beholding such a sight. Can you imagine a smile of approbation?"<sup>74</sup> Another powerful

Sun caption, "THIS IS A WOMAN. Naked she huddles in a coarse sheet on the odorous, filth-stained floor of a battered, run-down seclusion room at Spring Grove Hospital's "main building." The room is dark. She eats on the floor, like an animal. She will probably spend her life this way." (Maryland State Archives, MSA-S-195-122b.)





A hospital photographer's view of a Spring Grove Hospital sun porch in 1931. The presence of well-dressed and groomed patients communicates that the institution is providing adequate care. It is likely that these individuals suffered less serious forms of mental illness. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-100.)



Robert Kniesche captured this image of a sun porch at Spring Grove in 1948. Chronic understaffing, public apathy, and parsimonious politicians permitted these conditions to exist. Kniesche wrote, "Nude and semi-nude patients loiter before open windows in mid-winter. They spend all their days this way, completely idle. The scene is in Spring Grove's Bland-Bryant building." (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-122a.)



Sun caption. "Epileptic women, most of them 'soilers,' sit in locked chairs on a barred sun porch in Cottage 2 of the Springfield epileptic colony." (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-137b.)

photograph portrayed a young woman at Spring Grove, admitted for an acute nervous disorder. Because she lacked access to curative therapy, her condition had been degrading. Growing more bitter and sullen, she soon became a chronic case. One photograph portrayed her with her head cast downward, sitting on a thin mattress on the bare floor in the corner of a dirty isolation room. The caption read: "Picture of a Girl Going Insane." Kniesche revisited her later in the series. Then she was partially nude and crouching upon the floor, her besmeared face, though partially obscured to protect her anonymity, expressing what can only be described as desperation. A partial caption informed that this was indeed a woman, though "she eats on the floor like an animal [and] will probably spend her life this way."<sup>75</sup>

The series removed a veil from the eyes of some Marylanders, and their letters to the governor exhibited a range of emotions. One couple declared that "We were horror stricken to read of Germany issuing orders to destroy useless and demented people. Yet right here in own state, these same mentally ill cases are . . . condemned to a slow, tormented death by, seemingly, a system of gross neglect."<sup>76</sup> An Eastern Shore man suggested:

shared the history of his own son's mental illness. While a junior at a local elite high school, the boy had experienced a "breakdown" that ultimately progressed to schizophrenia. At the age of thirty-four, he now resided at Springfield. The father, wracked by guilt, wrote to Governor Lane: "You can imagine, I believe, how I must feel at having condemned my son to possibly a long life (he may live 50 years) sitting on a chair with nothing to do, as pictured on the 'Sun' photograph." He concluded: "For his sake and for the sake of hundreds like him, I beg that you will see your way clear to do something really constructive about the intolerable condition of the State hospitals."<sup>80</sup> Despite the photographs, some still found it hard to believe Norton's assertions were entirely truthful. One citizen expressed doubts that half of what Norton reported had substance and that "certain portions . . . may or may not be over-stated."<sup>81</sup> The writer nonetheless hoped something would be done to improve the conditions, no matter the actuality of the situation.

Can we assess the accuracy and general veracity of Norton's series? We know that Commissioner Preston reviewed all the facts relating directly to the institutions before publication and that "he deliberately 'called down the avalanche of publicity.'" <sup>82</sup>As a man hoping to arouse public opinion, it follows that Preston might have allowed some exaggerations to creep into Norton's commentary.

The reactions of Dr. Weltmer, the most reticent hospital superintendent, are in that respect illuminating. Weltmer opposed sensationalism. In a point-by-point review, he critiqued the articles that portrayed Spring Grove, yet he took umbrage with only three statements, which he labeled "gross exaggerations." The first involved the improbability that a solitary attendant could place straight-jackets on dozens of disturbed women and place them into locked chairs. The second concerned Norton's opinion that the morale of the hospital staff was desperately low. Lastly, Weltmer took exception to the assertion that Spring Grove's buildings were falling apart. Still, what the superintendent did not refute is more telling. Weltmer confessed, "It is regrettable that there is as much basic truth in Mr. Norton's criticism as I have been forced to admit."<sup>83</sup>

In similar fashion, the Board of Visitors from Rosewood State Training School examined and critiqued Norton's findings. The tone of their response was one of measured defensiveness. Norton's criticism of the school and its educational program drew several pages of text discussing the teaching philosophy and even the qualifications of the teachers. To Norton's blunt assertions about lingering poor conditions, though, they offered much less criticism. In response to the statement, "In a single basement room at Hill Cottage, 150 low grade 'romper' boys spend all their days chattering, fighting, gesturing and soiling themselves," the board could but only counter, "That is a relatively satisfactory answer to an otherwise unsolved problem."<sup>84</sup>

The Maryland legislature finally came to see for itself the conditions within

the state mental hospitals. Although the state hospital system as a whole traditionally garnered one of the largest budget appropriations—generally behind roads and education—few if any legislators had ever stepped inside a mental hospital. Some were sickened by the sights and smells. Of course, the visiting committee blamed the Department of Mental Hygiene and its administrators for the deplorable conditions, even though the legislature itself had cut the department's requested budget amount "every year for the last ten years." It proposed a complete restructuring of the department and reclassified the positions of commissioner and all the superintendents to an "acting" status. It further requested that all the hospital boards of managers be summarily abolished.<sup>85</sup> The recommendations were speedily enacted.

On January 24, 1949, just five days after the last of Norton's series appeared in the *Sun*, Governor Lane recommended an emergency twenty-three million dollar appropriation for the hospitals. In an address to the House of Delegates, he outlined a plan that would release funds immediately to improve hospital conditions, provide salaries for additional attendants, and allow for building construction and physical plant maintenance. By the end of 1949 a relative of a patient at Spring Grove could thank the state's chief executive for the much improved conditions that included "better ventilation, lack of objectionable odor, cleaner bed coverings, and [the] better groomed appearance of the patients."<sup>86</sup>

### Aftermath

G. H. Preston took early retirement from his position as commissioner in May 1949. Before Preston left office, he spoke at a meeting of the American Psychiatric Association Mental Health Institute, relating his views on how to attract and keep attention focused on mental hospitals. Howard Norton happened to be in the audience that day, as Preston recounted his experiences of the past three years. He had found that superintendents often refuted the startling headlines and "as soon as someone tried to show the public that the horror wasn't total—the public lost interest." Regarding Manchester's exposé with its balanced perspectives Preston remarked, "No one paid any attention to those articles. There were pictures and many people did not even know they had been published." Speaking of Norton's effort, he declared, "The thing was beautifully done. . . . There was no mention of anything good about the hospitals."<sup>87</sup> Preston credited "Maryland's Shame" with finally arousing the interest and support of Marylanders.

Even the once reticent Superintendent Weltmer appears to have had a change of heart regarding the possible useful role of media. In notes prepared for an April 1949 radio broadcast, Weltmer wrote that "opening our doors to the public and press" was essential for promoting good public relations, which he ascribed to every mental hospital superintendent as a primary function.<sup>88</sup> Weltmer, like Preston, chose to take early retirement.

Howard Norton's articles brought both short- and long-term ramifications for the state mental hospitals. Most importantly, regular scrutiny by members of the press and private citizens ensured that conditions would not again degrade to the abysmal levels found just prior to 1949. In December 1949, Norton toured the hospitals once more with a photographer. In his "Report to the People," he compared these new images with the earlier ones, demonstrating that progress indeed had been made. The Sunpapers continued to act in a watchdog capacity, reporting and publishing additional exposés on hospital conditions three, six, and ten years afterward.

Full-fledged volunteer efforts soon commenced at all the institutions. Private citizens began to monitor the conditions on a daily basis. Two hundred and twenty-three organizations began to visit the hospitals, bringing gifts and providing entertainment for mental patients. Each of the 1,800 patients at Crownsville awoke on Christmas morning 1949 to find a wrapped gift. Sixty television sets provided by volunteers soon graced state hospital wardrooms where patients could "keep in contact with the world about them as it grows and changes." Some of the dayrooms sported "cushiony easy chairs" and "colorful drapery." Painted murals appeared on the walls of certain wards in Spring Grove and Springfield. Beauty shops opened to serve female residents. A canteen for patients, organized and run by volunteers at Spring Grove, supplied inhabitants with snacks and sodas in a relaxed, non-institutional setting. Even spaces for religious devotion were built or set aside. "The wants of our patients go beyond the material needs of food and medicine which the State can and does supply. It is in the area of person-to-person giving, the friendly outstretched hand, that the volunteer performs his miracles and makes the difference between a life of soul-sickness and a life of hope."<sup>89</sup>

The effectiveness of Howard Norton's series is best summed up in the words of a career Maryland mental hospital administrator. Dr. Kenneth Jones had seen conditions firsthand, having held the position of superintendent at three of the institutions. An active, dedicated, and effective administrator, Jones had been named chairman of the Mental Hygiene Board of Review. He credited Norton's series with unleashing the public's indignation upon state executives that finally brought about the improvement in hospital conditions. In Jones's opinion, the "public officials of Maryland, who controlled the purse strings," did not wish to acknowledge the gravity of the situation "despite repeated and urgent warning by . . . the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene and others . . . that Maryland's hospitals were in a precarious state." "Without the impetus supplied by the Sunpapers and Mr. Norton as an unprecedented public service to the State hospitals, the enormous amounts of money made available for improvement and expansion of these hospitals most surely would not have come to pass."<sup>90</sup>

Yet, even with this infusion of money and attention, a patient wrote newly elected Governor Theodore R. McKeldin in January 1951 that "there is room for

improvement here at Spring Grove. Spring Grove is crowded. More doctors are needed. . . . There are many fine attendants here that deserve more than just a bare living." He implored the governor not to lose sight of the mentally ill because "our values become terribly warped and twisted when we place appropriations for 'things' above and beyond the care of sick persons."<sup>91</sup>

In June 1952 a frustrated Kenneth Jones stepped down from the Board of Review, citing philosophical differences regarding the general reorganization of the Department of Mental Hygiene and the relative ineffectiveness of his own position as the major reasons for his departure. In a supplemental report to the governor, Jones noted that although ex-officio members from both the Maryland House of Delegates and Senate had been appointed to the board at its January 1951 founding, they had not attended the meetings.<sup>92</sup>

Still, for a while, the patients at Maryland's mental hospitals would not be hidden or forgotten. The Sunpapers continued to report and to take photographs, serving as the vehicle for Maryland's collective consciousness. Other newspapers—*The Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Baltimore News-Post*, and the *Washington Post*—sent their reporters into the institutions. The ongoing publicity helped sustain interest in the patients and their well-being within a core of citizens. The membership rolls of the Maryland Mental Hygiene Society, soon to be renamed the Maryland Mental Health Association, swelled from just fifty in 1948 to approximately five thousand by 1951.<sup>93</sup> By the mid-1950s, even the Department of Mental Hygiene began publishing its own illustrated public information magazine. At least for the next decade, news about the hospitals flowed freely. Now, only those who were willingly blind to the conditions remained uninformed.

The Spring Grove patient's plea not to "place appropriations for 'things' above and beyond the care of sick persons" went unheeded. It appeared that the public and their political representatives soon forgot about the images. By 1958, less than ten years after "Maryland's Shame," both Springfield and Spring Grove lost their accreditation due to overcrowding and the lack of medical staff.<sup>94</sup> After touring the latter institution that year, a grand jury member commented: "The conditions under which these wretched, deranged human beings are obligated to live are shocking beyond belief."<sup>95</sup> Adequate funding for the cause of mental health never materialized, despite the best efforts of a few genuinely interested and supportive politicians. A recent appraisal of Maryland's experience with community mental health centers during the 1960s through the mid-1970s declared of that period: "The state had never been committed to spending the funds necessary for the project. A brief hope for Maryland's mentally ill had ended, with little auguring of future reform."<sup>96</sup>

NOTES

For Grace, Regina "Gina," Stella, and Daniel, residents of state mental hospitals during the period of this study—I remember you.

Special thanks to Dr. Lawrence Mintz, American Studies Department, University of Maryland College Park; Dr. David Helsel, Clinical Director, Spring Grove Hospital Center; Linda Raines, Executive Director, and Diane Cabot, Regional Director, Maryland Mental Health Association; Paul McCardle; Jim Bready; Sam Hopkins; Ed; Bill and Jane; and Johanna (former volunteer at Willard State Hospital, Willard, New York).

1. Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society, 1875–1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 289. The national average of per capita patient care expenditures in mental institutions had increased modestly, rising from \$282 in 1922 to \$312 in 1929. Between 1929 and 1930, however, per capita expenditures declined from \$312 to \$302 and continued downward until 1934 when it bottomed out at \$246. Thereafter, per capita expenditures increased, reaching pre-Depression levels by 1940.
2. The cost to maintain a patient in a Maryland state mental hospital declined from \$261 in 1931 to bottom out at \$199 in 1934, rising only to \$233 by 1940. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society*, 219. The 1934 figure comes from Report of the Committee of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland...Survey...Feebleminded, December 1936, p.16, Executive Commissions...Boards, (Reports), Govpub 805991.
3. George Preston to Dr. Esther L. Richards, December 30, 1935 (Richards, Dr. Esther L., re: Survey of White and Col'd Insane), Commissioner of Mental Hygiene Correspondence, 1928–1949, Maryland State Archives. Hereinafter the following abbreviated citation will be used for items from this record group: Comm. Corr. (name of file), MSA.
4. "Movement of Population...1910–1935," Comm. Corr. (Number of Patients...Construction," Board of Mental Hygiene, February, 1936 — brown binder containing statistics).
5. "Curtaiment of Admissions to State Hospitals," November 1936, Comm. Corr. (Reports to Board Members, 1928–1929).
6. *Sun*, December 6, 1935. Dr. Adelaide Johnson witnessed the aftermath of a choking incident. The same patient would later die under mysterious circumstances.
7. Report of State Survey Commission on Springfield State Hospital, October 2, 1935, 4–8, Governors Papers (Subject File) 1920–1938, MSA 1046. Hereinafter the following abbreviated citation will be used for items from this record group: Gov. Corr. (name of file), MSA.
8. Report of the Committee of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland ... Survey ... Feebleminded, December 1936, 11, Executive Commissions ...Boards (Reports), Govpub 805991.
9. Manfred Guttmacher to George Preston, January 12, 1938, with draft of letter to Dr. Allan Gregg, Rockefeller Foundation, 8, Comm Corr. (Commission to Survey Facilities), MSA.
10. Joint Resolution No. 4, May 18, 1937, 1353, Laws of Maryland, 1937, MSA.
11. Yet money did, in fact, exist to perform the investigation. It was simply diverted to other matters. Hundreds of thousands of dollars went toward the construction of the State Office Building in Annapolis. This reproduction of an eighteenth-century public building opened its doors in 1939. Just a few years prior to this, approximately \$175,000 (private donations) was authorized to renovate and expand the Governor's Mansion. The Victorian façade did not harmonize well with the surrounding structures.
12. For the meager salary of \$2.50 per month, plus room and board, these young men provided some relief to the overburdened hospital staffs. Approximately sixty men served.

13. George Preston to Honorable Governor Herbert O'Connor, February 9, 1942, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1940–42, Mental Hospitals—Budget Requests; Joseph Clark to Governor O'Connor, July 18, 1942, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), Board of Mental Hygiene, 1940–42; George Preston to Governor Herbert O'Connor, November 4, 1940, Comm. Corr. (Investigations—State Hospitals); George Preston to Dr. R. P. Winterode, January 15, 1940, Comm. Corr. (Investigations—State Hospitals), MSA.
14. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society*, 286–87, 316; see also Grob, *The Mad Among Us: A History of the Care of America's Mentally Ill* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 130–31, 196–97.
15. Confidential Report . . . Present Conditions in State Hospital, November 25, 1944, 1, Gov. Corr. (gen. file) 1945–1946, Mau-Mil, folder labeled: Legis—proposed (Budget Req) (Mental Hospitals) 1945. Overcrowding at Crownsville had reached 30 percent; that at Spring Grove and Springfield stood at 11.6 and 11 percent, respectively. The staffing ratio ranged from 15:1 at Eastern Shore to 27:1 at Crownsville. In contrast, overcrowding in the 1930s appeared to be range in the 1 to 2 percent range. The national staffing average, based upon 1941 figures, was 11:1. See Grob, *The Mad Among Us*, 232. Grob assigned the ratio during World War II as 6.8:1.
16. *Ibid.*, 6–8. Much of the information on Spring Grove's wartime conditions were forwarded to Dr. Preston in the form of unofficial reports by Myrtle L. Simpson (possibly a member of the Board of Managers) starting as early as the winter of 1943.
17. Robert May, Eastern Shore State Hospital to George Preston, November 14, 1944; Kenneth Jones, Springfield State Hospital to George Preston, November 22, 1944, Comm Corr. (Bed Linens: Report on Situation in State Hospitals), MSA.
18. Silas Weltmer, Spring Grove State Hospital, to George Preston, November 24, 1944, Comm. File, (Bed Linens), MSA.
19. George Preston to [Spring Grove] Board of Managers, October 23, 1945, Comm. Corr. (Spring Grove—Conditions in Buildings, Notes on Inspections), MSA.
20. George Preston to Mr. Walter Kirkman, Director, Department of Budget and Procurement, May 22, 1946, Comm. Corr. (Food in State Hospitals), MSA.
21. Report of the Committee on Mental Hygiene, Medical-Chiurgical Faculty of Maryland, April 24, 1946, 1, 3, 4, Comm. Corr. (Medical-Chiurgical Faculty—Committee Report), MSA.
22. G. H. Preston to Hon. Albert C. Ritchie, December 14, 1929, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), MSA. Preston, through a mix of compassion and regard for the feelings of hospital administrators, shied away from any negative publicity regarding the institutional conditions. Regarding ongoing administrative problems at Springfield in the late 1920s, Preston said, "I am very anxious that this matter be given no publicity because of the effect it would have on the relatives of the patients in the hospital. Such publicity would do the hospital damage which it might take years to overcome."
23. Mental Hygiene Society, Minutes of 1935, undated typescript comments relating to the Springfield hospital investigation of 1935, Mental Health Association, Baltimore.
24. Dielman-Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society (clippings from *Sunday Sun Magazine*).
25. *Baltimore Sun*, December 7, 1935.
26. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1935. Governor Nice had appointed a State Survey Committee to review the performance of various state departments and institutions. The committee quickly re-directed their investigative energies toward Springfield.
27. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1935.
28. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1936. Nice did not have the power to remove them.
29. American publishing houses, from 1926 to 1937, produced a series of former mental patient narratives. A partial list includes Emily Cleman, *The Shutter of Snow*; Jane Hillyer,

*Reluctantly Told*; An Inmate of Ward 8, *Behind the Door of Delusion*; Marion King, *Recovery of Myself*; Elsa Krauch, *A Mind Restored*; S. W. and J. T. Pierce, *The Layman Looks at Doctors*; and William Seabrook, *Asylum*.

30. Yet, the society appears to have been unwilling or unable to consistently lobby the General Assembly on legislative issues relating to mental illness or the mentally ill. Limited funding, provided by the Community Chest, may have been a factor in the inaction.

31. Wegefarth penned an exposé, "Escape From a Madhouse," describing his personal experiences in a Maryland private and public hospital.

32. Grob, *The Mad Among Us*, 193.

33. Report of the Committee on Mental Hygiene, Medical-Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, April 24, 1946, 3. Comm. Corr. (Medical-Chirurgical Faculty—Committee Report), MSA.

34. It is possible that the name of the piece may have been inspired by the 1946 horror film *Bedlam*, starring Boris Karloff, which provided a glimpse into eighteenth-century London's Bethlehem Hospital (pronunciation corrupted to "Bedlam").

35. *Life* reprinted the article and the Mental Hygiene Foundation provided the publication to interested parties. The image of nude male patients sitting grouped upon the floor ("Idleness") served as the cover image of the *Reader's Digest* reprint of Mike Gorman's "Oklahoma Attacks Its Snakepits" (1948).

36. Quotes appeared excerpted in *The Starry Cross Newsletter*, March 15, 1946, Comm. files (Mental Hygiene-Popular Mental Hygiene Movement) MSA, from *The Modern Hospital*, March, 1946.

37. "Survey of Employment Practices . . . 5 State Mental Hospitals of Maryland," Govpub 811624, MSA.

38. Albert Deutsch, *The Shame of the States* (1948; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1973), 170–71.

39. Preston to Rev. Edward Bunn, July 20, 1946, Comm. Corr. (Maryland Mental Hygiene Society), MSA.

40. *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1946.

41. The earliest discernible public probe into a Maryland mental hospital by a private group occurred in 1941–42. Members of the Maryland NAACP investigated allegations of patient abuse and other irregularities at Crownsville. Evidence exists of press coverage in the *Baltimore Afro-American* upon this issue. Official hospital correspondence indicates that the allegations were investigated and refuted. See Comm Corr. (Crownsville—*Afro-American*).

42. Though we cannot say with certainty what prompted the Jaycees to embark in this direction, Samuel L. Hopkins, a former president of this organization, recalls an important 1946 dinner meeting at the home of a Maryland reformer. Notes of telephone interview, May 21, 2001. Hopkins served as president in 1949.

43. *Sun*, May 30–31, June 1, 5–6; *Evening Sun*, May 31, 1946; George Preston to Walter Kirkman, May 26, 1946, Comm. Corr. (Food in State Hospitals), MSA.

44. Alvin Anderson, Ward E, Springfield to Governor Herbert O'Connor, September 9, 1946, Gov. Corr. (gen file), 1945–46, Springfield . . . for Insane, MSA.

45. Governor O'Connor to Dr. Kenneth Jones, September 4, 1946, see other attachments, particularly letter to Viola A. Miller, August 17, 1946, Gov. Corr. (gen file) 1945–46, Springfield . . . for Insane, MSA.

46. *Sun*, September 4, 1946, v.f., EPFL; see also September 3 for more details.

47. *Sun*, November 14, 1946.

48. Citizen's Committee For Mental Hygiene to Governor-elect Preston Lane, December 19, 1946 Gov. Corr. (General File) Mental Disease Hospitals, Legislative-salary increases 1947–48.

49. *Evening Sun*, November 2, 1946; *Sun*, November 3, 1946; *Evening Sun*, November 4, 1946.

50. George Preston to Miss Vinnie Crandall Hicks, November 14, 1946, Comm files (Maryland—Popular Mental Hygiene Movement), MSA.
51. "Help for State Hospitals Asked," *Sun*, November 14, 1946.
52. Onion skin typescript dated November 1946, Comm. Corr. (Maryland—Popular Mental Hygiene Movement), MSA. Almost concurrently, both Preston's and Edith Stern's comments on the entire country's hospital conditions appeared in *Time* magazine. The former held that "[The mental hospitals] are nearing a crisis; the latter characterized the care of the mentally ill as a "national disgrace." See "This Shame," *Time*, November 11, 1946, 76.
53. *Evening Sun*, undated clippings, (February, 1948)?
54. George Preston to James G. Rennie, November 16, 1948, Comm. Corr. (Report for Budget Message of governor—Accomplishment B.M.H.), MSA.
55. George Preston to Miss Elizabeth Brown, January 14, 1947, Comm. Corr. (Maryland—Popular Mental Hygiene Movement), MSA.
56. The talks were delivered on WCBM radio during the summer and fall of 1948. See Comm. Corr. (Radio Talks—Spring Grove Hospital), MSA.
57. George Preston to Mr. Logie Bennett, Editor (*Jeffersonian*), Comm. Corr. (Newspapers—Release from Bd. Mental Hygiene), MSA; *Baltimore News-Post*, November 7, 1948, v.f., EPFL; Robert B. May to Dr. George H. Preston, November 16, 1948, Comm. Corr. (Eastern Shore State Hospital, 1948–1949), MSA.
58. Silas Weltmer to Mrs. Helen Tingley, January 4, 1949, Comm. Corr. (Spring Grove—Correspondence, 1938–May 30, 1949).
59. Group meeting notes by Nancy K. Wright, West II, women, August 6, 1948 (attachment to Henrietta B. De Witt to George Preston, August 18, 1948). Comm Files (Springfield, Social Service).
60. Mr. Manchester was approached for his insights while researching this article but declined to be interviewed. Manchester had come to the *Sun* from the *Daily Oklahoman*. The latter paper's maverick reporter Mike Gorman had masterminded an exposé of that state's mental hospitals, his articles appearing in the *Daily Oklahoman* during the summer of 1946. *Reader's Digest* published a synopsis of Gorman's findings and the strategy to win additional funding for hospitals in its September 1948 issue.
61. George Preston to Dr. Silas Weltmer, September 2, 1948 Comm. Corr. (Spring Grove Correspondence 1938–May 30, 1949), MSA.
62. Dorothy Dyer to Governor Lane, September 21, 1948, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1948. Mr. and Mrs. Richard Thompson, December 9, 1948 to Governor Lane, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), Mental Disease Hospitals, 1948, MSA.
63. *Evening Sun*, September 3, 1948; also George Preston to Joseph R. Brynes, August 30, 1948, Gov. Corr. (Mental Disease Hospitals, 1948); Lynn Adams to George Preston, December 9, 1948, Comm. Corr. (Mental Hygiene Society—Hospital Study), MSA.
64. Neil H. Swanson, the Sunpapers Executive Editor, looked to Mike Gorman's investigative work in the Oklahoma hospitals for his model and attributed his "inherent curiosity which is an indispensable part of the equipment of a newspaper editor" with prompting the second look. Neil Swanson to George Preston, April 1, 1949, Comm. Corr. (Newspapers—Letters, List of County Papers), MSA; James H. Bready, a *Sun* cub reporter at the time, attributed the new series to be a manifestation of the inter-paper rivalry that existed between the staff of the *Morning* and the *Evening Sun*. Swanson, forever looking for the big story, merely allowed an aggressive reporter from the *Morning Sun* to follow his instincts.
65. Helen Tingley to Governor Lane, Friday [December 13, 1948] Gov. Corr. (Mental Disease Hospitals, 1948), MSA
66. See Philip J. Jensen to Governor Lane, February 15, 1949 regarding the staging of Rose-

wood images, Govpub 793060, (Rosewood State Training School and Hospital, 1914–1985); Helen Tingley to Governor Lane, Friday [December 13, 1948] Gov. Corr. (Mental Disease Hospitals, 1948), MSA.

67. *Maryland's Shame* [booklet edition], 63; George Preston to Board of Mental Hygiene, December 16, 1948, Comm. Corr. (Reports to Board of Mental Hygiene, 1940–1949). The tone of the letter reflects that Preston had indeed a detailed knowledge of what would appear within the articles. Silas Weltmer to Mrs. W. E. Perry, December 23, 1948, Spring Grove Hospital Center Archive.

68. *Time Magazine*, December 20, 1948, 52.

69. In contrast, only a handful placed blamed on the hospital administrators.

70. Robert D. Shipley to Mayor of Baltimore [and forwarded to the Governor], January 16, 1949.

71. Message of Governor Lane, January 5, 1949, Governor (Miscellaneous), 1938–1958, Govpub 882951, MSA.

72. *Maryland's Shame* [booklet edition], 62; *Sun*, January 19, 1949.

73. *Maryland's Shame* [booklet edition], 8.

74. C. W. Sullivan to Governor Lane, January 9, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), Legislation 1949, MSA.

75. *Maryland's Shame* [booklet edition], 44.

76. Mr. & Mrs. William J. Love to Governor Lane, January 11, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949, MSA.

77. A. C. Kenly to Governor Lane, February 2, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949, MSA.

78. (Miss) Jeannine Moler to Governor Preston Lane, January 11, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949, MSA.

79. J. R. Foxwell to Governor Lane, January 24, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949, MSA.

80. Thomas Machen to Governor Lane, January 10, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949, MSA.

81. T. E. Carson to Governor Lane, January 10, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949, MSA.

82. *Sun*, March 11, 1949.

83. George Preston to Sen. P. G. Stromberg, February 7, 1949, Gov. Corr. (Mental Hospitals) 1949, MSA.

84. Philip Jensen to Governor Lane, February 15, 1949, 4, Govpub 783060, Rosewood State Training School, 1914–1985, MSA.

85. Report of the State Senate and House Committee to Study State Mental Hospitals, March 1949, Appendix B, 4, Spring Grove State Hospital, Document #80SDO21, Maryland State Law Library; *Sun*, February 13, 1949; see also *Evening Sun*, January 14, 1949.

86. Carol J. Schaeffer, December 5, 1949, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1949–1950, Spring Grove State Hospital—Membership, 1949–50.

87. *Evening Sun*, April 14, 1949; *Sun*, April 14, 1949.

88. "Notes for Radio Broadcast Recording, April 22, 1949," typed manuscript on Silas Weltmer's letterhead, Spring Grove Hospital Center Archives.

89. Helen Tingley to Albert Quinn, August 6, 1951, Gov. Corr. (gen. file), 1951–52 (Mental Hygiene Advisory Board), MSA.

90. Dr. Kenneth B. Jones to Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, June 23, 1952, 3, Dept. of Mental Hygiene, Mental Hygiene Board of Review (gen. file) 1951–1961 (Annual Reports 2nd), MSA.

91. James R. Henderson, Jr. to Governor-Elect McKeldin, January 2, 1951, Gov. Corr. (General File) Congratulations, 1951–1952, MSA.

92. Dr. Kenneth B. Jones to Governor Theodore R. McKeldin, June 23, 1952, 3, Dept. of Mental

Hygiene, Mental Hygiene Board of Review (gen. file) 1951–1961 (Annual Reports 2nd).

93. Spotlight on Mental Health, May 1953 (Bulletin of the Maryland Mental Hygiene Society).

94. *The [Washington] Sunday Star*, November 23, 1958; also *Washington Post*, November 24, 1958.

95. *Washington Post*, November 24, 1958

96. Jonathan Engel, "The Lost Way: Community Mental Health in Maryland, 1960–75," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 95 (2000): 475.

## Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

### The Handbook of Traugott Bromme: A Nineteenth-Century German Immigrant's Guide to Maryland

RICHARD L. BLAND

In the early 1800s, Europeans came to the United States in large numbers. Among them was Traugott Bromme, who arrived in 1820. He traveled about the country and, before returning to Germany, carried out the duties of surgeon aboard a Columbian warship and spent time in a Haitian prison. During his travels he faced many of the problems encountered by all immigrants in a new land.

Immigrants to America, many of whom were Germans, frequently arrived with no prospect of a job and unable to speak English. In order to aid these people, Bromme wrote a travel guide for German emigrants that went through at least five editions by the year 1848. That year's edition was entitled: *Traugott Bromme's Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika, Texas, Ober- und Unter-Canada, Neu-Braunschweig, Neu-Schottland, Santo Thomas in Guatemala und den Mosquitoküsten* [Hand- and Travel-Book for Emigrants to the United States of North America, Texas, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Saint Thomas in Guatemala, and the Mosquito Coast], 5th edition. Bayreuth: Verlag der Buchner'schen Buchhandlung, 1848. The book of more than 550 pages is divided into two parts. In the first section, Bromme provided an overview of the individual (U.S.) states, territories, or countries where an emigrant to North America might find himself. In the second part, Bromme dealt with the problem of who should and who should not emigrate, discussing about a hundred professions. Bromme touted his book "as the most urgent and accurate purveyor of information on the conditions of the western world, in so far as emigrants might be interested."

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Bromme did not intend that all of his books be used solely as guides. For example, in 1842 he published the second volume of his two-volume set *Gemälde von Nord-Amerika in allen Beziehungen von der Entdeckung an bis auf die neueste Zeit: Eine pittoreske Geographie für Alle, welche unterhaltende Belehrung suchen und ein Umfassendes Reise-Handbuch für Jene, welche in diesem Lande wandern wollen* [Portrait of North America in All Connections from the Discovery to the Most Recent Time: A Picturesque Geography for Everyone Who Seeks Entertaining Instruction and a Comprehensive Traveler's Handbook for Anyone Who Wants to Travel in this Land]. As is apparent in the title, these volumes were intended not only as travel guides but as entertaining instruction too. According to Joseph Sabin's 1869 *Dictionary of Books Related to America*, Bromme produced at least twenty-three titles, some of them multiple volumes and some supplements to the works of others, such as Alexander von Humboldt. All his works were geographic in nature.

I have left Bromme's spellings, errors, and omissions as they are in the original, trying not to intrude upon the author. However, I have changed his punctuation and word organization in order to bring the text more in line with modern idiomatic English, as well as breaking the text into more paragraphs.

### Bromme's Maryland

The state of Maryland, cut into two parts by the Chesapeake Bay, lies between 38° and 39° 45' north latitude and between 2° east and 2° 30' west longitude.<sup>1</sup> It borders Pennsylvania in the north, Delaware and the Atlantic Ocean in the east, and Virginia in the south and west, from which state it is separated by the Potowmac River, and has the larger half of the District of Columbia lying within its boundaries. The greatest extent of the state from north to south amounts to 108 miles, and from east to west 198 miles, and its surface area, with the Chesapeake Bay, is 14,000 (square) miles, without it 11,317, or 7,242,880 acres.

The form of the land is exceptionally diverse. The east coast is low, flat, and sandy. The west coast of the bay is for the most part lowland. The middle part of the state is hilly, the western mountainous, even mountain ranges. The land in the east is sandy and mixed with many low places, standing water, and rich meadows. The hill land has rather good loam. Between the South Mountains, which form the eastern mountain chain of Maryland, lie fertile valleys. Farther west are the Blue (Ridge) Mountains, which begin with the North Mountains, and after which follow the Sideling Hills and Ragged Mountains, and finally the Alleghanys. Between these mountains the ground is like the mountain districts of Pennsylvania. The most fertile lands lie in the western part of the state, and on the Potowmac, whose banks are especially productive. Maryland is excellently watered. The most important navigation in this state has been opened through the Chesapeake Bay, which stretches from Cape Henry in Virginia, at 36° 58' north latitude, up to the

mouth of the Susquehanna, at 39° 35' north latitude, a distance of about 180 miles and from 5 to 20 miles wide, with a depth of 6–9 fathoms. There are several small bays in Maryland, of which Fishing and Eastern Bays are on the east side, and Herring Bay on the west side. The rivers which flow into the Chesapeake Bay, at the same time the chief rivers of the state, are: the Susquehanna, the Patapsco, Putuxent, and Potowmac on the west side, and the Elk, Sassafras, Chester, Choptank, Nantikoke, and Pocomoke on the east.

The climate is very mild. On the hills the sea winds cool the heat to some degree. In the valleys in summer, on the other hand, immoderate heat reigns. Changes and extremes of temperature meanwhile are also common here, and in winter the thermometer often falls to 12°.² In the low regions, east of the mountains, the summer and fall are unhealthy and intermittent fever reigning, it being much more pleasant in the hills in the western part of the state.

Agriculture is eagerly pursued in the west, and with the same success as in Pennsylvania: white wheat and corn are the main products. Oats, barley and rye are not as much grown. By contrast, palmachristi [castor oil plant], peas, beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes and peanuts³ are raised in quantity. In the south and east is plantation agriculture, and tobacco is the chief product from this. Cotton is only grown a little and used for the most part in domestic weaving. Flax and hemp, on the other hand, are raised in quantity in the west. Vegetables and fruit are abundantly present, and all the lands-people have considerable apple, peach, and cherry orchards. Little attention is given to maintaining meadows, and livestock breeding is therefore in bad circumstances. Only in the western counties is a kind of winter stabling carried out, otherwise the stock remains on its own in the forests.

In eastern Maryland the forests are in bad condition. Gray magnolia, pine, fir, and oak grow in the sandy soil. In the damp lowlands are cedar and cypress, and along the rivers: maple trees, elm, and linden. Chestnut, walnut, hickory, hazelnut, various species of oak, large-blossomed magnolia, sassafras, dogwood, and tulip trees are at home in western Maryland. Healing plants can be found growing wild everywhere in the land.

There is no lack of minerals: chrome-iron and ordinary iron-clay are mined at Baltimore. Coal can be found in various places, as well as lead, arsenic-copper, bloodstone, agate, jasper, marble, lime, and malachite.

Manufacturing has increased substantially in recent times. Iron works, machinery works, glass factories, distilleries, flour and powder mills, hat manufacturing, rope factories, sugar refineries, and cotton mills are the most important enterprises of the land. Foreign trade is substantial and is supported by 13 banks, 70 wholesalers, and 117 commission houses. Domestic and retail trade is conducted through 2,562 shops of all types. The chief export articles include flour, tobacco, wood, pickled meat, peas, beans, iron, and so on.

The first settlers of Maryland were English Catholics who sought asylum in the New World. They were followed by Irish, German, and, after the revolution on St. Domingo, the French and Dutch. The western counties are occupied for the most part by Germans and their descendants. The total number of inhabitants at present approaches 495,541, among which are 62,078 free coloreds and 89,737 slaves.

Public instruction is much attended to and consists of several colleges: Washington College in Chestertown, St. John's College in Annapolis, St. Mary's College and the University of Maryland in Baltimore, and Mount St. Mary's College in Emmetsburg. There are 127 academies with 4,178 students and 567 elementary schools with 16,982 students.

Although the state was founded by the Catholics, all sects enjoy complete religious freedom. The most numerous religious groups are the Catholics with 1 archbishop and 60 churches, Episcopalians with 77 ministers, Presbyterians with 25 ministers, Baptists with 20 clergymen, Methodists with 172 traveling preachers, German Reformed with 9 parsons, and Unitarians, Quakers, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

The constitution of the state is from 1776. The legislative power is composed of a senate, which is selected for 5 years, and the representatives of the people, which are renewed every year. The governor is newly elected every three years. Beside him stand a council consisting of 5 members. The debts of the state amount to 15,109,026 dollars.

Two of the greatest public works in America have been realized in the state of Maryland. The first is the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which begins in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, stretches on the Potowmac to Cumberland, and from there along Wills Creek, Yougiogheny, and Monongahela to Pittsburg, and is supposed to cover 341¼ miles. It is completed up to Cumberland, 185 miles, and goes down to Alexandria. A tunnel of 4 miles length will carry it through the Alleghany Mountain range, and its complete lock system amounts to 3,215 feet. The construction costs are estimated at \$9,347,408, with which the Union has taken part, the state of Maryland 3 million. The second great work is the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, of 360 miles length, which is supposed to end at Wheeling on the Ohio, and which the state with 3 million and the city of Baltimore likewise with 3 million have divided. This work also is completed to Cumberland. A branch line of the this railroad, of 30¼ miles length, goes from Patapsko to Washington. Other works in the state that are already open: the Baltimore and Port Depot Railroad, which stretches 36 miles from Baltimore to Havre de Grace; the Baltimore-Susquehanna Railroad, 56 miles from Baltimore to Little York; the Reisterstown branch line, which begins 6 miles from Baltimore and stretches 8 miles to Reisterstown; the Wilmington and Susquehanna Railroad which goes from Havre de Grace 32 miles to Wilmington, Del.; and the Annapolis-Elkridge Railroad, which stretches 19¾ from the Washington branch line to Annapolis.

Maryland is split up into 21 counties, of which 8 lie east of Chesapeake Bay, the other 13 west, and each county is divided into hundreds, not into townships, as in other states.

The most important cities of the land are: Annapolis, at 38° 59' north latitude, at the mouth of the Severn, capitol of the state, residence of the governor, the central administration, and the general assembly. It is a friendly city, but conducting only insignificant trade, with a handsome state house in the middle, from which the streets radiate out as from a circle. There are 2 churches, St. John's College, 1 market house, 1 bank, a theater, and about 400 houses and 4,792 inhabitants. Baltimore, at 39° 20' north latitude, is a significant trade city on a bay that stretches from the mouth of the Patapsco northwards inland. It is surrounded by gentle hills, is cut through by Jones Falls, and separates the new city from the old city, and the latter from Fells Point, a large suburb along the harbor. The latter, earlier a swamp, is at present dried up and offers excellent straight streets. Indeed, not so regularly laid out as Philadelphia, the city nevertheless has fine straight streets, which for the most part cross at right angles. The most pleasant is Market or Baltimore Street, which goes through almost the whole city. The city contains a fine council house, a splendid exchange, 49 in part magnificent churches, 10 banks, 8 market houses, 1 poor house and 1 hospital, 1 state penitentiary, the St. Mary's and Baltimore College, 1 library, 1 museum, several academies and elementary schools, 3 theaters, 1 circus, about 10,000 houses and 164,309 inhabitants. The harbor in Patapsco Bay, commonly called the Bassin, can hold 2,000 ships and is protected by Fort M'Henry. There are also Frederiktown, at 39° 26', on Carrols Creek, in Monococy Valley, with 8 churches, 862 houses and over 6,592 mostly German inhabitants; Hagerstown, with 7 churches, 698 houses and 8,490 inhabitants; Snowhill, on the Pocomoke, with 2,300 inhabitants; and Cumberland, on the canal and railroad, with 4,803 inhabitants; all friendly cities conducting respectable land trade and enterprise.

#### NOTES

1. Bromme separates east and west longitude, that is, forms a prime meridian, at the present longitude of 77° west. This apparently is because 77° west longitude runs through the nation's capitol, Washington, D.C.
2. In other parts of his book Bromme uses Reaumur, a thermometer scale with 0° at freezing and 80° at boiling.
3. Bromme uses the term *erdeicheln* (lit. "earth acorns"). I translate this as "peanuts."

## Kent County and Chestertown in 1860

HAROLD W. HURST

Part of what is, and has long been, a history-laden region possessing immense charm, Kent County in 1860 was an archetypal Eastern Shore county with social attributes more similar to those of the southern states than to Pennsylvania, which lies only a few miles to the north. This essay includes a general description of Kent County and Chestertown on the eve of the Civil War and an analysis of the county's antebellum society as a microcosm of that of the entire Eastern Shore region.<sup>1</sup>

In 1860, Kent County, like the rest of Maryland's Eastern Shore, was overwhelmingly rural and largely isolated from the economic developments that had contributed to the rise of Baltimore and the transformation of a large part of western Maryland. No railroad had, as yet, traversed the county, and its fifty tiny manufacturing establishments employed only 104 people. Most Kent Countians on the eve of the war owned or worked on its 760 farms and plantations, which grew Indian corn, oats, wheat, and Irish potatoes for local use or shipment to the Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia markets. Tobacco culture, which had enriched the slaveholding planters in the colonial and Federal periods, was almost extinct by 1860. Most of the county's farmers prospered by raising livestock or growing grain crops. Despite these agricultural changes, however, the local economy failed to diversify and, like the rest of the Eastern Shore, Kent County remained a pastoral region untouched by industrialization, immigration, or significant population growth.<sup>2</sup>

Fishing activities alone supplemented the predominantly agricultural economy. Some free blacks and many poor whites managed to scrape a modest livelihood from the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and the Chester and Sassafras Rivers. The village of Rock Hall became a habitat for watermen as early as 1707, when it became a center of the regional oyster trade. Thousands of oysters were tonged each day by Chesapeake watermen. Oyster stands and restaurants, many of them owned by free blacks, were a picturesque feature of Chestertown, Rock Hall, Galena, and Georgetown throughout the nineteenth century.

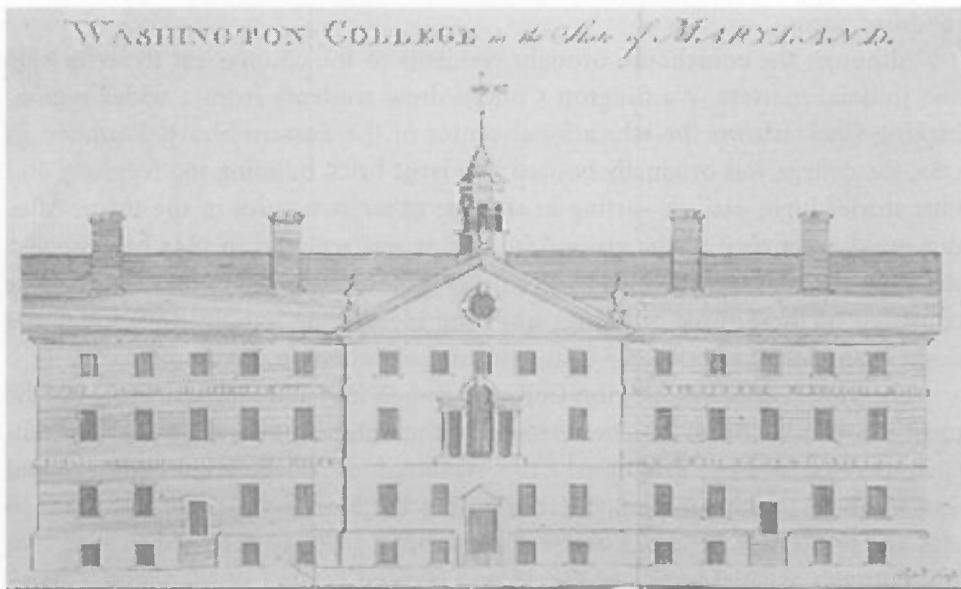
Kent County in 1860 had 13,207 inhabitants. Most of its 7,347 white residents were of British stock, since few foreigners had found their way to the isolated Eastern Shore. Chestertown, an important eighteenth-century tobacco port, was still the largest town and county seat in 1860. With a population of 1,539, it was the largest town on the Eastern Shore north of Easton. Its importance was enhanced

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by the presence of Washington College, the only institution of its kind in the region. Located on the Chester River only a few miles from the Chesapeake, the town served as a ferry terminal with connections to Baltimore as well as a marketing center for Kent County and neighboring Queen Anne's County. The other villages in Kent County such as Rock Hall, Millington, Galena, Massey, and Georgetown contained only a small collection of residences and, perhaps, a general store, blacksmith shop, hotel, and post office, in addition to the inevitable Methodist church.<sup>3</sup>

Few small towns in antebellum America outside of New England harbored more architectural gems than Chestertown. Numerous colonial and Federal-era mansions graced the Chester River waterfront, lending the town a distinctive and elegant ambience. During the 1840s and 1850s renewed agricultural prosperity resulted in the construction of new homes in the Greek Revival and Italian Villa styles, adding to the rich and variegated architectural landscape of the old town on the Chester River. A lovely example of the Italianate style was Captain James Taylor's waterfront house erected about 1857. New mansions also sprang up in the county's rural areas. The 1850s saw the construction of Greek Revival and Italianate manor houses like Stepney Farm in Broadneck; Spear Farm near Millington; Moreton Hall near Sassafras; Mount Airy in Fairlee Neck; and the magnificent Brampton built in 1860 by Henry Ward Carvill IV, a scion of an old Kent family. The latter is now a bed and breakfast lodge.<sup>4</sup> The present courthouse saw the light of day on the eve of the Civil War. Designed in the Italianate style, it added a prestigious appearance to the central portion of the town. Bearing a stone tablet

*Washington College, 1784. (Maryland Historical Society.)*





*Montebello, Georgetown, c. 1890. The Joseph Sturges family built this house on "Deadman's Lot" in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Future owners named this once simple and elegant Federal style home Montebello and, in the post-Civil War fashion of modernizing "dull old houses," remodeled it in the American Gothic style shown above. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

over the front double windows marked "1860," it still stands today in a somewhat modified form.<sup>5</sup>

Although the courthouse brought residents to the county seat to settle legal and judicial matters, Washington College drew students from a wider region, making Chestertown the educational center of the Eastern Shore. Founded in 1782, the college was originally housed in a large brick building 160 feet long and four stories high, easily dwarfing in size the other structures in the town. After this building burned to the ground in 1827, it was replaced in 1844 by a smaller structure that was later flanked by two other buildings erected in 1854. The college consisted of these three buildings until the 1890s; they remain until today the finest examples of Greek Revival architecture anywhere in the county.<sup>6</sup>

The president of Washington College between 1843 and 1867 was probably the most illustrious citizen of Chestertown in the antebellum era. Ezekiel Forman Chambers (1788–1867) graduated from Washington College at an early age and was admitted to the bar in 1808. He served in the Maryland Senate from 1822 to 1825 and in the U.S. Senate between 1826 and 1834, when he resigned to accept an appointment as chief justice of the Second Judicial District of Maryland. Cham-

TABLE 1: Wealthiest Persons in Kent County, 1860

Name	Occupation	Real Property \$	Personal Property \$	Total \$
Baker, R.	Farmer	38,000	20,000	58,000
Biddle, Frances	Widow	52,800	1,000	53,800
Brooks, George	Farmer	40,500	10,000	50,500
Chambers, Ezekiel F.	Lawyer	60,000	77,000	137,000
Comegys, Edward	Farmer	125,350	10,000	135,350
Eliason, Thomas W.	Merchant	30,000	58,000	88,000
Gale, John	Farmer	40,000	15,000	55,000
Janvier, William	Farmer	36,000	26,000	62,000
Kennard, Thomas	Farmer	37,600	48,000	85,600
McCauley, Dennis	Farmer	49,000	12,000	61,000
Oldam, George	Farmer	50,000	30,000	80,000
Perkins, G.W.T.	Farmer	56,000	36,500	92,500
Reese, Abel J.	Farmer	65,000	11,600	76,600
Ricaud, James B.	Lawyer	63,000	23,000	86,000
Slaughter, Henry B.	Merchant	50,000	20,000	70,000
Spear, James Jr.	Farmer	60,000	5,000	65,000
Spencer, George M.	Farmer	36,200	15,000	51,200
Spry, Caleb	Farmer	76,000	34,000	110,000
Usilton, Joseph	Farmer	40,000	12,000	52,000
Wethered, John	Farmer	42,000	15,000	57,000
Whaland, Thomas	Physician	30,000	25,000	55,000
Wilkins, Edward	Farmer	56,000	9,000	65,000

Source: *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Population Schedule, Kent and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), roll 477, microcopy 553. Listed are all persons whose total wealth was more than \$50,000. Real property consisted of land and buildings; personal property included bank accounts, stocks and bonds, furniture, plate, jewelry, and slaves. This list highlights the prevalence of large landowners among the county's socio-economic elite.

bers was also a delegate to the Maryland constitutional conventions of 1851 and 1864. An active member of Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Chestertown, he also found time to attend to his farmlands in the county's fifth district. His town properties included "Widehall," a grand brick mansion facing the Chester River. The 1860 census reported Chambers as the owner of \$137,000 in real and personal property, making him the wealthiest person in the county.<sup>7</sup>

The oldest church building in Chestertown is Emmanuel Episcopal church, erected in 1772. Georgian in style, it was sixty-six feet long and forty feet wide, with a five bay façade and three bay gables laid in all header bond. The church was renovated in the 1890s along Romanesque lines. The other two leading churches in antebellum Chestertown were the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant churches. The latter congregation erected a church in 1858 at the corner of Cross and Cannon Streets that still stands today and serves as a commercial building. An African American group started a congregation in 1831, which today is designated as the Janes United Methodist Church.<sup>8</sup>

A description of Chestertown in 1860 would not be complete without reference to its commercial activities. As in many other small towns in nineteenth-century America, the larger stores served not only local residents but also customers who lived miles beyond the town boundaries. Establishments owned by the Wickes Brothers, C. H. Keaton, B. B. Perkins, Thomas Hynson, and Price and Fowler sold dry goods, clothing, boots and shoes, and hardware to farmers and villagers from all over Kent and nearby Queen Anne's County. No merchant was a match for the aggressive entrepreneur Thomas W. Eliason, who continuously posted huge advertisements in the *Kent News* broadcasting the availability of cheaply priced items including dry goods, clothing, boots and shoes, hats and caps, blankets, and groceries as well as liquors, spices, sugar, and tea. Eliason, a native of Delaware who came to Chestertown in 1842, became by 1860 one of the town's richest residents. Not content with his thriving general store, he opened a lumber business in the 1850s that sold hemlock, oak, and poplar boards and planks. He also poured some of his profits into the purchase of farmland so that by 1860 he was a large landowner as well as a wealthy merchant.<sup>9</sup>

Some firms and individuals offered more specialized services to Kent County residents. John Greenwood's carriage factory, according to an editorial item in the *Kent News*, produced vehicles "which one could favorably compare to any in the state."<sup>10</sup> Several restaurants also prospered in this period. One was J. P. Boston's Kent Restaurant on Princess Street, which boasted of a bar that served "Porter,

*Palmer House, Chestertown, c. 1910. The only remaining stone house in Chestertown is John Palmer's "Rock of Ages," built in the years immediately following the American Revolution. (Maryland Historical Society.)*



TABLE 2: Slaves, Free Blacks, and Whites (in percentages), Eastern Shore Counties of Maryland, 1860

County	% Slaves	% Free Blacks	% Whites
Caroline	6.7	25.0	68.3
Cecil	4.0	12.2	83.8
Dorchester	20.1	22.9	57.0
Kent	18.9	25.7	55.4
Queen Anne's	26.1	21.2	52.7
Somerset	20.4	18.3	61.3
Talbot	25.2	20.0	54.8
Worcester	17.7	17.3	65.0

Sources: Charles B. Clark, ed., *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1950), 1:513, 514. Percentages calculated by author from numerical data.

Lager Beer, Cobblers, Smashes, Punches, Julips, etc.” Women operated millinery shops.<sup>11</sup> Eliza Smith and Mrs. L. C. Shaw owned shops in Chestertown, and Mrs. S. E. Ringgold opened a business for “ladies and children” in her Millington residence.<sup>12</sup> Dentists, too, advertised their services. B. D. Hyde, a graduate of Baltimore Dental College, opened an office in a building near the Methodist Episcopal Church. W. C. Steward announced that he would stop by at McDaniels’s Hotel to “serve those who needed his professional advice.”<sup>13</sup>

A county seat and the site of a notable college, Chestertown also served as a commercial center for the whole northern region of Maryland’s Eastern Shore. Like many other small towns in antebellum America, it was more important than its size and population suggested.

### Society and Politics

Antebellum Kent County displayed the social, racial, religious, and political characteristics found throughout the Eastern Shore. Society was dominated by large landowners who played a paramount role in politics and community affairs. Another feature common to both the county and the Eastern Shore was a large African American presence, which included many free blacks. Throughout the county and region, Methodists were the largest religious denomination. Finally, Kent County, like the rest of the area, was conservative in political sentiment.

The landed gentry were the dominant social class during the colonial and Federal periods. Tobacco plantations worked by slaves were the principal feature of the local economy and the entire Eastern Shore throughout the eighteenth century. As late as 1790, Kent County’s large slaveholders such as Alexander Brisco, John Lambert Wilmer, James Myers, John Brooks, William Pearce, James C. T. Ringgold, James Cannon, James Frisby, and Richard Miller, maintained a refined and elegant style of living by selling tobacco in the world market.<sup>14</sup> By early in the nineteenth century, however, tobacco culture had been replaced by a more diver-

TABLE 3: Number of Churches in Maryland Eastern Shore Counties, 1850  
(with Methodist percentages of total number of churches)

County	Methodist	Episcopal	All Other Churches*	Methodist % of Total
Caroline	16	0	5	76
Cecil	26	3	10	67
Dorchester	21	2	3	81
Kent	26	6	5	70
Queen Anne	16	5	2	70
Somerset	35	12	10	61
Talbot	19	5	4	68
Worcester	41	8	11	68
Total	200	41	50	69

\*Other churches included Baptists, Friends, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics.

Source: J. D. B. DeBow, Superintendent of the United States Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), Appendix, 229–30. Percentages in the right column are rounded to nearest whole number.

sified agricultural system based on grain crops and livestock. Nevertheless, the gentry still owned the largest estates and continued to dominate society and politics as in earlier times.

According to the 1860 census only fourteen Kent County farmers owned single farms larger than five hundred acres, but some landowners owned several properties whose total acreage numbered in the thousands.<sup>15</sup> Edward Comegys, for example, owned the family manor in Quaker Neck in addition to four other farms with a total acreage over four thousand.<sup>16</sup> In 1860, Comegys owned \$135,000 in real and personal property, a substantial fortune. Other gentleman farmers in the county were also men of considerable wealth. Of the twenty-three richest men in the county in 1860, eighteen were primarily involved in agriculture while the others enlarged their fortunes by purchasing farms with profits made in business or the professions. Land was still the major source of wealth in antebellum Kent County, and wealthy farmers formed the socio-economic elite.<sup>17</sup>

As in the rest of the Eastern Shore and many parts of the border and southern states, the landed elite controlled nearly every county activity. Wealthy landowners and lawyers served on the vestries of Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Chestertown, St. Paul's in Fairlee, and Shrewsbury Parish Church. They played an active role in the formation and direction of the Kent County Agricultural Society and the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. The gentry also filled most of the high county offices and seats in the state legislature, while a few rose to prominence as members of Congress. The U.S. Senators from Kent County—James Lloyd, Philip Reed, Ezekiel Forman Chambers, James Alfred Pearce, and George Vickers—were all scions of old county landholding families.<sup>18</sup>

One of Maryland's leading agricultural reformers hailed from Chestertown. Edward Wilkins was widely known as a breeder of superior livestock and a successful cultivator of fruits, especially peaches. He experimented with the growth of apricots, peaches, and nectarines under glass. In 1836, Wilkins founded the Kent County Agricultural Society and in 1847 helped start the Maryland Agricultural Society. He was also a chief contributor to the *American Farm Magazine*. Like other gentleman farmers he was attracted to politics and was elected to the Maryland Senate in the late 1850s.<sup>19</sup>

As elsewhere on the Eastern Shore, many of the large estates in Kent County were worked by whites and free blacks rather than by slaves. Slavery declined in Maryland and Delaware during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1790, for example, Kent County had 5,433 slaves who constituted 43 percent of the population; by 1860 the 3,509 slaves were only about 19 percent of the total number of inhabitants. Free blacks increased in number from 665 or 5 percent of the population in 1790 to 3,410 or about 26 percent of the population in 1860. In Chestertown in 1860, free blacks outnumbered slaves and formed 26 percent of the population.<sup>20</sup> On the eve of the Civil War, free blacks and the poorer class of whites formed a large proportion of Kent's laboring class which was primarily occupied with working the large estates owned by the socio-economic elite. These groups also supplied much of the labor that sustained the local fishing industry.

Although most free blacks worked as farm laborers, artisans, fishermen, and household domestics, a sizable portion of this group owned their own farms. According to the 1860 census, 283 free blacks in the county were property holders. Most of the plots were small, for only two owned more than \$2,000 in real and personal property while six others possessed more than \$1,000 worth of property. Several of Chestertown's restaurants, saloons, and butcher shops were owned by free blacks. Levi Rodgers, for example, operated the Cape May Saloon, which sold oysters and "Terrapins in season." William Perkins maintained the Rising Sun Saloon, located near the courthouse. Perkins was an active leader in the African American community and in 1852 represented Chestertown in the first political convention for blacks held in Maryland. Most free blacks, however, formed a proletariat situated at the bottom of the social ladder, whose top rung was occupied by large landowners dependent upon both slaves and freemen for their labor supply.<sup>21</sup> In 1860, the presence of a large number of free blacks was a unique feature of society in Maryland's Eastern Shore and in neighboring Delaware. Most northern states had relatively few blacks while in the South all but a handful were not free.

Another distinctive aspect of society on the Eastern Shore and the entire Delmarva Peninsula was the overwhelming predominance of Methodists in the religious life of the region. During the eighteenth century, the Church of England was the leading denomination, although the region held a sprinkling of Quakers

and a few Presbyterian congregations. Beginning in the 1790s and especially after about 1810, Methodism swept like wildfire across the Shore. The religion of John Wesley attracted the masses with a simple theology of free will and an emotionally charged style of worship that featured revivals, camp meetings, and enthusiastic preaching easily understood by those with little or no learning.<sup>22</sup>

By the early 1820s the membership of the Episcopal Church was primarily limited to large landowners who controlled the vestries and other high parish offices. Most churchgoers of the lower and middle classes had become Methodists. Even some prominent persons in the county like merchant Thomas E. Eliason and the future Senator George S. Vickers eventually became associated with the Methodists. By 1850 the all-prevailing Methodists reported twenty-six churches in the county, while there were only six Episcopal churches and three Quaker and two Presbyterian congregations. Similar church statistics were reported for other counties in Eastern Shore Maryland.<sup>23</sup> (See Table 3).

Many of Kent County's small villages had two Methodist churches as a result of a split over matters of church government. A "radical" group that opposed bishops formed a separate body designated as the Methodist Protestant Church. By the 1840s, towns on the Eastern Shore often had both a Methodist Episcopal and a Methodist Protestant church, leaving little room for other denominations. There were also several African American meeting houses in the county, all of the Methodist persuasion.

The growth of economic prosperity in the 1850s resulted in the erection of new churches as well as private residences. Methodists had become wealthier and able to construct houses of worship in the then-fashionable Greek Revival style. The best examples were Wesley Chapel in Rock Hall; St. James's Church in Hanesville, Salem Methodist Church in Fairlee; Still Pond Methodist Church; and Rehobeth Church at Sassafras.<sup>24</sup>

The political culture of antebellum Kent County mirrored that of Eastern Shore Maryland and neighboring Delaware. Between the late 1830s and the early 1850s the Whigs were the dominant political party. Large landowners and wealthy professional men were naturally attracted to the party's economic conservatism and staunch support of propertied interests. The Democratic Party, in contrast, was regarded as the party of the common man and the champion of the masses in Baltimore and western Maryland. Most Kent County notables were Whigs, including Ezekiel Forman Chambers, George Washington T. Perkins, James B. Ricaud, George Vickers, and Edward Wilkins. Kent like the rest of the Eastern Shore, voted for the Whig candidate in the presidential elections of 1836, 1840, 1844, 1848, and 1852. In 1856, the county, like most of Maryland outside of Baltimore, supported the anti-immigrant American Party ("Know Nothings").<sup>25</sup>

The decline of the Whigs and the rise of the Republican Party in the late 1850s resulted in a gradual realignment. The Republican Party's opposition to the ex-

TABLE 4: Presidential Election of 1860 in Maryland's Eastern Shore Counties  
(Percentage of Votes for Each Candidate)

County	% Breckinridge	% Bell	% Douglas	% Lincoln
Caroline	42.8	49.4	6.0	0.9
Cecil	39.1	46.6	10.2	4.1
Dorchester	46.9	50.5	1.2	1.4
Kent	41.8	51.3	4.5	2.4
Queen Anne's	46.9	48.5	4.6	0.0
Somerset	45.2	51.8	3.0	0.0
Talbot	50.1	44.3	5.6	0.0
Worcester	55.6	40.9	3.5	0.0

Source: William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland Politics from 1850 to 1860* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 150.

pansion of slavery in the territories and its support of a strong federal government at the expense of states' rights met with pronounced hostility in Maryland and the other border and southern states. By 1860, most Marylanders were Democrats or conservative unionists and what little Republican sentiment existed among them was largely confined to the mountainous counties in the western part of the state.

The presidential campaign of 1860 featured four candidates. Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, whose followers lived largely in the free states. Democrats split into two factions. Northern Democrats backed Stephen Douglas, who favored leaving the question of slavery in the territories to the local residents, that is, a territory's status, slave or free, would be decided according to the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." Southern Democrats supported John C. Breckinridge, a staunch supporter of slavery without restrictions and the theoretical right of secession. Another group, consisting of former Whigs and conservatives who defended the Union and the Constitution and remained silent on the question of slavery, nominated John Bell for the presidency. In Maryland, as in the other southern and border states, the election was primarily a contest between Bell and Breckinridge.

The citizens of Kent County were largely for preservation of the Union and opposed to the idea of secession. At the same time they shared southern sympathies against "black abolition" and "Negro equality." The major newspaper in the county supported the Constitutional Union Party. Co-editors William B. Usilton and James H. Plummer probably reflected the feelings of most county voters in being sympathetic to the South but opposed to secession. Another newspaper was created in the fall of 1860 by J. Leeds Barroll to voice the opinions of the more pronounced pro-southern element, many of whom supported Breckinridge, who was perceived by some as a secessionist. Even the *Conservator*, however, did not think that the election of Lincoln was a sufficient cause for secession. The Union, it stated, must be preserved, since "it has given us seventy years of peace among us."<sup>26</sup>

Bell carried Kent County by a slight majority. Two other Eastern Shore counties also gave him a majority while three more delivered a plurality for his candidacy. Kent County's support of the Constitutional Union Party was a reflection of the conservative unionism of the Eastern Shore as a whole. During the ensuing conflict, Kent was one of four Maryland counties to exceed its quota of volunteers for the Union army. Many of these men served in the 2d Regiment Eastern Shore Infantry, organized in October 1861 under the leadership of Colonel Robert S. Rodgers. A few Kent County residents joined the Confederate army. The most noted was William I. Rasin of Still Pond, who at the age of twenty organized his own cavalry company and whose horse was later shot from under him in an engagement near Winchester, Virginia.<sup>27</sup>

Democrats who opposed Lincoln's policies on emancipation and racial equality won the support of most Kent County voters as well as those in many other parts of the Eastern Shore. The county voted 1,296 to 289 against a proposed state constitution (1863) which provided for the abolition of slavery. In the presidential election of 1864, Kent County gave General George B. McClellan, the Democratic candidate, 1,269 votes to Lincoln's 412. The Eastern Shore counties voted overwhelmingly for McClellan against Lincoln by 9,788 to 5,792. Kent County, like much of eastern and southern Maryland, remained predominantly Democratic in party affiliation for decades to come, largely the legacy of slavery and racial issues associated with Civil War politics.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, Kent County retained the social attributes that had long marked Eastern Shore society. It remained primarily rural and agricultural in character. Until about 1940 the population remained about one-third black. Land owners continued to play a major role in politics and community affairs. Although Roman Catholics gained in numerical strength and the Pentecostal sects attracted a large following, Methodists remained the largest denomination in Kent County and the whole Eastern Shore. Finally, conservative political sentiment prevailed. For nearly a century after the Civil War, Kent County continued to be a microcosm of the conservative, rural, and predominantly Protestant society of Eastern Shore Maryland.<sup>29</sup>

#### NOTES

1. There were eight counties in Eastern Shore Maryland in 1860. Wicomoco County was not formed until 1867. Maryland's Eastern Shore is part of the so-called Delmarva Peninsula, which also includes the state of Delaware and three counties of Virginia. The whole region shared similar attributes but this essay focuses on the similarities between Kent County and the other Maryland counties in the region. A valuable study of the region, which includes geographic, economic, and historical data, is Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1950).

2. The only general history of Kent County is Fred Usilton, *History of Kent County, Maryland* (1916; reprint, n.d.). Genealogical detail is found in George A. Hanson, *Old Kent: The Eastern Shore of Maryland* (1878; repr., Baltimore: Baltimore Regional Publishing Co., 1967). Michael Owen Bourne, *Historic Houses of Kent County: An Architectural History, 1642–1860* (Chestertown, Md.: Historical Society of Kent County, 1990) includes photographs and histories of over three hundred houses and sites, in addition to an enormous amount of background information on people and events in the county. It is an invaluable work for anyone interested in Kent County history.
3. See *Martinet's Map of Kent County*, 1860, which appears in Bourne, *Historic Houses*, Appendix A.
4. See Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 413–521 for coverage of antebellum structures.
5. *Ibid.*, 83–85.
6. *Ibid.*, 297–302. See also Fred W. Dumschott, *Washington College* (Chestertown, Md.: 1980), chapters 5–7.
7. *Biographical Cyclopedia of the Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), hereafter referred to as *Biographical Cyclopedia*, pages 97–98; Dumschott, *Washington College*, 85–87; Gerson C. Eisenberg, *Marylanders Who Served the Nation* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1992), 41–42.
8. Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 201–3; *Janes United Methodist Church of Chestertown, Maryland* (1976).
9. Information about advertisements was found in scattered issues of *Kent News* for the 1850s. Eliason's activities are mentioned in Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 111. One of his lumber firm advertisements appeared in *Kent News*, December 13, 1856.
10. *Kent News*, April 19, 1856.
11. *Ibid.*, September 12, December 13, 1856.
12. *Ibid.*, January 19, June 14, 1856, October 30, 1857.
13. *Ibid.*, January 12, April 12, 1856.
14. Clark, *Eastern Shore* 1:520.
15. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the United States Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office 1864), 201. There were 760 farms in Kent County of more than three acres.
16. Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 205.
17. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Population Schedule, Kent and Howard Counties* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), roll 477, microcopy 553.
18. See biographical material in *Biographic Cyclopedia*; Eisenberg, *Marylanders Who Served the Nation*, and Usilton, *History of Kent County*.
19. *Biographical Cyclopedia*, 459–51.
20. Comparative statistics are from Clark, *Eastern Shore*, 1:513–14. Slaves, of course, still formed a part of the labor force in the county as elsewhere on the Eastern Shore. There were 611 slaveholders in 1860. A few large landowners still depended, in part, on slave labor. Joseph Wickes, who owned 928 acres according to the tax assessment records of 1852, possessed 22 slaves; James B. Ricaud had 29 slaves on his 620-acre plantation; and Joseph I. Mitchell held 23 slaves on his farms, which totaled over 1,000 acres. Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 216, 233, 445.
21. Clark, *Eastern Shore* 1:515, 517; advertisements for Rodgers and Perkins in *Kent News*, April 15, and December 13, 1856. A brief description of houses owned by free blacks appears in Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 522–27.
22. The best coverage of Methodism in the Delmarva Peninsula is found in E. C. Hallman, *The Garden of Methodism* (1949). An excellent study of all churches in the region is Norman

Harrington, *The Shaping of Religion in America* (Easton, Md.: Historical Society of Talbot County, 1980).

23. J. D. B. DeBow, Superintendent of the United States Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), Appendix, 229–30. See also Table 3.

24. Bourne, *Historic Houses*, 495–98, 512.

25. Maryland politics before and during the Civil War are examined in Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1850 to 1870* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Charles Branch Clark, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, Md.: n.p., 1952); and William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

26. Dickson J. Preston, *Newspapers of Maryland's Eastern Shore* (Queenstown, Md.: Queen Anne Press and Centerville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1986), chapter 4.

27. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 150; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3 vols. (repr., Hatboro, Pa.; Tradition Press, 1973), 3:518; *Muster Roll, Second Infantry Regiment, Eastern Shore, Maryland*, MS31, Kent County Historical Society, Chestertown; Usilton, *History of Kent County*, 130–32. Some information on Confederate soldiers from Kent County can be found in Davy H. McCall, *A Tricentennial History of St. Paul's Church, Kent* (Chestertown, Md.: 1993), 42–44.

28. Clark, *Eastern Shore*, 1:549–53.

29. Population statistics for Maryland for 1790–1960 are compiled by county in Ray M. Johns, *Population Statistics for Maryland* (College Park: University of Maryland, 1964). See page 17 for Kent County rural-urban data.

# Baltimore's Catholics and the Funeral of Abraham Lincoln

KENNETH J. ZANCA

**B**altimore, in 1861 the largest industrial city in the South, the third largest in the United States, and the only southern city north of Washington, D.C., posed a problem for the Lincoln administration. Its allegiances were clearly divided. Skilled German immigrants supplying the artisan trades tended to support the Union. Irish immigrants competing for unskilled jobs with free blacks, whose numbers were greater in Maryland than anywhere else in the nation, divided their sympathies.<sup>1</sup> Baltimore's railroads and excellent harbor connected it to major business interests in the North, and yet the city had a traditional southern social order, with some 5,400 slaves and 2,052 slaveholders, tying it to Virginia and the deep South. According to the Census of 1860, Baltimore had a total population of slightly less than 185,000.<sup>2</sup> Most important in the spring of 1861, the capital's only rail connection with the North ran through Baltimore.

Maryland itself was deeply divided, though not on the question of Lincoln's candidacy for president. In the election of 1860, Lincoln had received fewer than three thousand votes in Maryland, only 2.5 percent of votes cast. In 1864, however, Lincoln did far better, taking 55 percent to McClellan's 45 percent, despite McClellan's campaign motto, sure to appeal to many in Maryland, "The Constitution as it is; the Union as it was; the Negroes where they are."<sup>3</sup>

This victory was hardly a foregone conclusion. What Lincoln did to keep Maryland in the Union brought him the loathing of many in the city, state, and nation. On May 17, 1861, he had suspended *habeas corpus*—without the consent of Congress, as Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, a Roman Catholic, quickly reminded him.<sup>4</sup> He empowered the army to arrest spies and rebel sympathizers whomever they were thought to be, and wherever they might reside, including Baltimore's police department. In June 1861 Union soldiers arrested Police Marshal George P. Kane and his entire police commission. Military commanders in Baltimore forbade the flying of Confederate colors or the singing of Confederate songs, especially "Maryland, My Maryland," which was written by a Catholic graduate of Georgetown University, James Ryder Randall.<sup>5</sup>

After the Union defeat at Bull Run in July 1861, Lincoln in September had thirty-one members of the Maryland State legislature arrested to prevent a vote for secession. He also arrested Baltimore's pro-Confederate mayor, George Will-

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iam Brown, and the editors of two southern-leaning newspapers: the *Exchange* and *The South*. In 1861 the army had made 112 civilian arrests; by the war's end that number had risen to two thousand.<sup>6</sup> In the November elections of 1861 and 1863, Union soldiers harassed pro-Confederate voters and even bragged about voting for Union candidates themselves. Lincoln put the city under marshal law in June 1863, though by any account, Baltimore had been an "occupied city" for the previous two years.

From the first, Maryland and Baltimore did not respond kindly to Lincoln or his cause. In February 1861, as Lincoln made his way to Washington from Springfield, Illinois, rumors circulated that he would be killed while changing trains in Baltimore.<sup>7</sup> In April, Federal troops responding to Lincoln's call for volunteers following the fall of Fort Sumter were attacked in the city in what became known as the "Pratt Street Riot," in which nine civilians and four soldiers were killed.<sup>8</sup> Maryland sent no volunteers to Washington, but five hundred Marylanders signed up for South Carolina artillery units.<sup>9</sup>

For all that, or maybe *because* of all that, Maryland did not secede from the Union. On April 26, 1861, the General Assembly affirmed a resolution stating it had no authority to secede, and in 1864 it even rewrote and ratified a state constitution that prohibited slavery.<sup>10</sup> Republicans selected Baltimore for the convention that re-nominated Lincoln on June 7, 1864. When Richmond fell, the new mayor, John L. Chapman, and the city council called for a major celebration for April 6.<sup>11</sup> When Lincoln was killed, multitudes were shocked, but not everyone in the city mourned.

On Saturday, April 15, 1865, responding to news of the assassination from Washington, the city council of Baltimore passed several measures. It resolved that the mayor "issue a proclamation requesting the citizens to drape their flags and places of business in mourning until after the funeral, and that he request the city's citizens to close their places of business on the day of the funeral, and that [fire and church] bells be tolled from ten o'clock to three o'clock PM."<sup>12</sup>

People of the city collected at newspaper offices and street corners for news of events from the capital amid an air of sadness, solemnity, and quiet. Buildings bedecked with wreaths and garlands to celebrate Richmond's fall and Lee's surrender, now had to be draped in black. Flags fell to half-mast, and only a few buildings failed to display some token of grief.<sup>13</sup>

## The Catholics

Baltimore is America's first, and for a long time was, the primary see of all the Catholic dioceses in the United States—established in 1789 with John Carroll as its first bishop.<sup>14</sup> Over the years, Maryland Catholics divided on the slavery question even though the Catholic Church was tolerant of the institution. The more established eastern and southern Catholic Marylanders favored slavery and the Con-

federacy, and many of their sons enlisted in the southern army. Others, particularly those in the northern and western counties, had strong Union sentiments. German Catholics were anti-slavery and tended to support Lincoln's policies. The Irish were split: some were no lovers of Lincoln or emancipation but could never bring themselves to fight a war that would benefit only an elitist class of slaveholders. They were typical "War Democrats" or "Conditional Unionists." Other Irish feared the economic consequences of emancipation and held a deep-seated racial bias against blacks. They viewed Lincoln and his policies of emancipation and recruiting black troops with scorn.<sup>15</sup>

The *Catholic Mirror* was explicitly anti-Lincoln. After his election, the paper editorialized that it would rather have the Union broken up than see the new president and his party "destroy what we believe to be southern States Rights."<sup>16</sup> It debated in its pages with the pro-Union *Pittsburgh Catholic* and the *Cincinnati Telegraph*, the most anti-slavery Catholic newspapers of the day. The *Catholic Mirror* associated the abolitionist movement with Know-Nothingism, Spiritualism, and Women's Rights.<sup>17</sup>

In October 1863 and again in June 1864, Lincoln's War Department arrested the publishers of the *Catholic Mirror*, Michael J. Kelly and John B. Piet. The first arrest was for printing works of "treasonable character," and the second for selling a pamphlet critical of political arrests entitled *Fourteen Months in the American Bastille*. The publication of the paper was suspended.<sup>18</sup>

At about 10:15 P.M. on the night of April 14, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre. Whether acting alone or supported by the Confederate Secret Service, Booth claimed that "Our country [the South] owed all our trouble to him [Lincoln], and God simply made me an instrument of his punishment."<sup>19</sup>

The next day, Martin J. Spalding, archbishop of Baltimore, released the following announcement:

Fellow Citizens! A deed of blood has been perpetrated which has caused every heart to shudder, and which calls for the execration of every citizen. On Good Friday, the hallowed anniversary of our Blessed Lord's Crucifixion, when all Christendom was bowed down in penitence and sorrow at His tomb, the President of these United States was foully assassinated, and a wicked attempt was made on the life of the Secretary of State! Words fail us for expressing detestation for a deed so atrocious, hitherto happily unparalleled in our history. Silence is, perhaps, the best and most appropriate expression for a sorrow so great for utterance.

We are quite sure that we need not remind our Catholic Brethren in this Archdiocese of the duty—which we are confident they will willingly perform—of uniting with their fellow citizens in whatever may be deemed

most suitable for indicating their horror of the crime, and their feelings of sympathy for the bereaved. We also invite them to join together in humble and earnest supplication to God for the prosperity of our beloved but afflicted country; and we enjoin that the bells of all our churches be solemnly tolled on the occasion of the president's funeral.

Given from our residence in Baltimore on Holy Saturday,  
the 15th day of April, 1865.<sup>20</sup>

On the surface, the archbishop's statement seemed appropriate, but there was more here than is immediately apparent.

On July 31, 1864, Spalding, formerly bishop of Louisville, was installed as the seventh archbishop of Baltimore. The Spaldings were a family whose roots went back to colonial Maryland and Kentucky. In his political and racial views, Spalding was a man of the South. Pastorally, he served the needs of citizens and soldiers regardless of their sectional affiliations, but privately, he was no lover of Mr. Lincoln or his policies.

While in Louisville, his diocese was disrupted by the war. In his diary, he confided: "I have endeavored to do my duty towards the poor soldiers without any reference to exciting political issues." He offered the help of between eighteen and twenty-five Sisters of Charity to establish and service three field hospitals for wounded and sick soldiers of both sides. He released five or six priests to serve as military chaplains before being asked by either Richmond or Washington. He personally visited the soldiers in camp to bring to them the sacraments and comforts of religion.<sup>21</sup>

In his diary entry of January 1, 1863, he wrote: "While our brethren are slaughtered in hecatombs, Abraham Lincoln coolly issues his Emancipation Proclamation, letting loose from three to four millions of half civilized Africans to murder their Masters and Mistresses! And all that under the pretense of philanthropy!! Puritan hypocrisy never exhibited itself in a more horrible and detestable attitude."<sup>22</sup> This position was consistent with his views on abolition. In a later entry, he wrote: "*The Catholic Telegraph* still keeps up its abolition articles, to the great injury, I think, of Religion. . . . [Orestes] Brownson's article in July # [is] so very mischievous and wicked, denouncing Catholics as disloyal, because they will not in a body run mad with this insane abolitionism."<sup>23</sup>

Spalding's public sentiments of grief over the president's death did not mention Lincoln by name, nor did they pretend any affection for him. He condemned the deed and decried harms done to the office, the grieving family, and the nation. Other than asking that the church bells be rung, Spalding requested nothing: no special services, no special prayers of mourning, no encouragement to follow the city council's resolutions on signs of mourning, nothing more than a respectful, silent response from "duty."<sup>24</sup>

One of Spalding's friends, advisors, and a fellow Catholic was General James A. Hardie, inspector general of the army.<sup>25</sup> On reading Spalding's remarks he must have been alarmed at their "coolness"—especially given the growing general dismay over the assassination. Hardie sent a dispatch to Spalding on the sixteenth. It read, in part, "I *earnestly advise*, as a measure of prudence that you authorize immediately the display of crepe or mourning on all Catholic edifices for religious or benevolent or educational purposes. If not done, we are in danger of disorder, destruction of property, riot, and perhaps bloodshed. It will lead to a bitter feeling against the Catholic faith, and its professors, which we will all feel the consequence of."<sup>26</sup>

The archbishop agreed, and so ordered such embellishments of Catholic edifices. After that, however, he took no part in any of the obsequies when Lincoln's funeral passed through Baltimore. In fact, although he saw to it that Catholic clergy participated, he was out of town that day.<sup>27</sup>

Archbishop Spalding was not the only pastor of souls who was reserved in his expressions of grief over the slain president. Indifference or hostility from clergy of both Protestant and Catholic denominations was so apparent that the Baltimore City Council adopted resolutions on April 18, 1865, to chastise the errant religious leaders and their congregations. The resolutions specifically mentioned, but were not limited to, Southern Methodist congregations and identified them as "cesspools, the miasma arising from which taints the moral atmosphere with treason." The resolutions called for the extraordinary intervention of military authority to save the city from the shame and degradation that came from such pastors that would not pray for the fallen president and those in authority. It was resolved "that the commander of this Department be respectfully requested to close those churches named and such others as are governed by such disloyal and unpatriotic purposes."<sup>28</sup>

The resolutions were sent to Major General Lew Wallace, Commander of the Middle Department, and included Baltimore. Wallace issued a warning "To the Baltimore Clergy," dated April 19, 1865, that read in part:

The conduct of certain clergymen in this city has, in some instances, been so positively offensive to loyal people, and, in others, of such doubtful propriety, to say nothing about taste, as to have become a cause of bad feeling with many well disposed citizens. . . .

In this state of affairs, you will undoubtedly perceive the wisdom of avoiding, on your own part, everything in the least calculated to offend the sensibilities mentioned. You will also perceive the propriety of requiring members of your congregation, male and female, who may be so unfortunate as to have been sympathizers with the rebellion, not to bring their politics into the church. . . .

You know that what I request thus I have the power to enforce. You ought also to know that, to save the community from the dishonor and consequences of a public outbreak, it would be my duty to exercise all the power I possess, without regard to persons or congregations.<sup>29</sup>

This alarmed some of Baltimore's clergy who felt they were among the addressees of the city council's and the general's warnings. They met on Thursday, April 20, the day before the remains of Lincoln were to arrive in Baltimore, and passed a resolution of their own, hoping to save their churches from destruction. Referring to Lincoln's death as "an appalling calamity to the whole nation," noting their "deep sorrow in this hour of . . . bereavement," and proclaiming "our respect for the kind and noble man who has been inscrutably taken from us," the clergy resolved that they would "tomorrow find a mournful satisfaction in attending in any demonstration of public mourning which the municipal authorities of Baltimore may recommend."<sup>30</sup>

That was not enough for the press, which editorialized that it would have been better if the clergy had just stayed home rather than insult the good sense and grief of the Baltimore community. "A stranger would have supposed that Mr. Lincoln had died of apoplexy or paralysis," seethed the *Baltimore American*. "They meant to say nothing, and they said it admirably."<sup>31</sup> The *American's* editorial did not bother to hide a third warning when it threatened these "Rebels who still occupy their pulpits and spout their slyly disguised treason to the lasting shame of the church and disgrace of the cloth. . . . what may be the practical effect of these gentle intimations of the iron hand in the velvet glove, remains to be seen."<sup>32</sup>

### The Funeral in Baltimore

Baltimore was the first stop of Lincoln's funeral train after it left Washington at 8 A.M., Friday April 21. By 10 o'clock when it arrived, Camden Street Station was overflowing with mourners and the curious. It was pouring rain. "Never has grief over the loss of a faithful public servant been so heartfelt and so universal," reported the *Baltimore American*, however selectively. Business was suspended, schools and saloons were closed.<sup>33</sup>

Military escorts snapped to attention, then presented arms as the flag-draped coffin was taken from the train and placed on a funeral carriage built just for this occasion. Church bells tolled; drums beat a slow cadence; rifles fired in salute. Four black-plumed, black horses pulled Lincoln's hearse. The procession left Camden Station and moved up Eutaw Street to Baltimore; turned eastward to Gay; circled Chew and Caroline; turned back to Baltimore and Gay, and stopped at the Mercantile Exchange. Police, military units, mounted generals and their staffs, and five military bands playing dirges preceded the remains, on either side of which marched an honor guard. Following the coffin, in carriages, were na-

tional and state officials, then more bands, the mayor and city officials, additional bands, clergy, and civic groups. "Colored men who wore badges of mourning," brought up the rear of the procession, which stretched two miles.

Among the clergy were about one hundred and fifty Catholic priests and seminarians. The papers noted the names of some of them: Rev. Messrs. Dolan, Dougherty, Myers, Coskery and King. In that number, was a young priest, Father James Gibbons, who would become Archbishop of Baltimore in 1877 and a cardinal of the church in 1886, only the second American to be so honored.<sup>34</sup> Following the Catholic clergy were fifty Christian Brothers and more bands. After them came the German Societies, Singing Associations, and the Baltimore *Gassang Verein*, a mutual aid society established in German-Catholic parishes.

When the procession reached the Mercantile Exchange at noon, the military units separated, then lined each side of the street, facing the center. Officers dismounted, and regimental bands played "Peace, Troubled Soul" as the coffin was carried into the black crepe-draped rotunda of the Exchange and placed on the catafalque. The lid was opened to expose the president's face. The mourners passed by, first those in the procession, then some of the spectators.

The general public had only an hour and a half viewing time before the remains were returned to the hearse and columns of marchers reformed. The procession then made its way along Lombard Street to the Calvert Street Station of the Northern Central Railroad, that would take the coffin to Harrisburg. The crush of people along the parade route was so great that several persons were hurt and children became separated from their parents. Disappointed citizens who did not get an opportunity to view the remains demanded that the Mercantile Exchange be reopened the next day so that they could at least view the catafalque. The city council passed such a resolution, and unbroken lines of mourners filed through just to see the remains of the day before—decorations of sorrow, wreaths, and the funeral carriage and team of horses that had carried Lincoln's body in the procession.<sup>35</sup>

Father Coskery, who had served as interim administrator of the archdiocese after the death of Bishop Kenrick and before Spalding arrived, reported to his superior, Spalding, on the day's proceedings. "I have just returned from escorting President Lincoln's remains through the city for the space of nearly five hours," he wrote. "It was a truly grand pageant. I am happy to be able to say that I think the Catholic clergy of Baltimore have met the entire approbation of authorities, both civic and military, as we had about one hundred fifty in the procession, including seminarians and scholastics." In a statement that reflected an opinion perhaps not shared by his archbishop, he added, "I had the sad satisfaction of gazing on the features of the beloved deceased president."<sup>36</sup>

## NOTES

1. Scott S. Sheads and Daniel C. Toomey, *Baltimore During the Civil War* (Linthicum, Md.: Toomey Press, 1997), vi–13. Baltimore sent six full regiments of United States Colored Troops into the Union ranks.
2. See Donald B. Dodd, compiler, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Two Centuries of the Census, 1790–1990* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993), 2 No. 102; and *Negro Population of the United States 1790–1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918). For a convenient access to the census figures for 1790 to 1970, see the “Census Bureau Historical Census Browser,” [Online] @ [fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census](http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census). The Census gives numbers for “Baltimore County” and “Baltimore City.” I am combining those statistics when I refer to “Baltimore” here.
3. For studies of the divided loyalties at the county and family level, see S. Roger Keller, *Events of the Civil War in Washington County Maryland* (Shippensburg, Pa.: Burd Street Press, 1995) and Frederick S. Klein, ed., *Just South of Gettysburg: Carroll County, Maryland in the Civil War* (1963; Westminster, Md.: Historical Society of Carroll County, 1997). For election results see Dave Leip’s “Atlas of United States Elections” [Online] @ [www.uselectionatlas.org](http://www.uselectionatlas.org). Southern Maryland was especially hostile to Lincoln. In the election of 1860, Lincoln got six votes in Charles County and one in Prince George’s. See *Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser*, November 22, 1860. Results cited in Edward Steers, Jr., *Blood on the Moon*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 64 and 303 n.18. For particulars of the 1864 presidential election see John C. Waugh, Chapter 2, “Little Mac” in *Reelecting Lincoln: The Battle for the 1864 Presidency* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1997), 23–31.
4. See John A. Marshall, *American Bastille: A History of Illegal Arrests and Imprisonment of American Citizens During the Late Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1870), 717–18 and Mark E. Neely, *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 71 ff. For a firsthand account of such arrests, see “Editor Shaw Describes His Arrest,” in Klein, *Just South of Gettysburg*, 10–14. The piece was originally published in the *Western Maryland Democrat* of September 4, 1862. Taney sent the *Ex parte Merryman* decision to Lincoln on June 2, 1861. See “Ex Parte Merryman,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (1961): 370–87. Eventually Congress would empower the president to take such actions in March 1863 by passing the Habeas Corpus Act.
5. See Sheads and Toomey, *Baltimore During the Civil War*, 43–45. The exclusions would eventually be extended to prohibit the display of secession badges, pictures, all pro-southern song-sheets, photos of Confederate leaders or soldiers, red and white neckties or infants’ socks of the same colors, or anything that could be emblazoned with an emblem of the Confederacy. See Daniel D. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Baltimore: Family Line Publications, 1986), 27. For a summary of Randall’s biography see Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 175.
6. The arrest order read: “General: The passage of any act of secession by the Legislature of Maryland must be prevented. If necessary, all or any part of the members must be arrested. Exercise your own judgment as to the time and manner, but do the work efficiently.” See the Executive Order sent to General Nathaniel Banks, Commander of the Annapolis District in *Official Records of the War of Rebellion*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1891), series 1, 2:207. For more on the civilian arrests see *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, April 20, 1865.

7. It has long been suspected that Allan Pinkerton, who "uncovered" the plot, was in error, even though Secretary of State William H. Seward confirmed his suspicions. See Norma B. Cuthbert, ed. *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot, 1861* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1949).
8. Those units were four companies of Pennsylvania militia and two companies of artillery from Harrisburg bound for Fort McHenry, and the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia on its way to defend Washington. See John S. Bowman, *Civil War Almanac* (New York: Bison Books, 1983), 52.
9. Frederick Phisterer, "Calls for Troops," in *Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), 3. For information on the Maryland volunteers see Sheads and Toomey, *Baltimore During the Civil War*, 45–46.
10. The proposition to rewrite the state constitution with slavery prohibited was put to state-wide referendum on April 6, 1864. The vote was 31,593 to 19,524 in favor. The constitutional convention reported to the General Assembly by the end of August that year. See Anita Aidt Guy, "The 1864 Maryland Constitutional Convention Abolishes Slavery" in her *Maryland's Persistent Pursuit to End Slavery, 1850–1864* (New York: Garland Press, 1997), 435–77. Anti-abolitionists, of course, viewed it in an entirely different way. "The whole vote cast at the recent election for delegates to the Abolition Convention in Maryland was as follows: For 31,593; Against 19, 594. In all about 51,000 votes. At the presidential election of 1860 the vote of the state was 92,000, or about three times the number of votes cast by the Abolitionists at the election of 1864. So, then, about ½ of the votes in the state (under military dictation) elected 61 of the 96 delegates who, in the arrogance of power inspired by Federal bayonets, will assemble in conversation and change the organic law of Maryland in its most vital features, and in direct opposition to the well known sentiments of an overwhelming majority of the people. This is one of the many outrages which have been inflicted on the citizens of that ancient commonwealth." From an 1864 *Lancaster [Pa.] Intelligencer*, n.d., clipping found in the Scrapbook of New Orleans resident P. C. Bennett. P. C. Bennett Papers, Collection 55B/Folder 30, Manuscripts Department, Tulane University.
11. See *Baltimore Sun* and *Baltimore American*, April 7, 1865.
12. *Proceedings of the City Council of Baltimore in Relation to the Death of Abraham Lincoln, Late President of the United States* (Baltimore, 1865), 8 and 13. [Copy found in the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.].
13. J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore 1865* (Baltimore, 1874), 633–34. [Manuscript on microfilm M44, reel 2, University of Notre Dame Archives (hereinafter UNDA)]; and "The President's Death, Feeling in the City," in *Baltimore American*, April 17, 1865.
14. For background on Catholics in Maryland, see John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965), 125–315; James Hennesey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 36–45, 69–101; and Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience* (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Doubleday, 1985), 43–100. For an excellent overview see Thomas W. Spalding, "Catholic Church in Maryland," in Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley, eds., *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1997), 853–59.
15. See Kenneth J. Zanca, compiler and editor, *American Catholics and Slavery: 1789–1866, An Anthology of Primary Documents* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994) or a telescoping of the issue in "'Slavery and American Catholics,'" in Glazier and Shelley, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, 1319–21.
16. *Catholic Mirror*, December 1, 1860.
17. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1855.

18. Sheads and Toomey, *Baltimore During the Civil War*, 39–62. See also *Catholic Mirror*, October 10, 1863 and June 4 and 11, 1864.
19. Booth's diary entry for April 14, 1865, in John Rhodehamel and Louise Taper, eds., *Right or Wrong, God Judge Me: The Writings of John Wilkes Booth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).
20. *Baltimore American*, April 17, 1865.
21. See the "Journal of Martin J. Spalding While Bishop of Louisville 1860–1864," entries for December (n.d.) 1861, January 15, 1862, March (n.d.), 1862, 16–22, microfilm MPEH, reel M44 #4, UNDA. For more on Spalding during the war years, see Spalding, *Premier See*, 178–82.
22. "Journal of Martin J. Spalding," January 1, 1863 [though typed manuscript of diary gives it as 1862], 35.
23. *Ibid.*, 38. The entry in the printed transcript is dated "June, 1863" (no day given), but it is in error. The article to which Spalding refers was not published until July 1863. See Orestes Brownson, "Are Catholics Pro-Slavery and Disloyal?" *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, Third New York Series, 25 (July 1863): 367–79. Brownson (1803–1876), the controversial founder and editor of the *Brownson Quarterly Review*, was a Catholic, a reluctant supporter of Lincoln, and an advocate for the elimination of slavery as part of a larger strategy to reduce the South's ability to wage war.
24. It is interesting to contrast Spalding's remarks on Lincoln's death to those of other American Catholic prelates of the time. See, for example, the circular issued by Archbishop John McCloskey of New York in *New York Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1865, or his Easter sermon at (the old) St. Patrick's Cathedral in *The New York Times*, April 17, 1865. Or see the excoriation of the assassination by William Elder, Bishop of Natchez (now Jackson), Mississippi, as a "dishonor to Almighty God" in Willard E. Wight, ed., "The Bishop of Natchez on the Death of Lincoln," *Lincoln Herald*, 58 (1956): 13–14. Elder's original manuscript is located in the Archives of the Diocese of Jackson.
25. Hardie's and Spalding's acquaintance began in December 1864, when Hardie was a colonel on the general staff of the Army of the Potomac and stationed in Washington, D.C., where he was a member of St. Matthew's parish. Hardie was a convert to Catholicism and a devout Catholic. Apparently, he had written to Spalding, as his bishop, for a dispensation allowing an army chaplain, Father Carl E. Gillen, to say Mass and hear confessions of Hardie and his family in their home. Spalding also relieved him and his sick wife from the Lenten fast. See the Hardie-Spalding correspondence of December 12, 1864, in the James A. Hardie Papers in the Library of Congress, or The David Rankin Barbee Papers, "Catholics and Lincoln's Death," Box 2, Folder 118 in the Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library.
26. A microfilm copy of a typed transcript of the letter, BCA-24-D10, incorrectly dated April 10, 1865, is found in MPEH, reel M44, UNDA.
27. Spalding, *The Premier See*, 181.
28. See "City Affairs," *Baltimore American*, April 25, 1865.
29. *Baltimore American*, April 21, 1865.
30. The report of the meeting was published in the *Baltimore American*, April 24, 1865. The names of no Catholic priests are found among the signers. That is not surprising. Catholic priests would never have attended a meeting called by Protestant ministers, as there was no "ecumenical spirit" at the time. In fact, animosity was the watchword between Catholics and Protestants.
31. Editorial of the *Baltimore American*, April 25, 1865.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Descriptions of the events on April 21 are taken from *Baltimore American*, April 22, 23 and

26, 1865, and the *New York Herald*, April 22, 23, and 24, 1865, unless otherwise noted. The *Herald* assigned a special correspondent to cover the events in Baltimore and other cities.

34. Thomas J. M. McMahon, "Our American Cardinals," *Catholic Historical Records and Studies*, 36 (1947): 1-16.

35. Victor Searcher, *The Farewell to Lincoln* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1965), 99-100.

36. Letter of H. B. Coskery to Archbishop Martin J. Spalding, April 21, 1865, on microfilm, MEPH, M44, UNDA.

## Book Reviews

*Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time, The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828–1860.* By Diane Morrow. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 336 pages. Notes, index, paper, \$24.95.)

This is a splendid study of the first black Catholic community of women religious in the United States, if not the world. As Catholics in a black Protestant world, as organized free women of color in a slave society, as women in a patriarchal church, and as the only community of black women religious in the white convent way of life, the Oblate Sisters of Providence had a complex, four-layered minority identity, one that seems to have been deeply etched into their historical self-understanding. With a gift for sorting out what is significant, Diane Morrow elucidates the meanings of this multifaceted identity by analyzing the roles of religion, race, ethnicity, gender, class, and place.

Based upon original research, this book evinces work in many significant archives, buttressed by secondary literature that takes up seventeen pages of bibliography with an average of twenty-five citations per page. It came as no surprise to me when I discovered that Diane Morrow received the Letitia Woods Brown Publication Prize for the Best Book in Black Women's History, a prize awarded by the Association of Black Women Historians. It is my guess that this is the first prize to a historian of the American Catholic experience. The rationale of the prize appears to be Morrow's deft analysis of the significance of race in the antebellum experience of these women religious with particular emphasis upon their agency. As Morrow points out, by associating their identity as women religious with their activist teaching ministry they "defined themselves positively as a black sisterhood, in spite of their experience of socially ascribed derogation based on their identity of black women in antebellum society."

With a sophisticated command of historical contexts, Morrow arranged her book topically rather than chronologically. Such an arrangement allows her to emphasize historical meanings. To illustrate the topical methodology, her chapters included analysis of the charter members of the community, relationships with the institutional church and with the white and black communities in Baltimore. Within these chapters are well-crafted narratives of the pre-Civil War history of this distinctive community of black women religious.

To trace the origins of the Oblate Sisters entails an exploration of the convergence between the San Domingan refugees and the French Sulpicians at St. Mary's Seminary in the city, the first Catholic seminary in the United States. Grounded in French culture the Sulpicians responded to the religious needs of the refugees by opening the lower level of their seminary chapel to provide for mass, the sacra-

ments, and catechesis in 1796. This community evolved into a congregation to which contemporary black Catholics trace their “parish” roots. It was in this congregation that the San Domingan, Elizabeth Clarise Lange, met the Sulpician, James Joubert, then director of the congregation. By this time Elizabeth Lange and Marie Ballas has founded a school for girls. Along with three other women they sensed vocations in the religious life; Lange and Joubert became co-founders of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, with Joubert acting as facilitator by getting the approval of Archbishop James Whitfield of Baltimore for the foundation of a black community of sisters. (Morrow notes that significant roles of the priest and the archbishop run contrary to the regnant understanding of the inherent inequality of people of color.)

At their first home they opened a school and taught catechism to the young people in the congregation at St. Mary’s Seminary Chapel. In the second home they had a chapel that became the “parish” for the black Catholics of Baltimore. The sisters were committed to an activist school and parish ministry to the people of color. Their spirituality was grounded in the vowed life that was connected to their imaging religious meanings in the classroom and in the chapel. Their black Catholic consciousness was symbolized by their choice of Benedict the Moor as a Patron saint, and naming one of their chapels in honor of St. Peter Clavier.

The title of the book is taken from an excerpt of a letter from Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange to Father Louis Regis Deluol, who, upon the death of Joubert, became the director of the Oblate Sisters. In response to Deluol’s request that she provide two sisters to manage the infirmary and the household of the seminary, Lange replied with the firm reminder that “We do not conceal the difficulty of our situation a[s] persons of color and religious at the same time, and we wish to conciliate these two qualities in such a manner not to appear too arrogant on the one hand and on the other, not to miss the respect that is due to our state we have embraced and the holy habit which we have the honor to wear. Our intention in consenting to your request is not to neglect the religious profession we have embraced.” Diane Morrow’s analysis of this letter concludes, “Lange responded to Deluol’s seemingly routine request for traditional woman’s sphere services with a nontraditional manifesto declaring the Oblate Sisters’ religious, racial, and social positions in the cosmos as they perceived them.”

Written in an engaging style, this book is valuable for those interested in African-American history, in the story of a distinctive community of women religious in the Catholic Church, and in an analytical study of the complex lives of free women of color in antebellum slave society. The general reader will be treated to a good read, as the book is entirely free of academic jargon. This book is a rare blend of religious, social, and African American history.

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*First and Second Maryland Cavalry, C.S.A.* By Robert J. Driver Jr. (Charlottesville: Rockbridge Publishing, 1999. 366 pages. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95.)

Robert Driver Jr. is a well-established author in the field of Confederate cavalry history, having written several books for the Virginia Regimental Series. Now he turns his attention to that state's northern neighbor for a combined history of Maryland's cavalry forces in the Confederate Army. This is truly fertile land for a historian who wishes to document the activities of Maryland regiments in the Army of Northern Virginia. Not since Goldsborough's *The Maryland Line in the Confederate States Army* (first published in 1900) has a true unit history been written about these organizations.

Driver sets the stage for Maryland's involvement in the Confederate side of the rebellion with an accurate assessment of the state as a whole, and Baltimore City specifically, on the eve of the war. The only southern state north of Washington, D.C., it would be the first to feel the tread of Federal boots upon its soil whether it attempted to secede or to remain loyal to the union. From this we learn the first characteristic of every Marylander in the Confederate Army regardless of his branch of service—a true volunteer.

Beginning with the First Battalion, the author tracks the movement of small groups and prominent individuals across the Potomac River to their first enlistment, usually with Virginia regiments or the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment. Eventually three battalions of cavalry were organized—the third being Davis's Battalion (a bonus for the reader that is not apparent in the title). A difference in opinion in the leadership qualities of certain officers kept the two main battalions from ever being consolidated into a full regiment.

Because of a strong presence of Union forces along the Potomac River and throughout their homeland, replacements for both men and horses were always at a premium and the battalions were chronically under strength. A vivid example of this can be seen in the personnel report of the First Battalion for January of 1864. Fully one third of its men were prisoners as a result of the constant battles and skirmishes the previous year. Lack of numbers never kept the Marylanders out of a fight, and the author is an artist when it comes to in-depth accounts of their numerous battles, skirmishes, and prolonged raids. The reader will almost welcome a return to camp before the next round of carbine fire and crossed sabers. During these lulls in action comes a steady stream of details concerning horses, numbers and types of weapons, and information all the way down to the number of overcoats and socks issued to a given company.

A secondary story line that comes out through the telling of the battalions' histories is that of the Maryland Line in the Army of Northern Virginia. Alluding to the valiant services rendered by Maryland regiments in the Continental Army

during the Revolution, many hoped to gather all of the Marylanders into a single brigade or division. The most ardent of these was General Bradley T. Johnson. The War Department in Richmond supported this idea with General Order Number 8, authorizing the transfer, on demand, of any Maryland soldier from any unit to the Maryland Line. Such an organization never actually materialized, but those that did serve in Maryland units took great pride in their state's identity and fought together whenever possible. The author does an excellent job of highlighting these temporary associations and documents a surprising number of joint operations between the cavalry and artillery. The two most notable were Bradley T. Johnson's defense of Richmond during Kilpatrick's Raid and the Johnson-Gilmer Raid around Baltimore—both in 1864.

The author put a tremendous amount of time into researching the histories of these three battalions and the individual soldiers that made up each command. Rather than simply supply a roster of each unit with name and rank only, he has gone one giant step further and written a short biographical sketch of each soldier. For those looking for Confederates in their attics, this is an unbelievable find. The book also contains dozens of photographs of the men who composed the Maryland battalions. Although sometimes poorly reproduced, they still convey the swagger and determination that was the trademark of all Maryland Confederates.

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*The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840.* By Anne M. Boylan. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 357 pages. Appendices, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Social historians have provided us with a pair of enduring concepts for thinking about womanhood in the nineteenth-century United States. Women of the early republic embraced republican motherhood as their revolutionary legacy. Within scarcely more than a generation, their offspring subscribed to, or resisted, the ideology of domesticity. In *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840*, Anne Boylan asks a deceptively simple, but critical question—how did that ideological shift occur?

Evangelicalism, she argues, was the bridge between the gender systems embodied in the two concepts. In the 1790s, responding to structural changes in urban economies, women of the mercantile sector drew on precedents of association in women's prayer groups, auxiliaries to male voluntary societies, and Revolutionary War fundraising, to form benevolent societies. Middle-class women's charitable organizations proliferated and took a marked "evangelical turn" in the 1810s, displacing non-evangelical republican ideals of womanhood with ones predi-

cating womanliness on notions of gendered spheres and new domestic ideals. Class and racial status influenced how marginalized groups deployed this subtly transformed ideology. Recognizing that they faced different problems than men of their class, working-class and African American women in the 1820s began to combine benevolence with mutual aid and, for black women, self-improvement and social reform. Similar organizational patterns recurred in both cities, evidence of the rapid dissemination and prescriptive power of a new ideology of gender spheres.

The relationship between organized benevolence and domesticity, however, was paradoxical, complicated by race, class, and religious affiliation. While the ideology of spheres suggested complementary gender roles and gave (some) women cultural authority, abandonment of republican idealism led to the subordination of women. Affluent Protestant women ran organizations that exercised business functions such as building endowments and institutions, dealing with city officials, buying and selling goods, and engaging employees. Yet members oriented voluntarism around their own life course events—marriage, childbearing, widowhood—so that their civic work appeared not to conflict with family needs. They thus blurred boundaries between public and private even as they elaborated the ideology of domesticity. Catholic laywomen's benevolence stayed within the confines of the parish, subsumed under the corporate mantle of the church. Nuns, on the other hand, held a status at once subordinate and authoritative, as they built and maintained the benevolent institutions comparable to those of elite Protestant women. Married women engaged in wage labor (a category including virtually all African Americans) further muddied the fictive separation of public and private on which the antebellum gender system came to rest.

Boylan's findings support and complicate the links between the ideology of domesticity and the emergence of a feminist consciousness that historians have theorized. There was no linear evolutionary relationship between organized benevolence and social reform. Engaging debates about the function of binary notions of "public" and "private" for articulating concepts of gender difference, Boylan argues that benevolent leaders saw their work as occupying a third conceptual space, neither domestic nor public-political. This was not inherently radical. Upper-middle-class and elite women used the cultural space they created for conservative ends. Moral reformers and abolitionists in turn, however, appropriated this socially acceptable female space for activism aimed at resuscitating the "radical potential of a republican femininity based on (gender) equality instead of subordination." By the 1830s the "evangelical consensus on womanhood" no longer held (8).

Where much of the historiography on women's activism has emphasized the significance of structural change for the emergence of an autonomous political base, Boylan devotes the central chapter of the book to explorations of agency.

Examining the lives of five women, she shows how individual women across a spectrum of class, race, and religious affiliation experienced and shaped larger social transformations. Her example of Elizabeth Bayley Seton is a case in point. Seton negotiated personal losses of loved ones and economic status by conversion to Catholicism. Taking vows as a Sister of Charity, she drew on skills acquired from earlier experiences in Protestant benevolence when she formed a religious community at Emmitsburg, Maryland, a community that subsequently launched a number of missionary projects.

Boylan's exhaustive research enables her to delimit the local variations in broader processes. The denominational environments of the cities are sketched early in the book. Given the centrality of religious affiliation as a category of analysis, however, one might have expected more attention to how theological differences within Protestantism informed women's thought. In the second chapter, for instance, where the author outlines the emergence of Boston's comparatively more assertive moral reform and abolitionist organizations in the 1830s, there is little discussion of possible denominational influence. Because neither Boston nor New York had the strong Quaker presence that distinguished Philadelphia, there is also limited attention to Quaker theology as a factor in the formulation of a radical politics. The biographical section, though, assesses closely the implications of Protestant denominational thought for the individuals who serve as case studies.

This important and engagingly written work offers something for a variety of audiences. Generalists will find a helpful sketch of the historiographical debates about the origins of nineteenth-century women's activism and a solid analysis of the links between structural developments, religious belief, and antebellum gender ideology. Specialists may find meat for thought in the question of what possibilities republicanism actually held for gender equality. They will certainly appreciate Boylan's enrichment of the historical picture with her sensitivity to the complexities of Catholic women's experience, comparative analysis, and engagement with theoretical debates about the public, private, and systems of gender.

SUSAN DEWEES

*The Pennsylvania State University*

*When Slavery Was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War.* By John Patrick Daly. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002. 224 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.)

Scholars long have recognized the centrality of evangelical religion in antebellum southern life and the essential role that it played in the rise of proslavery thought and the coming of the Civil War. Adding to this body of literature, John Patrick Daly has provided us with a fascinating examination of the philosophical

workings of the southern evangelical mind. Through a deep reading of key proslavery essays and sermons combined with a good synthesis of the relevant secondary works, Daly traces the development of the evangelical proslavery argument. Identifying the importance of freedom, individualism, and self-discipline to the evangelical moral vision, he seeks to explain how these concepts lent themselves to the defense of slavery. Arguing that northern and southern evangelicals shared the same basic moral premises, Daly attempts to show how they reached very different conclusions when it came to the South's peculiar institution. To southern evangelicals "freedom" did not signify lack of personal restraint, far from it. Rather freedom was defined by discipline and moral responsibility. Slaves were "free" to perform their proper role, as defined by God and society. Only once the significance of this seemingly counter-intuitive definition of freedom is grasped can the evangelical defense of slavery be properly understood. Furthermore, the southern evangelical faith in the role of Providence in daily life worked to strengthen southerners' confidence in the righteousness of slavery. To evangelical thinkers, wealth and success were the unmistakable signs of an individual's moral character since Providence only rewarded the virtuous. The fact that slaveholders prospered, combined with the rise of revivalism in the South during the antebellum period, clearly demonstrated that God favored slaveholders and therefore slavery could not be a sin, as northern abolitionists claimed. Daly proceeds to show how southern religious thinkers used the internal logic of these two fundamental concepts (freedom and Providence) to construct a complicated rationale for the enslavement of their fellow men. Building on these ideas, he traces the development and maturation of evangelical proslavery up until the end of the Civil War as southern religious leaders attempted to answer abolitionist charges, construct an evangelical vision of southern society, confront free labor ideology, and grapple with the coming of war and its consequences.

Daly's work is at its strongest in his careful treatment of abstract moral arguments. He provides rigorous intellectual analysis of the evangelical concepts of individuality, freedom, moral responsibility, and especially Providence. His explanation of the evangelical rationale in support of slavery based on individual moral choices rather than the morality of the slave system itself is both perceptive and convincing. Daly's examination of the significance of Thomas Dew and even more Francis Wayland in the development of southern proslavery thought is particularly insightful.

Daly's is a work of high intellectual history, in which ideas, not individuals, play the starring roles, and this works well so long as he remains within the realm of abstract moral reasoning. However, this makes it difficult to show the practical consequences of these ideas. The transition from the abstract to the practical occurs near the end of the book when he makes the larger argument that competing moral visions were one of the primary causes of the Civil War. He may very

well be right, but the sudden transition is somewhat jolting and not well supported. In order to make this larger argument, Daly needs to show the connection between high and popular culture. For the most part, he utilizes a relatively small number of highly educated southern clergymen for his sources, and it is not clear how wide an audience they reached or what effect their words had on average southerners. His argument would be strengthened by showing the ways in which these ideas were transmitted by examining the issues of readership, audience, print distribution, the cultural role of the clergy, etc. Additionally, one wonders what sort of links existed between Daly's thinkers. Was there a "sacred circle" at work connecting these figures and providing them with a common cause?

Daly presents evangelicalism as a monolithic front. This is understandable in a work of this length, but it conceals a great deal of variation. Although dealing with Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and even a few Episcopalians, Daly does little to differentiate between the views and beliefs of these denominations or their leaders. Furthermore, one wonders what regional variations existed. Did ministers of the Deep South have a different emphasis than the clergy of the border states? The same could be asked for east versus west, urban versus rural.

To his credit, Daly has produced that most laudable of things: a useful history book. Its short length (157 pages of text) plus its clear prose makes it an excellent introduction for beginners in the field, yet his insights into the southern evangelical mind make this fascinating reading for even the most dedicated expert. Although he retreads a good deal of ground already examined by previous works, Daly manages to bring a fresh perspective to the study of southern evangelicalism. The fact that he covers so much material in such a short span of pages is a testament to either a remarkably disciplined writer or a truly heroic editing process. In either case, Daly provides a thoughtful account of evangelical proslavery that serves to further our understanding of how southerners managed to live with and uphold slavery while maintaining clear consciences and sincere religious convictions.

MICHAEL T. BERNATH  
*Harvard University*

*Architecture in the United States, 1800–1850.* By W. Barksdale Maynard. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. 333 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$50.)

The years covered by this book are particularly fascinating ones in the history of our nation and its architecture. They include the expansion of the frontier, the rise of the cities, and the industrial revolution in America that brought us the railroad, the corporation, and the factory. It was also the age when materials in cheap quantity began to become available for our buildings, materials such as lumber, stone, and most important, iron.

Some of our finest architects practiced during this time—Thomas Jefferson, the Palladian; Charles Bulfinch, Benjamin H. Latrobe, and Robert Mills, the great Neo-classical and Greek Revival architects; the Gothic Revivalists, A. J. Davis, James Renwick, Jr., and Richard Upjohn. Our first architectural theorist, Andrew Jackson Downing, published in 1850 *The Architecture of Country Houses*, which translated “English Picturesque” landscape principles to the United States. A distinct American architecture did not develop until later in the nineteenth century, with Richardson, Sullivan, and Wright, but the foundation had been laid and it was a substantial platform upon which to build.

In his beautifully illustrated, well researched, but somewhat diffuse and contentious book, the author more often trains the small end of his telescope, rather than the large one, on this very interesting architectural period. Yet he does not avoid grand themes. “One of the most important themes of the era—the profound dependence of American architecture, in both theory and practice, upon Great Britain [has been] persistently neglected,” Maynard writes in his preface. Some architectural historians, he continues, have found this dependence too obvious for consideration but others have denied it. One of the latter, he claims, was Talbot Hamlin, the Pulitzer Prize winning biographer of Latrobe, whose *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (1944), in its attempt to establish the originality of American design, ignored British precedents.

However, another writer cited in the preface, William H. Pierson, Jr. (who with William H. Jordy, wrote the multi-volume classic study *American Buildings and Their Architects*, 1970–1978), did acknowledge the derivative nature of our early architecture and its major dependence on England. Particularly influential in America throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Pierson wrote, were the British architects Sir Christopher Wren, Robert Adam, and Sir John Soane.

Latrobe, who was born and trained in England, brought the then current fashion, Neo-classicism, to America. (He considered Jefferson’s Palladianism passé.) Latrobe’s Baltimore Cathedral and his spaces in the Capitol in Washington owed much to Sloane and the French Neo-classicists. They were also unique and important buildings in their own right, particularly for their time and place. What was novel here was our political system, the model for the world. Hamlin may have been overzealous in seeking to establish our independence from Great Britain in all things, but he certainly wasn’t alone in conflating our American form of government, as expressed in architecture, with classical ideals, specifically Athenian democracy and the Roman Republic.

Continuing his argument at the end of the book, Maynard cites other writers besides Hamlin, including Latrobe, who interpreted the Greek Revival in political and nationalistic terms, but maintains that the average American did not. Some did, though. Baltimore tradesmen in 1799, as reported in a local newspaper,

toasted "The Congress of the United States—like the Grecian architecture, the admiration of the world for harmony and stability. The general assembly of Maryland—no Gothic structure, but truly Roman Architecture coeval with man—may America have her Vitruvius's and Palladios." (Claire W. Eckels, "Baltimore's Earliest Architects, 1785–1820," PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1950.) So Americans in general realized at the time that their early architecture had arrived, with almost everything else, from across the sea. Regardless, some of it embodied their democratic form of government. Their own talented native designers would later appear—as indeed they did.

Between the two ends of this unresolved discussion are close-grained examinations of individual buildings, their features and their derivations, throughout the East, South, and Midwest. What communicates most strongly, however, are the illustrations, which provide the armature for the text. Maynard has assembled an astonishing collection of contemporary colored prints, oil paintings, watercolors, black and white daguerreotypes, and photographs from libraries in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and other places. They are views of cities, renderings of buildings, but mostly photographs of individual structures and the images alone are worth the price.

In his exposition, the author ranges widely over such topics as urban cemeteries, prototypical suburbs, and the styles that jostled for ascendancy in America as the romantic Gothic Revival replaced rational Neo-classicism. Concentrating on domestic architecture, he sometimes explores the significance of ubiquitous, but little noticed elements such as porches (piazzas, porticos, verandas, and arcades) and their civilizing role in architecture from the Athenian Acropolis to the southern plantation. This is an engaging account, again inconclusive as to the origin of the porch, but provocative. One writer described the porch as "a hand stretched out . . . from the world within to the world without."

Similarly interesting is the section on the increased use of stone as an American building material. This transition is largely due to the advent of steam-powered saws and hoisting equipment and particularly to the railroad which could transport this and other heavy items for great distances quickly and cheaply. However, these technological developments receive scant attention. Iron buildings, which start to show up at the end of the period, are treated briefly, but with little exploration of their significance for future building technology.

The author's major focus is on architectural styles as he traces the Greek Revival's rise and fall over fifty years as well as the numerous interpretations of its meaning and provenance. Maynard has read widely, especially in contemporary sources. This sometimes works to his disadvantage, for he seldom uses one example when six will do. He does have an excellent eye for photographs and knows where to find them. (The under-utilized *Historic American Building Survey* collection at the Library of Congress was a major source.) If he is able to shape his

vast array of facts and opinions into a more coherent theory in his next book, it should be a complete success.

JAMES D. DILTS  
Baltimore

*Jefferson on Jefferson*. By Paul M. Zall. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002. 175 pages. Notes, Sources, Index. Cloth, \$25.)

Historians today generally acknowledge that Thomas Jefferson's contributions to America's founding were singular but that his entire life was framed by a duality of thought. Although Jefferson wrote an autobiography at age seventy-seven, he turned down the requests of several publishers "pleading an invincible reaction 'to be saying anything of my own history'" (ix). Paul M. Zall, senior researcher at the Huntington Library, makes effective use of Jefferson's writings housed at the Library of Congress. He interpolated excerpts from other Jefferson writings that provide the reader fresh insight into the political thought processes of the "Sage of Monticello." Zall's intent is not to produce a Jefferson autobiography. Rather, he wants to provide the reader with an "eyewitness record" of events during Jefferson's lifetime. These events include the writings of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the presidential election of 1800, and his relationships with other Founding Fathers, e.g., George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton.

In the chapter titled "Legislating Independence," Jefferson's writings indicate that there was a division among members of the Continental Congress regarding the idea of actually declaring independence from Great Britain. He states that Maryland and other middle colonies "were not yet ripe for bidding adieu to British connection but that they were fast ripening, and in short time would join in the general voice of America" (23).

Zall also includes notes from Jefferson describing his personal involvement in the committee of five to draft the Declaration of Independence. We learn that the document went through several drafts and had highly divisive issues. In Jefferson's words, "passages that conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offense" (24). Divisions also existed over the existence of slavery in the colonies. As a result "the clause reprobating the enslaving of inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves" (24).

Jefferson's contributions to the nation were evident in the writing of the Articles of Confederation, the nation's first attempt at a written constitution. Again, divisive issues included the equitable distribution of land, slavery, the natural rights of immigration, and residency requirements. In the discussion on citizenship, we get a firsthand look at George Mason. Jefferson describes him as "a man of

the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theatre of revolution" (40) and James Madison whose language always "soothed the feelings of his adversaries" (41).

Jefferson reserved his harshest words for Alexander Hamilton whom he considered "not only a monarchist, but for a monarchy bottomed on corruption" (95). Jefferson's disagreement with Hamilton centered on the eventual form of government the nation was to have under a constitution. According to Jefferson "the one was for two hereditary branches and an honest elective one; the other for a hereditary king with a house of lords and commons, corrupted to his will, and standing between him and his people" (96). Jefferson's writings also provide us with keen insight into the image of George Washington whom most historians consider almost a deity. Jefferson had reservations on Washington's affiliation with the Federalists, saying that he "had not a firm confidence in the durability of our government, was distrustful of men, and was inclined to gloomy apprehensions" (99).

Although Jefferson is viewed as a consummate politician, we carefully note the duality of his political thinking. Jefferson assumed the office of vice president in 1797 and found the position frustrating at best. "If I am to act however, a more tranquil and unoffending station could not have been found for me, nor one so analogous to the dispositions of my mind" (103). According to Zall "as vice president presiding over the Senate, Jefferson found himself formulating rules of parliamentary procedure" (104). His observations on the new national capital along the banks of the Potomac River were equally disquieting. Zall's research tells us that Jefferson found the city to be "a dreary scene where envy, hatred, malice, revenge, and all the worse passions of men are marshaled to make one another as miserable as possible" (105).

Finally, one cannot discuss Jefferson without touching on his relationship with Sally Hemmings. Zall's introduction provides the reader with a summary of the controversy, including the search for DNA evidence.

Paul Zall portrays Thomas Jefferson as a man insecure about the past and about his place in history. *Jefferson on Jefferson* attempts to put the man in perspective within the framework of American history. It is clear that Zall's work is only the starting point for further study by historians and presidential scholars.

MICHAEL E. LONG

*Pasco-Hernando Community College*

*Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America.* By Robert E. May. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 442 pages. Notes, index, photographs. Cloth, \$45.)

When is a historian required to present evidence? Always? Even when the

assertion is a very minor one? Even if the point is of no particular interest? Even for assertions that no one would take the trouble to deny?

Robert May has spent fifteen years amassing a mountain of detail on nineteenth-century U.S. filibustering (privately sponsored invasions of foreign lands). *Manifest Destiny's Underworld* presents this material. May's research could not possibly have been more exhaustive. The author's notes, referencing private correspondence, court records, government documents, and many local newspapers, fill over one hundred densely packed pages. May chronicles the many filibustering attempts—those that got off the ground and those that did not. May asks who was drawn to these undertakings and how the excursions were financed? How did other Americans regard filibustering? Why the United States government did not do more to stop them, and whether filibustering might actually have hindered U.S. expansionism during this age? His findings confirm what one might have guessed. The people who joined filibusters were usually young men seeking money and adventure. Often these individuals held racist notions regarding those in Latin America they planned to attack. Americans of the pre-Civil War era thought that the filibusters were daring and exciting. Because many filibusters came out of the American South and sought to add slave territory to the nation, some southerners helped pay for them. The federal government lacked the resources to enforce laws against filibustering and southern juries proved reluctant to convict participants. Finally, May finds that filibustering angered Latin Americans, and by putting them on their guard probably did more harm than good if the goal was to add to U.S. territory. On one theme May does break new ground, exposing the quiet link between Freemasonry and filibustering.

Reading this encyclopedic book is slow going. The author dwells upon too many issues that seemed, at least to this reviewer, to be of little interest or importance. It would be fair to say that most sections are not effectively connected to any larger interpretive controversy, worthy historical theme, or historiographical debate. For example, after painstakingly defining a filibuster, the author walks us through each filibustering expedition or potential filibuster expedition to see if it might match his definition. If it fits, he tries to count the number of people who went. At another point the author asserts that the men who joined the filibusters came from the city or from the country. He then dedicates a good deal of space to individual examples that provide the proof. Or, the author asserts that on the filibuster voyages some people got seasick, presenting then case after case to substantiate this claim. The bulk of the pages proceed in like manner. Some people fell overboard and were lost (case after case) and some people fell overboard and were found—again, case after case.

A few worthwhile interpretive propositions stand out, but getting through to these stray points of interest requires endless slogging through a morass of unedifying descriptive detail. The effort might be worth it if the telling were somehow

more exciting or the conclusions in some way more surprising. But neither is the case, and so reading this book cannot be recommended.

RONN PINEO  
Towson University

*The Day Dixie Died: Southern Occupation 1865–1866.* By Thomas and Debra Goodrich. (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2001. 320 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. Cloth \$26.95.)

“With malice toward none; with charity for all . . . let us strive on . . . to bind up the nation’s wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace.”

Truly, President Abraham Lincoln’s soul was revealed through these words, yet with a single bullet John Wilkes Booth, a self-proclaimed southern patriot, who had cowardly avoided serving in the Army of the Confederacy, ended all opportunity for “a just and lasting peace.”

“The foolish rebels have killed their best friend” observed the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. How true.

Following President Lincoln’s assassination there commenced the postwar period known as Reconstruction, a time of looting, mayhem, and the virtual destruction of the way of life previously experienced by many southerners, whether they had been wealthy, poor, black, white, freeman, or slave.

Thomas and Debra Goodrich, husband and wife, have chronicled the first year of Reconstruction, from 1865 to 1866 through a series of anecdotes, newspaper quotations, political speeches, sermons, diary entries, and Federal Army military orders. The reader may take these transcriptions at face value and draw his own conclusions from them. The authors have provided subjective editorial comment from time to time, employing these comments as a thread to weave together the many quotations by observers, both northern and southern, into a coherent and stark picture of the times. Northern newspaper editors clamored for victims, the favorites being Jefferson Davis, the president of the defeated Confederate States, as well as Gen. Robert E. Lee.

An example is found in a description of President Jefferson Davis. “He was lax moraled, a cruel slave owner whose slaves all ran away, a liar, a boaster, a fanatic, a confessed failure, a hater, a political adventurer, a supporter of outcasts and outlaws, a drunkard, an atrocious misrepresenter, incendiary, a criminal who was gratified by the assassination of Lincoln, a henpecked husband . . . a supporter of murder plots, an insubordinate soldier, an unwholesome sleeper, and (emphasis mine) a malingerer.”

One should not conclude that the book is a mere litany of incidents of atrocities to whites and blacks committed by occupying Federal forces, scalawags, and

carpetbaggers. True, although they appear on every page, however, the perspective one gains from the authors' historical analysis presents a clear and unforgettable picture of an epoch in American history rarely visited by American historians.

There are several accounts of disgust on the part of some northerners of actions taken by the occupying forces in the South, specifically by "no less a man than Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, of the U.S. Army who was disgusted by the wailings of a set of sneaks who were hid away as long as danger was rampant, but now shriek with very courage."

The unique nature of this book, which commends it to a reader, is the extensive research and reading performed by the authors, in order to provide such a breadth of perspective on the period. The myriad transcriptions and observations recounted act to force the reader in to an intellectually honest view of the period. The authors have cleverly and consistently managed, by their writing strategy, to avoid the trap into which so many writers currently fall, that of applying the moral judgments and biases of today, to a time one hundred thirty-eight years ago.

WILLIAM C. TRIMBLE JR.  
Baltimore

*The Circus Age: Culture & Society under the American Big Top.* By Janet M. Davis. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 347 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

In a typical circus scene, a seemingly aggressive spectator takes to violent action, leading a roustabout to yell "Hey Rube!" In an act of solidarity, this insider expression cues all nearby circus workers to stop their task, grab a potential weapon, and pursue the offender until order is re-established. This is a glimpse into the rich internal workings of the circus brought to light in Janet Davis's compelling work, *The Circus Age: Culture & Society under the American Big Top*. Through examination of circus programs, advertisements, route books, and diaries, Davis analyzes the emergence of the railroad circus and Wild West shows of the late-nineteenth century and paints a revealing portrait of the cultural tensions imbedded in its ideological constructions of gender, race, sexuality, nationalism, and empire.

*The Circus Age* carefully delineates the social and cultural history of this popular entertainment within the context of national incorporation and corporate capitalism of the late nineteenth century. In this way her study contributes to the growing literature on the rise of America as a modern nation-state. Davis explores the production of the circus as a modern, self-disciplined "traveling company town." The town operated with a highly specialized division of labor that

started with the self-fashioned rags-to-riches tales of the owners, such as James Bailey, P. T. Barnum and William Cody (Buffalo Bill). The structure included the starring big-top circus acts and sideshow "freaks" and then the daily laborers responsible for its assembly, transportation, and promotion. Analyzing details such as eating and sleeping arrangements, social exchanges, pay, and labor discipline, Davis convincingly depicts a complex hierarchical social world. The business of the circus, in fact, mirrored a "modern army," to such an extent that Davis notes the U.S. War Department sent army officials to travel with the circus and observe its regimented management.

Davis further examines the circus as a "contested terrain" of cultural representation, contributing to our understanding of the fluidity and instability of gender and racial categories during that era. On the one hand, Davis persuasively demonstrates the subversive play of gender and race at the circus with the prevalence of androgyny and drag, the transgressive use of female nudity, and the indistinct demarcation between human and animal actors. On the other hand, she contends that the circus simultaneously reifies conventional social norms by masking bodily difference with race and confining white female sexuality to the protected domain of domesticity. From muscular athletic female acrobats, to bearded ladies, to male clowns in drag, the circus, then, became a negotiated space in the performance of male and female bodies.

Moreover, Davis asserts that the circus and Wild West show helped acclimate the public to American imperialism. Owners capitalized on America's role in the Spanish-American War as well as European colonial projects to excite audiences with grand spectacles of militarism and captivating ethnological displays of exotic and sensual colonized peoples. Davis argues that the circus fostered a national consensus about the virtues of empire, but her consideration of the ways that audiences received and appropriated circus images could be more nuanced and developed. *The Circus Age* contributes to the historiography of American empire by examining the ways in which popular audiences came to know and support American imperialist actions at home and abroad, but it is far from definitive.

Davis's focus on the circus and Wild West shows demonstrates the need for further analysis of the interplay between various forms of popular culture in the production of contested cultural representations at the turn of the century. For example, Davis only begins to tantalize the reader with tidbits such as the fact that the Ringling Brothers had their start in minstrelsy—and that stock minstrel characters, such as "Jim Crow" and "Zip Coon" originated in circus minstrel acts. The hallmark of circus entertainment, the clown, often appeared in blackface. Given their similar audience demographics, the popularity of the circus is deeply inter-related with the history of minstrelsy, world's fairs, early film, and other cultural forms. The wider significance of this reproduction of cultural tensions across dif-

ferent media, however, has yet to be fully explored. Nevertheless, Davis's detailed examination of circus and Wild West shows effectively raises important questions in the study of American popular culture—questions that are essential to the production and deconstruction of social and cultural categories as well as the promotion of American national identity and empire.

BONNIE GOLDENBERG

*Johns Hopkins University*

*A Government by the People: Direct Democracy in America, 1890–1940.* By Thomas Goebel. (Chapel Hill:University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 302 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth; \$19.95 paper.)

Everyone who ever sat through a college course on the Populist and Progressive eras has come up against those reforms in political machinery that fall under the heading of “direct democracy,” including the initiative, referendum, recall, primary, and direct election of senators. Some lists might also include the secret or Australian ballot, and various methods of restructuring urban government. The attention given in courses to these reforms was usually brief, often suffused with irony, and evinced little desire to probe very deeply beneath the obvious “democratic” rationale for such proposals.

In his account of the origins, enactment, and continuing impact of three of these reforms, the initiative, referendum, and recall, Thomas Goebel in fact tries to clothe them with a historical and theoretical context. That he limits his attention to these three efforts at direct democracy, and all but ignores the primary and direct election of senators immediately raises concerns in the reader. If the chosen three reforms share historical roots in traditional antimonopoly fears that date back to Jackson if not indeed to the “republican” leanings of the Revolutionary generation, what about the other direct democracy concepts of the progressive era? Do they have different roots or has Goebel simply felt disinclined to deal with them because of lack of time or space? One might wish that he had either dealt with them at length or given the reader a clearer idea of why he didn't.

Goebel establishes the link with traditional antimonopoly theory in the case of the Populists, demonstrating that American rural radicals of the nineteenth century saw monopoly as the product of special privileges granted by one of the many levels of government, a view explicitly stated by tariff reformers and free silverites. Progressive exponents of direct democracy, Goebel argues, were also deeply rooted in the antimonopoly tradition, though seeing business as a force for the corruption of representative government rather than monopoly as the creation of specific government actions. To save the people from the interests it was then necessary to do more than merely throw the rascals out; government

itself must be placed as far as possible in the hands of an informed and incorruptible people.

Although, as Goebel shows, the major theorists and publicists for direct democracy were northeastern progressives, it was the western states which actually adopted the initiative, referendum, and recall during the progressive period, largely because of the political structure in place there, weak parties, strong interest groups, splintered ethnic loyalties. This is an attractive argument, though it is not worked out in sufficient depth to really compel conviction.

The last third or so of the book, however, is devoted to a different theme, the actual working of direct democracy in California, particularly during the period 1920–40. Here the antimonopoly tradition fades from view, and Goebel's attention is focused on the development of well-financed and professionally organized initiative campaigns, as often in aid of as in opposition to business interests. Goebel shows that these direct democracy reforms did not, as is frequently stated, become corrupted after the infamous Proposition 13 initiative of 1976. There never was a golden age of direct democracy in which money, advertising campaigns, and professional managers did not prevail.

On the whole Goebel has written an interesting and useful book. The themes are not perhaps as well integrated as they might be. There are times when the book seems fragmented, almost a collection of essays rather than a unified account of the direct democracy movement. Nonetheless, Goebel deserves praise for rescuing a much-neglected political development from ill-deserved oblivion and placing it in a useful historical context. The reader of this earnest work will deepen his understanding of both the roots and the scions of the progressive movement.

JOHN G. VAN OSDELL  
*Towson University*

## Books in Brief

Joseph C. Linck takes a detailed and analytical look at colonial Catholic sermons and their influence in “*Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced*,” *Catholic Preaching in Anglo-Colonial America*. The author notes that of the 35,000 Catholics in the British North American colonies at the time of the Revolution, most lived in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Furthermore, with the exception of wealthy families such as the Carrolls, Boarmans, and Neales, recovering the lives of these frontier adventurers is exceptionally difficult. These sermons, delivered in chapels and private homes, offer a bit of insight into the practical homiletics that guided Catholic life in a Protestant-dominated society after the Calvert family lost the proprietorship in 1689. Guidance on moral and practical matters such as inter-faith marriage and the “material and spiritual care of the slaves who constituted a fifth of the Catholics in Maryland” survive in these words.

Saint Joseph University Press, \$35, cloth

*Historic Bridges of Maryland* is the Maryland Department of Transportation, State Highway Administration’s survey of every bridge, past and present, built in the state. The final inventory of that project spans two centuries of bridge design and construction. There is a section titled “Bridge Basics” in which author Dixie Legler and photographer Carol M. Highsmith offer the reader examples of the architectural styles presented in the book. This volume also includes an appendix of the 855 bridges identified as historic structures organized by county, city, and town with the date of construction, location, and type such as masonry arch, concrete beam, and the occasional remaining timber span. Those landmark structures designated as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, and those already on that list, are noted.

Maryland Historical Trust, \$38, cloth

David P. Bridges’ *The Bridges of Washington County, Spanning Work and Nature* is a well-documented and illustrated account of his family’s almost two-hundred-year history in Western Maryland. Farmer Robert Ferguson emigrated from Scotland in 1816 and set down roots in Hancock where his descendents later rose to wealth and prominence in cement production and the mining business. Henry P. Bridges, grandson of the immigrant farmer, founded the Pennsylvania Glass Sand Corporation. This third generation entrepreneur also spent many years promoting wildlife conservation, on the game preserve he built in the western Maryland mountains, the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club.

Bookman Publishing, \$25, cloth

## Letters to the Editor

*Editor:*

Two recently located documents expand on events described in my article, "The Master of the Ark: A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle," *MdHM*, 95 (Fall 2000): 261–90. They were found for me thanks to the skill and persistence of Mrs. Muriel Hawkins.

I noted (270) that the *Ark's* master, Richard Lowe, was wary of pirates since he had been captured by them in 1628. Now we find that in 1630 he had another encounter. A letter dated November 17, 1630 from Capt. Robert Hooke to Secretary Dorchester reads: "Many Dunkirkers in the Narrowe Seas; a States man of warre mett 3 of them, of [off] the Lands End; sunke one [of] them on thursday last, [which] had 30 piece of ordnance, and chased another into Falmouth, [which] Sir James Bagg hath seized upon for his Ma[tie]; The *Charity of London* on Saturday last fought with too [two] more of them, too hours, but quitted her selfe; with some hurte." (Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, UK, SP 16/175 68; State Papers Domestic-Charles I, Vol. CLXXV, 384, No. 68). At that time, Richard Lowe was captain of the *Charity of London*.

I suggested (279) that the *Ark* was laid up in 1649 and that her gear was used on other ships. Some of her gear was, but it seems she remained in active service. On May 21, 1649, the Royalist ships at Kinsale, Ireland, included "the *Ark*, a prize taken from a merchant . . . had 20 pieces [guns], but six of them are taken out for the *James*." A list of Royalist ships in Kinsale Harbor dated nineteen days later on June 9 1649 includes the "*Ark*, 20 guns" along with the "*Culpepper*, 18 guns", and the "*George*." (Navy Records Society, *The Letters of Robert Blake, The Pursuit of Prince Rupert*, A Letter from the Fleet To C. o. S., June 9 1649 Appendix II, 71, 73, [518–252–2,3]). If six guns had been removed on or before May 21 and she was listed with twenty guns on June 9, she would have had twenty-six when captured. With twenty guns at a ratio of ten to twelve tons burden per gun as was typical for well-armed merchantmen (note 22), she would have been a ship that weighed between 260 and 300 tons. The *Arke of London* was a 300–350 ton ship (note 13) and had twenty-five guns when Richard Lowe was her captain in 1635 (266 & note 17). None of the other contemporary ships named *Ark* matches as closely (note 61). Therefore, it seems that the Royalist prize, "*Ark*", of 1649 was probably the *Ark of London* of which Richard Lowe had been captain from 1633 until his death in 1639 and that she was still in service in 1649.

*William Lowe*

*Alexandria, Virginia*

# Notices

## Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Maryland Historical Society's Undergraduate Essay Contest drew few entries this year. This year's submissions will be held over for the 2003 competition. The society annually honors the best essays written by undergraduates in the field of Maryland and regional history. Essays are judged on the originality and freshness of their approach to research in primary sources (original historiographical essays will also be considered), the significance of their contribution to Maryland history, and their literary merit and technical form. First prize is \$500, second prize is \$250, and third prize is \$100. Winners will receive a one-year membership in the Maryland Historical Society. All entries will be considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. A cover letter containing the student's college, major, and mentoring professor must accompany each entry. Send four copies of the essay to the Maryland Historical Society Essay Contest, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD, 21201. Entries must be postmarked by January 1, 2003.

## Maritime Essay Contest

The Maryland Historical Society's Maritime Committee has established the annual Marion Brewington Essay Prize to encourage research and writing in all aspects of maritime activity in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The prize, named for former curator Marion Brewington, carries a \$1000 award. Send two copies of the manuscript, limit 30 double-spaced pages including notes, to Maritime Curator, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. The deadline for submissions is December 31, 2003.

## American Historical Association Book Awards

The American Historical Association is accepting submissions for their 2003 book prize competition. Seventeen prizes, including the Albert J. Beveridge Award, the John B. Dunning Prize, and the AHA Prize in Atlantic History will be awarded. For further information and submission guidelines, visit the AHA web site at [www.theaha.org](http://www.theaha.org).

## Historical Society of Talbot County

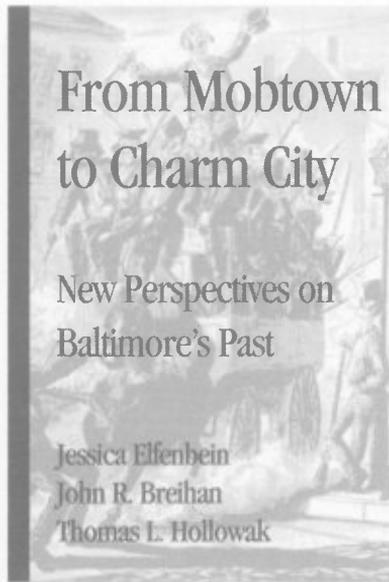
The society will open its new exhibition, *Why We are Here: The Roots of Talbot County Settlement* on Thursday May 22 at their annual meeting. The exhibition opens to the public the following day. The exhibit explores the various reasons

that people, from the earliest known Native Americans to the entrepreneurs, investors, and families of the present, have settled in this area. Among the attractions that brought people to what is now Talbot County are the abundant natural resources, religious freedom, and economic opportunities. This is also the story of those who came by force—slaves and convict servants. All of these experiences are thoughtfully explored using objects and photographs from the society's collections. For additional information visit the website, [www.hstc.org](http://www.hstc.org) or telephone 410-822-0773.

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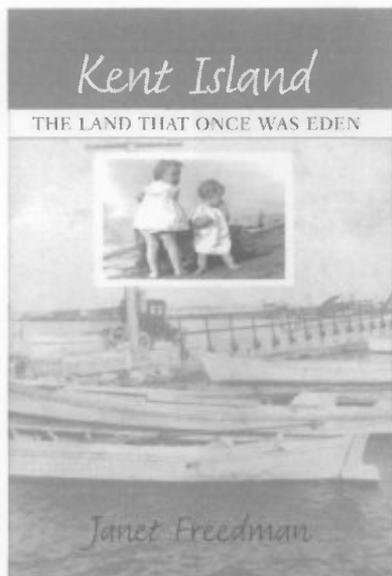
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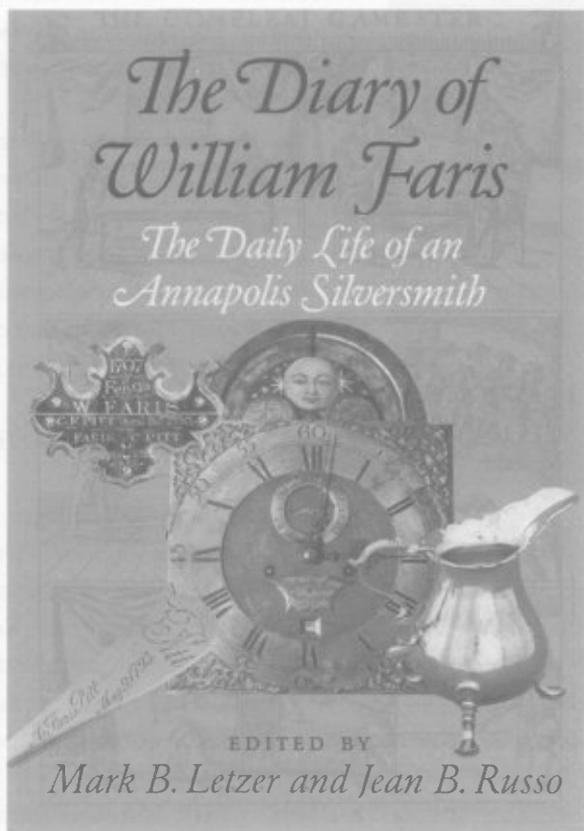
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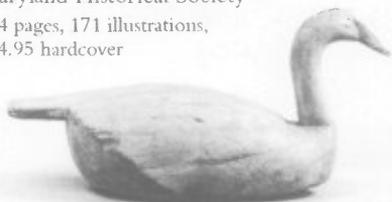
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