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Summer 2007

MARYLAND

Historical Magazine

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By Gloria Seaman Allen, Ph. D.

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Historical Magazine

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Cover Photo: Visitors to Tolchester Beach, 1943. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to panderson@mdhs.org. The guidelines for contributors are available on our website at www.mdhs.org.

PRINCE GEORGE's COUNTY is ſo very large, that a Diviſion of it is abſolutely neceſſary; as great Numbers of the Back Inhabitants are ſettled above one hundred and fifty Miles from the Court Houſe, and that the Increaſe of Buſineſs is ſo great, that it cannot be diſpatched without frequent Adjournments. There are two Petitions for a Diviſion; one at the *Eaſtern Branch*, and for placing the Court-Houſe at *Kennedy Farrell*'s, which is but about ſixteen Miles from the *Eaſtern Branch*; and a great many of thoſe who ſigned the Petition actually live below the *Eaſtern Branch*, and therefore are not intereſted where the Court-Houſe ſhall be, and their Names ſubſcribed only to make a great Show: The other for beginning the Diviſion at *Sinecbar*, and placing the Court-Houſe at *Frederick-Town*, above *Monocaſy*, tho' near it.

THE Difference between the two Places is,

Firſt, THAT the former is above one hundred and forty Miles from many of the Back Settlers on *Potowmack* River.

2dly, THAT the Land is ſo very poor about the Place, that no Improvements will be made there, 'til poor Land becomes dear and valuable, ſo as to afford any Entertainment for thoſe who muſt attend Court, nor any Proviſion for Horſes; which will oblige the People to go many Miles to get both, whereby Buſineſs muſt be obſtructed and Juſtice delayed.

3dly, THAT the Inconveniences under which the Back Inhabitants labour, by Reaſon of their great Diſtance from the Seat of Juſtice at preſent, inſtead of being leſſen'd, in placing the Court-Houſe at *Kennedy Farrell*'s, will be greatly increaſed; not only for the foregoing Reaſons, but alſo becauſe it will deprive them of an Opportunity of buying ſuch Neceſſaries as they want, and ſelling what they have to diſpoſe of, as they may do at *Marlborough*.

ON the Contrary,

Firſt, *FREDERICK-TOWN* is in the midſt of a great many good Settlements, where Proviſions may be had in great Plenty, and very cheap, the Land about it being very rich; all Materials for Building and Improvements are at hand, ſuch as good Clay for Bricks, good Stone for Walls, Lime-ſtone, Slate, and Timber.

2dly, IN all Probability *Frederick-Town* would ſoon become a Place of Trade, as a main Road from *New-England* to *Carolina* goes through it; ſeveral Waggon Roads interſect at it; ſeveral wealthy Tradeſmen would come from *Pennſylvania* and other Places to ſettle there, and carry on Manufactures, and encourage Huſbandry, and inſtead of increaſing the Exports of Tobacco, would buy ſome for their own Uſe, and a great deal for all the Back Inhabitants between *Suſquehanna* and *Potowmack*.

IT has been, and may again be alleged, that there is ſufficient Room for two Counties; which is very true, if the Quantity of Land was only to be conſider'd; but as the Number of Inhabitants is to be principally regarded, it is very eaſy to prove that they are but thin and ſtraggling, that the moſt ſubſtantial among them are *Germans*, and other Foreigners, who know nothing of our Laws, and but little of our Language, which (were they under no other Diſabilities) would render them unfit to be Magiſtrates; and others are not to be had in thoſe very remote Parts of the Country. The worthy Members of *Prince George*'s County, who have been in the Back Woods, are appealed to, as to the Truth of the foregoing Facts.

"Prince George's County is so very large that a division of it is absolutely necessary," 1748. The General Assembly carved Frederick County from Prince George's County in 1748. This broadside outlined the arguments for selecting Frederick Town, rather than Kennedy Farrells, as the new county's seat. (Maryland Historical Society.)

A Family Affair: Tobacco Inspection in Lower Frederick County, 1749–1769

Mark W. Willis

Maryland's Piedmont area experienced a time of explosive growth in the four decades before the American Revolution. As English settlers began to move northwest from the tidewater counties and Germans migrated south from Pennsylvania, wealthy land speculators cashed in on the great land patents they and their fathers had claimed earlier in the century. Historians of this phenomenon have been constrained by the relative dearth of literary records as only the actions of the French and Indian wars on the military frontier generated the official reports, personal letters, and newspaper accounts that provide human insight. Those trying to analyze the less dramatic development of the near frontier have to dig into the dry, if fertile, soil of Maryland's court, land, and probate records.[1]

Consequently, historical work is sparse on the pre-revolutionary era in the area of Frederick County that later became Montgomery County and the northwest portion of the District of Columbia. This article opens a small window onto some key players and the relationships among the planting and trading elite, using the Frederick County Court minutes, the county's tobacco inspection records, the vestry minutes of Prince George's Parish, and the minutes of the George Town.[2]

This paper describes in some detail how the tobacco inspection process functioned in Frederick County between 1749 and 1769, with a focus on the men who inspected the tobacco and on the way the county's elite monitored an important sector of the economy. Three main conclusions emerge. First, the men who controlled Frederick County contentedly left one powerful lower-county family, and their neighbors, in charge of the vital tobacco inspection process for twenty-one years. Second, the inspectors drawn from that family successfully navigated the economic and social shoals inherent in the inspection system. Third, the county elite apparently preferred to use the power of local knowledge and wide personal connections rather than the force of law and political dominance in managing affairs in this important economic sector.

Defining Actions in Frederick County

Four key actions occurred in the short time between 1745 and 1751 that would set the framework for the development of the land between the Potomac River and

The author, a retired U.S. foreign service officer, is now an independent historian.

Rock Creek. First, famed lawyer, politician, and businessman Daniel Dulany created a town on land he owned on the middle Monocacy River that he named Frederick Town. Dulany, who appears to have held preliminary discussions with German settlers already farming in the area, understood that his large landholdings between the Monocacy and the mountains would skyrocket in value if a market town could be established to help settlers sell their grain and buy supplies and services.[3]

Next, in July 1747, the General Assembly enacted the long-argued tobacco inspection law. Among other points, the legislation required the establishment of a tobacco inspection warehouse at the mouth of Rock Creek to serve as the nexus for expanding tobacco planting in that area. At almost the same time, recognizing the increased number of families who lived many miles from the existing county seat, the legislators carved Frederick County from Prince George's County. The assembly may have also responded to Dulany's lobbying in support of his land sale and made Frederick Town the judicial center of the new county. The assembly's action created a new political boundary running north-northeast from the mouth of Rock Creek to the Patuxent River, separating communities that had grown up along Rock Creek and the Anacostia River.[4]

Finally, in 1751, the legislature chartered a group of merchants and planters to plat and organize an unincorporated city on the Potomac that included a tobacco inspection warehouse and landings near Rock Creek. Thus, very soon after its creation, Frederick County had two budding urban centers. Frederick Town, the county seat and marketing center for the grain farmers of the Monocacy and beyond, looked toward emerging Baltimore as its gateway to the world. George Town, a tidewater tobacco port, tied the planters of its hinterland to the trading world of Britain, particularly to the Scottish trading houses of Glasgow that stationed agents in that town.[5]

The main purpose of the tobacco inspection act of 1747 was to increase the price planters received for their crop. For decades the price British merchants were willing to pay had been declining in the Chesapeake. Both Virginia and Maryland had experimented with laws to reduce production in order to boost prices, but the combined lack of political consensus and inadequate enforcement obstructed these efforts. In 1730, Virginia enacted a tobacco inspection law aimed at increasing the tobacco price by preventing the export of substandard leaf. This approach worked in Virginia and prices improved south of the Potomac.[6]

Maryland's General Assembly was reluctant to follow Virginia's course. Some planters feared that too much of their tobacco would fail inspection because of poorer growing conditions in Maryland. If so, their income would be directly reduced and their all-too-many debts and taxes would be even harder to pay. It is not entirely clear why this calculation led to prolonged hesitation in Maryland, but by the mid-1740s the growing disparity between Virginia tobacco prices and

the lower prices offered for the unregulated Maryland tobacco became too great to ignore. Most Maryland planters and merchants came to support a tobacco inspection system that was very similar to that in Virginia. But to secure passage of the inspection concept, supporters had to bundle a number of compromises together, addressing diverse provincial and imperial interests.[7]

The full title of the act as passed in July 1747, "An Act for amending the Staple of Tobacco, for preventing Frauds in his Majesties Customs, and for the Limitation of Officers Fees," reflects its complexity. In thirty-six pages, the tobacco inspection act aimed to (a) increase tobacco prices by improving the quality of tobacco to be exported through inspection at public warehouses and destruction of "trash" tobacco; (b) tighten enforcement of the collection of the King's customs levies and of Lord Baltimore's proprietary export fees by concentrating official points of shipping at the warehouses; (c) reduce those debts and provincial fees and taxes that were denominated in tobacco in recognition of the expected higher price that each pound of the leaf would command, and (d) reduce the poll tax levied on all taxable persons in support of the established Anglican church.

The act prompted two unofficial results. By requiring planters to move all tobacco to a limited number of public warehouses for inspection, the costs of marketing and shipping the commodity dropped. Merchant ships no longer spent weeks stopping at every plantation wharf on Maryland's many rivers and coves, their captains dickering for small lots of tobacco. This increased efficiency improved the quality of the inspected tobacco and strengthened the price merchants offered planters.[8]

Another aspect of the act increased the effective money supply available in the province and thus helped increase general prosperity. After inspection, planters stored their tobacco in the public warehouse until it shipped. The inspectors gave them paper receipts that could then be sold to merchants who would later claim the tobacco for shipment. Planters could also use these receipts to pay taxes and official fees and, unofficially, to pay off debts or purchase goods and services.[9]

Although the vote in favor of the act in the lower house of the General Assembly was close, most Marylanders appear to have been satisfied with the results and the legislators repeatedly renewed the law, with minor changes, for the next twenty years. Maryland tobacco prices improved significantly, and the province experienced fast growth and general economic well-being, at least until the post-war recession of 1762–1764. Newly created Frederick County benefited as much as any area in the province from its passage.

In addition to the economic impact, the measure created and/or reinforced important institutions. The act specified that two tobacco inspection warehouses would be established in the geographic area of Frederick County, one near Rock Creek and one in Bladensburg. One unspoken effect of this legislation provided a commercial underpinning to the newly drawn boundary between Frederick and

Prince George's counties that cut across the watersheds of the Anacostia and Patuxent Rivers as tobacco planters oriented their marketing to the more convenient inspection and export centers. The General Assembly also specifically required that the Rock Creek inspection center be established in the tobacco warehouse that tobacco trader George Gordon had built privately a few years earlier. Gordon, who was one of Frederick County's first court justices, owned much of the land around the warehouse that a few years later formed George Town—he appears to have been the town's unofficial founding father.[10]

The act also required the appointment of one or two tobacco inspectors at each of the warehouses. These appointees had the relatively unrestricted responsibility and power to determine which tobacco passed for sale abroad and potentially dictated the economic success or failure of the tobacco planters in their area. In recognition of this key role, the General Assembly had specified that the governor would choose the inspectors from a short list of nominees drawn up by the vestries of the parishes in which the warehouses stood. The vestries, with certain civil as well as church responsibilities under colonial law, presumably had the best vantage point for nominating men who could be trusted to fulfill their vital duties in a way acceptable to the tobacco planters of the region. At the time the act came into force, Prince George's Parish encompassed the area between the Potomac and Rock Creek and extended to the Eastern Branch (now the Anacostia River). Its vestrymen nominated the inspectors for the George Town and Bladensburg warehouses.[11]

Perhaps in recognition of the need to spread responsibility for a fair inspection system, while maintaining local control, the General Assembly required the county courts to oversee and supervise actual operations. At the local level, the county court (not the vestry) held most day-to-day legal and administrative powers, and could be expected to command considerable respect and obedience from even elite members of the planter population. The assembly's decision to separate the nomination of the inspectors from the supervision of their activities helped balance the arbitrary power of the inspectors, but the action had an unforeseen result in Frederick County. In the other counties, mostly limited to the tidewater region, the county courts met close to the warehouses and were made up of men who were either tobacco planters or who made their living from the tobacco trade. Newly minted Frederick County extended all the way to the frontier in the Appalachians, and many of the court justices lived in the Monocacy valley and beyond. These men relied on wheat, corn, and furs for their livelihood and within a few years became economically oriented to the new port at Baltimore rather than the tobacco emporium in George Town. Consequently, the court tended to leave tobacco matters in the hands of those justices living down-county who were active in the tobacco economy and physically closer to inspection operations.[12]

Tobacco Inspectors at Work: Administration

The Frederick County Court (FCC) kept a separate record of its supervisory activities relating to the tobacco inspection system, as required by the inspection act. This plain leather-bound ledger book, kept at the Maryland State Archives, contains those records the county court chose to formally present to Annapolis and the outside world. Much of it is a spare recital of the oaths and bonds inspectors pledged each year as they guaranteed performance of their duties, annual profit-and-loss accounts of the inspection operation, and yearly balances of how much "transfer" (or noncasked) tobacco was left at the warehouse at the end of the reporting period. The discussions and actions of the county court on tobacco inspection are mentioned occasionally. At first glance, the ledger reveals little of interest to the historian. Considered more closely, and in conjunction with other contemporary records, the periodic entries written by county clerk John Darnall and others in the period 1749–1769 help describe the growth of lower Frederick County (now Montgomery County and most of northern District of Columbia) and the relations between its early residents.[13]

It is clear from the inspection proceedings that the county court usually performed its oversight role as an integral part of its other official responsibilities. Judging from the dates of the running entries in the ledger book, the county court dealt with tobacco inspection issues as they arose during their regular quarterly meetings at the frontier county seat of Frederick Town. Only occasionally were justices delegated to conduct oversight activities outside of the quarterly sessions, usually as small two-to-three-person committees instructed to personally investigate warehouse conditions. The court clerk rarely recorded the results of discussions involving problems with the tobacco inspection system. The record does not include the actual minutes of such discussions.

Once the county court launched the inspection system, activities settled into a regular pattern, with the most important oversight actions happening at the regular November session of the court. Then, the two current tobacco inspectors, who had been busy all summer and early fall determining what tobacco could be exported, reported their activities to the court. The county court also took the oaths of the two men who would serve as inspectors for the coming crop year. At the same session, those chosen posted performance bonds of £300 "current money" (roughly the equivalent of £180 sterling), signed and guaranteed by two other county residents and witnessed by two of the court justices. Incoming inspectors also had to swear an oath before a justice to uphold the inspection act in addition to the standard loyalty and religious oaths required of all provincial officeholders.

In their end-of-the-year report, the inspectors first provided a detailed tabular account of the transfer tobacco that remained in their hands at the end of the inspection year. The details included the serial numbers of the receipts they had

issued for tobacco accepted for loose storage at the warehouse and not redeemed. The inspectors noted the number of the receipt, the amount of tobacco, and the date issued, but did not mention the name of the person who presented the leaf. The accounting also reflects the requirement of the inspection act that tobacco be discounted for "shrinkage," depending on when it was presented for inspection. Thus, the weight of tobacco presented in April was reduced by 6 percent, in May by 5 percent, and so forth until the August discount of 2 percent.

As the receipts for transfer (or loose, uncasked) tobacco functioned as legal tender for taxes, fees, and debts that could be paid in tobacco, they in fact served as bank notes until redeemed at the issuing warehouse. The inspectors kept meticulous records on transfer tobacco because they were accountable for both the receipts and the tobacco remaining in the warehouse. At the end of the year, the court auctioned the remaining inventory and sent the proceeds to the provincial treasury.

The FCC's ledger does not include a direct accounting of the casked or "crop" tobacco that wealthier planters presented for inspection, i.e., those who could produce at least the 900 to 1,000 pounds of exportable tobacco necessary to fill one hogshead. The inspection records are also silent on who brought tobacco to the warehouse already casked and on the quantity each planter presented. The only measure of how much crop tobacco passed through the warehouse appears in the credit entries in each year's profit and loss accounts for the total fees collected for tobacco presented in full hogsheads.

The annual profit and loss statement arising from the inspection operation provides considerable detail on the process, as well as some insights into the commercial scene in pre-Revolutionary George Town. The money paid for inspection fees appears on the credit side. Planters who presented full hogsheads of tobacco, or "crop" tobacco, at the warehouse paid four (later three) Maryland shillings per hogshead. Farmers who presented less than a full hogshead of tobacco (950 pounds according to the act) received a receipt or "transfer note" for the amount of tobacco they presented. The loose transfer tobacco remained in the warehouse until someone turned in one or more of the receipts to claim an equivalent amount for use in making up a complete hogshead. That person then paid an inspection fee of seven shillings per hogshead. In effect, the transfer tobacco in the warehouse belonged to the province until it was claimed by a receipt holder or until it was auctioned at the end of the year by the inspectors.[14]

The operational costs of the inspection system appear on the debit side of the profit-and-loss account. The largest single cost, the inspectors' salaries reveal that each earned £60 Maryland currency per year. The next largest cost was the rent for the use of the Rock Creek warehouse calculated on the total number of hogsheads of tobacco that passed through the facility during the year. The rate, initially 12 pence per hogshead, dropped to 9 pence in 1754. In 1763, the busiest year

for the George Town inspectors, the warehouse rent amounted to £60/5/3 Maryland currency (1,607 hogsheads x 9 pence). Lastly, the inspectors detailed the incidental expenses involved in running the inspection operations. These most frequently included small amounts for paper and office supplies, and for tools and supplies to reprise the hogsheads, weigh them, and then burn the necessary inspection data onto the hogsheads. These small expenses usually amounted to £10 or less, but often provide the names of merchants and tradesmen who were active in George Town in the 1749–1769 period.

In the early years of the inspection regime, the inspectors reported an operating deficit that had to be covered by the FCC out of the county levy. The small amount of inspected tobacco did not generate enough in fees to meet costs and start-up expenses added to the burden. By 1751, however, when 802 hogsheads of crop and transfer tobacco passed through the warehouse, the inspectors returned a surplus of £16/1/10 in Maryland currency to county coffers. Overall, the inspectors reported a profit to the county court in thirteen of the twenty years for which these accounts exist (the 1762 profit-and-loss account is blank).

Per the tobacco legislation, inspectors had to be present at the warehouse "as often as required" from November 10 until April 1 and "constantly" from April 1 until August 30. From August 30 until November 10 at least one of the inspectors stayed on the premises until all of the tobacco was "delivered out" for exportation. The inspectors did not work Sundays, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. In accordance with the law, the annual transfer tobacco accounts show activity at the warehouse from early April until early November. As there is no listing of when crop tobacco (i.e., presented in full casks for inspection) was inspected or delivered out, the record is incomplete, but the consistency of recorded activity over the period in question offers strong evidence that most of the inspectors' work occurred between early April and early September. August ranked as the busiest month with July close behind.

It is important to note that all of the tobacco presented for inspection in a given year had been grown the previous year (or possibly before). Tobacco in Frederick County could not be ready to cut, harvest, and cure before the end of July at the earliest. Since the curing and packing process extended through the autumn and early winter, tobacco could not be presented for inspection until the middle of the winter. In fact, the Frederick County records indicate that most planters waited until the next summer to get their tobacco inspected. It was then available locally for sale to merchants or on consignment to Great Britain toward the end of the summer and early autumn.[15]

Tobacco Inspectors at Work: The Warehouse

The transfer tobacco accounts contain many gaps, back-dated entries, and out-of-sequence receipt numbers. These anomalies suggest that at times the inspection

of tobacco and the issuance of receipts occurred even if the official receipt record could not be found. One suspects that frequently one of the inspectors had gone off with the record book (or perhaps the warehouse keys) in his possession, leaving his partner to keep temporary records of inspections. Planters or overseers who hauled half-ton casks of tobacco across miles of dirt roads to George Town undoubtedly insisted on having their tobacco inspected without waiting for the return of the second inspector.

We need some imagination to picture what happened at the George Town inspection warehouse when planters arrived with their tobacco in hogsheads or loose in other containers. The tobacco records are silent on the process, but the requirements of the law provide some clues. The warehouse stood on a parcel of land that is now on the south side of M Street just west of lower Wisconsin Avenue.[16] The inspectors ordered the opening of hogsheads, probably inside the warehouse or at least under some kind of shelter from the sun and rain. Slaves and indentured servants, probably those of the planter, pried open the top of the hogshead, unpacked the leaf, and displayed it for viewing.

How much tobacco had to be unpacked probably depended upon many subjective factors. One imagines that hogsheads from well-established planters with good reputations for selling good quality tobacco were not checked as closely as those from growers of uncertain reputation. No doubt, however, the inspectors spot checked hogsheads from everyone, to keep the planters honest, to protect their own local reputations for even-handedness, and their jobs. Transfer tobacco, probably sent to the warehouse loosely packed, was probably checked in a more thorough fashion, since once it was accepted into the warehouse its quality was the direct responsibility of the inspectors.

What did the inspectors look for? The law required that the tobacco be "sound, well-conditioned, merchantable, and clear of Trash." The first step confirmed that the hogsheads did not contain cheap fillers such as rocks, sand, sticks, or tobacco stalks that unscrupulous planters had traditionally used to increase the weight of their crop. The second and more subjective task involved rejecting poor quality leaf. Keeping substandard tobacco from entering the export market increased the confidence of British tobacco buyers. Maryland tobacco now met minimum market requirements (there is no reference in the records to different grades or kinds of tobacco, such as sweet-scented vs. oronoco). The inspectors rejected poorly cured tobacco and leaves that were discolored or too small. Rejected tobacco had to be destroyed in the presence of the planter or his representative. This action prevented inspectors from condemning tobacco and then selling it on their own account.

After inspection, the planter's men had to repack and re-prize the hogshead, using the warehouse's prize. The inspectors then weighed the container, recorded its weight in a logbook, and burned the weight and ownership data onto the

outside of the hogshead. The final two operations addressed another point in the inspection act, i.e. to help Royal Customs enforce the kingdom's export tax system and to discourage smuggling. In the case of crop tobacco, the inspector presented the owner with a detailed receipt that could be traced back to the exact hogshead he had delivered to the warehouse. Owners of transfer tobacco received a simple receipt for a certain weight of unspecified transfer tobacco. The owner, or the purchaser who accepted it as payment, could redeem either type of receipt. Lastly, the tobacco lay stored in the warehouse until loaded on a ship for export. At that time, the tobacco became the responsibility of the inspectors, who acted jointly on behalf of the province.

The most striking element of this scene (partly imagined as it is) is the almost complete subjectivity of the actual inspection operation. The law, with few details on how to conduct the inspection, required that the inspectors to "uncase and break every Hogshead, Cask, and Case of Tobacco" and judge the marketability of the contents. The legislation also stipulated:

> But if the said two inspectors shall at any time disagree, concerning the Quality of any Tobacco brought for their Inspection . . . they shall without Delay, or as soon as conveniently may be, call from the next adjacent Warehouse or Inspection, another Inspector, who shall determine the Difference, and pass or reject such Tobacco.

The time it would take to send for one of the inspectors at the Bladensburg warehouse (and thus disrupting that operation) suggests that the inspectors rarely exercised this option.

The two inspectors clearly had considerable leeway in how to conduct their inspections, especially if they cooperated closely. They faced, however, some important informal constraints. If the planters considered their inspection standards too tough or too arbitrary or unfair, they could complain to the county court that oversaw the inspection operation. After all, if the inspectors ruled that a planter's tobacco did not meet export standards, a whole year of work and investment disappeared. Even for well-to-do planters, such a loss could be economically disastrous. Conversely, the inspectors also had to meet the expectations of the British merchants. If the inspectors passed too much tobacco that did not meet British market standards, the merchants would lose money and could lose their business reputations. In fact, if substandard tobacco continued to enter the system via the Rock Creek warehouse, the entire Frederick County tobacco business could suffer. The tobacco inspection records contain no information on the issue of how much tobacco was rejected or how often planters were allowed to pick over and repack their tobacco.[17]

If anyone disagreed with the inspectors' decisions, the law required the county

court to "hear and determine all Complaints against them; and if they shall find them deficient in their Duty, they shall remove any such Inspector or Inspectors, and their Proceedings shall be in a summary Way." No such complaint appears in any of the tobacco inspection records or other records of the Frederick County Court during the period the law was in force (1749–1769). It is hard to believe that this important and sensitive process never caused any disputes between planter and inspector. It is possible that the records of such complaints were maintained separately and were subsequently lost. More likely is that the inspectors, planters, merchants, and county justices all had an interest in limiting controversy and upholding confidence in the tobacco inspection system. Thus, disputes that did arise were probably resolved informally, and never came to the official attention of the county court. In any case, there is no evidence that the George Town inspectors abused their near-dictatorial powers to favor some planters over others.[18]

Informal resolution was easier to accomplish because the tobacco inspection process at the warehouse in Georgetown revolved around a fairly small number of key players who had a stake in the system and who were all well-known to each other. Perhaps more importantly, these players would have tried to make sure that the men chosen as inspectors were widely trusted and respected—better not to have any disputes in the first place. That the planter and merchant elite of Frederick County interacted to maintain good relations within the inspection system suggests that the county's pre-Revolutionary society operated on a basis of consensus. The lack of complaints to the county court about the inspection process supports (although does not prove) the interpretation that the elite in Frederick County did not manipulate the system to disadvantage the smaller landholders and tenant farmers.

Who Were the Inspectors?

On October 4, 1748, the vestry of Prince George's parish met, according to the law, to nominate candidates for the tobacco inspector jobs within their jurisdiction. The parish straddled the border between Prince George's County and the newly created Frederick County, and included the area from present day Rockville to the Eastern Branch (or Anacostia River). The Prince George's vestry had legal responsibility for nominating, for the governor's choice, four men for the two positions at the Rock Creek inspection warehouse and of two men for the single position at the Bladensburg warehouse.

The record is silent on where the vestry met, yet if they followed typical practice, Reverend George Murdoch, vestrymen Thomas Owen, Samuel Beall, John Clagett, John Rawlings and churchwardens John Harding and Nicholas Baker gathered at the parish church that stood on high ground to the east of Rock Creek:

> . . . and did nominate and recommend for Inspector at Mr. George Gordon's warehouse at the mouth of Rock Creek the following Gentlemen, viz. Captain Alexander Magruder, Major Josiah Beall, John Clagget, Alexander Beall son of William Beall— likewise for Bladensburg, Messr Samuel Beall [and] Nicholas Baker."[19]

This list of nominees merits close consideration and shows the remarkable continuity in the office of tobacco inspector in Frederick County. Only six men held the two inspector positions through the twenty-one year life of the inspection law—four of them are on this first list of nominees. Alexander Magruder and Alexander Beall became the first tobacco inspectors at Rock Creek warehouse, while Samuel Beall took on the job at Bladensburg. John Clagett replaced Alexander Magruder in June 1751 after the latter's death, and Nicholas Baker replaced John Clagett as inspector in 1760. Prince George's parish records indicate that although every year it nominated four men for the two positions, the incumbents were always re-nominated and were always reappointed by the governor. The vestry records do not show that a vote was ever taken to decide on the list of nominees. Only in the case of death or resignation did anyone new become inspector.

The minutes of that meeting in October 1748 are worth second glance. Of the ten men mentioned, six were current or future Frederick County court justices (Owen, Clagett, Rawlins, Josiah Beall, Alexander Beall, and Samuel Beall) and one, Samuel Beall, became sheriff of Frederick County. Also noteworthy, if perhaps not surprising, is that three participants in the meeting nominated themselves for the inspection positions, and all eventually got the job. In addition, two of the other nominees (Alexander Magruder and Josiah Beall) later served as vestrymen. Clearly, the lay leadership of Prince George's parish determinedly kept control of the tobacco inspection process.

Experienced Maryland genealogists know that the large Beall and Magruder clans intermarried for generations, so it will come as no surprise that some of these ten men had close family ties. Alexander and Josiah Beall were first cousins (Samuel was older, with an unclear relationship to the other two). John Clagett was the son-in-law of Alexander Magruder. Alexander Beall's wife was a Magruder. Alexander Magruder's mother was a Beall.[20]

But this is more than just the fairly common Chesapeake network of extended cousins by marriage dominating a county over time. When we consider all six of the tobacco inspectors together, we see that a tightly-knit family group controlled the Frederick County tobacco inspection process for the twenty-one years of its existence. Alexander Beall was the son of Alexander Magruder's sister. We have noted that John Clagett replaced his father-in-law in 1751. In 1755, Nathaniel Magruder replaced Alexander Beall, who apparently resigned. Nathaniel was the son of Alexander Magruder and the brother-in-law of John Clagett. When

Nathaniel resigned in 1760, the vestry chose his brother Samuel Wade Magruder to replace him. Nicholas Baker's appointment in 1761 to replace John Clagett created a brief break in the all-Magruder control of the tobacco inspection system in Frederick County. Baker died in 1765, however, and he was replaced by George Beall, Jr., who was the brother-in-law of Samuel Wade Magruder. Family control had been reestablished and continued until the inspection law expired at the end of 1769.[21]

Who Inspected the Inspectors?

It is remarkable that the planters of Frederick County allowed one family to dominate the tobacco inspection process. In theory, no one could sell tobacco for export or use it to pay taxes and fees unless the inspectors approved it. To modern eyes, the potential for abuse of such concentrated power was great. However, the absence of any evidence of complaints to the vestry, the county court, or to provincial government over a period of twenty-one years suggests that the members of this Magruder-Beall family carried out their responsibilities in an acceptable way. Three different groups of leading members of Frederick County probably helped to ensure that the inspection process remained fair: the vestry, the county court, and the tobacco merchants working in George Town. These groups had overlapping memberships, but played different roles in monitoring the Magruder/Beall inspectors.

The vestry of Prince George's parish supervised the administrative operations of the Church of England in an area of Frederick and Prince George's Counties that today lies mostly in Montgomery County and the District of Columbia. Led for most of this period by the Reverend George Murdoch, the vestry consisted of six of the leading freemen of the parish. Every Easter Monday, the parishioners met to choose two fellow church-members to replace the two vestrymen who had completed their three-year terms. The practice of returning former vestrymen to office on a regular basis as well as that of replacing deceased or incapacitated members with their sons or relatives suggests that the parishioners viewed membership on the vestry as the prerogative of a handful of the parish's leading families. Consequently, the list of vestrymen for the period 1749–1769 provides one way of capturing some of the names of the elite of the southern Frederick County.[22]

Most of the vestrymen appear to have been well-to-do and well-respected planters with a strong interest in the health of the tobacco trade. The value of the tobacco they grew depended in part on the integrity of the inspection system. Every fall, they had the opportunity to ensure that integrity by nominating four men to the position of tobacco inspector at the Rock Creek warehouse. Every year they chose to include the names of the incumbent inspectors (unless death had intervened) and the governor always re-appointed the same men. Only three times was this pattern of re-nomination disturbed, once when Alexander Beall

yielded office in 1755, probably for reasons of age and health. The circumstances surrounding the replacement of Nathaniel Magruder in 1760 and John Clagett in 1761 will be discussed in more detail below, but they appear to have resigned from office voluntarily.

The willingness of the vestry to allow the Magruders and Bealls more or less to monopolize the inspectorships arose partly from the important role those large and well-connected families played in local society. But the successful planters who served as vestrymen repeatedly supported the incumbent inspectors also because they carried out their key roles in the tobacco economy in a way that served the economic interests of the elite of southern Frederick County.

Maryland's proprietary system of government placed responsibility for routine governmental and legal matters in the FCC. Thus, the FCC justices had to manage a wide range of issues across the extent of the new county. In the 1749–1769 period, their geographic area, wide and diverse, stretched from the tidewater areas near Rock Creek to the mountainous frontier of Maryland's farthest borders. The provincial governors appear to have been careful to choose men of standing from across the county, both to reflect the varying interests of the big county and to ensure that every area had a local justice to perform necessary day-to-day legal and supervisory functions. This practice injected a representative element into the FCC even though the justices were appointed and not elected.[23]

Between 1749 and 1769 a total of forty-seven justices at thirty-two FCC meetings considered issues surrounding the proper conduct of the tobacco inspection process. On average, nine justices attended sessions where tobacco inspections issues arose. The lowest attendance at such meetings was three justices and the highest was fourteen. The tobacco inspection records suggest that the justices did not meet in special tobacco inspection sessions, but considered inspection matters throughout the normal agenda of the quarterly sessions. Afterward, the county clerk apparently gathered the court's actions relevant to the tobacco inspection law into a single record. The record book currently held at the Hall of Records in Annapolis appears to be the FCC's official log of all tobacco inspections actions.

Although most, if not all, county court justices participated in tobacco inspection discussions, it is clear that the court relied on a smaller subset of justices to focus on inspection oversight. Almost always, this subset comprised those justices that lived near the inspection warehouse and could most conveniently keep an eye on matters there. Thus, of the forty-seven justices who considered tobacco inspection issues, only ten were delegated by the court to carry out specific oversight duties, such as viewing the weights and scales at the warehouse or inspecting the physical condition of the warehouse. All ten of these either lived relatively near the warehouse, or had frequent business dealings in George Town. Four of the ten justices were also George Town city commissioners and three were Prince George's parish vestrymen.

A slightly larger, overlapping group of justices played a routine but essential part in the oversight system by witnessing the performance bonds sworn to by the inspectors and their co-securers. Sixteen different justices performed this notarial function over the period under consideration, but some witnessed bonds many times. Just five justices witnessed almost three-quarters of all the performance bonds. All five (Charles Jones, David Lynn, John Rawlins, Andrew Heugh, and Josiah Beall) lived and worked near George Town.

In posting bonds, the tobacco inspectors had to have co-securers swear with them to ensure performance of the legally required inspection duties. Usually two other men co-signed, and thus were "jointly and severally" required to guarantee the inspector's performance or pay £300 Maryland currency (after 1763, 48,000 pounds of tobacco). In this case, to spread the risk, prospective inspectors turned to a wider group of men for co-security. A total of thirty-five Frederick County men signed such performance bonds in twenty-one years. Of that group, ten were county court justices, mostly active in the southern part of Frederick County. Six of these ten justices were those that were delegated at one point or another to inspect operations at the warehouse (George Gordon, Josias Beall, John Clagett, David Lynn, Charles Jones, and Andrew Heugh).

Thus, the FCC tended to place its oversight responsibilities under the tobacco inspection law in the hands of a small group of its down-county membership. Obviously, the proximity of those justices to the warehouse was a large reason for the delegation. Justices living near Frederick Town lived too far away to carry out the required duties with any reasonable convenience for themselves or for the inspectors tied to the warehouse in George Town. Nevertheless, another factor is that the economic interests of the justices and other members of the elite living southeast of the Monocacy River had more invested in the tobacco economy than those living in today's Frederick and Washington counties. In the middle part of the eighteenth century, farmers throughout the Potomac Valley increased the share of their land planted in wheat and other grains, as the profits to be made in selling them rose in relation to the returns from tobacco. Soon, the farmers beyond the Monocacy (many of German stock from the wheat-growing culture of Pennsylvania) became well-known for their bustling sales of grain in Baltimore and George Town. In contrast, the area that became Montgomery County and the District of Columbia remained more dependent on the traditional tobacco culture, even if wheat growing also increased in that area.[24]

An Unusual Episode

Although the evidence shows that the FCC allowed a small sub-set of its members from the lower county to supervise the operations on a routine basis, one episode that stands out in the record shows that the whole FCC kept an eye on the inspectors and was prepared to act sharply to maintain integrity in the process. At the

quarterly court session convened in Frederick Town on November 15, 1757, the court justices rejected the annual profit and loss statement inspectors John Clagett and Nathaniel Magruder (and brothers-in-law) presented. The justices disallowed £6/10/6 in expenses, out of a total of £152/0/3, effectively rejecting all expenditures claimed by Clagett and Magruder, except for the cost of their salaries and the warehouse rent. Apparently, the justices were unhappy with the lack of specifics on the claimed expenses: at the next quarterly meeting on March 21, 1758, Clagett and Magruder presented a very detailed accounting of the largest account, and the court allowed all of the expenses claimed the previous November. The record notes, however, that the same March court decided to delegate justices David Lynn and Andrew Heugh to "Inspect the Weight & Scales belonging to the Ware House at Rock Creek, and also to view the Warehouse & and to Order any necessary repairs that may be wanting thereto, to be made & done accordingly."[25]

The spareness of the inspection records prevents a conclusive interpretation of this incident. One reason for the court's close scrutiny of the inspectors' expense claims may have been because 1757 saw an operating deficit for the third year in a row, a consequence of the shipping and market disruption caused by the Seven Years' War. Certainly, the justices were not happy to have to subsidize the tobacco inspection system and would have reacted as many such oversight bodies have done, before and since, by peering at the accounts more closely. The next year, the inspectors were careful to provide all details on their expenses.

Nevertheless, the scene in that November 1757 court session was probably stormy. John Clagett and Nathaniel Magruder almost certainly became angry when the justices questioned their word and demanded detailed expense accounting in writing. Tidewater planters of the day conducted most business on a handshake basis, putting tremendous weight on the value of one's word in managing daily relationships. Thus, it is likely that this court challenge loomed far larger in the minds of Magruder and Clagett than the £6 involved in the dispute. Regardless, the court never again questioned the inspectors, even when their accounts lacked details. Magruder ended his term as inspector at the end of 1759, and Clagett after 1760, in both cases for unknown reasons. Magruder/Beall domination of inspection process continued, however, with Samuel Wade Magruder's appointment as replacement for his brother. And, after the brief tenure of established planter Nicholas Baker, George Beall Jr. joined his brother-in-law at the warehouse.

Whether or not the dispute over expenses caused any emotional turmoil, overall the FCC and vestry of Prince George's parish continued to place trust in the clan until the end. However, the FCC showed its willingness (and power) to step in when a question arose about the integrity of the inspectors and their work, and to record that action in the official logbook. This strengthens the conclusion that the absence in the record of complaints from planters, large or small, about

the inspectors accurately reflects that no formal complaints were brought before the FCC.[26]

Two other groups of men played a role in monitoring the inspectors, the tobacco merchants and the smaller tobacco growers. Neither group appears in the record in a significant way. The inspectors frequently noted, in the annual profit and loss statements, the names of merchants who sold supplies and equipment necessary to operate the inspection warehouse. The absence of any complaints from either the merchants, who presumably kept a close eye on the quality of the tobacco passed for export, or from the smaller planters, who stood to lose their livelihood if the inspectors condemned too much of their product, can be read three ways. Ideally, the inspectors consistently found the perfect balance between the merchants and the planters, keeping the quality of exportable tobacco high and thus easily salable in Great Britain while rarely rejecting leaf that the planters thought was passable.

It is a bit hard to believe, however, that in the span of two decades, disputes did not erupt as inspectors sorted through up to 1.5 million pounds of tobacco (i.e., over 1,500 hogsheads) every summer. One can imagine the difficult scenes as the inspectors rummaged through the sticky tobacco inside the hot, humid warehouse during the peak months of July and August, perhaps with a cluster of planters and merchants watching and commenting. Surely the concerned planter protested when his tobacco, the product of a year's hard work, was rejected and put aside for public burning. And surely the merchants objected if the inspectors turned a blind eye to damaged and moldy leaves.

Yet neither the inspection records nor the county court records contain a single complaint. One possibility is that the planters were intimidated by the political and social connections of the Magruder/Beall clan within the Frederick County power structure. They might have felt that if they complained to the FCC, their complaints would have been ignored, and the inspectors with their numerous relatives and friends would take revenge, large and small, in the future. Better, perhaps, to keep quiet and accept the very real current loss than to store up endless trouble in the future.

Alternatively, it is possible (and perhaps more likely) that the Rock Creek inspectors were careful to resolve complaints themselves in an informal way at the Georgetown warehouse, or to use neighbors as mediators to find compromises. By the very fact that the inspectors were members of the widespread Magruder and Beall families, with all of the marriage, business and property relationships that status implies, they probably kept any disputes informal and local. After all, who wanted to have to make an unnecessary forty-mile trek to Frederick to face the justices (many of whom were strangers from beyond the Monocacy)?[27]

A comparison with Virginia's earlier experience with tobacco inspection per-

haps sheds some understanding on the importance of such informal dispute resolution. Virginia adopted a system of tobacco inspection, by a 1730 act of its general assembly, and established many of the procedures Maryland followed in 1747. The Virginia act required that after August 1, 1731 all tobacco to be exported from the province had to be inspected at stipulated warehouses. The negative response in several counties was quick and often violent. In March 1732 men in Lancaster and Northumberland counties burned down inspection warehouses. Shortly after those acts of arson, a group of unhappy planters gathered in Prince William County (just across the Potomac from Prince George's County in Maryland) and planned further destructive action. Within a week, inspection warehouses were burned in Prince William and King George counties. Meanwhile, Virginian freeholders in ten counties petitioned the 1732 General Assembly to revoke the inspection act, and in 1734 the House of Burgesses voted to repeal the act. However, the provincial council vetoed the repeal bill, and Virginia continued to inspect tobacco. Some Virginians remained discontented with the system. As late as 1763, at least one burgess won election running on a platform critical of the tobacco inspection act.[28]

The 1747 Maryland inspection law followed the Virginia act of 1730 closely, often verbatim, with one important exception. In Virginia, the governor chose all inspectors, with the advice and consent of the council. In Maryland, as described earlier, the local vestries nominated the inspectors for the governor to approve. At least in the case of the inspectors chosen for the warehouse at Rock Creek, the governor always went along with the nominees of the vestry of Prince George's parish. Although there is no record of the thinking of Maryland's General Assembly in choosing to depart in this one key area from the Virginian system, the Maryland representatives likely decided that local control of the inspectorate was important. The vestrymen would be careful to choose as inspectors men who commanded respect across the spectrum and who could execute the inspection system without significant discontent. The absence of evidence of such discontent suggests, but by no means proves, that they succeeded in their goal. In the end, without further evidence, the day-to-day workings and arguments of the warehouse in George Town will remain something of a mystery in human relationships.[29]

Tobacco in the Economy of Frederick County

Determining the economic role of tobacco and the impact of the inspection system in Frederick County is difficult. One reason is that the General Assembly created the system and the county at about the same time. Therefore, comparing the scattered data on tobacco production in Prince George's County before 1747 to that under the new system in the two newly-separated counties is challenging. At the least, it would require an exhaustive analysis of the land and probate records

of the two counties. An additional complicating factor is the rapid growth of wheat cultivation in the Potomac Valley in the decades before the Revolution. Figuring out the relative economic weight of tobacco and wheat in the development of Frederick County requires further study.[30]

Some basic economic facts can be drawn from the tobacco records that could be useful to future investigators. The tobacco inspectors at the Rock Creek warehouse in George Town processed a steadily growing amount of tobacco in the years 1749–1769. The total amount of tobacco that passed through the warehouse climbed in 1752 to approximately 940,000 pounds. With the exception of three years (1755–1757) at the start of the Seven Years' War when shipping to Great Britain was disrupted, and the drought-stricken crop shipped in 1759, the inspectors in George Town never passed for export less than 1 million pounds of tobacco. Highpoints were reached in 1763 and 1766 when total tobacco inspected reached 1.5 million pounds. The average for the whole period stood just shy of one million pounds, and although the totals in the late 1760s showed some overall increase, it appears that throughput at the Rock Creek leveled off at about 1.2 million pounds.[31]

These figures understate how much tobacco the planters of Frederick County produced. Frederick County residents probably brought a significant, if unknowable, amount of tobacco to other inspection warehouses. The warehouse in Bladensburg probably served as the most convenient point of export for the planters of the Anacostia and Patuxent watersheds in the eastern part of the county. Up-county residents beyond the Monocacy River may have sent tobacco to Baltimore, which increasingly served as a trading center for their grain. Some of this "leakage" may have been balanced by residents of Prince George's County who lived just east of Rock Creek bringing their tobacco to George Town. In the end, the tobacco throughput figures for Rock Creek warehouse serve as minimum amounts for Frederick County tobacco production.

How much was that tobacco worth? For many reasons, information on tobacco prices in the eighteenth century is difficult to interpret, compare, and analyze. Records are scattered, prices and qualities varied from warehouse to warehouse, and data drawn from British sources tends to be aggregated in ways that made sense to British customs officials and merchants in London and Glasgow, but present a challenge when applied the county level. The use of a number of different currencies in the Chesapeake adds another layer of complexity.[32] The Frederick County tobacco records themselves offer three types of price data that are not directly comparable. The first is seen in some of the profit-and-loss statements (between the years 1749 and 1759) that provide a price for reckoning the value of the tobacco shrinkage charged against the transfer tobacco presented for inspection. These prices, which ranged from a low of 1.02 pence per pound in 1754 to a high of 2.5 pence per pound in 1759, were given by the inspectors and accepted by the FCC as valid for that specific official purpose. However, it is not clear how

the inspectors arrived at these prices. In 1761, William Luckett (who ran a ferry across the mouth of the Monocacy River around that time) bought the warehouse's unclaimed transfer tobacco at a price of 13 shillings 3 pence per hundredweight or 1.59 pence/lb. (Maryland currency). This price appears to be the only one clearly tied to a market price. Another, quite different kind of price appears in the inspectors' accounts for the period 1764–1769, when a prospective change in British law concerning legal tender prevented the continued circulation of Maryland's paper currency. Consequently, the inspectors used in their accounts a conversion price set by the General Assembly in November 1763 of 1.5 pence/lb. (£1 currency equaling 160 pounds of tobacco). The inspectors used this official value until the end of the inspection system in 1769, even as real market prices increased significantly.[33]

A standard price series for Maryland tobacco, compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, is probably the most useful way to determine the approximate value of the tobacco that passed inspection in the Rock Creek warehouse. The series shows that the sterling price of Maryland tobacco between 1749 and 1769 fluctuated between one and two pence per pound, with only a few exceptions. Using those values reveals that in the disappointing year of 1755 (when war with France disrupted shipping across the Atlantic), the Rock Creek warehouse inspected about £2,900 sterling worth of tobacco. In the good year of 1760, the warehouse passed tobacco worth about £9,200 sterling. In 1769, the last year of the inspection regime's operation, the value of the tobacco peaked at about £13,000 sterling.[34]

The value of the tobacco exported via George Town had a significant impact on the economy of Frederick County as the sterling earned thereby enabled the county's residents to buy the many items they needed (or desired) from Britain and other foreign countries. Two factors must be considered when placing the above numbers into context. First, as already noted, it is likely that a significant percentage of Frederick County's tobacco production shipped through other ports. Planters on the eastern side of the county were probably oriented their marketing to outlets in the Anacostia and Patuxent watersheds. Thus, their tobacco did not pass through the Rock Creek inspection warehouse. Unfortunately, the lack of evidence prevents any easy estimate on the level of such exports.

Perhaps a more important factor is that Frederick County also produced a great deal of wheat and corn for export. In general, the closer a farmer lived to George Town and Bladensburg, the more he concentrated his efforts on growing tobacco. Conversely, to the northwest, farmers leaned toward grain production, much of which they sold in Baltimore. By 1760, grain production became increasingly important.

Meanwhile, the tobacco inspection system ended in 1769 when the General Assembly failed to renew it as a consequence of its long-running struggle with the proprietary party over the question of officers' fees. The growing political unrest leading up to the Revolution prevented any effective replacement system. To-

bacco production suffered a major blow when Britain cut trading ties with the colonies. When trade resumed after the war, tobacco once again played a brief, but major, role in the area, particularly in newly created Montgomery County. The twenty years of global war that followed the French Revolution in 1789 ultimately ended the glory days of tobacco culture along the upper Potomac.[35]

Conclusion

The importance of tobacco in the economic and political development of Frederick County has long been recognized. The discussion above, however, shows that county organization around the tobacco market played a central role in the structure and course of that development. The General Assembly created the new county at the end of the 1740s, just as the new inspection system reinforced a general increase in the price of the leaf. The requirement for an inspection warehouse at Rock Creek provided the basis for the new port and marketing town of George Town. Thus, from the start, Frederick County benefited from a vigorous commercial center at its southern periphery.

At the same time, the county's new capital at Frederick Town began its striking economic growth by providing a market center for the up-county wheat and corn farmers. Frederick Town overshadowed George Town, becoming the largest town in Maryland for the few years before Baltimore blossomed. Almost immediately, the county was functionally split in two, a southern tobacco region feeding into George Town and a northern grain region sending its produce via Frederick Town to Baltimore. The people of the county recognized this reality in two ways. In the early 1750s, residents petitioned the General Assembly twice to create a separate southern county, but the assembly failed to act. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the leaders on the county court understood that day-to-day control of the tobacco economy in the southern region was best left to justices and other leading men living close to George Town, for both practical and political reasons.[36]

For their part, the planters and merchants of the George Town area seem to have worked closely together to keep the tobacco inspection system working smoothly. They had no interest in attracting the unwelcome attentions of Frederick (or, even worse, Annapolis). Quite remarkably, that elite placed its trust repeatedly over twenty years in one tightly-knit family within the influential Magruder-Beall clan. The family provided the tobacco inspectors who decided on a daily basis whose tobacco would be exported and whose would be burned. Lacking enough information, we cannot determine what mixture of blandishment, intimidation or plain integrity the Magruders and Bealls used to avoid formal complaints about their judgments. In any case, the smaller land-owners and tenant farmers did not complain. The model Frederick County leaders settled on, in the years between 1749 and 1769, speaks of a quiet consensus, not one of adversarial checks and balances. It seems to have worked.

NOTES

The author is deeply grateful for the considerable help and support he received from the staff and volunteers of the Montgomery County Historical Society, in particular, librarian Patricia A. Andersen.

1. The standard history of the area in the pre-Revolutionary period is Alan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). Two older but still useful surveys are J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 2 vols., (1882; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1968) and Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). See also Ray Eldon Hiebert and Richard K.McMaster, *A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County* (Rockville, Md.: Montgomery County Government, 1976). Richard R. Beeman, *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia 1746–1832*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), analyzing the tobacco economy in a Southside Virginia frontier county in the same time period, serves as a useful counterpoint.
2. Four sets of archival records formed the basis of this study. Three can be found on microfilm at the Maryland State Archives: Frederick County Court, Tobacco Inspection Proceedings, 1748–1769 (MSA No. CM511-1); Frederick County Court, Minutes, 1750–1775 (MSA No. CM 497); and The Records of Prince George's Parish, Vestry Minutes, 1719–1845 (MSA No. MC 261). The fourth is "Records of the Commissioners of George Town, 1751–1782" found at the United States National Archives, College Park, Md., Cartographic Records, Records of the Government of the District of Columbia, Record Group 351, Series: Surveyor's Office, Vol. 15, Corporation of Georgetown (Stack Area 330, Row 21, Comp. 20, Shelf 3-6).
3. Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 99–101, 170–84.
4. William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland*, (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 44: 595–638, 46: 142–44 (hereinafter cited *Arch Md.*).
5. *Arch. Md.*, 46, pp. 630–35; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 120, n. 4, contains a good summary of the literature on the transition from tobacco to wheat in the Chesapeake region. Of particular note is Paul G. E. Clemens *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980).
6. This discussion of the tobacco inspection law is informed by Mary MacKinney Schweitzer, "Economic Regulation and the Colonial Economy: The Maryland Tobacco Inspection Act of 1747," *Journal of Economic History*, 40 (1980): 551–69 and Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 104–16.
7. Jacob M. Price, *Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: The View from the Chesapeake, 1700-1776* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1980) provides a detailed analysis of the role credit (and thus debt) played in the relationship between merchants and planters. Joseph Albert Ernst, *Money and Politics in America, 1755–1775: A Study in the Currency Act of 1764 and the Political Economy of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 12–17, looks at the broader impact of debt on the financial situation in the tobacco colonies.
8. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 156–66.

9. Schweitzer, "Economic Regulation and the Colonial Economy," 560–66.
10. *Arch. Md.*, 44: 609; "Records of the Commissioners of George Town," 1–14.
11. *Arch. Md.*, 36: 599, 44: 612.
12. *Arch. Md.*, 44, 608–9.
13. The original leather-bound ledger containing the FCC tobacco inspection proceedings is still in fairly good condition and is catalogued at the Maryland State Archives, MSA No. 894-1.
14. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 123–41; *Arch. Md.*, 44: 624–26.
15. David O. Percy, *The Production of Tobacco along the Colonial Potomac*, [pamphlet] (Accokeek, Md.: National Colonial Farm, 1979).
16. "Records of the Commissioners of George Town, 1751–1782," 9.
17. Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, editors, "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 146–66, 305–28, 62 (1967): 135–69 (hereinafter cited *MdHM*). Hamilton's letters to his employer, James Brown & Co. of Glasgow, show how closely the British merchants watched the quality and price of the tobacco sold in the different warehouses in the region.
18. T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 85–111, discusses the importance planters placed on resolving commercial problems, especially debt, privately.
19. Prince George's Parish, Vestry Minutes, 56.
20. This description of the complicated relationships among the members of the Beall, Magruder, and Clagett families active in the tobacco inspection system is based on three genealogical typescripts held at the Jane C. Sween Library of the Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, Md.: Eleanor M.V. Cook, "First Three Generations of Bealls in Maryland," August, 1993; Jane C. Sween, "All You Wanted to Know About the Magruders and a Little More," 1986; and Brice Clagett, "Clagett Genealogy," [no date]. Also useful to locate relevant probate and land records are Donna Valley Russell, *Frederick County Wills 1744-1794* (New Market, Md.: Catoctin Press, 2002) and Stephanie R. Shaffer, *Inhabitants of Frederick County Maryland 1749-1800*, 2 vols. (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books, 1999).
21. Trevor Burnard, "A Tangled Cousinry? Associational Networks of the Maryland Elite, 1691–1776," *Journal of Southern History* 61 (1995): 17–44, analyses kinship in four Maryland counties (not Frederick County), and concludes that elite marriages did not focus on close kin. In contrast, Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 250–59, finds that marriage between first cousins was common in eighteenth-century Prince George's County. Interestingly, Kulikoff uses the Prince George's County branch of the extended Beall family as an example of the strong family solidarity found in that period.
22. *Arch. Md.*, 24: 265–73. The Prince George's Parish vestry minutes record the names of all the vestrymen and wardens elected each year.
23. Patricia A. Andersen, *Frederick County, Maryland Land Records, 1748–1772*, (Montgomery Village, Md: GenLaw Resources, 1995–2003), includes a useful summary of information on FCC justices. The court met quarterly in Frederick Town to dispense justice, hear private lawsuits, appoint local administrative officials such as constables and road surveyors, and determine the annual poll tax or levy on the taxable persons resident in the county. The tobacco inspection law also required the FCC to oversee operations of the two tobacco inspectors working in the Rock Creek warehouse.
24. James D. Rice, "Old Appalachia's Path to Interdependence: Economic Development and the Creation of Community in Western Maryland, 1730–1850," *Appalachian Journal* 22 (1995): 355–57; Mary Clement Jeske, "Autonomy and Opportunity: Carrollton Manor Tenants, 1734–1790," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1999, 49–50, 57, 90–91, 119, 128–29, 164–66.

Jeske's close analysis of the Carrollton Manor, which lay in Frederick County near the current border with Montgomery County, shows a significant correlation between ethnicity and crop production. British tenants moving up from the tidewater region tended to stick to tobacco, while Germans moving down from Pennsylvania preferred wheat.

25. FCC, Tobacco Inspection Proceedings, 38–42.

26. Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, 106–11, 135; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 290–92, records another incident at the Bladensburg warehouse in Prince George's County, where unhappy Scottish merchants lobbied successfully for the replacement of inspector Andrew Beall in 1769. Interestingly, Andrew Beall was replaced by his first cousin, John Beall.

27. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 280–300, givers one perspective on the intricacies of the relations among merchants, well-to-do planters, small landowners and tenants.

28. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 109–16; Charles S. Sydnor, *American Revolutionaries in the Making: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 47–51.

29. This interpretation differs somewhat from that in Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 114–17, describing the situation in neighboring Prince George's County. Perhaps the subjective nature of the inspection process as stipulated in the law inevitably led to differences based on the personal qualities and relations of the inspectors in different warehouses. In any case, there is no evidence in the FCC or tobacco inspection records that tobacco inspection led to differences between the elite and planters of lesser status.

30. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 118–61, addresses these issues with a focus on Prince George's County, providing a useful starting point for such a study.

31. The estimates for tobacco production are drawn from the annual profit-and-loss statements provided by the tobacco inspectors to the FCC at its November sessions (the proceedings contain no statement for 1762). The statements report the rent paid to the owner of the inspection warehouse based on how many hogsheads of tobacco passed through the warehouse, together with the small amount of transfer tobacco that was left in the hands of the inspectors. The statutory net weight of tobacco in each hogshead was 950 lbs.

32. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 120–22, gives a concise picture of the scholarship dealing with the difficult issue of tobacco prices.

33. *Arch. Md.*, 58: 365–68.

34. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Bicentennial Edition: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, //www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/CT1970p2-13.pdf/, series Z 578-582.

35. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 157–61.

36. *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 1, The Black Books*, Publications of the Hall of Records Commission No.1 (1943; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1967), 103–104, 110.

Detail, Martenet's map of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1860. Note "Mrs. Gale's" property in the center.

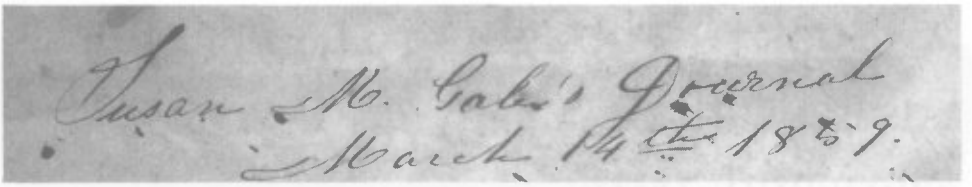
A "Book of Thoughts": The Diary of Susan Mathiot Gale, West River, Maryland, 1859

JENNIE A. LEVINE

The diary of Susan Mathiot Gale is, on the exterior, a slim, unremarkable-looking book. Girlish doodles and handwriting exercises fill the front and back end sheets, accompanied by a few lines of poetry and some notes about egg production. Susan purchased the diary from a Baltimore bookseller located a few blocks from her father's furniture warehouse.[1] From the time of the first official entry on March 20, 1859, this simple journal is filled with fascinating insights into the life of a young, widowed mother, torn between familiarity with city life and an appreciation for a rural lifestyle, and who, by the age of twenty-seven, sought to define her ideals in writing in the hopes that she could create a connection between her ideal world and reality. Susan filled the 144 pages of the journal with vivid accounts of her day-to-day activities on an estate south of Annapolis in West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, near current-day Galesville. With the Civil War on the horizon, she wrote frankly about her views towards the institution of slavery and her relationships with the slaves and servants with whom she was close. She made observations about her family, friends, and neighbors that she often felt compelled to cross out or even tear from her journal. She appreciated the morals of religion but felt dismay at the hypocrisy she witnessed amongst those who did not practice what they preached. She agonized over the health and well-being of her young daughter, and she questioned her fitness as a mother. Her wealth and youth made her a sought-after widow—she received no fewer than three marriage proposals during 1859, and considered almost every man she met in the context of how he would qualify as a potential husband.

Like other rural women's writings of earlier eras, such as the diary of midwife Martha Ballard in Maine, the correspondence of plantation mistress Rosalie Stier Calvert in Maryland, and the Civil War diary of Priscilla Bond in Louisiana,[2] the diary of Susan Mathiot Gale turns brief fragments of the historic record such as census records and newspaper accounts into a colorful landscape, providing an in-depth understanding both of her personal concerns and of the community in

Jennie A. Levine is Curator for Historical Manuscripts at the Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park.



Susan Gale started her diary in late winter 1859. (University of Maryland College Park.)

which she lived.[3] Whether or not she originally intended to write it for an audience, Susan's style has a flavor of storytelling about it. Despite her claims at the beginning of the book that her real intent was to practice her handwriting, comments such as "*should anyone do me the honor to read these pages*" indicate that she may have had dreams of a reader discovering her diary someday. She used her writing to help her sort out her emotions and for self-reflection, not to keep a record of crop yields. This is not unusual. As Laurel Ulrich showed in *A Midwife's Tale*, often, even the most basic and seemingly pragmatic diary entry might provide insight into much more complicated issues.[4] And, like these women, Susan lived at a period of dramatic change. She displayed a keen sense of understanding about the world around her and expressed her dissatisfaction with her situation while trying actively to work towards providing a fulfilling life for herself and for her extended family. When Susan's ideals did not live up to reality, she either attempted to turn her disappointment into humor or to give into loneliness and self-reflection. In many ways, Susan's attitudes and behaviors are not unusual for someone in her class and time period, yet it is remarkable that this diary has survived can therefore add another piece of history to the story of Maryland's past.

"I Have Such a Youthful Looking Face and Figure"

Susan Matilda Mathiot was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in December, 1831. Her father, Augustus Mathiot, an original founder of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, manufactured and sold chairs and cabinet-ware for a living. Augustus Mathiot and his wife, Mary Ann Hodges, had ten children. Susan, fourth child and second-oldest daughter, was intelligent, capable, introspective, and well-educated. Her father, known for his "love of reading" particularly enjoyed books on science, philosophy, and archaeology.[5] Whether she studied at home or attended one of the Baltimore area's female schools is unknown. Susan's younger sister, Annie, attended the Mount Washington Female College in Baltimore. Reverend Elias Heiner, the minister of the First German Reformed Church, to which the family belonged, founded the school in 1855, too late for Susan to have attended.[6] Yet the quality of her writing, her extensive vocabulary, and her knowledge of literature and poetry indicate that she was well educated.

As a young woman, Susan attracted at least two romantic admirers. In 1853, Baltimore poet Finley Johnson, Esq. wrote a poem entitled "I'll Love Thee Then"

and dedicated it to "Miss Susan Mathiot."[7] She reminisced about another young man, a "Mr. H.," in her diary, and described him as a "boyish expounder of Theology" whom she greatly admired. What transpired between Susan and these early beaux, however, is lost to the past. On January 7, 1856, twenty-four-year-old Susan Matilda Mathiot married fifty-six-year-old George Gale of West River, Maryland. When George Gale died in July 1856, six months after their marriage, he left his pregnant wife an estate worth more than $50,000 and property that included close to forty slaves.[8] Susan's older brother, Augustus ("Gus" or "Gust"), helped her manage George Gale's Westbury (Westberry) farm, her primary residence. Her daughter Georgette ("Georgie"), born in December of that same year, grew up in that home as her mother tried to adjust to life in a rural society and a lifestyle that did not quite suit her.[9]

"He Who Was My Support in Those Days"

The nature of Susan's relationship with George Gale is speculative. A widower at the time of their marriage in 1856, his first wife Margaret had died two years earlier. Gale, born in Kent County, Maryland, on August 14, 1799, was just ten days younger than Susan's own father. He probably moved to West River in connection with his older half-brother, Captain James Dooley, who died in 1829 with considerable wealth from his earnings as a privateer during the War of 1812.[10] Dooley's wealth included 718 acres of a farm named Westbury.[11] Captain Dooley's widow, Margaret, married George Gale in 1832 and when her only daughter, Isabella Dooley, died at the age of six in 1835, George and Margaret inherited the entire Dooley estate. George Gale continued to acquire property, including a large portion of land in 1845 that included most of what is now the town of Galesville.[12] George and Margaret Gale had no children together.

Kent County is the main link between Susan Mathiot and George Gale. Susan's mother, Mary Ann Hodges, belonged to the Hodges family of Kent County. Although records are incomplete, there is indication that Mary Hodges Mathiot and George Gale were cousins by marriage.[13] Susan wrote in her diary about various members of the Gale family, such as "Anne Lissie Gale," whom Susan hoped would spend the summer with her at Westbury, since she was "excellent company." One possible scenario is that Anne Lissie Gale was Susan's step-cousin and close to her age.[14] Susan's mother also spent some amount of time visiting relatives on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Susan mentioned her deceased husband only twice in her 1859 diary. The first mention of George Gale was supernatural, as befit a dead man. Susan's cousin, Laura Mathiot, who was then thirteen years old, visited Westbury in late August. One evening, Susan and Laura "talked over the subject of spiritualism until near 12 o'clock." It is difficult to ascertain the seriousness of the young widow's account of the following events. In earlier diary entries, she appeared to poke fun at Laura's

youthful naivety. Susan remarked that "Laura's [experience] being however far more varied and startling than mine though she is many years younger than myself she having been pronounced a seeing medium long ago." The following morning, Laura reported to Susan that she had awakened in the middle of the night to see several men and one woman in the room. One of the men was leaning over the foot of the bed looking at Susan and her daughter, Georgette ("Georgie"):

> She gave accurately the features and dress of Mr. G. although she had never seen or heard him described in her life. She said he had no beard but he full looked as if it had not been shaved for several days. Annie and I got Mr. G's likeness and showed it to her the instant she beheld it she exclaimed, "that is the man!"

Susan then tried to trick her cousin by telling her that the picture was a fake, but Laura stood by her original statement. "I don't care . . . it is the man I saw last night." Although doubtful of her cousin's true abilities as a medium, Susan remained curious enough to agree to hold a séance. Unfortunately, they received company that evening and missed the opportunity to "try the spirits." Susan did not reflect further on the experience and although she did not express enthusiasm to speak with her former spouse's ghost, nor did she seem to find the idea distasteful. The second time Susan alluded to George Gale, on September 26, 1859, she described an encounter with a Mr. M-r: [15]

> He [Mr. M.] gave me a particular invitation to come and see Mrs. M. I thanked him politely but said I believed I had paid the last visit some three years before. He professed a great deal of surprise though . . . Mrs. M. was under the impression that *she* had paid the last, however, they would not stand upon ceremony. I like Mr. M. very much but I cannot tell whether he is in earnest. I do wonder now whether *she* will come. I liked her and Mrs. H. better than any one on West River when I was married; but things are changed now, *he* who was my support in those days, for whose sake these people noticed me, is gone. I have to stand alone.

These entries do not provide much insight into either George Gale's character or into the nature of their marriage. Gale's tombstone in the Quaker Burial Ground in Galesville bears the following common inscription:

> Affliction sore for years I bore
> Physicians were in vain
> At length God pleased to give me ease
> And freed me from my pain.[16]

George Gale's tombstone, Quaker Burying Ground, Galesville. (author's photograph.)

This indicates that he may have been ill for many years. Why he chose to remarry so soon after his first wife's death, particularly if his health was failing, is unknown. He may have needed a caretaker. Why Susan agreed to marry him is equally unclear. No courtship records typical of the time period, such as love letters or fanciful recollections of a heartfelt proposal, exist. As Gale's first wife had died less than two years prior to his marriage to Susan, their courtship could not have been long by the standards of the day. Gale, however, already had a fortune and a home, which eliminated the need to wait until they had acquired these necessities.[17] From what the diary exposes of her character and of her relationship with her family, it is possible that although Susan felt a true affection for George Gale, they most likely married for convenience. There is also some indication that Susan's father, Augustus, may have been a strong personality, and certainly both of Susan's parents took an active role in her life. She wrote on one occasion, "I am afraid I did not act as dignified as I should have done, at least father does not think so. Father thinks I act too young and girlishly." Another time, she cryptically contemplated, "I think in the future I will always follow my mother's advice. My disregard of her wishes has been attended with very disagreeable, not to say, mortifying consequences." It is easy to guess at any number of reasons why these two might marry. Certainly, Gale had little to lose, and Susan had much to gain. Susan's father's business appears to have been successful, and he

regularly took out full-page advertisements in Baltimore City directories.[18] Whether or not the marriage provided any financial benefit for the Mathiot family as a whole is difficult to ascertain, although Susan did send servants to her parents in Baltimore. Susan, who had turned twenty-four the month before her marriage, was hardly past her prime, but she may have felt it important to seize the opportunity to marry.

"I Do Not Believe in Slavery"

When George Gale died in 1856, Susan inherited a sizable estate. Her husband bequeathed $3,000 each to his nephew, Robert Walmsley Gale, and to his niece, Margaret Ann Dooley Cathell. Everything else now belonged to his "dearly beloved wife Susan Matilda Gale." The estate inventory completed after Gale's death indicated that Westbury thrived as an active farm. The livestock included nine "milch" cows, thirteen horses, five oxen, one bull, one hundred sheep, and forty hogs. The crops included wheat, corn, and oats. George Gale also owned one-third of a schooner named *Margaret Ann*.[19]

Despite this, in her diary, Susan seemed unconcerned with housework and farm duties. In contrast, Rosalie Calvert's letters to her family in the early nineteenth century are filled with information about household matters, such as gardening, planning and hosting dinners, and managing the servants. Susan often shirked what seem like basic duties, such as making herself available to play hostess when her brother arrived with guests. In a letter from Westbury dated November 11, 1857, Susan's brother, Augustus, wrote to her in Baltimore of the day-to-day farm details that one might expect to be of interest to the mistress of a large estate. He wrote:

> I want to kill a hog and have it canned — *not drunk* and also have you some lard made. Mr. R. has let us have twenty of the turkeys to feed upon this winter which will save some meat as we have not a piece in the house except part of an old ham. I have been living on oysters, bird and fish as you see how poorly I live. When you come home you must bring a box of candles and if I were you I would buy a coal stove for the drawing room, it will be better for Georgie to have a regular heat in the room than one minute cold and another warm. Every body are now busy threshing oats, even Charles and Moses. We will finish to morrow.[20]

From Susan's diary, it is difficult to imagine life on a plantation outside the sphere of Susan's existence. She wrote about what interested her and painted a picture of life that seems overly idealized. Hogs, lard, oats, and other farm activities are never mentioned, with the exception of one day when Susan did some weeding in the garden. However, Susan's sphere of influence may very well have been as removed from the farm as she made it seem. In fact, she seemed out of her

element in the country and wrote one Sunday, "This morning Mrs. P. distressed us all very much by giving us three pet chickens for dinner, in consequence of which two of the family concluded not to return to that meal."[21] In the diary, Susan recorded days filled with reading, singing, walking, riding, visiting, writing, and washing and dressing her daughter. On April 11, Susan noted that her family had "turned over a new leaf" by commencing to rise at six and begin breakfast at seven. She disappointedly noted that they did not manage to finish breakfast until just before eight. A few days later, she had fallen back into bad habits, and did not manage to leave her bed before eight o'clock. On April 26, Susan spent the entire day reading Dickens's *The Life and Times of Martin Chuzzlewit* and on May 2 managed to read *Barnaby Rudge* in its entirety.

In addition to extensive reading, Susan worked to cultivate her musical talents. She bought a guitar during her winter visit to Baltimore and a teacher visited her at Westbury to work with her on both the guitar and the piano. Susan joined a local singing class and sang in the church choir. Also an accomplished rider, she seemed to enjoy her frequent rides on Billy.

> This morning as I passed through Mr. Charles Stuart's gate at the foot of the woods hill it slammed before I had quite passed and caught me halfway. I felt as if I were about to be drawn and quartered. Billy seemed quite as sensible of the danger as I was for in endeavoring to break his speed he fell upon his four legs and then was considerable plunging and rearing before he could be withdrawn from the gate. I then wheeled him about and made a second attempt to open the gate with better success. An old man standing near was alarmed and called for assistance but when he saw me bound through scott free and salute to him he stared after me in blank surprise.

There are no surviving Westbury business receipts from this time period, and consequently it is unclear how much of this work Susan took on and how much she left to her brother. It is therefore difficult to glimpse her everyday activities. Many women's diaries held more practical accounts of day-to-day life. For example, Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins Brevard, a widowed South Carolina plantation mistress approximately thirty years older than Susan, filled her journal with recipes, news about the turnips, and trade with neighbors.[22] Where many contemporaries lamented the loss of their husbands and the difficulty of their situations, Susan seemed focused on her future, not dwelling on the loss of her husband, and confident in the loyalty, leadership, and support of her brother and father.

According to the inventory of George Gale's estate after his death in 1856, he owned thirty-eight slaves. Of those, he had planned to free at least three of them by the end of 1858, dropping the total number of working slaves in 1859 to approxi-

mately thirty-five.[23] A number of free blacks also lived and worked on the Westbury estate. Susan, who had grown up in Baltimore City, where free blacks outnumbered slaves by more than four-to-one, had no experience managing and interacting with this group of people.[24] The clues in her diary indicate that her relationships with the slaves of Westbury were not unlike those of many slaveholding widows throughout the South.[25] She seemed to have fostered and encouraged close relationships with several of those who worked in the house. Although she did not allot significant space in her diary to the discussion of the management of the estate overall, it is clear that she sent slaves to Baltimore to help her parents, either in their home or in her father's business.

On September 28, 1859, Susan made first mention of some of the Westbury slaves. Her analysis of the institution of slavery seems more closely tied to her own personal experiences, rather than overall impression of the broader picture. Certainly, the racial tension in Maryland in 1859 ran high. Conflicts between white workers and free blacks in Baltimore had caused what the Baltimore *Sun* referred to as a "reign of terror" on the city's docks.[26] This news, as well as John Brown's raid on the Harper's Ferry federal arsenal in October 1859, although well-reported, did not garner mention in Susan's diary. Instead, her writing is concerned with a more immediate problem, a runaway slave:

> I think it is very strange that Lis does not come down, I hope she has not seized this opportunity to vanish. She might do it with a great deal of ease. For those in Baltimore would think she was here and I would think she hadn't come yet. Let her go! I do not believe in slavery, it is an evil entailed on me, and from which I see no escape. It goes against my conscience to hold unwilling slaves. They generally are contented with their lot because they know no better and are satisfied to have some one to take care of them and their children, but those who thirst for freedom, with the consciousness that it is forever out of their reach by fair means, must be miserable indeed. "A contented mind is a continual feast" Now there is Matilda, I believe she would drudge from morning til night and aspire to no higher lot and yet she is no ignorant, silly woman, there is a certain dignity and strength of mind about her that call forth my respect. So to Hettie, I really believe she would think it almost a sin to be free. She is the most perfect lady, I ever saw for a colored person. Lis is the high spirited one. She comes of a respectable family. Clean, neat and industrious, but hard headed and sulky under restraint. Lis has many chances to effect her freedom if she wishes it.

"Lis" (sometimes "Liz") was Lis Brown, who would have been twenty-four years old in 1859. Matilda was slightly older, approximately thirty-three years old. Hettie (sometimes "Lettie"), who would have been over sixty in 1859, appears to have

been very close with Susan. Hettie had been on the Westbury lands for years and her name appeared on the 1835 inventory of Isabella Dooley's estate. She and Susan obviously shared a close relationship, and Susan at one point allowed her to go to Annapolis in order to "have her foot cured," although she also remarked, "but I don't think she will succeed. I believe if her foot is cured, that the dropsy will fly to her head." Susan made several references to a "Martha" or "Martha Ann" who worked in the house. This may have been Martha Ann who is listed on the 1856 inventory, and who would have been approximately thirteen in 1859. At least one former slave, a man named Madison, born circa 1830, remained with Susan's family after the Civil War. He is listed as the "gardener" in the household of Susan's daughters in the 1900 Census. Madison is listed on both the 1835 and the 1856 inventories. "Nellie" and Madison Clarkson appear on the 1870 Maryland Census in Anne Arundel County's first district. In 1864, Susan freed Madison Clarkson, aged thirty-five and Hetty Coward, age seventy, with an additional twenty-one slaves when the new state constitution abolished slavery.

Lis continued to evade Susan. On October 4, 1859, she asked her brother to go to Baltimore to look for Lis. She wrote:

> I do believe Liz is off; I got a letter from mother bidding me to hurry her home and saying that she had forgot to send a book by her when she came last Saturday. I want Gus to go to Baltimore this morning and see about it. It would be a shame if it is so, for Liz is the best servant I have. I ought never to have let her go to Baltimore.

Augustus returned home on October 8th and announced that he could not find Lis. Susan reported, "If I ever get her again I shall sell her." That Lis was able to escape so easily is not surprising. Slaves in Baltimore experienced greater freedoms than they did on farms. Some rented living quarters and many gained exposure to the city's large population of free blacks.[27]

Few records exist to document Westbury's success as a plantation. It seems that Susan, like many other widows in her situation, depended heavily on her family for support. Her brother Augustus ran the farm and saw to the agricultural and trade aspects of life at Westbury, while Susan focused more on the domestic issues and raising her daughter.

"I Do Wish I Had Some Acquaintances"

Susan seemed happiest when surrounded by her family. Growing up in a family of ten children, she did not suffer from lack of visitors. In addition, she made at least two extended trips to Baltimore in 1859, and it is likely that she spent the gloomy winter months in the city. Of her father, Augustus Mathiot, J. L. Ridgely wrote, "sons and daughters of marked intelligence and refinement made his home-life a holiday."[28]

During 1859, in addition to her brother Augustus, Susan's visitors included her father and mother, her youngest brother, Robert (b. 1846); her sister, Annie (b. 1839); her sister-in-law Annie Mathiot (referred to as "Annie Tave" and married to Susan's oldest brother, Octavian); her cousin, Laura Mathiot; and possibly several others. She wrote frequently of her cousin, "Anne Lissie" Gale, who lived in Kent County and who she wished would come visit her. Anne Lissie invited Susan to visit her on the Eastern Shore in October, but Susan declined, as she "could not think of crossing the water this time of year." Susan also maintained ties with her father's family, the Mathiots of Pennsylvania. She wrote to her cousin, Louise Mathiot Carpenter, daughter of her father's first cousin, John Mathiot, Mayor of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, inviting her and her children to visit Westbury. The two were close enough for Susan to remark, "I think if ever there was a perfect woman, she is one."

Steamboats carried most travelers between Galesville and Baltimore. The two main vessels, the *Champion* and the *Kent*, had a terminal at Conway and Light Streets in Baltimore.[29] After a difficult journey, Susan wrote after returning home in mid-September:

> Rather rough passage over. I did think of putting off my journey home until Saturday, but I am very glad now that I did not as it stormed so terribly that the Champion never left the wharf. There was no boat out but the Kent and she liked to have been swamped. She was to have gone to Cambridge but was obliged to seek shelter at Galesville where the passengers landed horribly frightened.

Despite the difficult journey, Susan and her family traveled frequently between West River and Baltimore.

The most important person in Susan's life was her daughter, Georgie. In her first diary entry on March 20, 1859, Susan wrote: "Georgie has been quite sick for several days, she seems better this morning. I hope it is nothing serious. If she were to die I should not care to live." The diary is filled with brief updates about Georgie's health, her complexion, and her favorite activities. Only once, however, did Susan devote a larger diary entry to her daughter:

> Georgie kept me awake until daylight this morning. I don't think I ever felt as frantic. I never whipped her so severely in my life as I did then and it was a crying sin, for the child was really sick. Oh what a mother I am. It almost makes me weep to think how incapable I am of managing a young tender little baby, for she is no more. To think that I have not the patience to bear with her little whims, not only when she is well, but even when she is sick. I cannot love her enough when my temper is even. If she were to die what a gloomy world this would be to me. I believe I should pray morning, noon,

> and night, pray without ceasing to die, that I might be with her. And who knows how this love may be returned? She may grow up to be a careless, undutiful daughter, to say the least, without love or respect for her mother.

On August 14, Susan reported with delight that Georgie had told her mother several times that she loved her. Another time, Susan wrote that "Georgie was delighted to see 'grandpa' and knew him in a minute." Georgie is always in the diary, providing light for her mother, even on the darkest days.

Susan relied on her female relatives, of which she had plenty, for social companions and as confidants. She did not form strong friendships with the other women in West River. How her neighbors viewed the young widow can only be ascertained from her own impressions as recorded in her diary, and from analysis of the types of social visits she paid and received. Although she often tried to be objective in her writing, Susan suffered from insecurity and even depression. At one point she indicated that people in West River stopped paying attention to her after her husband's death. Inside the front cover of her diary, Susan transcribed the following revealing stanza from Lord Byron:

> For oft is the smile, but the hypocrite's wile
> To hide detestation or fear
> Give me the soft sigh, while the truth telling eye
> Is dimm'd for a time with a tear

Many of the married women of Susan's age had several young children and possibly more time-consuming responsibilities. It is possible they simply viewed her as a newcomer in what had been a closely knit society. In August 1859, her neighbor and suitor, John Rogers, paid a visit with an invitation from one of the local women to join a singing class. She wrote "I know no person there." After a few lessons, Susan enjoyed herself. She knew people in the class of both men and women. Susan also socialized with women in her church and in the church choir, but did not form additional deep relationships. As mentioned earlier, at least one of her neighbors, Mrs. M-r, had not called on her in three years.

A young woman by the name of Fannie Tucker became one of Susan's few female friends in West River. Born in 1837, and six years younger, she was the daughter of Thomas W. Tucker, a sea captain, and his wife, Mary. Fannie had at least three sisters, Kate, Rachel, and Imogen. Fannie and Susan apparently shared many of the same interests, including singing school and riding. On one occasion, Fannie stayed the night at Westbury, and the following morning, a Sunday, Susan reported that they had amused themselves all day by reading and writing love letters to each other.

Fannie Tucker's family led a modest life. Susan believed that their land hold-

ings, valued at just $1,500 in 1850, as contrasted with the $50,000 value of George Gale's land and property at the same time, could be an obstacle to a successful marriage. Throughout 1859, Thomas Bassford courted Fannie and although Susan found his manners lacking when he did not share a Bible with her at church, she did remark, "I do admire the man for one thing, and that is that the attractions of wealth, to him, are not paramount to those of wit and congeniality." Fannie Tucker and Thomas Bassford did not marry. In 1862 she married Dr. William Henry (W. H. D.) Norfolk of Baltimore County.

Susan did meet people in West River when she attended church. Her family actively served the First German Reformed Church in Baltimore, and she undoubtedly accompanied them when visiting her parents. In West River, Susan attended the Protestant Episcopal Church in St. James Parish where Mr. Marmaduke Martin Dillon cared for the congregation. Suffering through an August summer, she wrote, "I do declare I think somebody ought to speak to Mr. D. about preaching such long sermons, everybody is entirely worn out before it is half through. The service lasts an hour and so does the sermon. I think two hours is entirely too long to sit moped up in church these warm days." Susan's sense of humor shines throughout the diary in her retelling of several other church-related events. Religion does not appear in her writings, with the exception of mentions of church. One Sunday in October, with Mr. Dillon away, Susan and her brother decided to attend the South River church service. The church she referred to in her diary is likely the All Hallow's Episcopal Church in Birdsville, Maryland, which is still standing.

> I found a very ordinary looking brick church on the outside with a brick floor on the inside and very dark besides. . . . I took my seat in the back part of the church in what I presumed to be nobody's pew, and watched the comers in. There were three ladies . . . that took my attention . . . I found them laughing. At what about me I could not divine. I took a mental survey of myself, from my bonnet, to my boots, but could find nothing to excite even a smile of ridicule, but quite the contrary, in my estimation. I had consulted three looking glasses before leaving home the first of which revealed only my face very distinctively, being flawed in a particular light. In vain to betray any lurking go of starch, or any stray hairs that might be forming a line across my forehead. The second gave my half length figure, and the third displayed me, like Solomon, in all my glory from toe to toe, with a foot or two of surrounding space in which to practice or graceful carriage. After having received the unbiased, favorable opinion of these three disinterested friends, who have been so often consulted, and having given such deep reflections to the subject of dress; I of course could see no justifiable cause for mirth in my appearance. I came to the philosophic conclusion that "Wisdom comprehendeth not folly," and turned my attention

> to more interesting and less mortifying subjects. . . . There was a christening of two black children who behaved very respectably, considering their ages, which ranged I suppose from four weeks to four years and considering the [soaking] Mr. B.[Mr. John Beckwith] gave their poor little heads. I like Mr. B's preaching very much. It was a sacrament Sunday. There was one girl sitting before me, who giggled spasmodically, because a little girl sitting before her hiccupped, and the very next minutes she went up to the altar to commune, to my great surprise. But there are some people who are bound to be hysterical on solemn occasions.

Although Susan attempted humor in the above passage, it also seems to emphasize her loneliness in the area. She appreciated people who behaved decently and who were supportive and neighborly. She read a great deal for pleasure, and it is not clear from her diary whether or not she read the Bible or religious sermons at any time outside of church. Whether or not her attitudes changed in later years is unknown. Even though she seemed happiest when her family and friends visited, she considered Westbury to be her home, and once wrote that she longed for the country air. She wrote little during the family visits, and it was only when she ventured into West River society that she was moved to write long entries into her diary.

"I Never Yet Have Loved the Man Who Loved Me"

As a young, intelligent, and wealthy widow, Susan did not suffer from lack of suitors. The quest for a husband seemed to occupy most of her thoughts throughout 1859. Each man who approached her received the greatest scrutiny and thus added information to Susan's ideal of a partner. The most prominent of her suitors, John Rogers (sometimes spelled "Rodgers"), had been a groomsman at her wedding to George Gale. Born circa 1826, "Mr. R." lived with his mother, Sophia Gough Rogers, on a farm slightly northwest of the West River post office, off of what is now Polling House Road. In her 1864 will, Sophia G. Rogers referred to the estate as "Warrington." Mr. R's father, John G. Rogers, had died in 1843. A native of West River, Rogers had spent his entire life "in the country."

John Rogers's courtship of Susan is representative of a fairly typical mid-nineteenth century courtship. In *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America*, Karen Lystra wrote "false starts and stops, confusion, and even pain awaited the unlucky or unwary" characterized nineteenth-century courtships.[30] Susan's flirtation with John Rogers began in earnest in mid-June 1859. It is not surprising that a fondness would develop between Susan and her late husband's good friend, who was, after all, much closer to her own age. She found him handsome and witty, although it is clear that prior to 1859 their relationship had been platonic. Rogers initiated the courtship phase of

their relationship by repeatedly asking Susan to take a horse ride with him. When Susan finally relented and accepted an invitation, Rogers failed to appear and Susan vowed that unless he had a good excuse for missing the date, his next invitation would meet with "flat refusal." This initial disappointment led Susan to write:

> I'll never get married, never, unless I can come across a man who neither drinks, smokes nor chews, and displays great moral strength. And that "gem of purest ray serene" will never be found on this earth. So farewell to earthly hopes.[31]

On August 10, Susan commented that "Mr. Rogers is beginning to be very attentive now." She agreed once again to go riding with him, but wrote that she liked him very much as a friend, but not otherwise. The event caused Susan to once more examine her ideal husband.

> No silly, trifling man who is never in his element excepting when he is talking nonsense will be my husband. I want a sober sensible man who will appreciate my homely qualities and not a comic whisky jug.

Susan's dislike for alcohol and drunkenness is evident throughout her diary. It is not surprising, given her family background. Her father was well-known within the Independent Order of Odd Fellows as the man responsible for the "Maryland Reform," a motion that abolished the consumption of liquor within the lodges. His motivation may not have been purely moralistic. He supported the "Maryland Reform" after the Masons denied his membership due to his association with that "Bacchanalian Club of Odd Fellows," which, early in its history, promoted a tavern-like culture of excessive drinkers.

Susan went riding with Rogers on an evening in early August and during their outing he "grew quite sentimental." Susan later reflected on the evening and declared herself currently immune to romance. "I never yet have loved the man who loved me; but he who loveth me not, findeth a sure road to my affections." She reflected on loves both prior to her marriage and afterwards and as she developed crushes easily, she may have realized the need to guard her heart. This statement indicates that her relationship with George Gale grew on mutual respect and admiration, rather than any romantic ideal. And although she had lived a comfortable life with her parents, she may simply have felt the desire to escape their direct influence and embark on a life of her own.[32]

In the introduction to *A Maryland Bride in the Deep South*, Kimberly Harrison wrote, "Because husbands had complete legal, physical, and financial control over their wives, nineteenth-century women had to feel confident that their future husbands would fulfill their end of the bargain, serving as protectors, leaders, and providers. Moreover, by mid-century, marriage was intended not only to provide

security, but also 'true love.'"[33] Susan also offered a realistic explanation for the host of suitors who made their way to her door during the spring and summer of 1859. "Should the storms of adversity arise and obscure the bright sun of prosperity that shines upon me now; where would be my summer lovers and friends? I am fully aware of my intrinsic value, be it great or small, without the aid of flatterers."

Despite her pragmatic attitude, Susan indicated that she *wanted* to fall in love and to be loved, and she showed disappointment in Rogers's lack of consistent attention.

> Mr. R. did not come at all last night. Maybe he fears that he committed himself in some way the other night. Not but what (I feel assured) he would be very glad to commit himself if he thought it would be of any use, but that, he judged from my manner, that a proposal would not be received as he would wish. I am afraid Mr. R.'s affection is rather premature. Men do not fall in love with ordinary women so suddenly. Ah, if some men could only see themselves as I see them; but these "lords of creation" trust to the natural vanity of the weaker sex to shield their motives.

The following day, Susan continued to contemplate the situation, this time in a more business-like manner:

> I do declare I'm in a strait. I know very well that with the least encouragement I could bring him to a point; but I do not wish to, for if I do, I lose a friend, and I have but few down here; and if I do not, he will think that I am so "unsophisticated" and innocent of worldly tact as not to understand his broadly expressive hints and would perhaps never be aware that it was in mercy to him that caused me to ward off every advance of his like the skillful fencer I consider myself in those matters. And he is so self-confident. It distresses me to be oblidged to dash such high hopes to the ground. Men think themselves so wise! Mr. R. thinks he has read me entirely, but I know that I have read him through and through without the least trouble. I declare it makes me very angry for any men to insinuate either by word or manner that he thinks me all innocence and simplicity. It all does very well if I were sixteen, but a woman of my age ought to be allowed to possess some little worldly wisdom. Everybody knows, that to be excused of a want of worldly wisdom on some impartial point is an implied disgrace. But I forgive Mr. R. on account of his having lived in the country all his life. Poor fellow, he expressed some desire to see into my journal, thinking, I suppose, that he would find something here highly favorably to himself, or some gentle confession of love, that could not be breathed to mortal ears, in which he figured conspicuously. If he could but see it! I could not help smiling in my sleeve, last evening, as I thought of all I had written. Mr. R does not love me. I do not

> mind that so much. I do not wish nor expect to inspire love; but it is his air of easy assurance which provokes me. He acts as though he thought me a very easy game to bag. Try it sir!

Living in a neighborhood with limited social options meant that most people knew each other's business. John Rogers believed that he had secured Susan's affections and the neighbors quickly assumed that he would soon announce an engagement. "Mrs. L's little girl, who is not more than four years old, begged her father, the evening they were here, and I was out, not to go until Mrs. Gale came home. 'Oh, pa,' said she, 'I want to see Mrs. Gale, so bad, before she gets married to Mr. R.'"

Susan grew increasingly annoyed with Rogers's self-assurance, and, after a party the evening of August 18, 1859, she mocked him, stating "As if I would marry a man, the height of whose ambitions seems to be a fiddle." John Rogers apparently played the violin quite well, and often in public. This statement, however, along with other offhand comments, indicates that perhaps Susan did consider herself above John Rogers. She attributed many of his faults to the fact that he had spent little time in the city. Although she thought him the "wittiest man I know and ever did know," she often criticized his appearance and his manners.

A trip to Baltimore in early September, and days of rain, interrupted Susan's courtship with Rogers, and when they met again, in late September, it was at the singing class. After one enjoyable lesson, Rogers impressed her with his intelligence. "I can't make the most ordinary remark, but what he turns it into a pun." Still, his charms did not win her over. Time away from Rogers seemed to have cleared Susan's head, just as he began to make more open declarations about his intentions, "Mr. R. and I had a cozy conversation to ourselves, I felt really sorry for him. I don't believe he loves me as much as he imagines, and yet I cannot but sympathize in his disappointment. I really like him but not in the way he wishes."

He told her, "if you were to marry me you would have a great many more friends than you have now. Not that I do not consider you my *equal*, because if I did not I should not have sought your society, but my friends would be yours." Susan's "proud spirit rose" and she responded:

> Mr. R., I am an independent person, I would not wed a prince if I did not love him, nor would I raise my fist one inch from the earth to place it on a level with those who do not consider me their equal. The attentions of an Emperor could neither raise nor lower in my own estimation. I know the level on which I stand in my own opinion, independent of that of others.[34]

His direct hints at marriage having apparently failed, Rogers told Susan that he would visit less frequently and she mourned the loss of a friend, not a lover. He

did make one final attempt at a courtship, surprising Susan with a casual visit in early October that resulted in a rather comic performance. She had decided to spend the morning outside, seated on a log, with liberal amounts of starch on her face.[35] When she saw him coming, she attempted to wipe off the starch. Rogers must have found this charming, for he asked to accompany Susan to singing class. Susan reminded him of his previous comments about the frequency of his visits, and told him about the town gossip, to which he responded "I reckon, once more, will not make any difference, people won't talk about me any the less, for staying away this time." Susan allowed Rogers to accompany her to class, but mentally vowed that this would be the last time the two of them would be seen together in public.

Susan kept her vow. A few weeks later, she reflected that her main objection to Rogers was his disregard for his personal appearance. And, in the end, she believed that his true interest in her had been with her inheritance.

There is no evidence that John Rogers ever married, despite his popularity in the neighborhood. Susan wrote that the people of West River must have thought that Rogers had lost interest in her. "They would never dream for one moment, that I could refuse such a gentleman of his fascinating address, if he had deigned to offer himself." In 1870 he lived alone, and in 1880 he appeared on the census as a bachelor uncle, living with his nephew, Dorsey Rogers, in Howard County, Maryland.

Although John Rogers appeared as the central man in Susan's diary of 1859, she did receive attention from, and interacted with, a number of others. Susan's brother often brought acquaintances to the house, as he did one afternoon in early April when he introduced Susan to "three of the handsomest men I ever saw on West River." None of the frequent visitors to Westbury, however, lived up to Susan's standards. It is difficult to trace the identity of many of these men, whom Susan often mentioned only by initial. Regarding a "Mr. T.", she wrote:

> I have never yet come across a man who could move my heart as Mr. T has done (when he is singing and only then) yet I would not marry him for all the world. He does not possess those qualities which would ensure my lasting respect. I fear my love would not last over the honeymoon, and yet there is something very fascinating about him. I must keep out of his society as much as possible before my heart becomes too much interested, for it would be a very deplorable thing if I were to fall in love with him, since he neither wants me, nor I him.

Susan mentioned several "Mr. W.s". One "Mr. W." was a tavern keeper who lived in the town of "C." Of him, Susan wrote: "He is a very amiable man but I shall never aspire to the acquaintance of a tavern keeper and if I cannot get better I'll

have none." Susan took at least one evening ride in an open buggy with "T. W." She resolved, however, to act more dignified in future. "When T. W. comes, I intend to throw off altogether or this light and trifling manner which I have always displayed towards him and treat him as becomes his senior in years for in my estimation he is no more than a boy and I think a right correct, sensible one under proper treatment." Because of the cryptic nature of Susan's entries, it is difficult to know the identities of these men. She mentioned early in her diary that a "Tom W." planned on spending the summer in the area—this could be T. W. Even earlier, she made reference to a Mr. White and his brother who visited Westbury and commented that the brother, who was studying at West Point, was a "right good looking young man." It is possible that Mr. White was William H. White, who owned land across the river from Galesville near Horse Shoe Point. Her brother also went fishing with a Mr. Wilkinson.

T. W. was a fun acquaintance for Susan. Yet she felt guilt at being perceived as acting too "girlishly" and feared losing the respect of her neighbors in West River. T. W. began to pursue Susan openly and she wrote:

> Mr. T. W. was very anxious indeed that I should go to a company at his house tomorrow. I hardly know how to get out of it, the pressure mounts. I had to keep saying all the time that "I would see about it." He even offered to come down after me in his buggy, although I have three carriages of my own and Gus has a buggie. Of course I declined that.

A similar pattern emerged with a man named "T. F.," who may have been local farmer Thomas Franklin.[36] Following a buggy ride, this gentleman seemed encouraged, but the infatuation did not last for Susan. She once suspected that the whiskey fumes emanating from his breath made her tipsy and noted "if he comes I shall not even see him, for I do not regard him any more than as a walking whiskey keg, indeed a whisky keg inspires me with more respect for that at least maintains an outward form of sobriety no matter what its *spirit*ual condition may be."

Susan attracted attention outside of West River as well. She mentioned a John Jones, Esq. several times. Whether he lived in Baltimore or closer to Susan, and his exact identity, is undetermined. On Friday, August 5, 1859, Susan wrote: "I answered John Jones' letter this morning and ruined 6 sheets of paper trying to write exquisitely nice, likewise 8 envelopes trying to write 'John Jones Esq.' in a straight line." A few days later, on August 10, she wondered whether or not he had received her letter, but John Jones was not overly motivated to pursue their relationship. In late September, Susan wrote:

> Mr. J's motto is "Nothing risked, nothing *lost*." For he has not made the slightest approach towards *the* important topic. I respect him all the more for

> it. I received a letter from him a few days ago. He said he wished he knew the secret by which to tempt me into a correspondence. My beaus come one by one; as soon as one is dismissed, here comes along another.

The last great romantic entanglement mentioned in Susan's diary began in late October, 1859, when she received a letter from a "youthful swain of 75 or thereabout."[37] This long-time acquaintance, who had known Susan since childhood, was Colonel James Hodges Gale, a first cousin to Susan's husband and a distant cousin of her own. Colonel Gale's wife, Martha, "an estimable lady, has many a time threatened to punish me for various misdemeanors, when I was 8 or 9 years old," had died in 1857. Martha Gale had been her husband's "double-cousin"—their mothers were sisters and their fathers were brothers. Susan noted that "he always treated me (when he took any notice of me at all) with all the considerateness and affection of a grandfather." It is interesting that Susan, who had married a man thirty-one years her senior, managed to find an age gap of forty-seven years so laughable.

> This ardent, enthusiastic, young gentleman seems to entertain no doubt whatever, of having made a serious impression, and only desires to solicit my "parents" consent to our felicitous union. And who *could* resist such an Adonis with such fascinating address? Tis true, I am oblidged to pitch my voice considerably beyond its ordinary tones, in replying to his words of tender love, but then, that is rather an advantage than otherwise, for I am very weak-chested, and need an exercise of this kind to expand my lungs. To be sure it is rather awkward to have every body cognizant of our every conversation, and to be oblidged to shout a tender word three or four times (for I have the misfortune, never to be able to make myself understood in that quarter) in the presence of half a dozen friends. But we can't expect perfection in this dismal world. And, Oh dear! What woman is there, be she handsome or ugly, rich or poor, who would not jump for joy at the thought of leaving that most forlorn of all situations, single-blessedness, to enter that most delightful of all the United States—the state of Matrimony, with *any man, decrepid or youthful, charming or disagreeable?* [38]

Colonel Gale followed up his letter with an in-person confrontation a few days later during a gathering at Westbury.

> He placed me in a most ridiculous position.... Immediately he began, in his stage whisper, to discuss the subject uppermost in his mind. Everybody in the room, being aware of his distinguished preference, of course, twenty pair of eyes were fastened upon us with a most malicious grin. Indeed some went

> so far as to snigger. I couldn't tell him to hush, without apprising the company more clearly of the nature of the subject under debate and I could not leave him without rudeness and giving the eye witnesses an opportunity of drawing their own inferences. What would I do? Why, of course, I am bound to experience a twinge of the visibles. I was nearly convulsed with inward laughter, and in order to save him the mortification of perceiving my disrespect, I was forced to throw my pocket handkerchief over my face and relieve my exhausted lungs with a good choke. And still he persisted, with an, "Ah, cousin Susie, do have some pity," there was no alternative, but to find some excuse for leaving him. Matters were getting worse and worse. There seemed to be an entire suspension of conversation all over the room . . . I went out; and was the butt of their jokes for the rest of the evening.

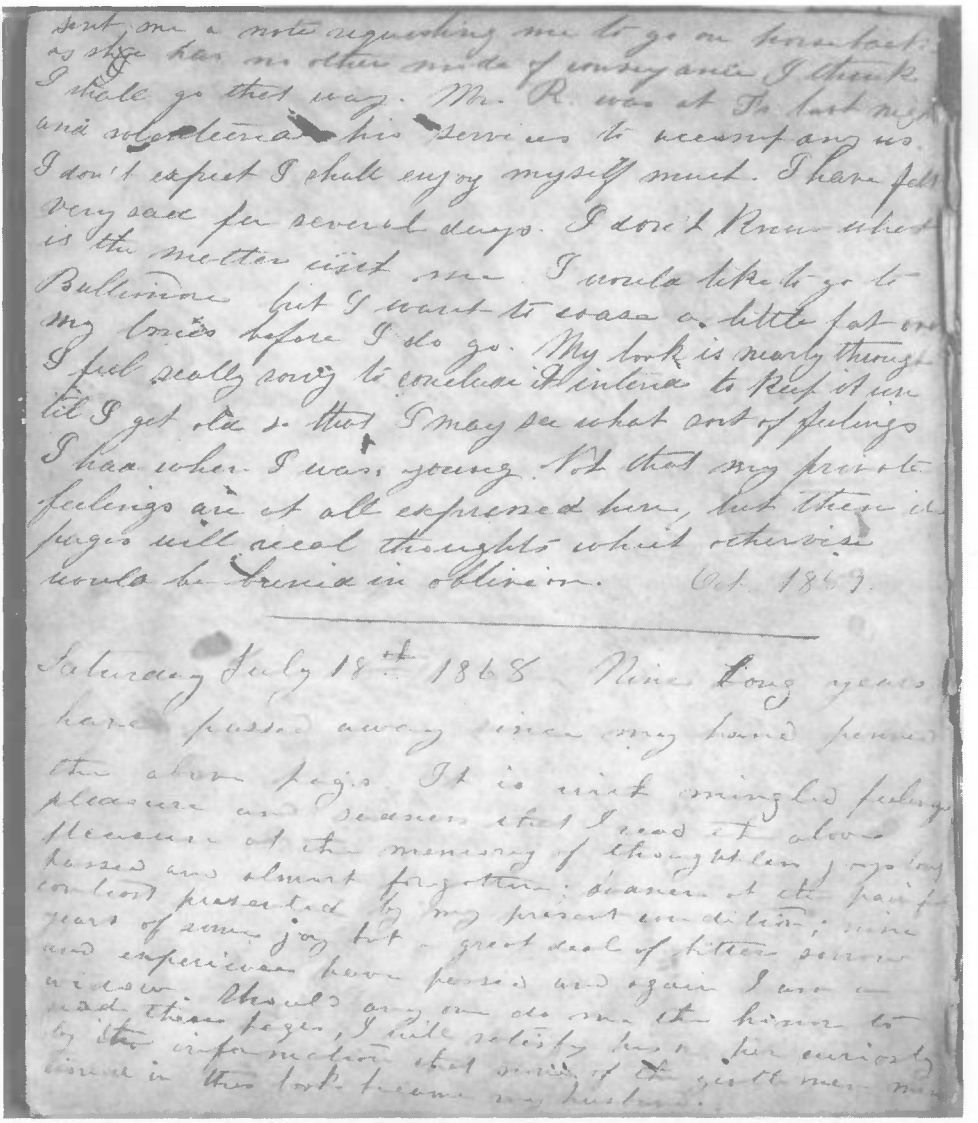
"My Book is Nearly Through"

Susan Mathiot Gale finished the last page of her diary on November 1, 1859. Her closing words displayed a real sadness at the end of such a release for her thoughts and feelings, "My book is nearly through. I feel really sorry to conclude. I intend to keep it until I get old so that I may see what sort of feelings I had when I was young. Not that my private feelings are at all expressed here, but then its pages will reveal thoughts which otherwise would be buried in oblivion." She did keep the book, although she must have hidden it away and forgotten about it for a time. On July 18, 1868, she appended her diary with the following passage:

> Nine long years have passed away since my hand penned the above pages. It is with mingled feelings of pleasure and sadness that I read the above. Pleasure at the memory of thoughtless joys long passed and almost forgotten; sadness at the painful contrast presented by my present condition; nine years of some joy but a great deal of bitter sorrow and experience have passed and again I am a widow. Should anyone do me the honor to read these pages, I will satisfy his or her curiousity by the information that none of the gentlemen mentioned in this book became my husband.

Susan may have thought herself romantically mysterious in not naming her second husband. A search of the census records, however, reveals in 1860 Susan had remarried and lived with her husband, the Reverend Frederick R. Anspach, in West River. How the minister won her heart is unknown, yet he may very well have possessed many of the qualities that Susan felt eluded her in her pursuit of a husband.

Born in 1815, Anspach graduated from the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania in 1841. He worked as pastor for nine years at the



Gale made one last entry in her diary, July 18, 1868, nine years after she penned her thoughts on life at West River in 1859. (University of Maryland College Park).

Churches of Barren Hill and White Marsh, and subsequently at Hagerstown, Maryland. He also served as headmaster of the Hagerstown Female Seminary. A widower when he married Susan, his first wife, Lily Rinehart, had died in 1858. As a scholar, Reverend Anspach had published several pamphlets, including the well-known *The Sons of the Sires: a History of the Rise, Progress, and Destiny of the American Party* (1858). Earlier, in 1855, he had published *Spiritualism and Spirit-rapping,* and he produced translations of sermons by the sixteenth century Silesian humanist and reformer Caspar Schwenckfeld. In 1857 he moved to Baltimore,

where he became a contributor to the *Lutheran Observer* and its principal editor by the following year, an office he held until 1861. He was also a minister at the First Reformed Church of Baltimore, which may be how he and Susan met.

At first little may have changed after Susan's marriage to Anspach. They continued to live at least part of the time at Westbury, and Susan's brother Augustus continued to live with them. Two of Anspach's children, Eugenie and John, lived with them as well, although both of these children become difficult to trace after 1860 (at least two of Anspach's children with his first wife had died prior to 1860). Anspach become president of the Board of Public School Commissioners for Anne Arundel County. It is difficult to ascertain how Susan's West River neighbors perceived her marriage. In many ways, she chose the most diplomatic route possible, marrying none of the local men and turning instead to an outsider. Given Susan's tendencies towards isolation, they may not have been surprised and it is possible that her relations with her neighbors improved.

Susan and Frederich Anspach had two daughters together, Lilian Sue (born circa 1863) and Anna (1865–1869). Frederich Anspach died on September 17, 1867. At the Annual Convention of the Evangelical Synod of Maryland in 1867, the committee declared:

> We feel that the church has sustained a great loss, and this Synod a deep affliction in the death of brother F. R. Anspach, whose excellent talents, accomplished scholarship, and genial, social nature, fitted him eminently for the exalted position he formerly occupied, and gave promise of extensive usefulness in the kingdom of our Lord. . . . That we cherish with pleasure the memory of his many virtues and gifts, his warm-hearted generosity, his uniform courtesy toward his brethren, and his cordial sympathies with them during his connection with his body.[39]

Susan had obviously found the man who most closely fit her ideal.

Susan Matilda Mathiot Gale Anspach's death certificate states that she died on November 12, 1878, from "Acute Melancholia." Certainly, she showed signs of depression in her writings of 1859. Most likely the deaths of her husband in 1867 and her daughter Anna in 1869 had been difficult to overcome. She once wrote in her diary about her daughter Georgie, "If she were to die, I would not care to live." Georgette Gale never married. Twenty-two at the time of her mother's death, she took on the guardianship of her fifteen-year-old sister, Lilian. They lived with their grandmother, Mary Mathiot, until her death in 1882.[40] The sisters divided their time between various homes in Baltimore and their land in West River, which they continued to sell off as necessary.[41]

Lilian Anspach carried on her mother's tradition of storytelling. She manufactured a history for herself and once claimed that her mother had written book

reviews for a living.[42] She worked as a musician, performing primarily as a singer. Like her mother, Lilian wrote poetry, published her work in local newspapers, and had two complete volumes published by vanity presses.[43] Several poems focus on the Galesville area, including one entitled "West River Landing." She also published a children's book, *Tommykins' Adventures.*

In 1918, at the age of fifty-five, Lilian married dental surgeon Edward P. Keech, Sr. Keech, a respected widower, and nineteen years Lilian's senior, died in 1924 at the age of eighty. An undated letter (circa 1918–1923) from "Lily" to "Georgie" indicated that the sisters had a share in ownership of what was left of the family land in West River.[44]

> Dear Georgie,I enclose a letter from Mr. Munroe. I didn't tell him to put the mortgage on the upper farm, but said I left it woth [sic] you to do as you pleased. . . . Do hope you will find a spot on the place to put your home, as I think it is a shame you had to lose the point, but don't believe you would have sold to any one without doing it, people are so contrary.

A 1918 plat at the Maryland State Archives records a survey of 104 acres of land south of Galesville Road, north of Crandall Road, and east of Muddy Creek Road in Galesville.[45] An 1878 map of Anne Arundel County shows that Susan Anspach also owned land on the peninsula south of Galesville, an area originally known as "Dort" and later as "Belle Grove." This may have been the "point" that Lilian referred to in her letter.[46]

After Lilian's marriage, the sisters lived apart, Georgette returning to a home near the intersection of Sudley Road and Owensville Road near Galesville. She died at the Opitz Home in Catonsville, Maryland, from a cerebral hemorrhage in 1938 at the age of eighty-one.[47] Lilian lived out the rest of her life in Baltimore until her death in 1942. The sisters share a grave in the Mathiot family plot in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore.[48]

Although no Gales currently reside in Galesville and the surrounding area, Susan's diary provides a valuable insight into one portion of that region's history, and a remarkable glimpse at one woman's search for love and happiness.

"Should Anyone . . . Read These Pages"

In "'I Write for Myself and Strangers': Private Diaries as Public Documents," Lynn Z. Bloom wrote, "Contrary to popular conception, not all diaries are written—ultimately or exclusively—for private consumption."[49] Susan Mathiot Gale's diary, though kept private during her lifetime, is the work of a skilled writer who harbored a secret hope that someday her words might be read. Her development of characters such as the charming Mr. Rogers and her emphasis on ideological

concepts, such as the ideal man, rather than discussion of mundane daily activities are all indications that she wrote for an imagined audience. Susan intended to document the activities and behaviors of the people with whom she interacted, and the survival of this journal provides a valuable insight into the social lives of the inhabitants of West River, Maryland. In the introduction to *A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston*, Virginia Beauchamp wrote, "it [the diary] could preserve for an unknown posterity the record of a life lived. . . . It could outlast the oblivion of death."[50] By keeping her "book of thoughts," Susan Mathiot Gale managed to survive death and to ensure that her story could be told and that it could form a valuable part of the historic record. Reading Susan's diary, it is possible not only to imagine the life of a woman in nineteenth-century Maryland, but also to understand that many of the personal concerns of her time—love, marriage, family, and community, are, in essentials, not so different from the concerns of today.

NOTES

1. The diary is held in the Maryland Manuscript Collection [#5440] in the Special Collections Department at the University of Maryland in College Park. The stamp at the back of the journal indicates that the book was purchased from William Minifie, 114 Baltimore Street.
2. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: the Life of Martha Ballard Based on her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York: Knopf, 1990); Margaret Law Calcott, *Mistress of Riversdale: the Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Kimberly Harrison, *A Maryland Bride in the Deep South: the Civil War Diary of Priscilla Bond* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).
3. Two local histories have been written about the area of Maryland known as Galesville, and both contain mid-nineteenth century gaps that Susan's diary now fills. All of the Galesville histories to date contain little information about the Gale family and their lands; Dorothy Lee Dunham, *Galesville, Maryland: It's History and It's People* (Severna Park, Md.: The Paper Mill, 1980); Jean Siegert Trott, *Galesville, Maryland: The Legend . . . The Legacy* (Galesville, Md.: Galesville Heritage Society, 2001).
4. For example, Martha Ballard's October 23, 1791, diary entry describes the delivery of Sally Pierce of an illegitimate son. She wrote: "Sally declared that my son Jonathan was the father of her child." (*Midwife's Tale*, 147). Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's descriptions of the background to this story, in addition to a history of paternity claims in Colonial America, turns this brief entry into a vivid description that explains much about Martha Ballard's life and family.
5. James L. Ridgely, *History of the American Odd Fellowship. The First Decade* (Baltimore: J. L. Ridgely, 1878), 150.
6. *German Reformed Messenger*, October 14, 1857, vol. 23 no. 7.
7. The poem was set to music by John Hill Hewitt. *To Miss Susan Mathiot. I'll Love Thee Then.* Words by Finley Johnson, Esq. Music by John H. Hewitt. Published by Miller & Beacham, Baltimore. Successors to E.[F?] D. Benteen. Library of Congress. Music Division.
8. The George Gale Estate Inventory, 1856, Maryland Historical Society, Special Collections vertical file; 1850 Federal Census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 307; 1860 Federal Census, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 996.
9. Susan's brother, Augustus J. (sometimes "G.") Mathiot has a mysterious history. According to newspaper accounts in the *Baltimore Sun,* in 1850, he married a Rachel Ann Thompson of Baltimore. They had one daughter who survived infancy, Mary, who was born in 1854. Sometime between 1854 and 1858, the couple divorced, although legal documentation has not been located. In 1858, Rachel Ann married William H. Carter of New York. The 1860 New York census lists a Rachel married to William H. Carter, with one daughter, Mary "Carter," aged six. In 1870, the Carter family lived in Davenport, Iowa, and Mary continued to take her stepfather's name. Augustus remarried Rachel Ann Tucker in 1865. Only one letter of Augustus's survives, a gossipy letter written to his sister, Susan, from Westbury in 1858. In it, he made no mention either of a divorce or of his daughter.
10. Local legend holds that James Dooley continued to "privateer" after the War of 1812, earning him a reputation as a "pirate." Helen West Ridgely wrote "The land bought with the ill-earned gold [Westbury] is said to bear a curse." Helen West Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia, with the inscriptions appearing on the tombstones in most of the counties of the state and in Washington and Georgetown* (New York: The Grafton Press, [c1908]), 16, 17. A log from Dooley's schooner, *Rolla* is transcribed in Logs and log extracts, Baltimore privateers, War of 1812 (MdHS E 360 .L64 1900).

11. Will of Captain James Dooley, Chancery Court. Chancery Papers, MSA SSF 512, George Gale and Margaret Gale vs. Isabella Dooley. Estate of James Dooley, Westberry. November 27, 1832. Maryland State Archives. Captain Dooley purchased the 718 ½ acres that comprise Westbury for $32,000 in 1820, following an advertisement placed by John F. Mercer in the *Federal Gazette* in 1819 (MdHS, Passano File). See Deed, June 1, 1820, between John Francis Mercer and James Dooley, Chancery Papers 8103: George Gale and Margaret Gale vs. Isabella Dooley. AA. Estate of James Dooley, Westberry. Maryland State Archives S512-10-8089. The name "Westbury" originally appeared in 1792 when Ann Pemberton purchased 1,444 acres in the area. Westbury, 1,444 Acres, MSA, Patent Record IC G, p. 366.

12. The origin of the name of "Galesville" is disputed. A John Gale (or "Giles) was among the first settlers in West River in the seventeenth century, and a pamphlet printed in honor of Galesville's 350th anniversary stated that the town was named after him. Jean Siegert Trott, in *Galesville, Maryland: The Legend . . . The Legacy,* claimed that the name was granted in 1924 after Richard Gale, a seventeenth-century Quaker planter. Dorothy Lee Dunham, author of *Galesville, Maryland: Its History and Its People,* claimed that the town was named for George Gale. In *The Place Names of Maryland, their Origin and Meaning* (1984), Hamill Kenny also noted that the town was named for George Gale, but the entry contains inaccuracies relating to his history. George Gale's grand-nephew, Robert L. Gale, wrote to Percy G. Skirven in 1911 that the town was named after his great-uncle (Percy G. Skirven Collection, MdHS, Box 9). Court documents relating to a dispute surrounding Gale's steamboat wharf in 1851 (Appellant's Statement, Archibald C. Gibbs vs. George Gale and Henry J. Strandberg, Bill filed July 25, 1851, in Anne Arundel County Court, Alexander Randall Papers, MdHS) call the area "Galesville," so the name was in use prior to 1851. Deed JHN2/344, July 1845, Maryland State Archives, mentions 126 5/8 acres sold to George Gale by George Stewart that encompassed whole eastern half of the peninsula from approximately current-day Siegart Lane to the West River.

13. The 1880 census lists a Sarah "Gehl" living with her sister, Mary A. Mathiot, in Baltimore, and in his genealogical work on the Gale family, Percy G. Skirven recorded a Sarah Hodges who married a James Gale in Kent County in 1852 and whose sister was "Mrs. Mathiot of Baltimore." One possible scenario is that Sarah Hodges and her husband, James Gale were first cousins. James Gale [1799–1867] was the son of Ann Hodges [1778–1819], who married Thomas Gale [1762–1837]. Ann Hodges may have been Sarah and Mary Ann Hodges's aunt. Thomas Gale's brother, George [1763–1807] was George Gale's father.

14. In addition to census records and other official documents, two sources have been invaluable in piecing together Gale family genealogy. The first is the Percy G. Skirven Collection at the Maryland Historical Society (G5064 Main Reading Room, Box 9). The second is the genealogy, *The Gales of Kent County,* compiled by Fay E. Brooks of Princess Anne, Maryland, also available at the Maryland Historical Society (CS71.G151 1990 Main Reading Room).

15. There were several Mercers to whom Susan may have been referring. Richard S. Mercer and his wife Emily had four children under the age of ten at this time, and Dr. Thomas S. Mercer and his wife Violetta, had an infant daughter.

16. The side of George Gale's tombstone that may hold this inscription is currently unreadable. However, Helen West Ridgely reported the inscription in *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia* in 1908, 16.

17. Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1984), 149. "Women did not expect to begin married life in luxury or even in comfort, but they did want a home."

18. For example, *Baltimore Wholesale Business Directory and Business Circular for the Year 1853*, 156. In the same publication in 1852, the paper hangers Griffith & Brother advertised that they were located "next to Mathiot's chair factory," 35.
19. George Gale's Will, July 16, 1856, Anne Arundel County Register of Wills, BEG 1, 273–74, Maryland State Archives; *The George Gale Estate Inventory*, 1856, Maryland Historical Society, Special Collections vertical file. The *Margaret Ann* may have been named for George and Margaret Gale's niece, Margaret Ann Dooley Cathell. Providing a convenient wharf for the *Margaret Ann* may have also started the tension between Gale and his neighbor, Archibald Gibbs, regarding steamboat landing rights in the West River.
20. Alexander Randall Papers, 1832–1879, Maryland Historical Society, Special Collections, MS 2262). Alexander Randall was an Annapolis lawyer who represented George Gale on a case in the early 1850s disputing use of a wharf in Galesville. His papers consist primarily of materials relating to this specific case, and other Gale family estate issues. This collection was donated to the Maryland Historical Society by Mrs. Campbell Stirling, who was Susan's great-great niece by marriage (her husband's great-grandfather was Susan's brother, Octavian Mathiot).
21. "Mrs. P." is "Mrs. Pillsberry," the housekeeper at Westbury.
22. John Hammond Moore, ed. *A Plantation Mistress on the Eve of the Civil War: The Diary of Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins Brevard, 1860–1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993). For an overview of the life of women in the antebellum South, see Kirste E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution Through the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
23. The 1850 Slave Schedules of the Federal Census for Maryland list George Gale as the owner of seventy-three slaves: forty men and thirty-three women. Thirty-three of the slaves were under the age of eighteen. By 1860, the number of slaves had fallen to thirty-three, of which fifteen were children under the age of eighteen. In 1850, four of his slaves were listed as living in Kent County's second district, further enforcing George Gale's connection to Kent County, Maryland.
24. Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament: 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 781.
25. Woods, *Slaveholding Women.*
26. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 266.
27. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 240.
28. Ridgely, *American Odd Fellowship*, 158.
29. Robert H. Burgess and H. Graham Wood, *Steamboats Out of Baltimore* (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1968), 9–10.
30. Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 187.
31. Quote from Thomas Gray: English poet, 1716–1771, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* Full many a gem of purest ray serene / The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear: / Full many a flower is born to blush unseen, / And waste its sweetness on the desert air.
32. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts*, 103, mentions that books and novels in the 1840s and 1850s paved the way for the acceptance of romantic love as a basis for marriage.
33. Harrison, *A Maryland Bride in the Deep South*, 11–12.
34. Lystra, *Searching the Heart*, 187. "Given the subtleties of friendship and familial relations, sorting out the various meanings of male-female interaction required considerable sensitivity to emotional nuance."
35. Starch was used as protection from the sun.
36. This is an educated guess based on the 1860 Maryland Census and Martinet's map of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1860.

37. He was sixty-nine. James Hodges Gale was a colonel in the U. S. Regular Army and was at one time in command of Fort Snelling. He was appointed to the Military Academy and fought in the War of 1812. He resigned on July 28, 1831, and is buried on the old Gale Farm near Still Pond, Maryland. (Fay E. Brooks, *The Gales of Kent County*).
38. Susan's death certificate lists asthma as a secondary cause of death. Death certificate for Susan Anspach, Baltimore City, 1878, Maryland State Archives.
39. Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, *Proceedings of the Annual Convention*, 1867. Available in the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, Maryland.
40. According to an entry in David C. Holly, *Baltimore in American Literature* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1933), 441–42, Lilian was educated at home by governesses and tutors. However, much of what Lilian wrote about herself should be questioned, as she indicated in the same entry that she came to Baltimore specifically to study at the Peabody Conservatory. The Peabody Conservatory has no record of her receiving a degree or education from that institution.
41. In her will, Susan Anspach (Folio 94, Book 45, BC, Maryland State Archives) left a plain gold ring and a diamond and ruby ring to Georgette and a gold watch and chain and an opal and diamond ring to Lilian. Lilian received a third interest in the "Westbury Farm" and "Galesville" estates; Georgette had already received her allotment in a deed of trust created by Susan's father, Augustus.
42. *Maryland Poets* (Harrison: New York, c1932). The Maryland Historical Society owns Lilian's scrapbook, donated by her cousin, Mrs. Campbell Stirling (MS 1100). It contains newspaper clippings and copies of Lilian's poems. Also included are several "photographs" of Lilian from area newspapers. Some of the earlier ones may be authentic. Photographs of Lilian in the 1920s seem to depict a woman much younger than she would have been at the time. Her age is inconsistent in census records.
43. Lilian Sue Keech, *Shadows on Water, and Other Poems.* (New York: Paebar Press, 1937) and Lilian Sue Keech, *Rosemary* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1926). Lilian Sue Keech donated one copy of each to the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, Maryland. *Tommykins' Adventures* is available at the Library of Congress and at the Peabody Library in Baltimore. A play entitled *A Thing of Beauty*, published in Baltimore in 1928, is at the Library of Congress. She also wrote two plays in 1916, one entitled *Belle of Baltimore Town; drama in four acts* under the name Lilian Anspach, which claimed to have been adapted from a story entitled "Letters" found in an antique secretary, and a second entitled *Lolita; Vaudeville Sketch.* These are listed in *Dramatic compositions copyrighted in the United States, 1870 to 1916* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916).
44. George Gale, Maryland Historical Society, Vertical File.
45. Westbury (Part), 104 Acres 1st District Montell to Woodfield, Land Records GW 132, 479, Maryland State Archives.
46. Griffith Morgan Hopkins, *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Baltimore, Including Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1878). Credit should also be given to Susan Wetherill, who shared much of her extensive research on Galesville land history with me via email, and to Susan Savage-Stevens, who introduced me to many useful sources for Galesville land history.
47. There is a discrepancy between Georgette's death certificate, which states December 14, 1938 as the date of death, and her tombstone, which claims December 16, 1939.
48. In her will (File #35021, Baltimore City, 564/204, Maryland State Archives), Lilian left the bulk of her property to her cousin, Campbell Lloyd Stirling and his wife Amy. This

explains why Mrs. Campbell Stirling donated various Gale and Anspach-related papers to the Maryland Historical Society.

49. Lynn Z. Bloom, "'I Write for Myself and Strangers': Private Diaries as Public Documents," in *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries*, Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff, eds. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 23.

50. Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, *A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston, 1862–1867* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987), xxxv.

The Wethered Brothers: Innovators in Steam Navigation

WILLIAM C. SCHULTHEIS

The nineteenth century, the Age of Steam, unleashed a worldwide quest for more efficient means of manufacturing and faster means of locomotion and thereby challenged inventors to stretch the limits of steam power. Among these inventors, three Baltimore brothers, the Wethereds, became leaders in the field when they developed new technology for improving steam in navigation. Their new method for using superheated steam as a motivating force was installed on the luxury liner *Arctic* in 1854. The Wethereds' innovative process opened the way to solving a problem that had plagued steam power since James Watt's era eighty years earlier—how to use steam power more effectively. Although largely forgotten today, maritime historian Frank C. Brown, in his 1930 study on transatlantic service noted the brothers' contribution, "super heating apparatus was added to her (the *Arctic's)* boilers, an important event in the history of marine engineering which generally passes unnoticed."[1] Steam engines wasted massive amounts of fuel in relation to the power produced. As the technology progressed, from wooden to iron vessels and from paddle wheels to screw propellers, some visionaries sought to overcome Watt's legacy, but met with resistance from conservative engineers who held "his memory in great respect and accepted his view that there was a practical limit to the efficiency of the steam engine."[2]

Low pressure steam, the primary motive force, drove engines by mid-nineteenth century, yet heat loss and steam leaks, and the resulting inefficiency, remained problematic. One solution, superheated (unsaturated) steam, increased pressure in a cylinder with less heat loss and allowed for a more rapid piston return than ordinary (saturated) steam. Yet superheated steam carried its own serious problems. High temperatures melted tin and lead, turned oil to gum, and expanded valves into metal rasps. Also, achieving the higher temperature required more fuel. The technology needed a new impulse for steam propulsion, a way of increasing power without increasing fuel expenditure and maintaining efficiency without destroying the engine.[3]

The author teaches American history at Anne Arundel Community College and works as volunteer archivist and historian at Dickeyville, a National Historic Site in West Baltimore. *This essay won the 2006 Marion Brewington prize.*

Samuel, John, and Charles Wethered, c.1855. Prosperous Baltimore woolen manufacturers, the brothers developed an efficient combination steam process. (Courtesy Baltimore County Public Library.)

In this environment, the Wethered brothers of Baltimore introduced a new system, one that came to be known as "The Wethered Method" or "Wethereds' Combined Steam." Not an apparatus, but a process, the inventors' simple method combined ordinary (saturated) steam and superheated (unsaturated) steam. The mode in mixing the combined steam provided more efficient high pressure than unsaturated steam while maintaining enough moisture to lubricate valves and cylinders.[4] The innovators' efforts stirred a public debate on superheating and frequently pitted practical engineers against the growing influence of academics in engineering and thermodynamics. The debates led to increased technological research and development in marine engineering that ultimately concluded in the perfection of the steam turbine.[5] The Wethereds' efforts to win acceptance for their innovation spread from the Chesapeake to Europe and won them international recognition. Moreover, their idea of combined steam continues to serve as a major component in steam operations today through spray attemperation to control superheated temperature in generators.

The Brothers Wethered

Charles E., Samuel, and John Wethered, Baltimore textile manufacturers, struggled nearly two decades to win acceptance for the idea of combining steam in navigation. Set up in the woolen industry when their father, wealthy wholesale merchant Lewin Wethered, purchased the struggling Franklin Paper and Woolen Factory on the Gwynns Falls in 1830, the brothers prospered and operated as the Wethered Brothers during the 1830s and 1840s. Their fine cassimeres and doeskins

won prizes at fairs promoting American goods in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York.[6] By 1845, the brothers began an active program to diversify and expand their business interests. With James S. Gary and brother-in-law, William G. Thomas, they incorporated as the Ashland Corporation, producing cotton goods from a factory across the stream from their woolen mill. They supplied their cousin "Santa Fe Sam" Wethered and their younger brother, James, with goods to engage in the lucrative trade to the Southwest and later took an active interest in James's efforts to establish a dry goods business in San Francisco in 1849. Closer to home, they joined with others to build an improved turnpike from the Liberty Road to Franklin Turnpike along the Gwynns Falls' west bank.[7]

For the effort in promoting combined steam, each brother brought unique skills and a network of acquaintances. Charles functioned as the chief policy maker. Living in Baltimore with his sickly wife, Elizabeth, he operated from the company office on Baltimore Street. Active in city affairs, he served as an elected manager for the fledgling Maryland Institute and a founding member of the Maryland Club. Shy bachelor Sam spent his time between Baltimore and the factory village known as Wethered Ville. Just before the Civil War, he patented a wool carding machine and a hot air furnace.[8] John, who had begun his public career attending the New York Tariff convention in 1831, took on the role of the firm's chief spokesman.[9] Acting as the on site partner, John lived in a mansion overlooking the factory along the Gwynns Falls with his wife, Mary, daughter of Baltimore & Ohio Railroad founder Philip E. Thomas. He left day-to-day operations to experienced textile managers such as James S. Gary and devoted himself to a public career. After serving as a justice of peace, he won election as a Whig to the U. S. Congress and represented part of Baltimore City, the Howard District, and Baltimore County in 1843–1845. Although never elected to office again, he served on numerous civic committees. At six feet in height and with a "magnificent physique," John Wethered presented a genial and amiable presence, described in his obituary as a "fine old Maryland gentleman." With his social skills, even brother Charles called him "one of the best fellows in the world." John was easily the best possible spokesman for the project.[10]

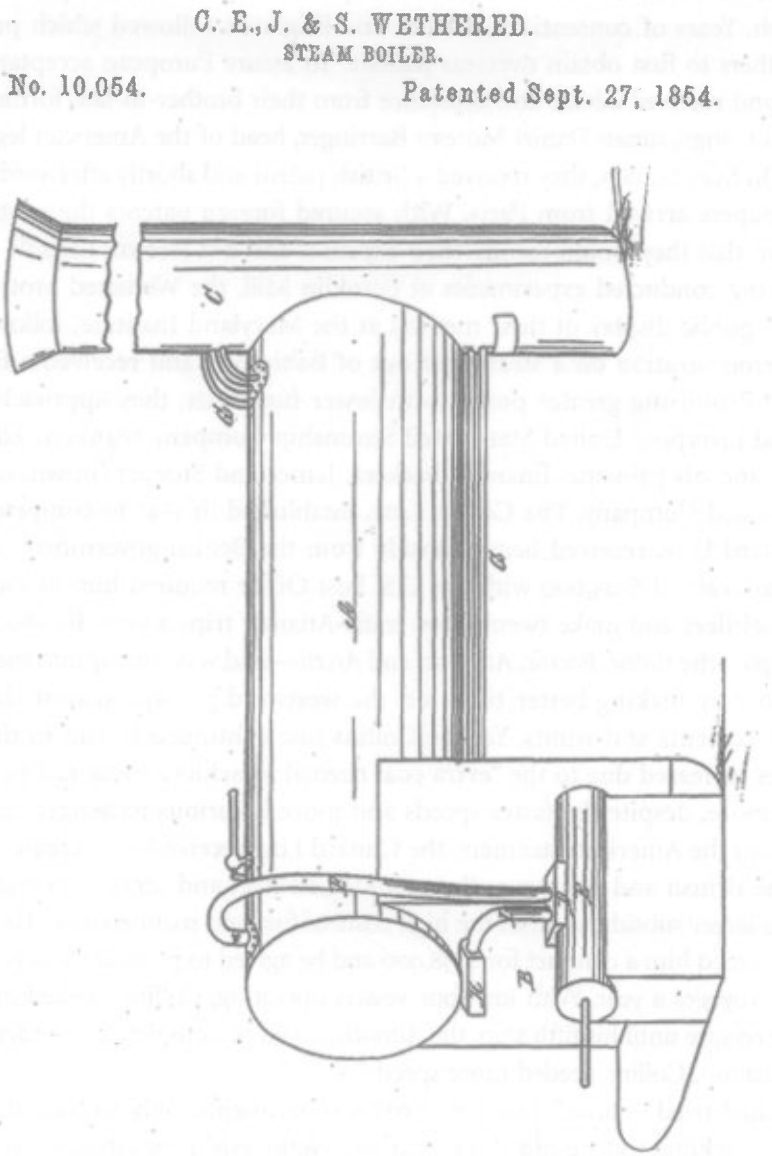
With twenty years of experience managing the firm that they jokingly called "We, the Red Brothers," the team moved forward with their new idea. Well before the *Arctic* experiment in August 1854, they had laid the groundwork for the innovation they hoped would enrich them. Given his temperament and interests, Samuel probably developed the idea of combining steam based on Brooklyn engineer James Frost's 1849 study on "stame"(superheated steam) and reported in *Scientific American*.[11] By the early 1850s, the brothers installed a steam engine at the Franklin Mill to heat the factory and to dry wool at various production stages. They claimed that this engine, equipped with the innovation, ran more efficiently and saved 40 percent on fuel costs.[12]

The Wethereds hoped to avoid the legal entanglements Samuel F. B. Morse encountered when he tried to secure European acceptance of his patent for the telegraph. Years of contentious debates and litigation followed which prompted the brothers to first obtain overseas patents. To assure European acceptance, they sought and received advice and assistance from their brother-in-law, former North Carolina Congressman Daniel Moreau Barringer, head of the American legation in Spain. On May 25, 1853, they received a British patent and shortly afterwards French patent papers arrived from Paris. With secured foreign patents the brothers felt confident that they would recoup their expenses and not lose royalties.[13]

Having conducted experiments at Franklin Mill, the Wethered brothers presented a public display of their method at the Maryland Institute, followed by a short demonstration on a steamboat out of Baltimore, and received a favorable report.[14] Promising greater power with lower fuel costs, they approached New York and Liverpool United States Mail Steamship Company manager, Edward K. Collins, and his principal financial backers, James and Stewart Brown, of Brown Brothers and Company. The Collins Line, established in 1847 to compete against the Cunard Line, received heavy subsidy from the British government. Collins's initial contract of $325,000 with the U.S. Post Office required him to maintain a five-vessel fleet and make twenty-two trans-Atlantic trips a year. By 1850, he had four ships—the *Baltic, Pacific, Atlantic,* and *Arctic*—and was cutting into the Cunard monopoly by making better times on the westward passage against the North Atlantic currents and winds. Yet the Collins line continued to run in the red as expenses increased due to the "extra coal needed to achieve those fast passages."[15] Furthermore, despite the faster speeds and more luxurious passenger accommodations on the American steamers, the Cunard Line received an increased subsidy from the British and consequently expanded its fleet and service. In 1852, Collins sought a larger subsidy to offset the high costs of fuel and maintenance. The government awarded him a contract for $858,000 and he agreed to provide twenty-six trans-Atlantic voyages a year. With just four vessels operating, Collins worked under immense pressure until his fifth ship, the *Adriatic,* could be completed. In order to fulfill the obligation, Collins needed more speed.[16]

He had tried "stame," based on Frost's experiments, only to have it ruin the cylinder packing, but he did think that the Wethereds' new saturated steam and "stame" formula might solve his problem. The simplicity of the operation appealed to the cost-conscious manager. Part of the steam was superheated in pipes running through the furnace and then blended with the ordinary steam moving in a separate pipe before entering the cylinder to actuate the pistons. But he also was cautious, and, although willing to cover all costs, he wanted to personally test the merits of the innovation.[17]

From June to September 1853, Collins had thirty experiments conducted under the supervision of Daniel B. Martin, Engineer-in-Chief in the U.S. Navy. John



The Wethered process patent diagram illustrating a boiler setup that combined saturated and superheated steam. The date printed above is a misprint and should read September 27, 1853. (United States Patent Office.)

Wethered participated as an interested observer. With a high pressure stationary engine, comparative tests using ordinary steam, superheated steam, and the combined steam process were conducted to evaluate fuel consumption, piston strokes, and work accomplished. The test results apparently supported the Wethereds'

claim. Superheated steam improved work 65 percent over ordinary steam, but this new "mixture" produced a 106 percent increase.[18] Operating cautiously, the brothers started the process for an American patent. Frost had been rejected in 1849, when a Patent Office Examiner refused to believe that "stame" was a feasible motivating force.[19] The Wethereds, by securing foreign patents and allowing Collins to perform extensive testing under the supervision by Chief Engineer Martin, did receive a patent, in September 1853.[20]

Back in Baltimore, the family received the news. In July, their mother Elizabeth Wethered, wrote to her daughter, Elizabeth Barringer, that John was observing the tests and they seemed to be satisfactory. Brothers Charles and Samuel, who had attended to business in Baltimore all summer, also were optimistic.[21] John soon returned to Wetheredsville, and in September the faltering Whig party nominated him to run for Congress in the new Second District that encompassed part of Baltimore County and all of Kent, Cecil, Harford, and Carroll Counties. Sam and Charles agreed that he should run for office and hoped his return to Congress would help them win acceptance from the Steam Marine, the United States fledgling steam ships of the U.S. Navy.[22] Despite John's defeat in November, the brothers maintained their optimism—Collins remained perfectly satisfied with the test results and had since proposed a larger and more practical test.[23]

Daniel Martin again conducted the test, this one over a fifty-six mile course from the Canal Street Wharf in New York City up the Hudson River to Cold Spring Foundry opposite West Point. As before, in these comparative tests, those involved made every effort to use the same instruments, fuels, speed, and personnel and to use weather and tide conditions as nearly alike as possible. Modifications were made to the boiler tubes on the steam tug *Joseph Johnson* and five practical test runs were made between November 22, 1853, and January 9, 1854. From Martin's detailed notes, Chief Engineer Benjamin Franklin Isherwood concluded that when maintaining a constant speed, the mixture of saturated and superheated steam produced a more efficient working of the pistons and lowered hourly consumption of coal. The Wethered Method gave a 53.51 percent greater efficiency over ordinary steam.[24] When Isherwood's report was published in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* in April 1854, other publications began to endorse the new method, claiming it would "annihilate space" while providing massive savings in fuel costs.[25]

Collins announced installation of the new system in all company-owned vessels, starting with the *Arctic*. To oversee the refitting, he transferred his top expert, J. W. Rogers, from the *Atlantic* to make "an important upgrade to the steamer's machinery."[26] While work continued on overhauling the *Arctic*, the *Sun* on July 20, 1854, announced that John Wethered would take passage to Liverpool on the ship's next voyage and observe operations. By late August, Rogers had completed overhauling the engines and sea trials began off New York harbor. Unfortunately

for the patentees, the trial was cut short. The "stame" tubes failed to stand the intense heat, and when ordinary steam piped through the boiler to produce superheated steam, two men were injured. Collins consulted engineers and machinery makers who decided that the tubes should be enameled, an unforeseen step that would require an additional two weeks of work. Since the *Arctic* was less than a week from its departure date, the company postponed the modifications until the ship's return from Europe. Despite this setback, Collins and the experienced engineers had no doubt that combining steam would provide economy in fuel use.

On Saturday, September 2, 1854, the *Arctic* set off for England with the new machinery on board and filled with water, awaiting the enameled tubes, due once the ship returned to port in early October. Undoubtedly disheartened by the delay, John cancelled his trip on the *Arctic* as the superheating apparatus was not functioning. They were assured, however, that the postponement was only a momentary setback. Glowing reports continued in the press, and cities such as Boston and Providence vied to have the *Arctic* visit their ports once the work was completed.[27]

In early October, worrisome queries began appearing in newspapers. Where was the *Arctic?* Had her engines failed? Had she suffered an accident? On October 11, news reached New York that the luxurious side-wheeled steamer had collided with a small screw steamer, the *Vesta.* The *Arctic* had sunk on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland with the loss of most of the passengers. Among them were Collins's wife, two of his children, and his sister-in-law. Co-owner James Brown's daughter and son also lost their lives in the accident.[28] The sea trial of Wethereds' superheating method had to await the refitting of the other Collins vessels.

A series of other setbacks now befell the brothers. In December 1854, the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* published the proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In England, a long war of words had been raging between the new academics who developed the laws of thermodynamics from speculative hypotheses and the practical steam engineers with experience in day-to-day operations. Furthermore, many British engineers continued to hold with Watt who had feared that the use of high pressure steam could only lead to explosions and had, therefore, never experimented in that direction. Now British civil engineer Thomas Prosser made an assault on the Wethered Method and declared it "defective in principle." He contended that Watt had abandoned heated steam as "useless." The attack continued, accusing Isherwood and others of using "fallacious experiments" since "there is loss, and no gain in heating steam."[29] At nearly the same time another English engineer, Paul R. Hodge, claimed in the London *Mining Journal* that he had invented combined "stame" and steam in engines and had patented his idea in July 1850. Fortunately, the editors of the *Scientific American* destroyed his arguments and the Wethereds received full credit for the process, yet the attack on their credibility lingered.[30]

A greater disappointment came in November 1854 when Daniel B. Martin

patented a new boiler system, one that did not use any superheated steam. Martin, who had conducted the Wethered system tests for Collins, had recently been promoted to the position of engineer-in-chief in the U. S. Navy. Initially, upon Martin's promotion, Charles Wethered had been hopeful that Martin, in this new position, could facilitate official acceptance.[31] With a naval expansion program already funded for the construction of new steam frigates, the brothers believed their process would be included. The contractors, with Naval Board approval, built the *Minnesota, Wabash, Roanoke, Colorado,* and *Merrimac* with the Martin boiler,[32] but when the Wethereds offered the "new system for application to one of the United States steamers . . . the offer was declined."[33]

Undaunted, the Wethereds prepared a new onslaught to win wider recognition. Testing had proved their method worked and the remaining Collins liners, all in regular service, used the system. They also clung to an earlier development closer to home. On the south shore of the Basin in Baltimore, the Vulcan Works of Murray and Hazlehurst had been producing steamboat engines for nearly a decade. In March and April 1854, they completed fitting a boiler with the "Wethered Improvement" for the Ashland Iron Company at the Oregon Furnace in Baltimore County, and, although they had received little remuneration, the brothers decided to set out on a bolder campaign for recognition and riches.[34]

The Wethereds' troubles, however, continued. On December 7, 1854, fire gutted the Ashland Cotton Mill at Wetheredsville. The family apparently assigned Samuel to rebuild the mill while Charles maintained his position heading the firm. Thus it fell to John, with his practical experience on civic committees and at trade fairs, his natural oratorical skills honed on the campaign trial, his persuasive abilities polished in the halls of Congress, his appeal as a raconteur with tales of travel to California and Europe, his quiet, but firm demeanor, and his magnificent physique clad in fine cassimere from the family mill to carry out the new campaign for winning acceptance of the Wethered Method.

Determined to view their setbacks as temporary, John and his cousin, George Y. Wethered, sailed to Europe on the Collins' liner, *Atlantic,* early in May 1855. The men remained in Paris for most of the year when John's wife, Mary, joined her husband in October. Louis Napoleon had started his program to unify France through modernization and industrialization. Just off the Champs Elysees he built the grand *Palais de l'Industrie* as a response to London's Crystal Palace.The *Palais* housed the 1855 Paris Exposition that featured displays of manufactured goods from Western Europe and America. The fair attracted more than 3.5 million visitors in six months. John exhibited the Wethered System and at the fair's end the Baltimore brothers received a medal for their steam engine (super heating). They had achieved great international recognition, putting the brothers in the same category with American medal winners Cyrus McCormick, Charles Goodyear, I. M. Singer, and Samuel Colt.[35]

More importantly, using pamphlets, drawings, and his persuasive powers, John won acceptance for the Wethered combined steam process from European governments. After extensive tests, the French Minister of Marine announced an economy in savings using combined steam over ordinary steam and superheated steam. The French Academy endorsed the method and recommended its adoption in the French Navy.[36] In Austria, the Danubian Steam Navigation Company tried the method on the steamer *Neusatz* and in September 1856 began refitting eight other steamers to work using the system.[37]

When the *Exposition Universelle* concluded, John looked across the English Channel for British support. As noted previously, British academics consistently challenged the theory of superheated steam and the conservative Admiralty Board questioned its practical application. Traditionalist naval officers influenced this board, as did the machine factory owners who supplied the British Navy and carried great influence with the government. John bypassed this group and went directly to the authorities who were concerned about poor engine performance by British gunboats in the Crimean War. In early winter 1856, the Admiralty Board, receptive to a process to keep engines working under high pressure, authorized a test on the steam yacht *Black Eagle* at Woolwich.[38] Impressed, the Lords of the Admiralty ordered further tests on a larger vessel, the HMSS *Dee,* a ship used for instructing boys in the English naval schools.[39] Again the outcome validated the Wethered process. The tests on the *Dee* achieved a greater power output and a reduction in fuel consumption. The board authorized long-range sea trials using the steamer *Avon* of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. After twenty voyages the chief engineer of the West Indies to Brazil division of the Royal Mail Service wrote that RMSS *Avon,* on a voyage from Southampton to Rio de Janiero and back, had "gained *three* days" each way "using twenty-two percent less coal."[40] Under Sir Charles Wood, First Lord of the Admiralty and a committed advocate for an all-steam force, the board voted in favor of applying the Wethered System in the Royal Navy and began re-fitting HMSS *Rhadamanthus* and HMSS *Gibraltar.*[41]

With half of the challenge met, John had to wait two years before persuading the British academics and professional engineers. When he returned to London during the winter of 1859–1860, the Institute of Civil Engineers invited him to present his views on combined steam. On March 27, 1860, he explained the concept and the Admiralty Board test results, and a week later a spirited discussion "On Combining Steam" occupied the evening session on April 3.[42] Although the academics and engineers accepted the result from the Admiralty tests favoring "combined steam" over simple superheated steam and ordinary steam, they discussed additional promising methods. In the mid-1850s, Randolph Elder & Company developed compound engines. The invention produced good results for the British and Irish Coastal Mail Service.[43] Despite these recent results, plus one from a British source, the institute members believed "the case . . . to be clearly

established in favor of combined steam." Yet they did grant "great praise . . . to the author for having recalled public attention to the advantages derivable from superheating steam." In general the engineers agreed that "the practical introduction of the system of superheating steam was greatly owing to the exertions of Mr. Wethered. He had succeeded in moving the British Board of Admiralty when, perhaps, an English engineer might not have been so successful."[44] The future of superheated steam, however, remained uncertain. Nevertheless, he had won some support for "The Wethered Method," and, more importantly, furthered research and experimentation on the use of steam.

While John was active in Europe, Charles and Samuel maintained the textile business during trying economic times. When opportunities arose, however, they continued to press for recognition as in 1858 when the American Association for the Advancement of Science held its twelfth annual meeting at the Maryland Institute. Scientists, politicians, merchants and "a large number of ladies" attended the opening session on April 28. Among the hundreds present, Charles E. Wethered and his ex-diplomat brother-in-law, Daniel Moreau Barringer, of North Carolina joined the newly elected members of the association. Mayor Thomas Swann presided over the day, one primarily of procedures, among them assigning papers to the appropriate committees. Among the eighteen distributed papers, number 17, Charles Wethered's "On Wethered's Application of Combined Steam," went to Professor Joseph Henry. Henry, as director of the Smithsonian Institute, ranked as the pre-eminent scientist in America, and in that capacity he served as the government's chief consultant on scientific matters. His endorsement would give the process credibility with the U.S. Navy.

The Wethered application was presented on the second day. Surely most attendees knew how the process operated, since it had been covered in detail and with frequency in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, *Scientific American*, and in foreign scientific publications. Adding authority to the presentation, the brothers had persuaded Dr. Lewis H. Steiner to deliver their paper. Steiner, a respected professor of chemistry and physics and a popular lecturer in Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia, presented the combined steam case clearly and in detail. When he finished, Charles Wethered awaited the association's long-sought endorsement. Instead, Henry cautioned the members "against endorsing." The system, not "practically useful with the ordinary engine," should be "tested more fully."[45] The Wethereds and many others must have been stunned. Since 1853, the method had undergone extensive testing, with favorable published results, and furthermore, accepted and used in Austria, France, Britain, and by the Collins Line in America.

Despite yet another setback, the Wethereds persisted. When the Baltimore Steam Packet Company lost the *North Carolina* in a fire in January 1859, the energetic company manager, Moor N. Falls, quickly found a replacement, the *Adelaide*,

Baltimore from Federal Hill, 1862. The Georgeanna, *left foreground, is docked at the Vulcan Works, equipped with the Wethered Improvement. (Courtesy Enoch Pratt Free Library.)*

which he purchased from the Vanderbilt Line in New York. He pressed the side wheel steamer into use on the Baltimore to Norfolk run. By September, the *Adelaide* was docked at the Vulcan Works, the same company that had fitted the boiler for the Ashland Iron Company with the "Wethered Improvement" five years earlier. Murray and Hazelhurst prepared "an entire new set of machinery" for the steamer using their considerable expertise in the manufacture of boilers and engines for steam engines, factories, commercial establishments, bay steamers, and the U.S. Navy. Falls, with confidence in his fellow Baltimoreans, had the *Adelaide's* boilers constructed to use combined steam based on the Wethered Method. When the steamboat returned to service in March 1860, its owners announced that "the result of (her) trial was satisfactory to all parties" in producing the necessary motive power "with much less quantity of coal." Shortly afterwards, the company equipped its newly purchased iron-hulled steamer *Georgeanna* with the necessary modifications to use the "Wethered Improvement."[46]

When the Civil War broke out, all the brothers initially spent more time producing wool cloth, but the conflict brought their steam process into a growing controversy about all superheating endeavors. The new head of the U.S. Navy Bureau of Steam Engineering, Benjamin Franklin Isherwood, had documented the results of Daniel Martin's 1853 Hudson River tests. With the blockade of Southern ports as a primary objective, the navy expanded rapidly, purchased steamers, and started a construction program. Simple, reliable, and easy to maintain, Isherwood chose the Martin boiler for all new vessels—and consequently, the

Navy sacrificed fuel economy and power for dependability in the need to keep the blockade force on station.[47]

As the war progressed, Isherwood and his support for the "inferior" Martin boilers came under attack from disgruntled contractors, patent holders, opportunistic politicians, and hostile newspaper editors. Regardless of the nearly continuous criticism, Isherwood had the support of the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, who viewed the assertions as "wholly unjustifiable and inexcusable."[48] With the support and encouragement of Welles, Isherwood continued the detailed testing of steam expansion that he had begun before the war. Having established test standards and reporting forms for use at repair yards, as blockading vessels came in for maintenance, an unexpected invitation from Baltimore enhanced Isherwood's comparative study.

The president of the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, Moor N. Falls, who had installed the Wethered System on all the company's boats gratuitously, offered the *Georgeanna* to the Navy Department for use in experiments. Highly satisfied with his ship's performances, he offered to cover all expenses for the testing program, with the stipulation that the trials be conducted "without interfering with regular service." The patentees, Charles E. and John Wethered, joined Falls, hopeful that additional testing would prove, after years of use, that their combined method produced a greater economic effect.[49]

Isherwood dispatched Chief Engineer William J. Lamdin and his team to Baltimore where they conducted the tests and compiled data. After preparing gauges, valves, thermometers, and counters, the *Georgeanna* began forty-two test runs. From July to December 1862, the steamer made its regular twelve-hour overnight runs from Baltimore to Norfolk one day and a return run from Norfolk to Baltimore the next. To afford time for the steamer machinery to reach average operating conditions, the run bases were established at the flag staff on Fort Carroll and at Back River Lighthouse (eight miles from Point Comfort), a distance of 155 statute miles.[50]

Preliminary data from the *Georgeanna* trials were encouraging.[51] Delighted with the results, Falls then offered the Navy Department use of the *Adelaide*. Using the same criteria and examining team, the *Adelaide* began forty-two test runs on its regular packet schedule between March and October 1863.[52] Meanwhile, Isherwood's team conducted tests at the docks as blockade steamers came into the Vulcan Works for repairs and refitting. Faulty installation on both vessels prohibited a decisive conclusion on whether the Wethered Method provided a more cost-effective operation over superheated steam.[53]

For a valid comparison, the U.S.S. *Eutaw's* Martin boilers were refitted with the proper setup of saturated steam and superheated steam tubes. The tests ran at Baltimore's Vulcan Works in June 1863, at the Washington Navy Yard in September 1863, and on the Potomac River in January 1864. Isherwood concluded that

the test results indicated only "a slight difference" in the economic effect (fuel cost) between superheated steam and combined steam, although the data indicated the mixed steam was 1.83 percent better than superheated steam, and both showed 14 to 20 percent more efficiency than saturated steam. The results also indicated that moderately superheated steam alone could be used safely to improve engine performance without causing injury to the machinery.[54]

By the time they published the final results, the Wethered brothers no longer promoted their process. The team that had moved the project so well had fallen apart. The deaths of both of their parents left all three brothers shaken, yet Samuel seemed severely depressed. When their teenaged niece died in North Carolina, Charles and John felt compelled to send him on an extended vacation to England and France. John found his interest in politics rekindled and he became active in conservative Democratic Party politics in 1864 and served as a committee officer in the struggle to repeal the Registry Law in 1866. In 1867, he was elected and served as a moderately progressive delegate to the state Constitutional Convention. The brothers' textile business operated until the end of the war, but shortly thereafter a slump in wool manufacturing limited operations. Disastrous floods in 1866 and 1868 caused heavy damage to their mills, and the brothers secured large loans in an effort to save their business, but "dull times" forced them into bankruptcy.[55]

Although their work ended with the bankruptcy, those dependent on steam power and/or testing new methods, did not forget the Baltimore brothers. In 1867, Alexander L. Holley, America's preeminent railroad technical writer and steel-plant engineer, writing on locomotive boiler systems, opined that superheat could be used if one applied the "Wethered's method . . . undoubtedly an excellent way of regulating the temperature, so that it shall not injure the cylinder."[56] In 1876, praise came from Professor R. S. McCulloch in his analysis of arrangements for superheating steam in engines, when he noted "the more ingenious of which is that of Mr. Wethered."[57]

Charles E., Samuel, and John Wethered had tinkered their way to improved steam operations in their woolen factory and thus moved theoreticians and practical engineers toward advance steam powered operations. Although not the first, they did function as the catalyst that forced serious consideration of superheating both at home and abroad. Their struggle for recognition accelerated theoretical studies and experimentation, which ultimately led to a thorough knowledge of the expansive properties of steam and to the development of steam-powered turbines.[58] The editor of *Scientific American* wrote in his summary on the improvement in steam engines since Watt:

> It would be unjust to those mechanics who have for the past twenty-five years made steam and the steam engine their study, to deprive them of the credit due them for increasing the efficiency of this great mechanical motor.[59]

It is therefore fitting that 150 years later we should remember the team of talented, resourceful, and persistent Baltimore brothers whose innovation furthered the development of the efficient use of steam power both as a motivating and generating force. Addressing the concerns about steam efficiency and the difficulties of using superheated steam, the brothers Wethered strove to win acceptance for their process. These efforts served as a catalyst for further research and development that ultimately lead to the use of superheat in turbines, the principal drive in electrical generators in most power plants and on many ocean-going vessels today.

NOTES

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3. Fred M. Walker, *Song of the Clyde* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 24; Richard Woodman, *The History of the Ship* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997), 164–165.
4. *Scientific Americ*an, IX, No. 42 (July 1, 1854); Vol. IX, No. 45 (July 29, 1854); and Vol. IX, No. 47 (August 12, 1854).
5. W. H. G. Armytage, *A Social History of Engineering* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1961), 175.
6. *Niles Weekly Register*, November 3, 1832; *Baltimore Sun*, November 2, 1846, November 21, 1851, and January 21, 1854.
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8. Patent No. 25,153 and Patent No. 26, 724 found in *Scientific American,* Vol.1(New Series), No. 9 and Vol. 2 (New Series). No. 3.
9. *Niles Weekly Register,* November 5, 1831.
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11. *Scientific American,* Vol. 5, No. 3 (October 6, 1849) and Vol. 6, No. 27 (March 22, 1851).
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13. Letters of Samuel Wethered, September 9, 1853, and Charles E. Wethered, November 2, 1853, Barringer Papers. The Wethereds' efforts did not protect them from being sued and losing in the English court system. When the litigants tried to collect their award in the United States, they were rebuffed in U.S. courts, see *Bischoff v. Wethered, Cases Argued and*

Adjudged in The Supreme Court of the United States, December, 1869, Vol. IX (Washington, D.C.: W. H. & O. H. Morrison, 1870).

14. *Baltimore Sun,* July 20, 1854. Also *Scientific American,* Vol. X, No. 18 (November 18, 1854).
15. David Shaw, *The Sea Shall Embrace Them: The Tragic Story of the Steamship* ARCTIC (New York: The Free Press, 2002), 20–44; Robert Albion, *Five Centuries of Famous Ships: From the Santa Maria to the Glomar Explorer* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1978), 209–213.
16. Shaw, 46–52.
17. *Scientific American,* Vol. IX, No. 46 (July 19, 1854).
18. *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* 57 (April, 1854): 257–61.
19. *Scientific American,* Vol. VI, No. 27 (March 22, 1851).
20. *Scientific American,* Vol. IX, No. 4 (October 8, 1853): 27. In addition to Patent #10054 for combined steam for actuating engines, in June 1854, the Wethereds received Patent #11143 for using combined steam for heating and drying purposes listed in *Scientific American,* Vol. IX, No. 42 (July 1, 1854).
21. Letters of Elizabeth Wethered, undated July 1853, and July 30, 1853), Barringer Papers.
22. *Ibid.,* letter of Samuel Wethered, September 9, 1853.
23. *Scientific American,* Vol. IX, No. 46 (July 29, 1854).
24. *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* Vol. 57 (April, 1854): 261–64.
25. *The New York Daily Times,* August 29, 1854; *Baltimore Sun,* August 23, 1854.
26. Shaw, 68.
27. *Scientific American,* Vol. X, No. 6 (October 21, 1854). Also *The New York Daily Times,* August 29, 1854.
28. Alexander Crosby Brown, *Women and Children Last: The Loss of the Steamship* Arctic (New York: G.P. Putnam's Son, 1861), 46–48. The Collins Line continued operations after the loss of the *Arctic,* but when the *Pacific* was lost in 1856 the line began to founder. Under intense pressure from other ship owners, the subsidy for the company was greatly reduced by Congress. By 1857 the steamers, including the Wethered-equipped *Adriatic* which had just completed its maiden voyage, were auctioned off to satisfy creditors.
29. *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* 58 (December, 1854): 417–18.
30. *Scientific American,* 28 (March 24, 1855).
31. Letter of Charles E. Wethered, November 2, 1853, Barringer Papers.
32. *Baltimore Sun,* July 24, 1854, January 25, 1855, and September 5, 1855; *Scientific American,* 41 (May 17, 1856), 43 (July 5, 1856).
33. *Scientific American,* 48 (August 8, 1857).
34. Account Book, Box 2, Wiegand Collection, MS 903; Pay Account Book, Book 2, Ashland Iron Company, MS 629, Maryland Historical Society.
35. *Baltimore Sun,* February 22, 1855; March 29, 1855; May 18, 1855; August 28, 1855; October 5, 1855; and October 10, 1855; *The New York Daily Times,* December 8, 1855 and *Scientific American,* Vol. XI, No. 14 (December 15, 1855).
36. *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* 70 (August, 1860): 82–83.
37. *Scientific American,* Vol. XII, No. 48 (August 8, 1857).
38. *Littel's Living Age,* No. 645 (October 3, 1856), 608.
39. *The London Times,* July 25, 1856; *The Baltimore County Advocate,* April 4, 1857.
40. *Baltimore Sun,* March 27, 1858.
41. *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* 70 (August, 1860): 79–80.
42. Ibid., 80–83.
43. Walker, 24–26; *Scientific American,* Vol. XIV, No. 16 (December 25, 1858). The *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* Vol. XLI (March, 1861): 203, notes that the English machinery in the

Royal Pacific Mail steamers using highly superheated steam had to remove the tubes because the high heat was "very destructive to the engines."

44. *Journal of the Franklin Institute,* 70 (1860): 83; *The New York Times,* April 11, 1860.

45. *Baltimore Sun,* April 29–30, 1858. Steiner later became the first librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

46. *Baltimore Sun,* March 30, 1859; September 28, 1859; January 24, 1860; and March 22, 1860. Also *The New York Times,* April 26, 1860.

47. Edward William Sloan III, *Benjamin Franklin Isherwood Naval Engineer: The Years as Engineer-in-Chief, 1861–1865* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1965): 30–58.

48. Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles Secretary of the Navy Under Lincoln and Johnson, Introduction by John T. Morse, Jr., Vol. I 1861–March 30, 1864* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), 505. The brunt of the attacks came from inventor Edward N. Dickerson and the editors of *The New York Times.*

49. Benjamin Franklin Isherwood, *Experimental Researches in Steam Engineering. Vol II* (Philadelphia: The Franklin Institute, 1865), 3–4; Alexander Crosby Brown. *The Old Bay Line: 1840–1940* (New York: Bonanza Book, 1940), 65.

50. Isherwood, *Experimental Researches in Steam Engineering, Vol. II,* 14.

51. Benjamin Franklin Isherwood, *Experimental Researches in Steam Engineering. Vol. I* (Philadelphia: The Franklin Institute, 1863), xxxi. The Wethereds must have been heartened when Isherwood commented in his introduction to the first volume of his opus, *Experimental Researches in Steam Engineering,* that combined steam "according to Wethered's patent, have shown considerable gain," over saturated steam.

52. Isherwood, *Vol. II,* 49–50.

53. Isherwood, *Vol. II,* 18, 49. The data was to form the statistics on expansive steam used in Volume II of *Experimental Researches in Steam Engineering* (1865), which later became the standard engineering text on steam expansion for many years. Isherwood was to continue his endeavors "which lead directly to the perfection of the steam turbine." The tubes for saturated steam mistakenly had been installed in the steam chimney and, as a result, produced superheated steam, which was then added to superheated steam.

54. *Ibid.,* 46, 162, and *passim.* The test results encouraged Isherwood to adopt superheated steam in ships constructed late in the war. The *Wampanoag,* launched at war's end and fitted with superheaters, was considered the fastest vessel of its day.

55. Information for this summary is based on Barringer, *Wethered Book,* and the *Baltimore Sun.*

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58. P. Chattopedhyay, *Boiler Operations* (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1995), 394–95.

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ANNE S. K. TURKOS and JEFF KORMAN, compilers

From 1975 on, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The following list includes materials published during 2006, as well as earlier works that have been brought to our attention.

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

My article, "The Master of the Ark," *MdHM* 95 (2000): 284, n. 16, cites a reference that the *Ark of London* (a. k. a. *Ark of Maryland*), the ship that brought Lord Baltimore's first settlers to Maryland in 1633, "could have hardly been built later than 1625." Now we have evidence to the contrary that the ship was new in 1631.

The Court Minutes of the East India Company dated July 16, 1634, name four ships being surveyed for possible purchase. The minutes read: "Inventories presented by Swanley of three ships, viz, the *John and Barbary* of 260 tons, built about Easter 1632, price with apparel, &c. 1,530 £; the *Agreement* of 260 tons, price 1,550 £. both built at Ipswich; and the *Ark of London* 340 tons, three years old price 2,700 £; also the *Industry*, 360 tons, a proper ship, drawing 16 feet of water and five years old, price 2,600 £; he declared the *John and Barbary* to be the fittest for the Company service." (British Library, State Papers Colonial, East Indies & Persia, 1630-34, 555, 556, 586, East India Court Minute Book XV: 10, 11) (518-280B-2F, 279B-1A).

The 340 ton *Ark of London* under charter to Lord Baltimore had just returned to London from her first round trip to Maryland (*MdHM* 95: 273)and would have been available in London for survey by the East India Company agent. If his description is accurate, and in such an important matter it can be assumed it was, the *Ark of London* chartered by Lord Baltimore was built in 1631.

William W. Lowe
Alexandria, Virginia

For a copy of Will Lowe's 2000 article, email the editor, panderson@mdhs.org.

Books in Brief

William M. Kelso, Head Archaeologist of the Jamestown Rediscovery Project, the author of *Jamestown, the Buried Truth*, presents up-to-date findings on the fort's structure, including the palisade walls, bulwarks, interior buildings, a well, a warehouse, several hundred thousand objects, and the burial and skeletal remains of one of Jamestown's earliest leaders. Kelso's work offers a complex portrait of the first surviving English settlement in North America.

University of Virginia Press (2006), $29.95, cloth

Our Shared Legacy: Nursing Education at Johns Hopkins, 1889–2006, is a richly illustrated volume from editor Mame Warren and nursing historians Linda Sabin and Mary Francis Keen. This work explores the evolution of this academic nursing school from its founding in the closing years of the nineteenth century through the challenging 1970s when the program underwent profound changes in its transfer to the School of Health Services to its reopening as the Johns Hopkins University School of Nursing in 1984. The authors also explore contemporary issues such as the "increasing complexities of medicine, nursing, and what has come to be called the medical marketplace."

The Johns Hopkins University Press (2006), $50.00, cloth

Michael P. Parker, *President's Hill: Building an Annapolis Neighborhood, 1664–2005*, traces the growth of one of Annapolis's most vibrant neighborhoods from the original land grants through its history as home to three of the city's most prominent families to its development as a residential neighborhood at the turn of the twentieth century. The author explores issues such as the temperance movement, the emergence of the KKK, the two world wars, and the career of Senator Louis Phipps. This book also examines the city's rituals of birth and death, the growth of municipal services, and the personalities of residents such as Harry Elliott, Doc Snyder, Buddy Levy, and Elsie Clark.

The Annapolis Publishing Company (2006), $20.00, paper

Notices

Marion Brewington Essay Prize, Maryland Historical Society

The annual Marion Brewington Essay Prize encourages research in all aspects of maritime activities in Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The prize is named for Marion Brewington to honor his dedication in preserving, documenting, and recording the maritime history of Chesapeake Bay. The Maryland Historical Society Maritime Committee will award $1,000 for the best qualifying manuscript on an aspect of the history of seafaring, fisheries, commerce, warfare, or recreation on Chesapeake Bay or its tributaries. Winners are announced at the MdHS Annual Meeting. By prior arrangement, the winning essay will be published in *The American Neptune* and reprinted in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The winning author's name and essay title will be announced in national maritime journals and magazines. Deadline for submission to the Maryland Historical Society is January 31, 2008. Visit www.mdhs.org/explore/essay for submission information.

"The Panic of 1837: Getting By and Going Under in a Decade of Crisis," Program in Early American Economy and Society (PEAES), Library Company of Philadelphia

The year 1837 stands as a defining moment, one in which the rising tide of overextended credit and investment that had been washing over Americans suddenly ended. State and local banks, flush with Mexican silver, could not handle the overwhelming demand for loans. Despite signs of economic strain seen in rising prices for land, food, and rent, bank notes and paper currencies proliferated. Few people predicted the dire consequences of advancing personal and national wealth with open-ended credit, bank loans, and personal indebtedness.

The scholars who have prepared papers for this conference look at this economic crisis from many new standpoints, including the intellectual meanings of financial panics, the reach of panics into households and business cultures at the margins of society, and the role of panics in shaping views of class, labor, and gender. Papers will be posted on the PEAES web pages by September 10, 2007. We encourage everyone coming to the conference to read them in advance, and then join us for a lively discussion. Please follow the PEAES links from www.librarycompany.org, to "Panic of 1837." This conference is free and open to everyone interested in the topic. Please let us know if you will be attending by registering electronically on the PEAES website, or by calling 215-546-3181. For further questions, please contact Cathy Matson, PEAES director, at cmatson@udel.edu

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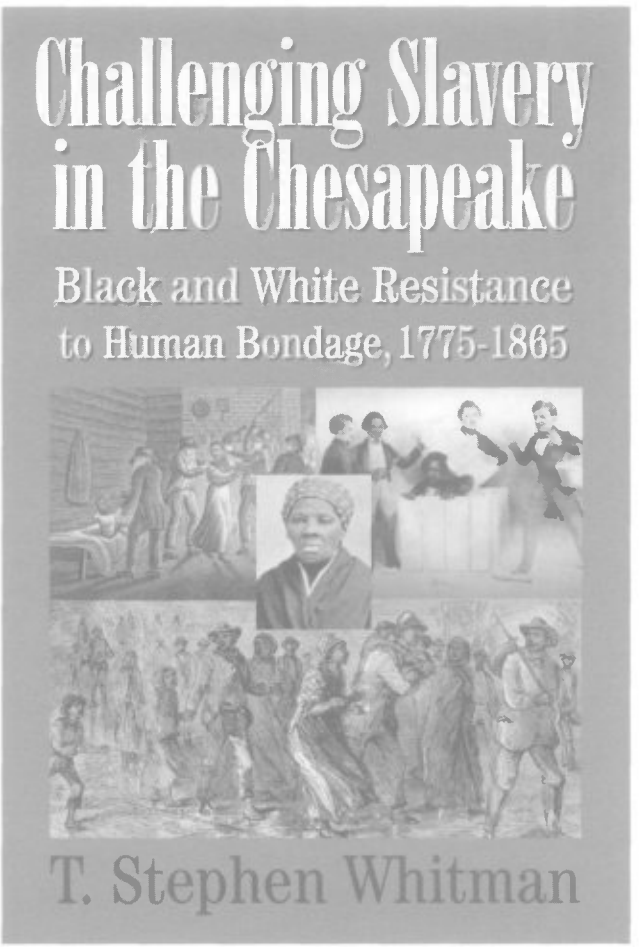

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