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*.  

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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-


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 Woody, 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 1797–1890; 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.


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.


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**


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


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.
Bibliographic Essay


**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.


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.


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. Leffler, 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.


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.


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-


Baltimore in the Middle Period, the years of the early nineteenth century to the Civil War, has received somewhat less attention. Gary L. Browe’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.


**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 Eleaner 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,


**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 Garoznik, “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–


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

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.

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.


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
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 chronolo-
gical 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-Balti-
more Rivalry, 1838–1871,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 48
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 Publica-
tion, 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 Intergovern-
mental 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-

**Medicine, Health Care, Social Services, and Fire and Police Protection**


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.


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


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 meager 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


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).


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

**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.

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.


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 Troubles 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): 221–27, 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.

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 Steiff, 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 Resin, 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 Heldorfer'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-


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.

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.


