

Understanding the Monumental City: A Bibliographical Essay on Baltimore History

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INTRODUCTION

THE FOLLOWING IS A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY ABOUT STUDIES ON BALTIMORE history selected because of their significance in understanding this city's past. The criteria for inclusion were the quality of research, reasonableness of interpretation, and, in too many cases, the paucity of available research on a subject. With over five hundred studies described below I have attempted to provide some information regarding their research value and at least a few words about their content. This bibliography includes only Baltimore histories completed through 1980.* The subject arrangement is based upon the availability of the studies rather than any themes in Baltimore's history and, hopefully, will assist individuals interested in specific aspects of the city's history.

Special thanks is extended to Helena Zinkham, formerly of the Maryland Historical Society and now with the New-York Historical Society, who assisted me with the location of titles. For a time Helena and I envisioned a more extensive annotated bibliography; however, the limited number of good studies on Baltimore suggested the adoption of this format. Both Helena and I hope that this bibliography will help the general reader and scholar and inspire more research into the city's history. Members of the Baltimore History Research Group, such as Dean Esslinger and Joe Arnold, also deserve thanks for mentions of additional titles.

SOME GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE PATTERNS OF BALTIMORE HISTORICAL RESEARCH, 1824-1980

The first history of Baltimore was published in 1824; a century and a half later, in 1980, three major histories of the city appeared. Between these two dates Baltimore's past has not been steadily or systematically studied. What appears instead is several short periods of extremely intense interest and activity followed by longer lulls in between. Moreover, the history of Baltimore is far from completely known. At present there is a renaissance of historical study with a fairly substantial number of professional scholars exploring different aspects of

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* Studies completed after 1980 may be found in the annual bibliographies on Maryland history published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

its development. Only if this is sustained for a decade or more longer will the history of Baltimore be as understood as that of its sister cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and others.

Thomas W. Griffith's 1824 Baltimore history appeared at a time of a modestly reawakened concern with Maryland's history. Only a few short years before the first history of the state had appeared. All of this early antiquarian research, which culminated in the founding of the Maryland Historical Society in 1844, reflected the new nationalism that emanated from the War of 1812 and because Maryland, unlike most of the older states—especially the former colonies, had not been the subject of a single major historical essay. Griffith's chronicle, and it was little more than a collection of facts and assorted trivia, was the solitary work on the state's urban center among the Maryland histories of these early days.

It was not until the 1870s and the publication of a number of major books on Baltimore's past that the city gained its fair share of the story. Most of the volumes of this decade, especially those of John Thomas Scharf, were a product of the booster tradition and the growing economic importance of the city on a national level. The city also celebrated its sesquicentennial in 1880, climaxed by a gigantic week long festival in October, an event that inspired commemorative histories and "mugbooks." For the serious student, however, Baltimore's history required more than antiquarian collections of facts devoid of interpretation. Although by the end of the nineteenth century Baltimore's historical literature was comparable to that of most other major American cities, it was still far from satisfactory.

The graduate program in history and politics offered at the Johns Hopkins University under the tutelage of Herbert Baxter Adams starting in 1876 brought forth a substantial quantity of new historical studies on Maryland and, to a lesser degree, Baltimore. Reacting against what was perceived by them as an inability to distinguish significant facts from the trivial in the interpretation of the past, the new professionals provided detailed analyses on specialized areas concentrating on politics and the economy. Some of the studies, such as J. H. Hollander's 1899 economic history of the municipal government, have remained classics, unsurpassed by later studies. The intensity of interest by this program in local history lasted briefly; Herbert Baxter Adams died in 1901 and by the First World War the appearance of Baltimore histories via the Hopkins was sporadic.

In 1906 the first issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* appeared and, uninterrupted to the present, provided a minor stimulant for the publication of Baltimore related articles. However, this journal for its first thirty or so years was the forum of amateurs and dominated by the publication of source materials from the Society's collection. By the 1940s the *Maryland Historical Magazine* was attracting more substantial examples of historical research and for the last two decades has been the main source of Maryland and Baltimore studies. A large portion of the articles described in the bibliographical essay below were published in its issues.

Examining the *Maryland Historical Magazine* through the 1940s still reveals a dearth of studies on Baltimore's history, although this was not unique to it. After the upsurge of studies from Hopkins graduates and the Clayton Colman Hall edited history of 1912, the appearance of new Baltimore histories virtually

ceased. Most of what appeared in the 1920s and 1930s were popular studies, like that by Letitia Stockett and Hamilton Owens, heavily based upon the earlier efforts of Scharf and his contemporaries. Though these histories were generally far better written and were excellent popular tomes, they revealed little original research.

The study of Baltimore's past was typical of urban history in general. Professional historians did not begin to demonstrate a significant interest in urban history until the 1930s and it was not until the 1960s that major new projects on this subject were beginning to produce a steady diet of papers, articles, and monographs for the consumption of professional peers. In Baltimore there appeared a brief flurry of interest in the 1950s and early 1960s with some noteworthy essays on the city's architecture, art, libraries, and educational facilities, the result of new graduate training programs in education, library science, and museum studies in the metropolitan area (notably at the University of Maryland, Catholic University of America, and University of Delaware); the one exception seemed to be the research on local architecture which was inspired by a new local interest in historic preservation.

Currently Baltimore is undergoing intensive analysis by professional historians, geographers, and other scholars, a trend that started in the late 1960s. This most recent phase of research has produced some notable landmarks such as the founding of area archival repositories and of professional organizations such as the Baltimore History Research Group. More important, however, has been the increased quantity of high-quality histories. Only a few years ago when asked for a few books to read for an introduction to Baltimore's history one became tongue-tied; this has changed completely. The decade of the 1980s will be most likely the most productive for the completion of major new studies, a trend heralded already by the 1980 publication of the significant histories by Sherry Olson and Gary L. Browne.

Even with the recent renaissance of local history much remains to be done. Glancing at the list of recommended basic readings on Baltimore history below one sees many serious gaps. There is, for example, no full scholarly history of the Baltimore Black community although some recent articles and dissertations indicate that this will be soon corrected. The one encouraging fact of this list is that two-thirds of the studies have been published in the past decade.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND RESEARCH GUIDES

There are a number of available guides to the secondary literature on Baltimore's history that should be mentioned at the outset. Richard J. Cox has compiled an annual bibliography of Maryland studies for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* since 1975 which contains citations to numerous Baltimore histories. A basic guide to unpublished research is Richard R. Duncan and Dorothy M. Brown, *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), updated by Richard J. Cox's "A Selected List of Recent Dissertations on Maryland History, 1970-1976," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (June 1978): 180-85 and annual bibliographies. Rare book collections in the city have been described by Mary Neill Barton, "Rare Books and Other Bibliographical Resources in Baltimore Libraries," *Pa-*

pers of the *Bibliographical Society of America* 55 (First quarter, 1961): 1-16 which considers the Peabody Library, Johns Hopkins University, William H. Welch Medical Library, Evergreen House, Notre Dame College, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Walters Art Gallery, Maryland Historical Society, and Peale Museum. Early Baltimore imprints are listed in Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore: Typothetae of Baltimore, 1922); Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1938); Amanda R. Minick, *A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800, With a Bibliography of Works Printed in the State During the Period* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949); and Felix Reichman, "German Printing in Maryland: A Check List, 1768-1950," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1950): 9-70. William G. LeFurgy, "Baltimore's Wards, 1797-1978: A Guide," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 75 (June 1980): 145-53 provides a bibliography of printed ward maps; this guide has been reprinted by the Baltimore City Archives.

There are only a few archival guides. A general introduction is Richard J. Cox and Patricia M. Vanorny, "The Records of a City: Baltimore and Its Historical Sources," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Fall 1975): 286-310 which reports on manuscripts in private repositories, the Baltimore City Archives, and the Maryland Hall of Records. This article is updated in the special issue, vol. 4 (Spring 1981), of the *Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center* which includes guides to the records of the Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center, Maryland Historical Society, and Maryland Hall of Records. Two introductions to genealogical research are Richard J. Cox, "Genealogical Research in the Manuscript Division of the Maryland Historical Society," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 17 (Summer 1976): 109-19 and "Genealogical Research in the Baltimore City Archives," *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* 2 (Fall 1979): 49-54. There are two general guides to the large manuscript holdings of the Maryland Historical Society—Avril J. M. Pedley, comp., *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1968) and Richard J. Cox and Larry E. Sullivan, eds., *A Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society: Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral History Interviews* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1981). An excellent finding aid to Baltimore records on microfilm is Edward C. Papenfuse, Susan A. Collins, and Christopher N. Allan, *A Guide to the Maryland Hall of Records: Local, Judicial, and Administrative Records in Microfilm*, vol. 1 (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1978). Although very outdated, John Tracy Ellis' "A Guide to the Baltimore Cathedral Archives," *Catholic Historical Review* 32 (October 1946): 341-60 is still a useful introduction to the nature of the Catholic documents. The personal papers of some individual Baltimoreans are available in *Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Records Survey Project, 1940), the Baltimore Naval Officer and Collector of the Port, 1782-94; Richard J. Cox, *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Mordecai Gist Papers* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), a Baltimore merchant and Revolutionary War officer; and John B. Boles, *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of*

the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers (Baltimore: Peabody Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1972), a Baltimore literary figure. The Williams' papers also are described in John J. Tierney, "The Life and Letters of Otho Holland Williams (1775-1783)" (M. A., Catholic University of America, 1944). Also valuable for a general outline of Baltimore records is Richard J. Cox, *Tracing the History of the Baltimore Structure: A Guide to the Primary and Secondary Sources* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Archives and Records Management Office, 1980).

Through the years, at least from the 1830s, a number of travel guides and directories to the city were published. Although there are far too many of these to enumerate here, a few bibliographies have been published including Bernard C. Steiner, *Descriptions of Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 22, nos. 11-12 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1904); Lawrence S. Thompson, "Foreign Travellers in Maryland, 1800-1950," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 48 (December 1953): 337-43; and Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore As Seen By Visitors 1783-1860*, Studies in Maryland History, no. 2 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953).

GENERAL HISTORIES

The publication of various general histories of Baltimore reflects the vicissitudes of interest in Baltimore's past. It was not until the city nearly reached the centennial of its founding that such a history appeared and not until the end of the nineteenth century that it had a respectable study. All of these earlier histories were the products of antiquarians and were often marred by a lavishness of detail on insignificant or mundane events. It has been only in very recent years that Baltimore has received attention from professional historians; as noted above, the year 1980 marked the issuance of two general histories, one of which will remain the standard work for the immediate future.

The earliest histories of Baltimore are of interest primarily as curiosities or as milestones in the development of historical research on the city. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: William Wooddy, 1824) has the distinction of being the first history with little else to commend it; Griffith's tome is essentially a brief chronicle of events from 1657. *Baltimore: Past and Present, With Biographical Sketches of Its Representative Men* (Baltimore: Richardson and Bennett, 1871) is an advertising effort that includes an introductory historical sketch by Brantz Mayer. George Washington Howard's *The Monumental City, Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore: J. D. Ehlers, 1873) also fits into the booster tradition with a brief historical essay, but the most noteworthy feature is its popularity, reflected in six editions between 1873 and 1889. J. Thomas Scharf's *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of 'Baltimore Town' and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874) and *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881) are the first comprehensive general histories of the city. Both tend to be huge compilations of facts with little interpretation and, although they are still consulted quite often today, should be used only with extreme caution.

Baltimore histories in the twentieth century were started off extremely well with Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912). Two of these volumes are biographical sketches of significant living Baltimoreans and the entire publication was an effort to make money through sales to local individuals, families, and businesses. The first volume, however, consists of a series of essays that form a superb general history of the city including descriptions of Baltimore in the years 1730-97, 1797-1850, 1850-70, and 1870-1912 and on commerce and internal improvements 1797-1850; art schools, galleries, and libraries; commerce and manufacturers; public education, 1829-1912; the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1912; transportation system and facilities from the early eighteenth century; the street car system and rapid transit, 1859-1909; the Baltimore Water Works; medicine; charities and charitable institutions; drama, theatres, and music; parks; the press; bench and bar; fire protection, 1763-1912; churches and religious organizations; and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, 1634-1912.

After Hall's effort the histories generally declined in quality. Maria Letitia Stockett, *Baltimore: A Not Too Serious History* (Baltimore: Norman, Remington Co., 1928) is a popular social history loosely based on Scharf's publications. Lydia E. Spence, *Baltimore, Maryland: A Type Study of a Community* (Baltimore: Norman, Remington Co., 1929) is a study guide for teaching elementary school students. Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932) is an informal history of the town to 1829 that adds no new significant historical facts. Gerald W. Johnson's *A Proud Tower in the Town* (Baltimore: Edgar Allan Poe Society, 1937) is a highly interpretative summary of Baltimore's past that is well-written, but more valuable for Johnson's strong notions on the city's future. Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1941) and Francis F. Beirne, *The Amiable Baltimoreans* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1951) are both popular histories of the city that provide good overviews, although they are of minor assistance to the serious researcher. Albert J. Silverman, ed., *Baltimore: City of Promise* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Department of Education, 1953) is a saccharine interpretation of Baltimore's history as seen by senior high school pupils. The only unique publication in the first half of the twentieth century was *Baltimore . . . A Picture History 1858-1958* (New York: Hastings House, 1957) with a commentary by Francis F. Beirne and based primarily on the pictorial collections of the Maryland Historical Society; a later edition was issued in 1968 by Bodine Associates.

The last decade has seen a tremendous amount of activity by professional historians on Baltimore's past. The various subject sections below strongly reflect this but nowhere is it more obvious than with the general histories of the city. The first scholarly general survey of the city was Dennis Rankin Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829: The Genesis of a Community" (Ph.D., Catholic University of America, 1976) which concentrates on the development of the police, education, welfare, and health and which is most valuable for understanding the administration of the city before the advent of a full-fledged municipal government. Joseph L. Arnold's "The Town that Would Not Die; Baltimore Going Strong at 250," *University of Maryland Magazine* 7 (Summer/Fall 1979): 2-8 is a popular history

of the city based upon serious research. More important, however, are the books of Suzanne Ellery Greene and Sherry Olson. Greene's *Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, 1980) is in the tradition of the older booster histories with numerous illustrations and popular business and institutional histories. Greene's text, however, is a solid general introduction to Baltimore's history that is sensitive to the recent scholarly research. Olson's book, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) is the most thorough and scholarly of the general city histories. Written from the perspective of an urban geographer it emphasizes the spatial and topographical development of the metropolis, a new analysis from the older histories; Olson's study provides a framework and hypotheses for future historians.

ARCHITECTURE

Because Baltimore is one of the oldest cities in the United States it contains an enormous variety of architectural styles. Surprisingly, much of it has been retained due to a fairly vigorous historic preservation movement that started in the mid-twentieth century. There are two general studies of Baltimore's architecture. Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953) is a classic work, unfortunately out-of-print. John Dorsey and James D. Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1973) is a popular guide of thirteen walking tours with historical and architectural information; a revised edition appeared in 1981.

The remainder of studies emphasize architectural design of the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Claire Eckels, "Baltimore's Earliest Architects 1785-1820" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1950) traces the transition from post-Revolutionary buildings to the Greek Revival style and includes separate chapters on Robert Cary Long, Sr. and Maximilian Godefroy. Robert L. Raley, "The Baltimore Country-House 1785-1815" (M.A., University of Delaware, 1959) discusses the same period but accentuates the importance of the Irish influence in local domestic architecture and decorative arts. Other studies of this early period include Rodris Roth, "Interior Decoration of City Houses in Baltimore: The Federal Period," *Winterthur Portfolio* 5, ed. Richard K. Doud (Charlottesville: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by the University of Virginia, 1969), pp. 59-86, Robert L. Alexander's superb *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Nineteenth Century Architecture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) on the French architect's important work in Baltimore between 1805 and 1819, and Talbot F. Hamlin's outdated *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), covering the same period and soon to be made obsolete by the Latrobe Papers editorial project. Several excellent single house studies exist including Helen Straw Whitmore, "The Carroll Mansion, 800 East Lombard Street, Baltimore, Maryland: An Historical and Architectural Study" (M.S., University of Maryland, 1969) and Robert L. Alexander, "Baltimore Row Houses of the Early Nineteenth Century" *American Studies* 16 (Fall 1975): 65-76 on Waterloo Row, Pascault Row, Hamilton Street, and Franklin Row. Concerning public buildings of these

years refer to the following: Lee H. Nelson, *An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry* (Philadelphia: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961) chronicling the construction of the fort, 1776–1857; J. Jefferson Miller, II, “The Designs for the Washington Monument in Baltimore,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23 (March 1964): 19–28 and “Baltimore’s Washington Monument” (M.A., University of Delaware, 1962), a history of the designs and construction of the monument in the first part of the nineteenth century; Herbert H. Harwood, Jr., “Mt. Clare Station, America’s Oldest—Or Is It?” *Railroad History* 139 (1978): 39–53 presenting evidence that the station was not built in 1830 but as late as 1851; and Randolph W. Chalfant, “Calvert Station: Its Structure and Significance,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (March 1979): 11–22, a history of the railroad depot from 1847 to the late 1940s.

For further citations to architectural studies and the sources for such research see Richard J. Cox, *Tracing the History of the Baltimore Structure: A Guide to the Primary and Secondary Sources* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Archives and Records Management Office, 1980).

ART AND ARTISTS

As Baltimore rapidly advanced from a country village to a major urban center, it attracted practicing artists and craftsmen. Silversmiths, cabinet makers, and potters were the first to bring to this locality quality products intended for everyday household use and later valued as collectibles. The activities of such craftsmen have been documented in a few valuable studies including John N. Pearce, “The Early Baltimore Potters and Their Wares 1763–1850” (M.A., University of Delaware, 1959) which follows this industry from the first potter, John Brown, to Edwin Bennet, who established Baltimore’s first industrial pottery in 1847; Jacob H. Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715–1830, with Illustrations of Their Silver and Their Marks and With a Facsimile of the Design Book of William Faris* (Harrison, New York: Robert Alan Green, 1972; reprint of 1930 edition) and Jennifer Faulds Goldsborough, *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Maryland Silver in the Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art*, ed. Ann Boyce Harper (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1975), both of which examine Baltimore silversmiths; Dwight P. Lanmon, “The Baltimore Glass Trade, 1780 to 1820,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 5, ed. Richard K. Doud (Charlottesville: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by the University Press of Virginia, 1969), pp. 15–48, concentrating on both local manufacture and importation and providing numerous illustrations; William Voss Elder, III, *Baltimore Painted Furniture 1800–1840* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1972), a profusely illustrated exhibition catalogue listing cabinetmakers and allied tradesmen; John H. Hill, “Furniture Designs of Henry W. Jenkins & Sons Co.,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 5, pp. 154–87, following the evolution of this company from 1799 to 1904; and John H. Hill’s fuller study of “The Furniture Craftsman in Baltimore, 1783–1823” (M.A., University of Delaware, 1967).

Portrait and landscape artists also began to proliferate in Baltimore at the end of the eighteenth century as required by the increasingly cosmopolitan populace.

Jacob H. Pleasants, a pioneer in the research on such Baltimore painters, completed several articles on this subject including *An Early Baltimore Negro Portrait Painter Joshua Johnston* (N.p.: Walpole Society, 1940) and "Joshua Johnston, The First American Negro Portrait Painter," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 37 (June 1942): 121-49; "George Beck, An Early Baltimore Landscape Painter," *ibid.* 35 (September 1940): 241-43, a painter active in the city between 1795 and 1799; and "George William West: A Baltimore Student of Benjamin West," *Art in America* 37 (January 1949): 6-47, on West's career in Baltimore in 1785-95. Beverly Berghaus Chico's "Two American Firsts: Sarah Peale, Portrait Painter, and John Neal, Critic," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 349-59 is an interesting study that considers Baltimorean Neal as author of the "earliest extant detailed art criticism in the United States" and Peale as the first professional woman portrait painter. Philip Tilyard, a contemporary of Neal and Peale who painted portraits in Baltimore in the period 1814-30, is written about by Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., "Philip Tilyard," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 7 (July 1950): 393-405.

In time individual and institutional art collectors emerged in Baltimore. One of this country's first important art collectors, Robert Gilmore (1748-1822), was a Baltimorean and is adequately treated in Anna Wells Rutledge, "Robert Gilmore, Jr. Baltimore Collector," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 12 (1949): 19-39 and Nathalia Wright, "Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor, and Robert Gilmore, Jr., His Baltimore Patron," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 51 (March 1956): 1-13. Baltimore's first museum and one of the earliest in this country, the Peale Museum, was founded in 1814, abandoned two decades later, and resurrected in 1931; Wilbur H. Hunter's *The Peale Family and Peale's Museum, 1814-1830* (Baltimore: Peale Museum, 1965) is the best introduction to its history. After the demise of this early museum, the gallery of the Maryland Historical Society served as a local art museum; Anna Wells Rutledge, "Early Art Exhibitions of the Maryland Historical Society," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 42 (June 1947): 124-36 is an enumeration of exhibitions, publications, and objects displayed at the Society from 1848 to 1907. Kent Roberts Greenfield, *The Museum: Its First Half Century*, annual 1 (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1966) is an illustrated history of the BMA from its founding in 1911 to 1962, and Lilian M.C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857-1909*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) provides details of the formation of the collection of William T. Walters, now the nucleus of the Walters Art Gallery. Edward T. Cone, "The Miss Etta Cone, the Steins, and M'sieu Matisse: A Memoir," *American Scholar* 42 (Summer 1973): 441-60 is an account of these Baltimore art collectors of the early twentieth century.

There are many aspects of Baltimore art and artists not covered adequately. "Baltimore as an Art Center," *Art and Archaeology* 19 (May-June 1925): 210-82 is a collection of articles on architecture, art and art collecting, music, and museums in the city in the early twentieth century, an overview sorely needing a modern counterpart. From the same period there is William Sener Rusk's *Art in Baltimore: Monuments and Memorials* (Baltimore: Norman, Remington Company, 1924), a long out-dated descriptive catalogue of all the Baltimore monuments. Lithography and photography are two art forms virtually neglected

except for Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints, 1752 to 1889; A Selection of the Robert G. Merrick Collection, Maryland Historical Society and Other Maryland Collections* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), more a catalogue than a history, and two popular books on the over emphasized photography of A. Aubrey Bodine (1906–1970) by Harold A. Williams, *Bodine, A Legend in His Time* (Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1971) and *Bodine's Baltimore: 46 Years in the Life of a City* (Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1973).

CULTURAL AND RECREATION HISTORY

Under this broad heading are historical studies of literature, the performing arts, recreation and sports, the media, and libraries and archival repositories, all important parts of the fabric of Baltimore's cultural development. Although Baltimore has lavishly supported such activities since the end of the eighteenth century, their histories generally have been inadequately researched.

In literary circles Edgar Allan Poe and H. L. Mencken are usually associated with Baltimore. So much has been written about both that it is best for researchers to consult two published bibliographies—Betty Adler, *H.L.M.: The Mencken Bibliography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961) and Esther F. Hyneman, *Edgar Allan Poe: An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles in English, 1827–1973* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1974). Additional studies can be found in the annual bibliography published by the Modern Language Association of America.

There are numerous brief studies of nineteenth century literary figures associated with Baltimore. John Pendleton Kennedy, novelist and historian, has received the most attention in Charles H. Bohner, *John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), a full biography concentrating on his literary and historical efforts; Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1871), a biography with extensive quotations from his manuscripts and writings; and William S. Osborne, "John Pendleton Kennedy's Horse Shoe Robinson: A Novel with 'The Utmost Historical Accuracy,'" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (September 1964): 286–96 and "'The Swiss Traveler' Essays: Earliest Literary Writings of John Pendleton Kennedy," *American Literature* 30 (May 1958): 228–33, assessments of one of his novels and essays published in the Baltimore periodical *Portico* in 1816.

Other explorations of nineteenth century literary figures include Marianne Ellis Alexander, "John Hill Hewitt—A Shadow on the Wall; A Study of the Reflections and Contributions of a Nineteenth Century Composer, Editor, and Poet" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1964), discussing his work in the city from 1828 until the early 1840s; George E. Bell, "Emerson and Baltimore: A Biographical Study," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (Winter 1970): 331–68, studying his visits to Baltimore in 1827, the 1840s, and 1872; Ida Gertrude Everson, *George Henry Calvert: American Literary Pioneer*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 160 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), including a chapter on his Baltimore career, 1827–40; Marshall W. Fishwick, "The *Portico* and Literary Nationalism after the War of 1812," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 8 (April 1951): 238–45, a history of the Baltimore journal published from 1816 to 1818 and its editor, John Neal; M. Lochemes,

Robert Walsh: His Story (New York: American Irish Historical Society, 1941), a biography of the Baltimore journalist; Jerry E. Patterson, "Brantz Mayer, Man of Letters," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 52 (December 1957): 275-89, a prominent Baltimore writer and historian; Chilton Latham Powell, "Thackeray in Baltimore," *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* 6 (March 1918): 196-201, an account of his lectures and visits to Baltimore in 1853 and 1856; John Saulsbury Short, "Sidney Lanier, 'Familiar Citizen of the Town,'" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35 (June 1940): 121-46, Lanier's work at the Johns Hopkins University, 1873-81; and W. Bird Terwilliger, "John Nelson McJilton: Humorist, Divine, Educator," *ibid.* 32 (December 1937): 301-31, editor of Baltimore periodicals in the early nineteenth century. There are a few articles on the career of John Stuart Skinner, editor of the *American Farmer*, 1819-30 and 1839-41, and the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 1818-35, consisting of Harold A. Bierck, Jr., "Spoils, Soils, and Skinner," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 49 (March 1954): 21-40 and (June 1954): 143-55 and Harold T. Pinkett, "*The American Farmer: A Pioneer Agricultural Journal, 1819-1834*," *Agricultural History* 24 (July 1950): 146-51.

Other than Mencken the only twentieth century Baltimore literary writer studied is the poet Lizette Woodworth Reese in Carlin T. Kindillien, "The Village World of Lizette Woodworth Reese," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 56 (January 1957): 91-104 about her childhood in Waverly; and Robert D. Rhode, "Lizette W. Reese: 'Fair White Gospeler,'" *Personalist* 31 (October 1950): 390-98, analyzing her poetry; and H. George Hahn, "Twilight Reflections: The Hold of Victorian Baltimore on Lizette Woodworth Reese and H. L. Menchen," *Maryland Historian* 11 (Spring 1980): 29-37.

There are a few considerations of Baltimore periodicals and literary clubs: Paul M. Haberland, "The Reception of German Literature in Baltimore's Literary Magazines, 1800-1875," *German-American Studies* 7 (Spring 1974): 69-92, which includes a chronological bibliography of articles and a list of German authors; William Bird Terwilliger, "A History of Literary Periodicals in Baltimore" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1941), covering the years 1793-1940; John Earle Uhler, "Literary Taste and Culture in Baltimore; A Study of the Periodical Literature in Baltimore from 1815 to 1833" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1927), including chapters on periodicals, books, cultural institutions, literary groups, and the theatre and with an appendix on books advertised, alphabetically arranged by title; John Earle Uhler, "The Delphian Club: A Contribution to the Literary History of Baltimore in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 20 (December 1925): 305-46, an organization of 1816-25; and William D. Hoyt, Jr., ed., "The Monday Club," *ibid.* 49 (December 1954): 301-13, an edition of John Pendleton Kennedy's notes on this club, 1835-41.

Dance and the movies, both of which have been important to the city, unfortunately, have attracted the attention of few scholars. Chrystelle T. Bond, "A Chronicle of Dance in Baltimore, 1780-1814," *Dance Perspective* 17 (Summer 1976): 1-48 is an excellent introduction to this subject, although it is the solitary study. The cinema is only treated in one popular volume, Robert Kirk Headley, Jr., *Exit: A History of Movies in Baltimore* (University Park, Maryland: Privately printed, 1974), covering 1894 to 1974 and listing every movie house.

Music has been an important part of the city's character since its beginning and fared somewhat better at the hands of historians. Thomas S. Eader, "Baltimore Organs and Organ Building," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (Fall 1970): 263-82 is a history from the first organ at St. Paul's in 1750 until the early nineteenth century. Other research concerning music in Baltimore include William D. Gettel, "Arthur Clifton's *Enterprise*," *American Musicological Society Journal* 2 (Spring 1949): 23-35, an opera by Philip Anthony Corri performed in Baltimore in 1822; Otilie Sutro, "The Wednesday Club: A Brief Sketch from Authentic Sources," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38 (March 1943): 60-68, an amateur music and dramatic club of 1858-86; James Morfit Mallen, "Tchaikowsky's Visit to Baltimore," *ibid.* 34 (March 1939): 41-45, description of an 1891 visit; Kenneth Clark, *Baltimore "Cradle of Municipal Music"* (Baltimore: City of Baltimore, 1941), a review of the municipal Department of Music, 1916-41, and the early years of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra; Blanche Klasmer Cohen, "Benjamin Klasmer's Contribution to Baltimore's Musical History," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72 (Summer 1977): 272-76, a brief analysis of one of the founders of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra; and Gustav Klemm, "Gustav Strube: The Man and the Musician," *Musical Quarterly* 28 (July 1942): 288-301, a Baltimore composer, faculty member of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, and conductor of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

Baltimore's theatre has been well outlined from the eighteenth century to the present. Robert David Ritchey, "A History of the Baltimore Stage in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1971) is the fullest history of the earliest performances of 1772 to 1800; a portion of the dissertation has been published in his "The Philadelphia Company Performs in Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Spring 1976): 80-85, covering 1794-1802. Other studies of these early days include Lynn Hains, "First American Theatre Contracts: Wall and Lindsay's Maryland Company of Comedians, and the Annapolis, Fell's Point, and Baltimore Theatres, 1781-1783," *Theatre Survey* 17 (November 1976): 174-94, the first professional troupe to perform in America after the American Revolution; Milbourne Christopher, "Magic in Early Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38 (December 1943): 323-30, covering magic shows of 1787-1812; Douglas Alexander, II, "Stendhal and Violence on the Baltimore Stage," *ibid.* 66 (Spring 1971): 68-71, the period of the 1820s; and Mildred Albert Greenfield, "Early History of the Theatre in Baltimore" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1953), a survey up to the 1870s. Studies of individual theaters or troupes include Mitchell Gold, "The Front Street Theatre (From Its Beginning to 1838)" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1949), a theater opened in 1829; Clyde Victor Kuemmerle, Jr., "A History of Ford's Grand Opera House, Baltimore: From its Origin in 1871 to Its Demise in 1964" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1965); Gordon Wallace Wilson, "The Holliday Street Theatre, Baltimore: Chapters from Its History" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1949), 1794-1917; Linda Lee Koenig, "A History of the Vagabond Players, Baltimore, Maryland, 1916-1978" (Ph.D., Bowling Green State University, 1978); Joanna Halpert Kraus, "A History of the Children's Theatre Association of Baltimore, Maryland from 1943-1966," (Ed.D., Columbia University Teachers College, 1972), the first children's theater in Maryland; and

A.E. Zucker, "The History of the German Theater in Baltimore," *Germanic Review* 18 (April 1943): 123-35, from its beginning in the 1840s to its termination in the 1870s.

The media has been neglected by historians with the exception of Ward L. Miner's biography of *William Goddard, Newspaperman* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962), founder of the *Maryland Journal* in 1773; Norval Neil Luxon, *Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), a sketch of Hezekiah Niles, Baltimore publisher and editor of the first half of the nineteenth century; and Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H. L. Mencken, and Hamilton Owens, *The Sunpapers of Baltimore 1837-1937* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937).

Sports and recreation also have been almost totally neglected. There are a number of biographies of Babe Ruth but these focus on his life in professional baseball away from Baltimore. Other sketches include James H. Bready, *The Home Team: 100 Years of Baseball in Baltimore* (Baltimore: Privately printed, 1958), an uneven popular history which has gone through a number of editions up to 1979; John H. Lancaster, "Baltimore, A Pioneer in Organized Baseball," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35 (March 1940): 32-55, covering 1869-1930; and Robert V. Lefler, Jr., "The History of Black Baseball in Baltimore, 1913-1951" (M.A., Morgan State University, 1974). An encouraging sign is the new study by Patricia Catherine Click, "Leisure in the Upper South in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Trends in Baltimore, Norfolk, and Richmond" (Ph.D., University of Virginia, 1980) which examines the use of leisure time and changing attitudes toward it.

Libraries have been an important part of the cultural life of the city since the mid-eighteenth century. One of the oldest libraries has been chronicled in "The Library Company of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 12 (December 1917): 297-311, via a group of documents concerning its formation in 1795, and Stuart C. Sherman, "The Library Company of Baltimore, 1795-1854," *ibid.* 39 (March 1944): 6-24, its entire history until its absorption by the Maryland Historical Society in 1854. Following in importance to this library was the Peabody Institute Library discussed in Roseann Kahn, "A History of the Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, Maryland, 1857-1916" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1953); Ray E. Robinson, "The Peabody Institute of Baltimore: Ideas Implicit in its Founding," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 106 (January 1970): 54-61; and Samuel Eliot Morison, *Nathaniel Holmes Morison, 1815-1890, Provost of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, 1867-1890* (Baltimore: Peabody Institute, 1957). In recent years the Peabody library was taken over by the Enoch Pratt Free Library which has been the dominant Baltimore library during the twentieth century. A full history of this library is available in Philip Arthur Kalisch, *The Enoch Pratt Free Library: A Social History* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1969). Another briefer view of its early development is Luther H. Evans, "The First Sixty Years; The Enoch Pratt Free Library: An Appreciation," *Library Journal* 71 (February 15, 1946): 227-35. Histories of other Baltimore-based libraries include Mary Leona Williams, "History and Description of the Baltimore Archdiocesan Library Council," (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1960); Madge Kirby, "A History of the Goucher College Library,

Baltimore, Maryland, 1885-1949" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1952); Janet B. Koudelka, "A History of the Johns Hopkins Medical Libraries, 1889-1935: A Chapter in the Medical Library Movement in the United States" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1963); Vivian B. Owings, "A History of the Library of Morgan State College from 1867 to 1939" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1952); and Mary Elizabeth Nichols, "A Historical Survey of the Library of the College of Notre Dame of Maryland" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1957). One of the city's greatest private libraries has been briefly covered by *John Work Garrett and His Library at Evergreen House* (Baltimore: Privately printed, 1944) which includes a biographical sketch of Garrett (1872-1942) and a 1929 paper by Garrett describing the evolution of his collection.

In the early years of library development local publishing houses competed with libraries and actually viewed themselves as libraries. For this see the controversy in the early 1820s between booksellers and book auctioneers as described in Richard J. Cox, "An Early Dispute in the Baltimore Trade," *AB Bookman's Weekly* 64 (September 17, 1979): 1734-42. Other histories include James William Foster, "Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th Century Publisher of Fine Books and Maps," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 65 (October 1955): 161-212; Richard Tommey, "Fielding Lucas, Jr., First Major Catholic Publisher and Bookseller in Baltimore, Maryland, 1804-1854" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1952); Lawrence Schlegel, "The Publishing House of John Murphy of Baltimore: The First Forty Years, with a List of Publications" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1961); and Helen Jean Harris, "A History of Joseph Ruzicka, Inc., Library Bookbinders, 1758-1950" (M.L.S., Catholic University of America, 1953).

There have been a number of archival repositories in the Baltimore area but few have been researched and written about. The only histories available are for the Maryland Historical Society's manuscript division and the Baltimore City Archives, all by Richard J. Cox: "The Historical Development of the Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974): 409-17, covering 1844 to the late 1960s; "Manuscript Usage in the Private Historical Society: Maryland as a Case Study, 1970-1976," *Manuscripts* 29 (Fall 1977): 243-51; and "The Plight of American Municipal Archives: Baltimore, 1729-1979," *American Archivist* 42 (July 1979): 281-92, a background history of the reorganization of that archives starting in 1978.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Most of the research on the economic history of Baltimore either concerns the pre-Civil War years or consists of little more than sympathetic commemorative histories of industries and commercial institutions. Baltimore also lacks an outline of the economic development of the City except for Pearle Blood, "Factors in the Economic Development of Baltimore, Maryland," *Economic Geography* 13 (April 1937): 187-208 which considers the selection of the town site, the development of commerce and the influence of the Baltimore Clipper, the importance of Latin American and Western trade, the impact of the American Civil War, and its industrialization. The only other efforts at such overviews are Frank R. Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in

Historical and Political Science, 15th series, no. 9 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897) and Robert W. Thon, Jr., *Mutual Savings Banks in Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 53, no. 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), both of which are obviously outdated and restricted to a single aspect of the city's economic history. Charles A. Hales, *The Baltimore Clearing House* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), studying the efforts at regulating commercial banking business from 1858 to the 1930s, is one of the few institutional studies of any value. David Chilcoat Osborn, "A History of the Lexington Market in Baltimore, Maryland" (M.A., Pennsylvania State University, 1952) is the solitary history of Baltimore's municipal market system which started in the eighteenth century.

Baltimore's transition from town to major city in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is the most thoroughly researched period of Baltimore's economic development. Clarence P. Gould, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1966; originally published 1931), pp. 225-51 is a classic pathfinding essay still worth consulting. Jack Usher Mow11, "The Economic Development of Eighteenth Century Baltimore" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1954) follows the city from a tobacco center to a center for the grain trade and other commerce. A different approach to understanding Baltimore's early economic development is taken by James F. Faull, "The Structural Growth of the Port of Baltimore 1729-1814" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1973) which concentrates on the evolution of structural forms in the harbor area.

Specific aspects of the economic growth are adequately treated in Keach Johnson, "The Establishment of the Baltimore Company: A Case Study of the American Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D., Iowa State University, 1949) and two related articles, "The Genesis of the Baltimore Ironworks," *Journal of Southern History* 19 (May 1953): 157-79 and "The Baltimore Company Seeks English Markets: A Study of the Anglo-American Iron Trade, 1731-1755," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 16 (January 1959): 37-60; Mary Jane Dowd, "The State in the Maryland Economy, 1776-1807," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 57 (June 1962): 90-132 and (September 1962): 229-58, a study of the state government's regulation of business with numerous comments on Baltimore-based firms; Geoffrey N. Gilbert, "Baltimore's Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750-1815" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1975) and an abstract in *Journal of Economic History* 37 (March 1977): 249-51; G. Terry Sharrer, "Flour Milling in the Growth of Baltimore, 1750-1830," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 322-33 and "Flour Milling and the Growth of Baltimore, 1783-1830" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1975); Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789-1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (March 1966): 24-36, which emphasizes Baltimore; and Rhoda M. Dorsey, "The Pattern of Baltimore Commerce During the Confederation Period," *ibid.* 62 (June 1967): 119-34, an investigation based upon the Customs House records, 1780-87.

Several studies focusing upon specific years within this early period are Paul Kent Walker's "Business and Commerce in Baltimore on the Eve of Indepen-

dence," *ibid.* 71 (Fall 1976): 296-309 and "The Baltimore Community and the American Revolution: A Study in Urban Development, 1763-1783" (Ph.D., University of North Carolina, 1973) and Richard M. Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore in 1800: Economic and Occupational Patterns in an Early American City," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974): 341-60, a study utilizing the 1798 property tax list of the Federal assessment and the 1800-1801 city directory.

The relation of Baltimore to its hinterland has been neglected except for Jane N. Garrett, "Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1790-1840: A Study of Intra-Regional Unity," *ibid.* 55 (March 1960): 1-13 and James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry 1780-1860* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947).

There exist only a few studies of individual merchants of this period—Rhoda M. Dorsey, "The Conduct of Business in Baltimore, 1783-1785: As Seen in the Letterbook of Johnson, Johonnot, and Co.," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (September 1960): 230-42; Pamela Bahr Satek, "William Lux of Baltimore: 18th-Century Merchant," (M.A., University of Maryland, 1974), a lengthy edited version of his letterbooks of 1763-68; Stuart Weems Bruchey, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1809*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 74, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1956); and John W. McGrain, "Englehart Cruse and Baltimore's First Steam Mill," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Spring 1976): 65-79, a history of the first grain mill in America powered by steam, established in the late 1780s. The life of the common worker in this period is considered in the recent dissertation by Charles G. Steffen, "Between Revolutions: The Pre-Factory Urban Worker in Baltimore, 1780-1820" (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1977) and a subsequent article, "Changes in the Organization of Artisan Production in Baltimore, 1790 to 1820," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 36 (January 1979): 101-17.

Baltimore in the Middle Period, the years of the early nineteenth century to the Civil War, has received somewhat less attention. Gary L. Browne's *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) is a detailed study following Baltimore from a private and aristocratic society of the eighteenth century to a public and democratic society of the nineteenth; much of this study concerns the economic development of the city as seen by his derivative article, "The Evolution of Baltimore's Marketing Controls over Agriculture" *Maryland Historian* 11 (Spring 1980): 1-11. Also very important are the two articles by Edward K. Muller and Paul A. Groves showing the effect of industrialization in the city in the nineteenth century, "The Changing Location of the Clothing Industry: A Link to the Social Geography of Baltimore in the Nineteenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 403-20 and "The Emergence of Industrial Districts in Mid-Nineteenth Century Baltimore," *Geographical Review* 69 (April 1979): 159-78.

Beyond these studies the literature is rather meager and includes Peter Lester Payne and Lance Edwin Davis, *The Savings Bank of Baltimore, 1818-1866: A Historical and Analytical Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956); Edwin J. Perkins, "Financing Antebellum Importers: The Role of Brown Bros. & Co. in Baltimore," *Business History Review* 45 (Winter 1971): 421-51 and his full history of the firm, *Financing Anglo-American Trade: The House of Brown 1800-1880*

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Laura Bornholdt, *Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism: A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine*, Smith College Studies in History, vol. 39 (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College, 1949) which also emphasizes political developments; Collamer Abbott, "Isaac Tyson, Jr.: Pioneer Mining Engineer and Metallurgist," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 60 (March 1965): 15-25 and "Isaac Tyson, Jr.: Pioneer Industrialist," *Business History Review* 42 (Spring 1968): 67-83; Joseph G. Blandi, *Maryland Business Corporations 1783-1852*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 52, no. 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934), an analysis of charters granted by the state, including many based in Baltimore; W. Ray Luce, "The Cohen Brothers of Baltimore: From Lotteries to Banking," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 68 (Summer 1973): 288-300, the businesses of Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., 1812-1840s; William Bruce Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community and the Secession Crisis, 1860-61" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1952); G. Heberton Evans, Jr. and Walter C. Kanwisher, Jr., "Business Organization in Baltimore, 1859" *Journal of Political Economy* 62 (February 1954): 63-67, a comparison with Hartford, Connecticut and Lowell, Massachusetts; Kathryn Laura Behrens, "The Commerce of Baltimore 1812-1861" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1919); and Kathleen Mary Neils, "Trade Relations between Bremen and Baltimore during the 1830's" (M.A., University of Delaware, 1966).

From the end of the Civil War to the present is a period that has stimulated few studies. Alan Anderson, *The Origin and Resolution of an Urban Crisis Baltimore, 1890-1930*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Urban Affairs (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), a study of economic development and progressive political reforms, is a recent study that is an important exception to the neglect of this era. Sherry H. Olson, "Baltimore Imitates the Spider," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (December 1979): 557-74, considers eighteen year "long swings" in urban construction emphasizing the period 1865-78 and Baltimore investors. Other valuable works include Eleanor S. Bruchey, "The Development of Baltimore Business, 1880-1914," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64 (Spring 1969): 18-42 and (Summer 1969): 144-60, a summation of her 1967 dissertation of the same title completed at the Johns Hopkins University; H. Findlay French and Ralph J. Robinson, *Baltimore Industrial Development 1919-1950; Specifically the Background, Establishment and Operations of the Industrial Bureau with Sidelights on the Location History of Some Well Known Companies* (Baltimore: Privately printed, 1964); and Charles M. Kimberly, "The Depression in Maryland: The Failure of Voluntaryism," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Summer 1975): 189-202. Two unusual studies related to the reaction of labor to Baltimore's economic development are Mary Askew Backer, "The Attitude of the Baltimore Newspapers Toward Labor in 1886" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1953) and I. Duke Avnet, "Pat Whalen," *Phylon* 12 (September 1951): 249-54, an account of Whalen's strike of seamen in Baltimore's port in 1936.

EDUCATION

The research and writing on Baltimore educational history divides into several main subject areas. The Baltimore public school system, one of the oldest systems

in the United States, has had a number of studies, including some excellent recent ones. The Catholic system, thanks to a significant amount of research spurred on by the Catholic University of America, has been fairly well-documented. There has been a quantity of writing on area colleges and universities, especially the Johns Hopkins University, although this subject, like others relating to Baltimore's educational history, deserves much more work.

Vernon Sebastian Vavrina's "The History of Public Education in the City of Baltimore, 1829-1956" (Ph.D., Catholic University of America, 1958) is the most serious effort at an overview of the history of the public school system; other attempts include Harry William Krausse, "History of Public Education in Baltimore from 1860-1890" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1943); Katherine Theresa Valentine, "Trends in the Development of Public Secondary Education in Baltimore, 1839-1927" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1931); and Katherine F. Muesse, "Primary Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore from 1829 to 1929" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1931).

The position of minorities in the public system has received more observation by historians including Ernest J. Becker, "History of the English-German Schools in Baltimore," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1942): 13-17, a review of this special program of 1873-1917; Joel Acus Carrington, "The Struggle for Desegregation of Baltimore City Public Schools 1952-1966," (Ed.D., University of Maryland, 1970), Samuel Lee Banks, "A Descriptive Study of the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners as an Agent in School Desegregation, 1952-1964," (Ed.D., George Washington University, 1976), and Julia Roberta O'Wesney, "Historical Study of the Progress of Racial Desegregation in the Public Schools of Baltimore, Maryland" (Ed.D., University of Maryland, 1970), all analyses of the influence of the Supreme Court desegregation case; Donald Austin Hobbs, "The Impact of Immigrant Groups on the Public School System of Baltimore" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1960), a consideration of the problems generated by immigration from the beginning of the school system up to 1959; Bettye C. Thomas, "Public Education and Black Protest in Baltimore 1865-1900," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 381-91, an analysis of the movement to provide public education for the Black community, limited to private schools until 1867; and Bettye Gardner, "Ante-bellum Black Education in Baltimore," *ibid.* 71 (Fall 1976): 360-66, a study of the education of Blacks just prior to their absorption into the public school system.

Other studies relating to Baltimore's public system include Lawrence Erwin Block, "The History of the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore City: A Study of the Internal Politics of Education" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1972), a history of the association founded in 1849 emphasizing its transformation in the 1920s to an organization supporting better teachers' benefits; Diane Louise Keely, "Conflict Group Formation: The Development of the Baltimore Teachers Union" (Ph.D., Fordham University, 1976), a history of the union from 1934 to 1970; Bayly Ellen Marks, "Liberal Education in the Gilded Age: Baltimore and the Creation of the Manual Training School," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (September 1979): 238-52, the origins of the school founded in 1884, "the first secondary technical or industrial school in the country which was entirely supported by public funds"; Marilyn Paul, "The Van Sickle Affair: A Case Study in Progressive School Reform" (M.A., Johns Hopkins

University, 1967), discussing education in Baltimore between 1870 and 1900 and investigating the innovations of superintendent James Van Sickle's administration, 1900-1911; and Naomi B. Pemberton, "A Critical Analysis and Interpretation of Trends in Curriculum Development in the Elementary School in Baltimore, Maryland, from 1900-1954" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1957). A unique study among those of both private and public education is that of James Long Fisher, "The Origin and Development of Public School Music in Baltimore to 1870" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1970), one of the first American cities to have had such a program, updated by Richard Alan Disharoon's "A History of Municipal Music in Baltimore, 1914-1947" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1980).

Catholic education has been an essential part of Baltimore life since the beginning of the town. Despite this the best studies are still largely unpublished theses. Catholic elementary and secondary education has been covered by Mary Leonita Buckner, "The History of Catholic Elementary Education in the City of Baltimore" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1948) and Mary John Garrity, Sr., "The Growth and Development of Catholic Secondary Education for Girls in Baltimore and Vicinity from Colonial Times to the Present" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1942). Most of the historical research on this subject has centered on institutions including Mary Almira Kelly, "A History of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in Maryland" (M.A., Catholic University, 1944) and Mary Maurelian Walter, "Contributions of the School Sisters of Notre Dame to Catholic Education in the State of Maryland" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1943), both of which discuss their work from 1847 and numerous Baltimore schools; Mary Roberta Wagner, "The Educational Program of Mount Saint Agnes Academy and High School, 1867 . . . 1947 . . ." (Ed.M., Johns Hopkins University, 1947); Joseph Williams Ruane, "The Founding of Saint Mary's College, Baltimore, 1799-1812" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1933); James Joseph Kartendick, "The History of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, 1799-1852" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1942); Dorothy Louise Mackay Quynn, "Dangers of Subversion in an American Education: A French View, 1801," *Catholic Historical Review* 39 (April 1953): 28-35, a report on the French and Spanish school run by the Sulpicians in Baltimore; and Cyril Witte, "A History of St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys in Baltimore 1866-1950" (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 1955) and an earlier study by Francis Eleanor Montgomery, "A History of St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1932).

The only other parochial education studied thoroughly is that of the Jewish community in Raymond Bloom, "History of Jewish Education in Baltimore During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (Ph.D., Dropsie University, 1972) and the Quakers in William Cook Dunlap, *Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings with an Account of Certain Meetings of Delaware and the Eastern Shore Affiliates with Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1936).

The Baltimore metropolitan area has supported a number of colleges and universities, many dating back to the nineteenth century. The Johns Hopkins University is by far the most famous, founded in 1876, and, as a result, the subject of a number of excellent studies; moreover, the *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*,

founded in 1912, and its successor, the *Johns Hopkins Magazine*, started in 1950, both have contained numerous articles which should be consulted by researchers. The early years of the school have been documented by Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960); Francesco Cordasco, *Daniel Coit Gilman and the Protean Ph.D.: The Shaping of American Graduate Education* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), concerning his career as Hopkins president from 1876 to 1906; Louis Damarian Corson, "University Problems as Described in the Personal Correspondence Among D. C. Gilman, A. D. White, and C. W. Eliot" (Ph.D., Stanford University, 1952); Philip Ward Payton, "Origins of the Terms 'Major' and 'Minor' in American Higher Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 1 (June 1961): 57-63, developments in the graduate program of the Johns Hopkins University in the 1870s; Solomon Willis Rudy, "Eliot and Gilman: The History of An Academic Friendship," *Teachers College Record* 54 (March 1953): 307-18; and Wendell H. Stephenson, "Herbert B. Adams and Southern Historical Scholarship at the Johns Hopkins University," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 42 (March 1947): 1-20, the career of Adams, 1876-1901.

Other works on the latter years of Hopkins include J. B. Donnelly, "The Vision of Scholarship: Johns Hopkins After the War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (June 1978): 137-62; John C. French, *A History of the University Founded By Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), an overview; William H. McClain, "William Kurrelmeyer: German-American 1874-1957," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 37 (1978): 8-18, a biographical study of the professor in the Department of German at Hopkins; and Stephen Patrick Randolph, "Emigration, Alteration, Conformation: James Franck in Baltimore, 1935-1938" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1975), about the labors of the German physicist at Hopkins.

Other studies on Baltimore colleges and universities include Ralph Rodney Fields, "A Case Study of Major Educational Changes in a Two Year College: The Democratization of Baltimore Junior College, 1947-1970" (Ed.D., Columbia University, 1971), the factors for the change from an elite and conservative institution to a democratic and liberal one; Anna H. Knipp and Thaddeus P. Thomas, *The History of Goucher College* (Baltimore: Goucher College, 1938), a history of the college founded in 1885 as the Woman's College of Baltimore; Martha S. Putney, "The Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers: Its Founders and Its Founding," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72 (Summer 1977): 238-52 and "The Formative Years of Maryland's First Black Postsecondary School," *ibid.* 73 (June 1978): 168-79, the story of the origins of the Bowie State College in the 1860s to the end of that century; Ray Edwin Robinson, "The Peabody Conservatory: An American Solution to a European Musical Philosophy" (D.M.E., Indiana University, 1969), history of the Baltimore conservatory founded in 1857; Elam Ray Sprenkle, "The Life and Works of Louis Cheslock" (D.M.A., Peabody Institute of The Johns Hopkins University, Peabody Conservatory of Music, 1979), a biography of a member of the Baltimore Symphony (1916-37), of the Saturday Night Club (1928-50), and of the faculty of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, (1922-76); Nicholas Varga, "Ninety-five Pioneers: The First Students Enrolled at Loyola College, 1852-53," *Maryland*

Historical Magazine 66 (Summer 1971): 181-93; Herbert Chester Whitney, "The Origin and Development of the Baltimore Junior College" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1949), attempts at founding a junior college in Baltimore from the 1860s and the founding and first two years of the Baltimore Junior College, 1947-49; and Edward N. Wilson, *The History of Morgan State College: A Century of Purpose in Action, 1867-1967* (Washington, D.C.: Vantage Press, 1975), a rather superficial administrative history by the school's former registrar-bursar.

A few more specialized studies of Baltimore education are Cecilia Cain Farley, "History of Vocational Education in Baltimore Since 1918" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1947); Alexandra Lee Levin, "Henrietta Szold and the Russian Immigrant School," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 57 (March 1962): 1-15, Szold's school for Russian Jews, 1889-98; and Augustus J. Prahl, "History of the German Gymnastic Movement of Baltimore," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1945): 16-29, a brief summary of the political and educational movement from 1849 to the 1930s.

ETHNIC, BLACK, AND WOMEN'S HISTORY

Although there has been a great upsurge of interest in the United States in the past two decades regarding Ethnic, Black, and Women's history, these subjects as they relate to Baltimore have just begun to be studied. The only efforts to discuss the general influence of these elements of the populace have been Ann Marie Hisley, "An Historical Analysis of the Development of Baltimore Dialect" (M.A., University of Maryland, 1964), emphasizing the English, Scotch-Irish, and German influence on the local speech; Joseph Garonzik, "The Racial and Ethnic Make-up of Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1850-70," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 392-402; and James V. Crotty, "Baltimore Immigration, 1790-1830, with Special Reference to Its German, Irish, and French Phases" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1951). Researchers might also wish to examine Richard J. Cox, "Historical Demographers, Local Historians, and Genealogists: A Bibliographical Essay of Maryland Studies," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 21 (Winter 1980): 5-17, a bibliographical essay of recent studies on Maryland and Baltimore designed to introduce genealogists and general readers to the recent historical literature.

Of all the elements of the populace, the Black community has received the most attention. William Joseph Fletcher, "The Contribution of the Faculty of Saint Mary's Seminary to the Solution of Baltimore's San Domingan Negro Problems, 1793-1852" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1951), considering that institution's efforts to ease racial tensions magnified by the influx of Black San Domingans, is the only work touching upon the eighteenth century. Bettye Jane Gardner, "Free Blacks in Baltimore, 1800-1860" (Ph.D., George Washington University, 1974) and Bettye Collier Thomas, "The Baltimore Black Community: 1865-1910" (Ph.D., George Washington University, 1974) provide an excellent overview of this racial group's place in Baltimore in the nineteenth century. Most of the other studies also relate to the nineteenth century, especially on abolitionist activities and economic conditions: M. Ray Della, Jr., "The Problems of Negro Labor in the 1850's" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (Spring 1971): 14-32 and "An Analysis of Baltimore's Population in the 1850's," *ibid.* 68 (Spring 1973): 20-

35; Lawrence H. McDonald, "Prelude to Emancipation: The Failure of the Great Reaction in Maryland, 1831-1850" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1974), contrasting Baltimore to the rural slave system; Richard B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southern History* 14 (1948): 385-400, efforts of the Baltimore City Jail to suppress Blacks, 1831-93; Hazel C. Wolf, "An Abolition Martyrdom in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 47 (September 1952): 224-33, the jailing of New England abolitionist Charles Turner Torrey in Baltimore, 1844-46; Aaron Stopak, "The Maryland State Colonization Society: Independent State Action in the Colonization Movement," *ibid.* 63 (September 1968): 275-98, a good outline of the Baltimore-based organization founded in 1831; Cubert Edward Allen, "The Slavery Question as Seen in the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Baltimore Catholic Mirror* (1850-1865)" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1935); Joseph Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870" (Ph.D., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), a study of the largest black urban population in America and its place in the community; Philip S. Foner, "The First Negro Meeting in Maryland," *ibid.* 66 (Spring 1971): 60-67, description of a meeting at the Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864 to encourage volunteers for the Union Army; Foner, "Address of Frederick Douglass at the Inauguration of Douglass Institute, Baltimore, October 1, 1865," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (April 1969): 174-83, an institute formed for the "intellectual advancement of the colored portion of the community"; William George Paul, "The Shadow of Equality: The Negro in Baltimore, 1864-1911" (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1972), an analysis of civil rights as it affected health, education, housing, and employment; Bettye C. Thomas, "A Nineteenth Century Black Operated Shipyard, 1866-1884: Reflections Upon Its Inception and Ownership," *Journal of Negro History* 59 (January 1974): 1-12, the Chesapeake Marine Railway and Dry Dock Company located in Fells Point; Paul A. Groves and Edward K. Muller, "The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Late Nineteenth-Century Cities," *Journal of Historical Geography* 1 (no. 2, 1975): 169-91, comparing Baltimore and Washington, D.C.; and Grace Hill Jacob, "The Negro in Baltimore, 1860-1900" (M.A., Howard University, 1945) and Elaine Freeman, "Negro Leadership in Baltimore at the End of the Nineteenth Century" (M.A., George Washington University, 1970), general surveys.

The only studies that treat Baltimore Blacks in the twentieth century are Henry J. McGuinn, "The Courts and the Occupational Status of Negroes in Maryland," *Social Forces* 18 (October 1939): 256-68, tracing attempts to open up occupations to Blacks, 1877-1930s; Jane L. Phelps, "Charles J. Bonaparte and Negro Suffrage in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 54 (December 1959): 33-52, his campaign to end the disenfranchisement of Blacks in Baltimore and the state, 1906-1909; Herbert Lee West, "Urban Life and Spatial Distribution of Blacks in Baltimore, Maryland" (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1973), 1940-70; Homer Eli Favor, "The Effects of Racial Changes in Occupancy Patterns Upon Property Values in Baltimore" (Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 1960), 1947-58; and the image of Blacks in local newspapers in Clarence G. Contee, "The American Negro as Portrayed by the *Baltimore Sun*, 1901-1904" (M.A., Howard University, 1953) and Luther Craven Mitchell, "The Attitude of the Baltimore

Sun Papers toward the Negro from 1940–Pearl Harbor Attack” (M.A., Howard University, 1944). A very recent study considering modern economic and political problems of Blacks is Roderick N. Ryon, “An Ambiguous Legacy: Baltimore Blacks and the CIO, 1936–1941” *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Winter 1980): 18–33.

Among Baltimore ethnic groups the Germans and Jews are the most frequently studied. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948) is a classic study of the Maryland Germans from 1640 to 1940 that contains considerable information on Baltimore. A few more recent works have updated Cunz, most notably Moses Aberbach, “The Early German Jews of Baltimore,” *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 35 (1972): 27–36, extending to the Civil War, and Klaus Wust, “Direct German Immigration to Maryland in the 18th Century (A Preliminary Survey),” *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 37 (1978): 19–28. Other histories of interest are Vincent J. Fecher, *A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore (1787–1802)* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1955), about efforts to create separate Catholic parishes; and Marth J. Vill, “Immigrants and Ownership: Home Mortgage Financing in Baltimore, 1865–1914,” *Geographical Perspectives on Maryland's Past*, eds. Robert D. Mitchell and Edward K. Muller (College Park, Maryland: Department of Geography, University of Maryland, Occasional Paper, no. 4, 1979), pp. 150–67 and “Land Tenure, Property Ownership and Home Mortgages in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of Baltimore's Germans” (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1976).

For the Baltimore Jews there are two general histories, the outdated Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore: An Historical Summary of Their Progress and Status as Citizens of Baltimore from Early Days to the Year Nineteen Hundred and Ten* (Baltimore and Washington, D.C.: Historical Review Publishing Company, 1910) and the popular Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of An American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970). Ira Rosenwaike recently has been covering the growth of the Jewish community in “The Jews of Baltimore to 1810,” *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 64 (June 1975): 291–320; “1810 to 1820,” *ibid.* 67 (December 1977): 101–24; and “1820 to 1830,” *ibid.* 67 (March 1978): 246–59. Other research includes Lauraine Levy Kartman, “Jewish Occupational Roots in Baltimore at the Turn of the Century,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (March 1979): 52–61, a study based upon the Workmen's Circle Insurance Ledger Book (1911–1916) and a local midwife's records (1895–1914); two books by Alexandra Lee Levin, *The Szolds of Lombard Street: A Baltimore Family, 1859–1909* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960) and *Dare to Be Different: A Biography of Louis H. Levin of Baltimore* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1972), the editor of the *Baltimore Jewish Comment*; and Ann L. Lipton, “Anywhere So Long as It Be Free: A Study of the Cohen Family of Richmond and Baltimore, 1773–1826” (M.A., College of William and Mary, 1973).

Other ethnic groups are treated sparingly by scholars: Walter Charlton Hartridge, “The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland,” *Maryland*

Historical Magazine 38 (June 1943): 103-22, concerning the settlement of the French refugees in Baltimore after 1793; Martin Sidney Rushford, "A Social Study of the Irish in Baltimore (1813-1858)" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1933), examines immigration, occupation, home location, and civic, political, and parochial activities; LeRoy Votto, "Social Dynamics in a Boom-Town: The Scots-Irish in Baltimore 1760-1790" (M.A., University of Virginia, 1969); Sara Jean Reilly, "The Italian Immigrants: 1920-1930; A Case Study in Baltimore" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1962), a very full study looking at settlement, organizations, the influence of religion, education, politics, crime, and the impact of restrictive immigration laws and the running for President by a Catholic in 1928; and Abraham Makofsky, "Tradition and Change in the Lumbee Indian Community of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 75 (March 1980): 55-71, a background history of the Lumbees in North Carolina, their migration to Baltimore after the Second World War, and their lifestyle in Baltimore—based upon a dissertation of the same title completed at the Catholic University of America in 1971.

There are several good studies of Baltimore women including Kathryn Allamong Jacob, "The Woman's Lot in Baltimore Town, 1729-97," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 283-95 and "The Women of Baltimore Town: A Social History 1729-1797" (M.A., Georgetown University, 1975), both of which examine marriage, childrearing, social roles, business women, property ownership, and legal status; Patricia Ann McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1976), a study of participation in the political, social, and cultural activities of the city; and Cynthia Horsburgh Requardt, "Alternative Professions for Goucher College Graduates, 1892-1910," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (September 1979): 274-81.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, PUBLIC UTILITIES, AND MARITIME HISTORY

There are numerous studies of Baltimore internal improvements, public utilities, and maritime activities, but their coverage is uneven and more often the products of antiquarians and amateurs that contain a good amount of misinformation. The following studies are, however, among the better ones and of value to the researcher.

Baltimore's development and, indeed its very survival, has since its beginning been tied to its port and waterways. Harold Kanarek, *The Mid-Atlantic Engineers: A History of the Baltimore District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1774-1974* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978) is an excellent administrative history that considers the corps' work on fortifications, internal improvement, flood control, recreation, and water supply and is especially important for its consideration of the development of Baltimore's harbor. Baltimore was an early shipbuilding center and a few studies of early shipbuilders are available: James E. Hancock, "The Baltimore Clipper and the Story of an Old Baltimore Shipbuilder," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 30 (June 1935): 138-49, an account of Joseph Despeaux, a shipbuilder from 1793 to 1820, and Lewis Addison Beck, Jr., "The Seaman and the Seaman's Bride, Baltimore Clipper Ships," *ibid.* 51 (December 1956): 302-14, two ships built in 1849-51. Howard I. Chapelle and Leon D. Pollard, *The Constellation Question* (Washington, D.C.:

Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970) presents two opinions on the authenticity of the U.S.F. *Constellation* built in Baltimore in 1798 and now a symbol of the revitalized inner harbor. Baltimore's importance as a maritime center was dramatically increased during the War of 1812 and studies on this subject can be found under the Military section of this essay. Shortly after this war Baltimore became a refuge for steam-powered vessels, a fact which has prompted a number of popular histories: Robert H. Burgess and H. Graham Wood, *Steamboats Out of Baltimore* (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1968); Ames W. Williams, "The Baltimore Boats," *Virginia Cavalcade* 15 (Summer 1965): 32-39; Alexander Crosby Brown, *The Old Bay Line* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1940) and *Steam Packets on the Chesapeake* (Cambridge, Maryland: Cornell Maritime Press, 1961); William J. Kelley, "Baltimore Steamboats in the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 37 (March 1942): 42-52, discussing Baltimore as the leading supplier of steamboats to the Union; and F. B. C. Bradlee, "Baltimore's Experiment in Transatlantic Steam Navigation," *ibid.* 20 (September 1925): 297-301, a brief history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad steamship line between Baltimore and Liverpool, 1865-68.

From the beginning of the town roads were constructed to outlying areas and constituted a vital segment of its commercial development. Joseph Austin Durrenberger, *Turnpike: A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland* (Cos Cob, Connecticut: John E. Edwards, 1968; reprint of 1931 edition) and William Hollifield, *Difficulties Made Easy: History of the Turnpikes of Baltimore City and County* (Cockeysville, Maryland: Baltimore County Historical Society, 1978) are fine introductions to this development. W. S. Hamill, "The Harbor Tunnel—An Historical Sketch" *Baltimore* (November 1957): 21-23, 41-45, 102-04, a history of the tunnel from its planning in 1930 to completion in 1957, and "The Story of the Bay Bridge," *ibid.* 45 (July 1952): 18-19, 45-50, 55-64, about the efforts to construct a bridge across the Chesapeake Bay from the end of the Civil War until the actual 1952 completion, are both popular articles on two of the most important road projects relative to Baltimore's recent development.

Canals and railroads were the next phase of development of Baltimore's internal improvements. Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 64th series, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946) is a detailed history of the canal from 1822 until its dedication as a public park in 1939 with a quantity of material on its importance to Baltimore. H. H. Walker Lewis, "The Great Case of the Canal vs. the Railroad: 4 Gill & Johnson 1 (1832)" *Maryland Law Review* 19 (Winter 1959): 1-26 and, especially, Julius Rubin, *Canal or Railroad? Imitation and Innovation in the Response to the Erie Canal in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 51, pt. 7 (Philadelphia, 1961) are studies showing the important decisions made in the early nineteenth century concerning the construction of canals and railroads.

Of the railroads the Baltimore and Ohio, quite naturally, has been the favorite of researchers resulting in studies ranging from administrative to technological histories: Alfred R. James, "Sidelights on the Founding of the Baltimore and

Ohio Railroad," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 48 (December 1953): 267-309, a description of twenty-one documents relating to the origins of the railroad, 1827-30; Milton Reizenstein, *The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1827-1853*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 15th series, nos. 7-8 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897); Lawrence W. Sagle, "Let Us Build a Railroad: The First 25 Years of the B & O," *Valleys of History* 4 (Winter 1968): 8-17 and "The Powerful Growth Years of the B & O," *ibid.* (Spring 1968): 8-21, a general popular essay; Festus P. Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939) and "The Baltimore and Ohio—First in War," *Civil War History* 7 (September 1961): 239-54; William B. Catton, "John W. Garrett of the Baltimore & Ohio: A Study in Seaport and Railroad Competition, 1820-1874" (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1959) and "How Rails Saved a Seaport," *American Heritage* 8 (February 1957): 26-31, 93-95; Clifton K. Yearley, Jr., "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Strike of 1877," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 51 (September 1956): 188-211; Lawrence W. Sagle, *B & O Power: Steam, Diesel and Electric Power of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 1829-1864* (N.p.: Alvin F. Stauffer, 1964), a photographic history; Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad 1827-1927*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928); and Edmund Arthur Freeman, comp., *The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and Its Subsidiaries: A Bibliography* (Washington: Privately printed, 1927), a chronological listing of reports, articles, pamphlets, books, and broadsides by and about the railroad from its founding in 1827 to 1927 (a supplement was issued in 1940 covering publications of 1927-39).

Other studies on railroads and, later, streetcars include Joseph S. Clark, Jr., "The Railroad Struggle for Pittsburgh: Forty-three Years of Philadelphia-Baltimore Rivalry, 1838-1871," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 48 (1924): 1-37; George W. Hilton, *The MA & PA: A History of the Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad* (Berkeley, California: Howell-North, 1963), a popular history of the railroad connection to Baltimore, 1867-1960; Jack C. Potter, "The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, 1831-1840: A Study in Early Railroad Transportation" (M.A., University of Delaware, 1960); and Michael R. Farrell, *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go? The Story of Rail Transit in Baltimore* (Baltimore: Baltimore National Railway Historical Society Publication, 1973), an illustrated history.

Aviation was the latest in a series of transportation developments in Baltimore, but, unfortunately, little of value has been done on this subject. Patricia Root Cover, "Baltimore's Air Transportation Problem: A Case Study in Intergovernmental Administrative Relations in the Field of Aviation" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1956) analyzes local, state, and federal government roles in the development of a commercial airport for Baltimore, 1926-55. "The Story of Aviation in Baltimore," *Baltimore* 35 (November 1941): 31-39 is a well written general account of aviation from the balloon flights of the eighteenth century to the 1940s.

Like aviation, the history of Baltimore's public utilities has been relatively neglected. The water system has been briefly studied in John W. McGrain, "Historical Aspects of Lake Roland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (Sep-

tember 1979): 253-73, a history of the system from 1858 to the present; V. Bernard Siems, "The Water Supply of Baltimore," *Baltimore* 20 (October 1926): 9-13 and (January 1927): 9-10, 251, a history from 1787 to 1926; and S. A. Lauver, "A Century of Baltimore's Water Supply," *Baltimore* 48 (March 1955): 82-87, a review of the municipal ownership from 1854 to 1954. Baltimore is considered as well in Nelson Manfred Blake, *Water for the Cities: A History of the Urban Water Supply Problem in the United States* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1956). "The Evolution of Telephone Service in Baltimore," *Baltimore* 34 (November 1940): 21-24 is the only history of telephone service from its beginning in 1878. Charles Pielert, comp., *Public Service Corporations of Baltimore City: A Compilation of the Public and Private Grants of Rights, Franchises, Easements, Privileges and Immunities to the Various Public Service Corporations Engaged in the Public Utilities of Baltimore City* (Baltimore: Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1908) is an excellent index to legislature concerning railroads, gas and electric companies, telegraph and telephone companies, and other utilities.

MEDICINE, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL SERVICES, AND FIRE AND POLICE PROTECTION

John R. Quinan's *Medical Annals of Baltimore from 1608 to 1880* (Baltimore: Isaac Friedenwald, 1884) is the only general history of medicine in Baltimore and is still useful for its wealth of biographical materials. Besides Quinan, the majority of histories are institutional studies of hospitals and medical schools. Histories of hospitals include a special issue of the *Maryland State Medical Journal* 4 (December 1955): 745-83 on the history of the Baltimore City Hospitals from 1773 and E. G. Beacham, D. G. Carroll, and F. G. Hubbard, "Toward a Third Century of Progress," *ibid.* 22 (November 1973): 45-57 updating its story; Louis Diener, "Historical Sketch of the Baltimore Eye, Ear and Throat Charity Hospital," *ibid.* 8 (October 1959): 542-43, founded in 1882; Emil Novak, "Bon Secours Hospital—Historical Sketch," *ibid.* 4 (October 1955): 633-39, founded in 1919; C. Reid Edwards, "The Church Home and Hospital," *ibid.* 7 (February 1958): 73-76, founded in 1858; George W. DeHoff, "Historical Notes on the Site of Doctors Hospital," *ibid.* 6 (May 1957): 239-40; William Schuman, "History and Objectives of the Present Doctors Hospital," *ibid.*, pp. 241-44, founded in 1945; Barry Bowers, "The Hospital for the Women of Maryland," *ibid.* 4 (June 1955): 320-24, founded in 1882; Shirley Cammack, "James Kernan's Enterprise: From a Burlesque House to a Hospital," *Baltimore* 69 (July 1976): 58-61, organization of the James Lawrence Kernan Hospital and Industrial School of Maryland for Crippled Children, Inc.; a special issue on the history of Mercy Hospital from its start in 1890 in the *Maryland State Medical Journal* 6 (March 1957): 120-35; Alexandra Lee Levin, "When the Old Mercy Hospital was New," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (December 1964): 323-40; Sister Denise, "St. Agnes of the City of Baltimore, Maryland Founded in 1862," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 5 (June 1956): 303-05, the first Catholic hospital in Baltimore; Sister M. Pierre, "History of St. Joseph's Hospital," *ibid.* 6 (July 1957): 363-66, founded in 1864; and Frank C. Wilson, "Dr. J. M. T. Finney and the Union Memorial Hospital," *ibid.* 5 (November 1956): 657-64, a biographical sketch of Finney and his involvement with the hospital starting in the 1890s.

Baltimore's most famous hospital, the Johns Hopkins, has been written about frequently. This institution's past has been recounted in two model medical histories—Alan M. Chesney, *The Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine: A Chronicle*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943–63) and Thomas B. Turner, *Heritage of Excellence: The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, 1914–1947* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). There is a score of other studies including the following: Gert H. Brieger, "The California Origins of the Johns Hopkins Medical School," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 51 (Fall 1977): 339–52, the influence of Dr. Hugh Toland; Gert H. Brieger, "The Original Plans for the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Their Historical Significance," *ibid.* 39 (November–December 1965): 518–28, use of the 1873 plans; John C. French, "Mr. Johns Hopkins and Dr. Macauley's 'Medical Improvement,'" *ibid.* 27 (November–December 1963): 562–66, a source of Hopkins' ideas about the medical school; Franklin Parker, "Influences on the Founder of the Johns Hopkins University and the Johns Hopkins Hospital," *ibid.* 34 (March–April 1960): 148–53, the combined influences of John Work Garrett and George Peabody; Dorothy M. Schullian, "Alfred Alexander Woodhull, John Shaw Billings, and the Johns Hopkins Hospital, 8 June 1871," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 13 (October 1958): 531–37; Frederick B. Bang, "History of Tissue Culture at Johns Hopkins," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 51 (Winter 1977): 516–37, the work of Ross Harrison, Montrose Burrows, Warren and Margaret Lewis, and George and Margaret Gief in the early years of the twentieth century; Paul V. Lemkau, "Notes on the Development of Mental Hygiene in the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health," *ibid.* 35 (March–April 1961): 169–74, a history of the school founded in 1916; W. G. MacCallum, "The Early Days of the Johns Hopkins Historical Club," *ibid.* 10 (October 1941): 513–19, a history of the club from 1890 to 1905; William F. Riehoff, Jr., "Surgical Treatment of Diseases of the Thyroid Gland," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 5 (August 1956): 424–49, work of John Miller Turpin Finney, 1889–1919; and C. P. Swanson, "A History of Biology at the Johns Hopkins University," *Bios* 22 (December 1951): 222–62, covering 1876–1951.

Biographies of eminent members of the hospital and medical school include Lewellys F. Barker, "The Early Days of the Johns Hopkins Hospital," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38 (March 1943): 1–18 and *Time and the Physician: The Autobiography of Lewellys F. Barker* (New York: Putnam, 1942), a member of the staff from 1891 to the 1940s; Samuel James Crowe, *Halsted of Johns Hopkins: The Man and His Men* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1957), a Hopkins surgeon and professor, 1889–1922; Thomas Stephen Cullen, *Henry Mills Hurd: The First Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1920), Superintendent from 1889 to 1911; Audrey W. Davis, *Doctor Kelly of Hopkins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), a member of the staff starting in 1889; Wilburt C. Davison, "John Howland: The Seventy-fifth Anniversary of his Birth," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 5 (Spring 1950): 197–205, professor of pediatrics, 1912–26; J. M. T. Finney, *A Surgeon's Life: The Autobiography of J. M. T. Finney* (New York: Putnam, 1940); Simon and James Thomas Flexner, *William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine* (New York: Viking Press, 1941), one of

the original faculty members of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine; Joseph H. Pratt, *A Year with Osler, 1896-1897: Notes Taken At His Clinics in the Johns Hopkins Hospital* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949); and Hugh Hampton Young, *A Surgeon's Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940), a member of the surgical staff from 1896.

In addition to the Hopkins, histories of other Baltimore-based medical schools include Gardner P. H. Foley, "The Legacy of the B.C.D.S.: A Century and a Quarter of Distinguished Contributions by Its Graduates," *Proceedings of the 125th Anniversary Celebration of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery* (Baltimore: Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, 1966), pp. 125-244; Carl P. Lewis, Jr., "The Baltimore College of Dental Surgery and the Birth of Professional Dentistry, 1840," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (September 1964): 268-85, founding of the school by Horace H. Hayden and Chapin Aaron Harris; Eugene F. Cordell, *Historical Sketch of the University of Maryland School of Medicine, 1807-1890* (Baltimore: Isaac Friedenwald, 1891); George E. Gifford, Jr., "Five Unpublished Letters to Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1839 Concerning the Offer of the Chair of Surgery at the University of Maryland School of Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 38 (May-June 1964): 260-70; and Genevieve Miller, "A Nineteenth Century Medical School: Washington University of Baltimore," *ibid.* 14 (June 1943): 14-29, history of the school, 1827-51 and 1867-77.

Public health care in Baltimore has been considered in a few general sketches including "Baltimore's Health Service 150 Years Old," *Baltimore Health News* 20 (December 1943): 193-207, an overview of the Baltimore City Health Department, 1793-1943; William Travis Howard, Jr., *Public Health Administration and the Natural History of Disease in Baltimore, Maryland 1797-1920* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1924); and Huntington Williams, "The Origins of the Baltimore City Medical Care Program 1776-1948," *Baltimore Health News* 26 (July 1949): 137-44.

A number of public health institutions have been written about including C. Herbert Baxley, ed., *A History of the Baltimore General Dispensary, Founded 1801* (Baltimore: Baltimore General Dispensary Foundation, 1963); Anne Beadenkopf, "The Baltimore Public Baths and Their Founder, The Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 45 (September 1950): 201-14, movement to found the public baths in 1893; Douglas G. Carroll, Jr. and Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Almshouse: An Early History," *ibid.* 66 (Summer 1971): 135-52, a history by Thomas W. Griffith covering 1773-1821; Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1820-1822," *American Historical Review* 61 (October 1955): 77-87; Katherine A. Harvey, "Practicing Medicine at the Baltimore Almshouse, 1828-1850," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (September 1979): 223-37; and David Zauegg, "History of the United States Public Health Service Hospital Situated at Baltimore, Maryland," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 7 (March 1958): 140-43, founded in 1887.

Public health care in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been surveyed in Helen C. Brooke, "The Early History of Vaccination in Maryland," *Baltimore Health News* 13 (January-February 1936): 18-22, the work of James Smith's vaccine institute, 1802-22; Helen C. Brooke, "A Proposal for a Free Vaccine Clinic in Baltimore in 1802," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of*

Medicine 3 (January 1935): 83-91, an advertisement by Dr. James Smith; Douglas Carroll, "Yellow Fever Epidemics of the Late Eighteenth Century in Baltimore," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 21 (September 1972): 47-52, epidemics of the years 1793-1819; K. F. Meyer, "A Disinfected Letter from Baltimore in 1797," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 37 (July-August 1963): 367-71; Charlotte Cannon Rhines, "A City and Its Social Problems: Poverty, Health and Crime in Baltimore, 1865-1875" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1975); and Douglas F. Stickle, "Death and Class in Baltimore: The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1800," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (September 1979): 282-99, description of the nine week epidemic, its effect on the city, and the role of the Board of Health.

The few studies of twentieth century health care include Betty Charmatz, "Geographical Perspectives in Poverty: A Baltimore Case Study," *Letters & Papers on the Social Sciences* 1 (Spring 1974): 13-29, a comparison of the result of a 1919 study by the Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies of Baltimore to conditions in the 1970s; Joseph Gordon and Jack Redfern, "Huntington Williams, M.D.: Thirty Years as Health Commissioner," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 11 (August 1962): 464-68, career as head of the Baltimore City Health Department, 1931-62; Huntington Williams, "The Origins of the First School of Hygiene and Public Health and the Eastern Health District in Baltimore," *Baltimore Health News* 38 (June-July 1961): 141-52, the relationship of the Hopkins school founded in 1918 and the municipal health district established in 1932; and Huntington Williams, "W. Thurber Fales, Chief Statistician and Philosopher-Guide, Baltimore City Health Department, 1934-53," *ibid.* 33 (September 1956): 69-76.

Biographical studies of medical figures include Douglas Carroll, "A Botanist's Visit to Baltimore in 1835," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 23 (April 1974): 49-55, the visit of Don Ramon de la Sagra, Director of the Botanical Garden of Havana; Harry Friedenwald, "A Medical Soldier of Fortune," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 22 (July-August 1948): 416-26, the study of Dr. Franz A. von Moschzisker, a Baltimore and Washington oculist and auralist, 1852-80; William Trammel Snyder, "Charles Frederick Wiesenthal (1726-1789): An Appraisal of the Medical Pioneer of Baltimore," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1966): 47-58, Baltimore physician from 1755 to 1789; William Bentley Walker, "Dr. John Crawford of Baltimore (1746-1813)" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1951), a Baltimore physician from 1796 to 1813; and Therese S. Westermeier, "A Baltimore Pioneer in Proprietary Medicine," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1953): 67-71, a sketch of August Vogeler who came to Baltimore in 1840 and pioneered in the wholesale drug business.

There are also a few histories of charities and social work: Otto H. Franke, "One Hundred Years of the General German Orphan Home in Baltimore, 1863-1963," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1963): 47-58; Margarette Culver, "History of the Baltimore Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, 1849-1902" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1923); William Gibson, "A History of Family and Child Welfare Agencies in Baltimore, 1849-1943" (Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1969), a study of non-sectarian societies and Baltimore's importance as a training center for social

workers; Milton A. Maxwell, "The Washingtonian Movement," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 11 (September 1950): 410-51, history of a temperance organization founded in Baltimore, 1840-47; and Muriel Warren Pumphrey, "The 'First Step'—Mary Richmond's Earliest Professional Reading," *Social Service Review* 31 (June 1957): 144-63 and "Mary Richmond and the Rise of Professional Social Work in Baltimore: The Foundation of a Creative Career" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1956); and John Edwin Coulbourn, "An Analysis of the Public Relations of the American National Red Cross Blood Programs—Baltimore Chapter—1946 to 1966" (M.A., American University, 1967), the use and value of public relations principles using this institution as a case study.

Fire and police protection has been a favorite topic of antiquarians and local history buffs for a century. Unfortunately, there is no scholarly treatment of either urban service. The fire department has two older histories including J. Albert Cassedy, *The Firemen's Record* (Baltimore: Privately printed, 1911) and Clarence H. Forrest, *Official History of the Fire Department of the City of Baltimore Together with Biographies and Portraits of Eminent Citizens of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Press, 1888). This popular history has been updated in two other books, William A. Murray, *The Unheralded Heroes of Baltimore's Big Blazes: A Story About Baltimore Firefighters* ([Baltimore]: E. John Schmitz and Sons, Inc., 1969) and William F. Snyder and William A. Murray, *The Rigs of the Unheralded Heroes: One Hundred Years of Baltimore's Fire Engines 1872-1971* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1971). The police do not even have a popular history since De Francais Folsom, *Our Police, A History of the Baltimore Force from the First Watchman to the Latest Appointee* (Baltimore: J. O. Ehlers and Company, 1888) and Clinton McCabe, *History of the Baltimore Police Department 1774-1907* ([Baltimore]: Fleet-McGinley Co., ca. 1907).

MILITARY

Baltimore's military significance is meagre and has been reflected in the dearth of studies. The city's role in the Revolutionary War was generally restricted to that of supply depot and embarkation point for troops. Robert Purviance's *A Narrative of Events Which Occurred in Baltimore Town During the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Jos. Robinson, 1849) is a collection of documents, 1768-81, and general narrative that comments on the military as well as other happenings; despite its age, it is a good source. Baltimore was a shipbuilding center long before the war and did contribute a number of vessels including the *Defence*, described by Hamilton Owens, "Maryland's First Warship," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38 (September 1943): 199-204. A Baltimorean's military service is written about by Hubert Footner, *Sailor of Fortune: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U.S.N.* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), a naval and privateer captain who served in both the Revolutionary War and War of 1812. The difficulties of shipping on the Chesapeake by Baltimore merchants is revealed by the letters to Jesse Hollingsworth and Company published in William D. Hoyt, "Double Trouble: Shipwreck and Enemy Action in the Chesapeake," *American Neptune* 12 (January 1952): 60-62.

The War of 1812 was much more momentous for the city. Not only did it come

under attack in 1814 but the brisk privateer trade supported its economic growth. The privateer trade has been thoroughly discussed by Jerome R. Garitee, *The Republic's Private Navy: The American Privateering Business as Practiced by Baltimore During the War of 1812* (Middletown, Connecticut: Published for Mystic Seaport, Inc. by Wesleyan University Press, 1977); John Philips Cranwell and William Bowers Crane, *Men of Marque: A History of Private Armed Vessels Out of Baltimore During the War of 1812* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1940); and John Philips Cranwell and William Bowers Crane, "The Log of the *Rossie*: A Footnote to *Men of Marque*," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35 (September 1940): 287-91. A list of privateering records at the Maryland Historical Society is described in William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Logs and Papers of Baltimore Privateers, 1812-15," *ibid.* 34 (June 1939): 165-74. Civilian defense preparations are covered in Hoyt, "Civilian Defense in Baltimore, 1814-1815: Minutes of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety," *ibid.* 39 (September 1944): 199-224, (December 1944): 293-309, 40 (March 1945): 7-23, and (June 1945): 137-53 and, more importantly, Frank A. Cassell, "Response to Crisis: Baltimore in 1814," *ibid.* 66 (Fall 1971): 261-87, an analysis of the military campaign and the preparation by voluntary associations and the municipal government. The actual bombardment of Fort McHenry in September 1814 is described in the following studies: Franklin R. Mullaly, "The Battle of Baltimore," *ibid.* 54 (March 1959): 61-103; the popular account of Charles G. Muller, *The Darkest Day: 1814, The Washington-Baltimore Campaign* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1963); Ralph J. Robinson, "Controversy Over the Command at Baltimore in the War of 1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 39 (September 1944): 177-98, conflict between Samuel Smith and William H. Winder; and Robinson, "New Light on Three Episodes of the British Invasion of Maryland in 1814," *ibid.* 37 (September 1942): 273-90, background of the British plans. There is a score of published first-hand accounts and memoirs of the war, few of which throw any new light on this subject.

Most of the research about Baltimore during the Civil War concerns the famous 1861 riot: Matthew Page Andrews, "Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Through Baltimore, April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 14 (March 1919): 60-76; Charles B. Clark, "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," *ibid.* 56 (March 1961): 39-71; Edward George Everett, "The Baltimore Riots, April 1861," *Pennsylvania History* 24 (October 1957): 331-42, effect of the riots on Pennsylvania; and William Hunter Shannon, "First Blood in Baltimore or How Ben Butler Saved the Union," *Social Studies* 42 (December 1971): 329-36. The use of Fort McHenry as a prison camp is described by Allan C. Ashcroft, "Fort McHenry in the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (September 1964): 297-300, an 1864 letter of a Union general, and Alexandra Lee Levin, "A wounded Confederate Soldier's Letter from Fort McHenry," *ibid.* 73 (December 1978): 394-96, an 1863 letter. The only other scholarly study is Richard R. Duncan, "Maryland's Reaction to Early's Raid in 1864: A Summer of Bitterness," *ibid.* 64 (Fall 1969): 248-79.

Military history after the Civil War period is almost non-existent except for Philip Sherman, "Baltimore's 104th Medical Regiment Armory," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Fall 1975): 275-78 and William Everett Bauer and John P. Judge, *Baltimore and the Draft: An Historical Record* (Baltimore: n.p., 1919),

an uncritical account of the activities of each of the twenty-four local draft boards.

NEIGHBORHOODS

Life for most Baltimore residents means a neighborhood. Most of the studies of these neighborhoods have been popular and few deserve serious attention. A full list of these histories is available in Richard J. Cox, *Tracing the History of the Baltimore Structure: A Guide to Primary and Secondary Sources* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Archives and Records Management Office, 1980).

The only broad view of Baltimore neighborhoods is *Beyond the White Marble Steps: A Look at Baltimore Neighborhoods* (Baltimore: Livelier Baltimore Committee of the Citizens Planning and Housing Association, 1979) which provides thumbnail histories; unfortunately, its essays are extremely uneven. William B. Marye's series of essays on Baltimore place names also contains an immense amount of information on local areas within the city, although they certainly do not constitute a formal history of a neighborhood: "Some Baltimore City Place Names," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 54 (March 1959): 15-35 and (December 1959): 353-64; "Baltimore City Place Names: Stoney Run, Its Plantations, Farms, County Seats and Mills," *ibid.* 58 (September 1963): 211-32, (December 1963): 344-77, and 59 (March 1964): 52-93.

There are few scholarly histories of neighborhoods with the exception of D. Randall Beirne's study on Hampden, Canton, and Oldtown which traces the influence of industrial linkage—the "effort by an industry to restrict labor mobility out of a community by encouraging local residential persistence"—for the years 1880-1930: "Steadfast Americans: Residential Stability Among Workers in Baltimore, 1880-1930" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1976); "Residential Growth of Stability in the Baltimore Industrial Community of Canton During the Late Nineteenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (March 1979): 39-51; "Residential Stability Among Urban Workers: Industrial Linkage in Hampden-Woodberry, Baltimore, 1880-1930," *Geographical Perspectives on Maryland's Past* eds. Robert D. Mitchell and Edward K. Muller (College Park: Department of Geography, University of Maryland, Occasional Paper no. 4, 1979) pp. 168-87; and "Late Nineteenth Century Industrial Communities in Baltimore," *Maryland Historian* 11 (Spring 1980): 39-49. An unusual approach, for Baltimore at least, is Eileen Gibbs, "Exploratory Excavations Inner Harbor I Urban Renewal Area, Baltimore, Maryland," *Maryland Archeology* 12 (March 1976): 3-9, a report of excavations done in 1969 in the basements and yards of houses dating to the early nineteenth century. Katharine B. Dehler, "Mt. Vernon Place at the Turn of the Century: A Vignette of the Garrett Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974): 279-92 views the neighborhood through the history of its most prominent family. Harry G. Schalck, "Mini-Revisionism in City Planning History: The Planners of Roland Park," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29 (December 1970): 347-49, is an analysis of one of the first planned communities started in 1891.

A few of the better popular neighborhood histories should be mentioned here. One of the best is Jacques Kelly, *Peabody Heights to Charles Village: The Historic Development of a Baltimore Community* [Baltimore: Equitable Trust

Bank, 1976], a brief study emphasizing the last third of the nineteenth century and based upon solid research. Other good histories include Gilbert Sandler, *The Neighborhood: The Story of Baltimore's Little Italy* (Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, 1974); Arch E. Houstle, Jr., "Mount Washington . . . Baltimore's 'Highly Salubrious Rural Retreat,'" *Baltimore* 67 (January 1974): 28-37; and Jeanne B. Sargeant, "At Sparrows Point: Slow Death of a Company Town," *ibid.* 66 (August 1973): 28-33. A prominent local businessman, Norman G. Rukert, has produced three recent neighborhood histories including *The Fells Point Study* (Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, 1976); *Historic Canton: Baltimore's Industrial Heartland and Its People* (Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, 1978); and *Federal Hill: A Baltimore National Historic District* (Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, 1980).

POLITICS

More has been written about Baltimore's political history than on any other subject, primarily because this has been a traditional subject of professional historians. Regardless, much still remains to be done. There are virtually no general studies surveying long periods of time with the exception of Joseph L. Arnold's "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745-1918," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (June 1978): 109-28, which examines the political context of the major annexations of 1817, 1888, and 1918.

Baltimore's rapid rise as Maryland's urban center in the second half of the eighteenth century brought the area new political importance. During the American Revolution its political leaders were a strong faction among the State leaders as is seen in James F. and Jean H. Vivian's "'A Jurisdiction Competent to the Occasion': A Benjamin Rumsey Letter, June, 1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 67 (Spring 1972): 144-55, a first-hand account of the efforts of the Baltimore County Committee of Observation to oust Gov. Robert Eden. Elections during these years also demonstrate the importance of the town as shown by the research of J. R. Pole, "Suffrage and Representation in Maryland from 1776 to 1810: A Statistical Note and Some Reflections," *Journal of Southern History* 24 (1958): 217-25 and "Constitutional Reform and Election Statistics in Maryland, 1790-1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (December 1960): 275-92, concluding that "no other state was so dominated by the growth of a single town," and Jackson T. Main, "Political Parties in Revolutionary Maryland 1780-87," *ibid.* 62 (March 1967): 1-27. In the debate over the ratification of the federal constitution Baltimore played a prominent role and even lobbied for the site of the new national government. Studies on these years include Dorothy M. Brown, "Politics of Crisis: The Maryland Elections of 1788-89," *ibid.* 57 (September 1962): 195-209; Lee W. Formwalt, "A Conversation Between Two Rivers: A Debate on the Location of the U.S. Capitol in Maryland," *ibid.* 71 (Fall 1976): 310-21; and William Bruce Wheeler, "The Baltimore Jeffersonians, 1788-1800: A Profile of Intra-Factional Conflict," *ibid.* 66 (Summer 1971): 153-68. Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) is an extremely detailed study of the evolution of the American political system as seen in the states of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina and provides an excellent comparative context for Baltimore's political evolution. Alexandra Lee

Levin, "James Buchanan's Letters from Baltimore, 1798," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (December 1979): 344-57 provides a personal view of the political condition of the city through the eyes of a Federalist merchant writing to the British Minister to the United States.

The early nineteenth century to the Civil War was an exciting, if chaotic, epoch for the city. Baltimore hosted riots, political conventions, abolitionists, and nativists all with some, but not equal enthusiasm. The best introduction to this period is Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), contrasting Baltimore to several other Maryland counties and tracing the political shift in the city from a "merchant oligarchy to a polyarchy." Frank A. Cassell's biography of Baltimore political leader Samuel Smith in *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland 1752-1839* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971) and his study of "The Great Baltimore Riot of 1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Fall 1975): 241-59, the "most terrifying and brutal riot in the young nation's history up to that time" are also excellent views of these years. Other studies on the same subject but of less value are John S. Pancake, *Samuel Smith and the Politics of Business, 1752-1839* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1972); Grace Overmyer, "The Baltimore Mobs and John Howard Payne," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 58 (March 1963): 54-61; and Joseph Herman Schaulinger, "Alexander Contee Hanson, Federalist Partisan," *ibid.* 35 (December 1940): 354-64. The Baltimore version of the bank wars of the 1830s are sketched in three articles by Frank Otto Gatell, "Roger B. Taney, the Bank of Maryland Rioters and a Whiff of Grapeshot," *ibid.* 59 (September 1964): 262-67, Taney's version of events; "Secretary Taney and the Baltimore Pets: A Study in Banking and Politics," *Business History Review* 39 (Summer 1965): 205-27; and "Spoils of the Bank Wars: Political Bias in the Selection of Pet Banks," *American Historical Review* 70 (October 1964): 35-58. Baltimore's importance as a site for political conventions is seen in Robert Gray Gunderson, "The Great Baltimore Whig Convention of 1840," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 47 (March 1952): 11-18; Charles R. Schultz, "The Last Great Conclave of the Whigs," *ibid.* 63 (December 1968): 379-400, a description of the Whig presidential convention in Baltimore in 1852; and Eugene H. Rosebloom, "Baltimore as a National Nominating Convention City," *ibid.* 67 (Fall 1972): 215-24, examining Baltimore's conventions in 1831, 1832, 1836, 1840, 1844, 1848, 1852, and 1860. The existence of abolitionists in the city is shown through the career of William Gunnison in Roger Bruns and William Fraley, "'Old Gunny': Abolitionist in a Slave City," *ibid.* 68 (Winter 1973): 369-82. Related to this theme is the biography of the Baltimore radical Republican, Hugh Lennox Bond, and his career as a lawyer and judge, 1851-67, in Richard Paul Fuke, "Hugh Lennox Bond and Radical Republican Ideology," *Journal of Southern History* 45 (November 1979): 569-86. Baltimore was an enclave of the Know-Nothings in the 1850s which has been fully told in Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) and two older studies—Douglas Bowers, "Ideology and Political Parties in Maryland, 1851-1856," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64 (Fall 1969): 197-217 and the much outdated Benjamin

Tuska, "Know-Nothingism in Baltimore 1854-1860," *Catholic Historical Review* 5 (July 1925): 217-51. Other studies of this period include W. Wayne Smith, "Jacksonian Democracy on the Chesapeake: Class, Kinship and Politics," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 63 (March 1968): 55-67 and L. P. Hennighausen, "Reminiscences of the Political Life of the German-Americans in Baltimore during 1850-1860," *Seventh Annual Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1892-1893), pp. 53-59 and *Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Reports* (1897-1898), pp. 3-18, which emphasizes persecution by the nativist movement.

During the Civil War Baltimore was a divided city and, for most of the war, under federal occupation. Donald Walther Curl, ed., "A Report from Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64 (Fall 1969): 280-87 includes two letters of Marat Halstead, Republican editor of Cincinnati's *Commercial*, describing the divided city in 1860. Baltimore brought federal control upon itself with the April 1861 riots and the alleged discovery of a plot to kill Abraham Lincoln in the same year. Of the many studies on these subjects the following are the most valuable: George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Political and Historical Sciences, extra volume 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1887), an analysis by the Mayor of the city at the time of the riot; James Morrison Harris, *A Reminiscence of the Troublous Times of April, 1861. Based Upon Interviews with the Authorities at Washington, Touching the Movement of Troops through Baltimore*, Fund Publication no. 31, part 2 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1891), an intimate account of the negotiations undertaken by Harris and Senator Anthony Kennedy with President Lincoln to prevent the movement of Union troops through the city after the riots; Charles McHenry Howard, "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 41 (December 1946): 257-81, documents of General Isaac Ridgeway Trimble; and Hugh McKinon Thomas, "Seventeen Blocks: The Baltimore Riot of April 19, 1861" (M.A., Georgetown University, 1958). David Rankin Barbee, "Lincoln, Chase, and the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller," *ibid.* 46 (June 1951): 108-23 is another study of the early years of the war, this one tracing the efforts of Fuller and other Baltimoreans to persuade Lincoln to recognize the independence of the South in 1861. The federal occupation of the city has been studied by Charles B. Clark, "Suppression and Control of Maryland, 1861-1865; A Study of Federal-State Relations during Civil Conflict," *ibid.* 54 (September 1959): 241-71 and Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press During the Civil War," *ibid.* 36 (June 1941): 150-70. The 1864 Presidential conventions held in Baltimore are described in James F. Glonek, "Lincoln, Johnson, and the Baltimore Ticket," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 6 (March 1951): 255-71 and William Frank Zornow, "The Union Party Convention at Baltimore in 1864," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 45 (September 1950): 176-200.

The political history of Baltimore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has had a few excellent studies. James B. Crooks's, *Politics & Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore 1895 to 1911* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), is a complete study of boss rule, reform, the regulation of corporations, city planning, and social work and is one of the

few studies of the history of the municipal government. This study has been updated with his "The Baltimore Fire and Baltimore Reform," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (Spring 1970): 1-17, an argument against the traditional view that the conflagration was the catalyst for urban reform, and "Politics and Reform: The Dimension of Baltimore Progressivism," *ibid.* 71 (Fall 1976): 21-27, essentially a summary of his earlier work. The only scholarly biographies of a reformer are Eric F. Goldman, *Charles J. Bonaparte: Patrician Reformer, His Earlier Career*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series 61, no. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943) and Jane Louise Phelps, "The Public Life of Charles J. Bonaparte" (Ph.D., Georgetown University, 1959), both of which consider his reform work in Baltimore. The contours of City Hall politics has been addressed in two new studies, Joseph L. Arnold, "The Neighborhood and City Hall: The Origin of Neighborhood Associations in Baltimore, 1880-1911," *Journal of Urban History* 6 (November 1979): 3-30, which examines the origin of neighborhood associations as local lobby groups for political favors and municipal expenditures, and Suzanne Ellery Greene, "Black Republicans on the Baltimore City Council, 1890-1931," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (September 1979): 203-22, a study of the careers of Harry Sythe Cummings, Dr. John Marcus Cargill, Hiram Watty, William L. Fitzgerald, Walter T. McGuinn, and Walter S. Emerson.

Twentieth century political trends have been discussed in only a handful of studies. There are two descriptions of the 1912 Democratic Presidential Convention by Boyce House, "Bryan at Baltimore: The Democratic National Convention of 1912," *Nebraska History* 41 (March 1960): 29-51 and Arthur S. Link, "The Baltimore Convention of 1912," *American Historical Review* 50 (July 1945): 691-713. Joseph L. Arnold, "The Last of the Good Old Days: Politics in Baltimore, 1920-1950," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 443-48 is an effort to assess the effect of the progressive reform movements of 1895-1918, concluding that there had been little positive impact on political bossism. One of the most powerful of recent political machines is described by Harvey Wheeler, "Yesterday's Robin Hood: The Rise and Fall of Baltimore's Trenton Democratic Club," *American Quarterly* 7 (Winter 1955): 332-44, the machine of Jack Pollock in the 1950s. On the same theme is Edwin Rothman, "Factional Machine-Politics: William Curran and the Baltimore City Democratic Organization, 1929-1946" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1950). Other studies include Edgar Litt, "Status, Ethnicity, and Patterns of Jewish Voting Behavior in Baltimore," *Jewish Social Studies* 22 (July 1960): 159-64, on the Presidential elections of 1940-56; Robert Dickinson Loevy, "Political Behavior in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area" (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1963) a voting analysis of Baltimore City and the counties of Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Howard, Harford, and Carroll for 1948-60; and Robert Kendall Whalen, "Decision-Making Processes and Program Goals in Urban Renewal: The Cases of Gay Street One and Inner Harbor One in Baltimore, Maryland" (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1971). An interesting new work is Jo Ann Eady Argersinger, "Baltimore: The Depression Years" (Ph.D., George Washington University, 1980) which attempts to understand the involvement of the municipal, state and federal government in easing the economic and social problems of these years.

With the exception of a few other studies mentioned above, the political structure of Baltimore's municipal government has been nearly completely neglected. J. H. Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1899) covers the first century of incorporation and has not been superseded. Frederick Philip Stieff, comp., *The Government of a Great American City* (Baltimore: H. G. Roebuck and Son, 1935) is more a handbook portrait of government as it was in the 1930s with brief descriptions of some of its development. The careers of two of Baltimore's municipal political leaders have been discussed in Mary Anne Dunn, "The Life of Isaac Freeman Rasin, Democratic Leader of Baltimore from 1870 to 1907" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1949) and Joanna H. Spiro, "Thomas Swann and Baltimore: The Mayor and the Municipality, 1856-1860" (M.A., Loyola College, 1964). Other studies relating to specific aspects of the municipal government such as fire and police protection and public utilities have been described in other sections of this essay.

RELIGION

There is a myriad of church histories, most of them superficial or sympathetic accounts issued at anniversaries; unfortunately this is the predominate form of research that has been emphasized regarding Baltimore's religious history. There are a few good institutional studies that are detailed and of some value to the researcher including Rose Greenberg, *The Chronicle of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1830-1975* (Baltimore: Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1976); Klaus Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church, 1955); and Francis F. Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish Baltimore: A Chronicle of the Mother Church* (Baltimore: St. Paul's Parish, 1967).

The Roman Catholic Church has received the greatest attention because of its importance on the national level and the graduate school of the Catholic University of America which promoted a large number of studies. John S. S. Bowen, "A History of the Baltimore Cathedral to 1876" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1963) and Mary Eulalia Herron, "Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States: Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1852 to 1921," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 34 (March 1923): 50-78 are two specialized studies of the Catholic influence in Baltimore; for others see appropriate sections under Medicine and Science and Education. Teresa Marie Helderfer's "The Editorial Opinion of the Baltimore *Catholic Review* on Contemporary Domestic and Foreign Affairs, 1913-1923" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1961) is a study that shows the significance of the Catholic Church in both Baltimore and the nation. A recent study concerning the nativist effect on the church is that by Joseph G. Mannard, "The 1839 Baltimore Nunnery Riot: An Episode in Jacksonian Nativism and Social Violence," *Maryland Historian* 11 (Spring 1980): 13-27.

Most of the Catholic studies are of the various administrations of the Archbishop. John Carroll, Archbishop from 1790 to 1815, is discussed in a number of studies including Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922); Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hier-*

archy (New York: Scribners, 1955); and the outdated tome by one of the pioneers of American church history, John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore. Embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1763-1815* (New York: Privately printed, 1888).

Other studies of Archbishops are arranged below chronologically according to their dates of tenure. Leonard Neale, 1815-17: M. Bernetta Brislen, "The Episcopacy of Archbishop Leonard Neale, The Second Metropolitan of Baltimore" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1943). Ambrose Maréchal, 1817-28: Ronin John Murtha, "The Life of the Most Reverend Ambrose Maréchal, Third Archbishop of Baltimore, 1768-1828" (Ph. D., Catholic University of America, 1965). James Whitfield, 1828-34: Matthew Leo Panczyk, "James Whitfield, Fourth Archbishop of Baltimore, the Episcopal Years: 1828-1834," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 75 (December 1964): 222-52 and 76 (March 1965): 21-53, based upon Panczyk's 1963 thesis at the Catholic University of America; Bosco David Costello, "James Whitfield, Fourth Archbishop of Baltimore, the Early Years, 1770-1828" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1957). Samuel Eccleston, 1834-51: Columba E. Halsey, "The Life of Samuel Eccleston, Fifth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1801-1851," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 76 (June 1965): 69-128 and (September 1965): 131-56, based upon a 1963 thesis at the Catholic University of America. Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1851-63: Michael Moran, "The Writings of Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore (1797-1863)," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 41 (September 1930): 230-62, based upon a thesis at the Catholic University of America; John P. Marchall, "Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1851-1863: The Baltimore Years" (Ph.D., Catholic University of America, 1965); and Joseph Delfmann Brokhage, "Francis Patrick Kinrick's Opinion on Slavery" (S.T.D., Catholic University of America, 1955). Martin John Spalding, 1864-72: Thomas William Spaulding, "Martin John Spalding: Bishop of Louisville and Archbishop of Baltimore, 1810-1872" (Ph.D., Catholic University of America, 1971). James Roosevelt Bayley, 1872-77: Mary Fulginetta Kukula, "The Career of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark, Eighth Bishop of Baltimore" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1943) and Mary Hildegard Yeager, "The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877" (Ph.D., Catholic University of America, 1947). James Cardinal Gibbons, 1877-1921: John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952); John J. Pritzl, "James Cardinal Gibbons, Champion of Christian Education" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1935); Joseph F. Lekan, "James Cardinal Gibbons and the Press" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1949); and John Quentin Feller, "The Public Character of Cardinal Gibbons in His Archdiocese" (M.A., Catholic University of America, 1965).

Historical research on other denominations has been sparse. Eilene Justice Baxley, "Southern Baptists in Baltimore in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920" (Senior thesis, Morgan State College, 1960) examines the role of the church in social reform especially housing, immigration, race relations, and temperance.

Mary Page Kendall, "Two Decades of Change in the Urban Lutheran Church in Baltimore City: 1950-1970" (M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1970) considers the problem of urbanization, the settling of rural Black and Southern Appalachian Whites, and the exodus of Whites to the suburbs. The only other study on the Lutherans is that of Douglas C. Stange, "Editor Benjamin Kurtz of the *Lutheran Observer* and the Slavery Crisis," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 62 (September 1967): 285-99, the editorship by the Baltimore pastor from 1833 to 1865. Gordon Pratt Baker, ed., *Those Incredible Methodists: A History of the Baltimore Conference of the United Methodist Church* (Baltimore: Commission on Archives and History, The Baltimore Conference, 1972) is a collection of essays, somewhat uneven, but still a useful reference covering from the eighteenth century to the present. The Presbyterians are treated in two general surveys in John H. Gardner, Jr., "Presbyterians of Old Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35 (September 1940): 244-55 and Harold M. Parker, Jr., "Much Wealth and Intelligence: The Presbytery of Patapsco," *ibid.* 60 (June 1965): 160-74. And Rosamond Randall Beirne, "The Reverend Thomas Chase: Pugnacious Parson," *ibid.* 59 (March 1964): 1-14 is one of the few studies relating to the Episcopal Church in Baltimore being a biographical sketch of the rector of St. Paul's Parish, 1745-79. The Quakers have been in the Baltimore area since the early colonial period and are considered by Bliss Forbush, *A History of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Sandy Spring, Md.: Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1972) and Anna Braithwaite Thomas, *The Story of Baltimore Yearly Meeting from 1672 to 1938* (Baltimore: Wiant Press, 1938).

There are a limited number of general studies of the Baltimore religious community including John S. Ezall, "The Church Took A Chance," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 43 (December 1948): 266-79, describing the use of lotteries, 1761-1851; Terry David Bilhartz, "Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: A Religious History of Baltimore, Maryland 1790-1830" (Ph.D., George Washington University, 1979); and Michael S. Franch, "The Congregational Community in the Changing City, 1840-70," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Fall 1976): 367-80, a study of the movement of the congregations from the central city to outlying neighborhoods. The latter two efforts are promising new examples of research on Baltimore religious history.

A LIST OF RECOMMENDED BASIC READINGS

Below is a list of published full length studies, both popular and scholarly, on all aspects of Baltimore's history. These volumes unfortunately do not represent a comprehensive coverage of the city's past, indicating the incomplete state of the research on this subject. These publications have been selected because they represent recent thorough investigations or because they are classic studies; taken together they constitute a basic bookshelf on Baltimore history.

Alexander, Robert L. *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Nineteenth Century Architecture. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Anderson, Alan. *The Origin and Resolution of an Urban Crisis Baltimore, 1890-1930*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Urban Affairs. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

- Baker, Jean H. *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Bohner, Charles H. *John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961.
- Browne, Gary L. *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
- Cassell, Frank A. *Merchant Congressmen in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland 1752-1839*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971.
- Chesney, Alan M. *The Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine: A Chronicle*, 3 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943-63.
- Crooks, James B. *Politics & Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore 1895 to 1911*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968.
- Farrell, Michael R. *Who Made All Our Streetcars Go? The Story of Rail Transit in Baltimore*. Baltimore: Baltimore National Railway Historical Society Publication, 1973.
- Fein, Isaac M. *The Making of An American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970.
- Garitee, Jerome R. *The Republic's Private Navy: The American Privateering Business as Practiced by Baltimore During the War of 1812*. Middletown, Connecticut: Published for Mystic Seaport, Inc. by Wesleyan University Press, 1977.
- Hall, Clayton Coleman, ed. *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 3 vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912.
- Hawkins, Hugh. *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960.
- Hollifield, William. *Difficulties Made Easy: History of the Turnpikes of Baltimore City and County*. Cockeysville: Baltimore County Historical Society, 1978.
- Howard, William Travis, Jr. *Public Health Administration and the Natural History of Disease in Baltimore, Maryland 1797-1920*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1924.
- Howland, Richard H. and Spencer, Eleanor P. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953.
- Kanarek, Harold. *The Mid-Atlantic Engineers: A History of the Baltimore District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1774-1974*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.
- Kelly, Jacques. *Peabody Heights to Charles Village: The Historic Development of a Baltimore Community*. [Baltimore: Equitable Trust Bank, 1976].
- Livingood, James Weston. *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry 1780-1860*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947.
- McCauley, Lois B. *Maryland Historical Prints, 1752 to 1889; A Selection of the Robert G. Merrick Collection, Maryland Historical Society and Other Maryland Collections*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975.
- Mitchell, Robert D. and Muller, Edward K., eds. *Geographical Perspectives on Maryland's Past*. College Park, Maryland: Department of Geography, University of Maryland, Occasional Paper no. 4, 1979.

- Olson, Sherry. *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Ridgway, Whitman H. *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Rubin, Julius. *Canal or Railroad? Imitation and Innovation in the Response to the Erie Canal in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 51, pt. 7. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1961.
- Turner, Thomas B. *Heritage of Excellence: The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, 1914-1947*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.