MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Winter 2010

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On the Cover: Federal Hill South from Pratt Street, Baltimore, 1853

In September 1853 an unknown photographer spent the better part of a day, or longer, taking pictures around Baltimore's harbor. This is one of four known images in the series. Three show the harbor from Federal Hill, but the scene captured here is from Pratt Street where the first blood of the Civil War was spilled in April 1861. Union forces entered the city the following month and, with cannon aimed across the harbor, occupied it until the war ended in 1865.

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

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John and Caroline Nicols and the Post-Panic Economy of Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1838–1845

SEAN CONDON

In the summer of 1838, while visiting friends and family at her childhood home outside of Newark, New Jersey, Caroline Nicols received a letter from her husband John, who was writing from the couple's home in Caroline County on Maryland's Eastern Shore. John wanted Caroline to know that he had heard from "Brother H.D.S." who had advised him to "sell out here and go on to Pittsburgh with the family and friends in hand, and that there I *can not fail* of entering soon into some profitable business." Apparently John agreed, telling Caroline that he would "endeavor as soon as I can to make sale of our property" and concluded by reporting that "James has advertised his property at the mill *for sale* in the E[aston] *Gazette*. So you can see we are beginning to be in earnest." It seems likely that John and his wife had previously discussed the possibility of emigration, but his letter shocked Caroline, who responded that she was "waiting with anxious expectation for the arrival of your next letter, to hear whether I yet have a home and am likely to retain it, or whether you have proceeded to make sale of it, or there is a prospect of you doing so." Although she had only lived on the Eastern Shore for three years, Caroline had endeavored to make it her new home and was reluctant to leave "such a sweet spot to which I am much attached." She also feared that while John spoke with confidence and optimism about western prospects, he had only a vague idea what he would do once he left. "I do not much like that we should relinquish our hold on that without a *certain* prospect of entering into business elsewhere."[1]

John's sudden announcement and Caroline's forceful response are reminders that the momentous decision to embark on a long-distance move sometimes exposed hopes and fears typically left unspoken. Between the American Revolution and the Civil War, thousands of rural Marylanders left the state, and thousands more undoubtedly contemplated emigration. The letters of John and Caroline Nicols are valuable in that they provide a unique perspective on the question of emigration from

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John and Caroline Nicols contemplated selling their home and leaving Maryland's Eastern Shore during the area's sluggish recovery from the Panic of 1837. Detail, Henry S. Tanner, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, *1839.*

rural Maryland in the antebellum period. At a time when few people moved to the Eastern Shore, Caroline Meeker left northern New Jersey in February 1835 following her marriage to John Nicols. In letters back to her family she described a somewhat familiar world as she endeavored to attach herself to her husband, her new home, and her community. The most salient difference between her childhood home and that of her husband was the prominent role of enslaved men and women, even as the institution evolved into a more flexible labor system. Her husband's abrupt decision to leave the state surprised her, perhaps because John, a fairly prominent member of the community, had deep roots in the area. Caroline quickly supported John's decision, primarily because she had serious doubts about the viability of slavery. The challenges of mastery, more than the morality of the institution, proved problematic for her. Thus, in addition to revealing details of their relationship with one another and with their slaves, the Nicolses' correspondence underscores the evolution of slavery on the nineteenth-century Eastern Shore and offers insights on why one family grew pessimistic regarding their future in Maryland.[2]

Recently, historians have learned a great deal about the migration of slave owners in the nineteenth century, and most examinations have focused on planters who moved in order to make slavery more profitable. Within that literature, there is some debate about whether they should be viewed as acquisitive individuals or as members of families motivated to secure productive plantations for subsequent generations. Whatever the calculations and motivations, these studies emphasize the lure of fresh western and southern land as a way to buttress slave ownership. A handful of migration studies highlight individuals who came to oppose slavery and could not or would not remain in the area after freeing their slaves. John and Caroline Nicols's decision to leave the Eastern Shore offers a third alternative for migration. They did not wish to move south in order to make slave owning more profitable, nor did they wish to move north in order to make a statement about the illegitimacy of the institution. Rather, as they became increasingly pessimistic about Maryland's economy, they believed they would be more likely to prosper without slaves. It does not appear that the Nicolses were in danger of losing their land, and they did not discuss selling any property, including slaves. John decided that he wanted to move the year following the Panic of 1837. As a member of the state legislature he had firsthand knowledge of the public finances and the "distress pervading the state" during the panic and its aftermath.[3]

Despite the poor economy, John's intention to move surprised his wife. He seemed an unlikely migrant, particularly to an urban area north of the Mason-Dixon Line. At the time he decided to undertake the move, John was a prominent member of the community with deep roots in the area. He could trace his family's presence on the Eastern Shore back to 1703, when his great-grandfather arrived from England as rector of Christ Church in St. Michael's. By the time John married Caroline, he owned a plantation with several slaves, and in their ten years of married life voters

had elected him six times to represent their district in the legislature. In addition to his social prominence and the permanence of his family, it also appears that when he and Caroline first married, John believed that owning land in Maryland was a good investment, and he tried to convince his new father-in-law to purchase land in the state.[4]

The community in which John Nicols lived had already seen considerable outmigration by the 1830s. Caroline County, like other parts of the Eastern Shore, experienced significant population loss, especially between 1830 and 1840. Per the federal census, the number of whites in the county dropped from 8,085 in 1790 to 5,334 by 1840, before rising modestly in the final years of the antebellum period. As historian Hal Barron has argued, areas such as Caroline County became more common along the eastern seaboard in the nineteenth century, as people left settled communities in search of greater economic opportunity. Consequently, those communities became places of relative social stability and conformity. Such a place should have been attractive to a man like John Nicols, who deeply disliked Andrew Jackson and the democratic "mob," and who was quick to notice examples of social disorder, as was apparent in his description of a group of "wild Irish" who attacked a train conductor in western Pennsylvania. Given John's political beliefs, his home in Caroline County should have provided him with the most desirable social situation, a place where he was well known and well respected and one possessing a certain social stability that more urban and more western locales lacked.[5]

From Caroline's perspective, her husband's sudden decision to move may also have been unwelcome because she had uprooted herself barely three years earlier when she left New Jersey to begin married life on the Eastern Shore. That experience taught Caroline that becoming attached to a new place took considerable time and effort. Although she did make the transition to a new home and a new role, she could not forget the connections she had left behind. Each summer of her married life Caroline spent a few weeks in her childhood home, and her letters reveal how attached she remained to it. In the first summer of her marriage, she wrote a lengthy letter from New Jersey in which she described encounters with "friends of her former days" before exclaiming, "Oh can I ever feel the same strong and peculiar attachment for any other old spot on earth as this old home? Oh, never!" Caroline did grow attached to Maryland as her relationship with John matured and deepened. If their correspondence is any indication, both valued the emerging companionate ideal of marriage with its emphasis on open expression of affection between spouses and a sense of partnership. In letters to each other as well as to other family members, they often referred to the importance of their affective ties. A letter written to her parents three weeks after her wedding finds Caroline acknowledging that being separated from them caused her some regret, yet she made it clear that she was happy with her decision to marry John Nicols—who, she said, "adores me"—and she believed that once her parents knew more of her husband, they would share her admiration of

him. She hoped to reassure them that she would be happy in her new home, largely because her husband loved her: "My situation has equaled my expectations and my husband exceeded my most sanguine wishes and I trust his kindness and devotion to me will win from you that regard which his merits when known and appreciated cannot fail to gain for him. Every succeeding day acquaints me with some new excellency to call forth admiration." Although it could be argued that this letter—written just three weeks after the wedding—more accurately describes Caroline's hopes for her future than her actual relationship with her husband, later correspondence between the couple seems consistent with it. When writing to each other, the couple often included sentimental language that emphasized the emotional cost of separation.[6] For example, in 1837, Caroline bemoaned John's absence while he was away serving in the state legislature. She described how sick and lonely she felt and then closed with a poem she had adapted from a Philadelphia newspaper:

> Oh my dear husband hasten and
> Come home
> Come to the hearthstone of thy early days
> Come to the ark, like the o'erwearied dove,
> Come with the sunlight of thy heart's warm rays
> Come to the fireside circle of thy love
> Husband come home
> Come home.[7]

John did not resort to verse, yet he also lamented separations, particularly when he was on the farm and Caroline was away visiting her family. In June 1835, John implored her to return quickly. "Do my dear wife keep at your word to start south as soon as possible, at farthest not longer to stay than the fourth of July. I cannot imagine how I am possibly to do without you until then. . . . Give my best to all the family & believe me dearest until we meet again your almost inconsolable husband."[8]

In addition to having a relationship in which both prized closeness and affection, John and Caroline Nicols also seemed to have viewed marriage as something of a shared partnership. John encouraged his wife to take an interest and keep current on the political issues of the day, and in some ways Caroline freely shared her opinions about the state of the economy. In March 1837, John sent Caroline a letter with copies of Andrew Jackson's farewell address and Martin Van Buren's inaugural. He wanted Caroline to read both documents and told her what he thought of Jackson's speech. "The farewell, or rather the greater part is a perfect tissue of *nonsense*, being neither more nor less than the old worn out abuse of the bank, and a tirade against paper currency. I hope you will read them both." Caroline ably shared her opinion on most matters but in determining whether or not the family should move, John alone made the decision. As historian Anya Jabour argues in her study of William

and Elizabeth Wirt, "companionate" marriage in the early nineteenth century was "often marred by serious differences of expectation and experience."[9]

Men and women often had different experiences and decision-making authority, and the expectations of the companionate ideal could lead to frustration. The Nicolses' goal of a companionate marriage did not always mesh well with the reality that John owned the couple's property and clearly believed that any decision to migrate resided with him. That dynamic became apparent when John abruptly announced that he had every intention of selling their land and leaving the state. At first, Caroline did call into question John's interest in moving, and she did so in a thinly veiled way. In response to the news that he intended to leave, she wrote of a friend or relative named David, who had recently decided to go west. "Poor David, disappointed and depressed from the state of the times and the failure in his plans of business left last Monday for the *west*, to seek his fortune among strangers, and with the *avowed determination* of never returning." Caroline despaired David's decision, and she emphasized that he would have to sacrifice a connection with friends and family for economic reasons. Rather than directly questioning John's own views on the subject, she wished to let him know of her displeasure. John responded, "I do not regret his leaving for the west as I have no doubt it is the very best thing he could possibly do."[10]

Although Caroline adjusted to married life and to the neighboring community, she had more difficulty with her role as a slave owner. When John and Caroline married in 1835, slavery still existed in New Jersey, but due to the 1804 gradual emancipation law, the number of slaves rapidly dwindled. According to the 1830 federal census 2,254 slaves lived in New Jersey and accounted for less than 1 percent of a total population of more than 320,000 people. Ten years later the state's total population had increased by more than 50,000, and the total number of slaves had fallen to 674. On Maryland's Eastern Shore, slavery also declined. Revolutionary-era manumissions had created a large free black population. Many continued to work for the freedom of enslaved family members, even as manumission became more difficult to achieve in the wake of Nat Turner's rebellion. In Caroline County, slaves made up slightly less than 13 percent of the total population in 1830 and less than 10 percent in 1840. The free black population grew from 18 percent of the total in 1830 to 22 percent ten years later.[11]

Although it is possible that Caroline's family were among the small number of New Jersey families that owned slaves, three pieces of evidence suggest that she had no direct experience with the practice before her marriage. First, the 1830 and 1840 census manuscripts record no slaves in her father Obidiah Meeker's household. Second, in a letter written to her husband in 1838, she described the effects of drought on her father's farm: "His property in Newark also is yielding him little if anything and the drought will cut off $5000[?] from his crops, so you find the poor slaveholders are not the only sufferers." Another letter, from her brother Harris during a visit to

the Eastern Shore, suggests that her family did not have much exposure to the institution, and that Caroline's marriage to a slaveholder had perhaps served as fodder for family conversation. In the summer of 1836 he wrote to their sister Mary of an excursion to visit families who lived near the Chesapeake Bay. John and Caroline took him to visit three prominent families, including one "equal in respectability to any on the eastern shore." Caroline's brother made the requisite notice of the generosity and hospitality of his hosts, who "made me feel at home as soon as we entered the threshold of their habitations. Neither time nor exertions were spared to render our visit pleasant and agreeable." Most importantly, "servants were always in attendance to convey us to the best places for sport." At the end of this section of the letter, he asked rhetorically "Oh, who would be an abolitionist?" Such an exclamation was unlikely to come from someone who owned slaves, or who was used to observing them. Harris's remarks also suggest that their family engaged in some discussion regarding the legitimacy of slavery.[12]

Caroline's view of slavery emerged when John went to Annapolis to take his seat in the House of Delegates. In the winter of 1836–37, John left Caroline with their first-born daughter Carrie as he travelled to Annapolis for a special session of the legislature and did not return for Christmas. In a letter dated December 29, 1836, Caroline proclaimed that "In future I must ever object to your becoming a candidate for any office that will take you from home during the winter." In an effort to secure as much available labor as possible during his absence, John had procured the services of a Mr. Salisbury as overseer. On January 2, 1837, he expressed his hope that "Elizabeth is yet with you and that Julian has certainly returned." He then provided Caroline with instructions for specific responsibilities for each laborer. For example, Caroline was to tell Salisbury that John wanted "Oliver's principal business to be keeping you good fires regularly. . . . this I wish you particularly to attend to, as you cannot otherwise be comfortable."[13]

John did not know that Mr. Salisbury had become seriously ill and had died before reaching the Nicols farm. In a letter written on January 9, Caroline reported his death and told John of her concern about managing the farm. "The boys are husking corn today. I have told them you would be home soon hoping to hurry them." Before John received that letter, he had written to Caroline again with additional instructions: "p.s. Whenever you write, give me an accurate state of affairs at home; if no white man is with you send for Robert and make him tell you what they are doing, and how the stock are kept." The work of the legislature kept John in Annapolis through January and February and he could not find a replacement overseer. Caroline vented her frustration on at least two occasions. On February 17 she apologized for a previous short letter, noting that she had been called outside to mediate a conflict between Emory and his wife. "Emory has spent half the morning quarrelling with his wife and Mary and I was called out to quiet him, he is a lazy good for nothing servant." By the end of the month Caroline felt depressed. "Mr.

Dyatt I am sorry to say has not been here since the day you left neither have I heard from him. Robert says it will be impossible to finish the corn this week or anything near it. The petty thieving has commenced again although not perpetrated by the same persons, indeed your presence here seems as necessary out of doors as desirable within."[14]

In the ten years of their marriage, John served in the legislature on six separate occasions, including two special sessions. Over time, Caroline became more comfortable remaining at home without her husband, but the evidence suggests that she never gained complete confidence in her ability to supervise the laborers on the farm. In January 1842, Caroline reported on the state of their farm, and while she felt more confident that the work would get done, she depended on the information she received from her servants, some of which she did not quite trust. "Matters on the farm are in very good train as far as I can ascertain. Emory is hauling pine fallings and Isaac rails, Robert is cutting in the woods. Jerome has a very bad cold but it does not prevent his attending to business although he says he ought to be in bed he seldom comes over so that I have no opportunity for enquiring into matters except of the servants."[15]

Plantation owners throughout the South, particularly those with little experience, certainly shared Caroline's laments. The evolving relationships between slaves and their owners on the Eastern Shore placed additional strain on the system. Fragments in the Nicolses' correspondence highlight the evolution of the institution, and suggest how the changing nature of slavery could challenge mastery. The mobility of the labor force, for economic or religious reasons, was one manifestation of change. To some extent, slave owners condoned this practice. As Caroline noticed, a variety of open-air Methodist revivals drew large crowds of rich and poor, black and white. John Nicols, raised as an Episcopalian but who eventually underwent a conversion experience and joined the Methodists, did allow some of his slaves to leave the farm to attend camp meetings. In early September 1836 he wrote that he had let "Charlotte and Martha go to meeting today" somewhere in "the swamp." While slave owners in many parts of the South might have allowed such mobility on occasion, the Nicolses' correspondence suggests that the ability of slaves to move from place to place was greater on the Eastern Shore. In the summer of 1844, John wrote to Caroline about a man named Tom Hardcastle who "without any provocation whatever, packed up pack and package, and took French leave." John planned on advertising for Hardcastle's return, but he began his account by stating that it was actually a "piece of good news." Hardcastle had been "hanging about the outskirts of the camp meeting waiting for some uncle of his to take him over to Delaware. I did not however go one inch after him, as I am satisfied the family is better without him, dissatisfied and ungrateful as he is. I shall advertise him next week, and then cut loose from him I trust forever." Hardcastle may have been enslaved for a term of years rather than life, or perhaps he had proven so disruptive that Nicols did believe it was better to

let him go. It is hard to imagine that most antebellum southern slave owners would have responded in the same way concerning a runaway slave.[16]

In addition to providing examples of slave mobility on the Eastern Shore, the Nicolses' correspondence also captures an institution in flux as manumission and term slavery blurred the boundaries between slavery and freedom and obscured the status of individual laborers. On one occasion, when John was in Annapolis, he wrote to his wife to ask whether an enslaved woman named Julian, who for some reason had absented herself, had returned to the farm. John went on to say that "if she has not Mr. Chilton will certainly not take Mary away until you shall have procured some one in her place." As a postscript to that letter, John added that if "Julian has not returned I think you might get Martha Barwick in her place. Get Robert to inquire for you. She lives where her father died." It is not clear what John meant when he stated that Caroline was to have someone "in place" of Julian if she had not returned. The fact that John told Caroline about a possible replacement (in the person of Martha Barwick), of whom Caroline was not even aware nearly two years after her move to Maryland, suggests that John Nicols and at least some of his laborers had complicated working relationships. That intricate web of obligations may have bound laborers such as Julian to women such as Martha Barwick, whose relationship to Nicols is unclear. The relationship between John Nicols and Mr. Chilton is also uncertain, yet his name appears again the following year. John was angry when he learned that Mr. Chilton had come to see Caroline after he had returned to Annapolis. Caroline told her husband that Chilton wanted Martha to return to his household. John informed his wife that he had already contacted Chilton to tell him that Martha belonged to them, at least for the time being: "I further mentioned what he well knew that we had been at the sole expense and trouble of bringing her up from a child and that we were not willing to give her up until she should have attained the age of eighteen years." The previous year, Martha had not even been living with the Nicolses, but now John indicated that her services belonged to him until she reached the age of eighteen. This, and the fact that John considered her a replacement for Julian, suggests that the Nicolses might have been at least partially relying on term slave laborers who did not live with them. Despite John's claim that he had "been at the sole expense and trouble" of bringing up Martha, these fragments suggest that he had claim to laborers who did not live in his household. It is not clear what relationship Mr. Chilton had with either Julian or Martha.[17]

The boundaries between freedom and slavery also appeared murky between John and a laborer he called Robert. From Annapolis, John warned Caroline that Robert might "absent himself" after the new year. If that happened John wanted Caroline to contact "James H. Barwick, the constable, to bring him home, and if he refuses to remain at home tell Barwick I want him to take him to jail." John told Caroline that before he left for Annapolis Robert "expressed a disposition to leave before I left home, and I thrice told him he was not free, and that if he stayed away, I should

take measures to bring him back. I hope however there will be no necessity for so unpleasant an alternative. But it was expressly understood between Robert and myself, before I persuaded his mistress to give him his wages, that he was to remain with me as long as I want him, and I am determined to make him comply." Apparently, Robert had been rented out the previous year, and he was trying to pressure John Nicols into giving him his freedom (or perhaps to claim the freedom to which he was indeed entitled). Unlike Tom Hardcastle, who had been allowed to escape into Delaware, John was unwilling to let Robert go, telling his wife that he would hold onto him "as long as I want him."[18]

Perhaps challenges such as these led Caroline to quickly come to terms with John's decision to relocate. Although she initially balked at John's intention to move the family west, within a few weeks she wrote him to say that if they did leave, she would very much like to move to an area without slavery. In early September 1838, Caroline received a visit from a family friend, Robert Emory, who had lived for a time on Maryland's Eastern Shore but who by the 1840s was a professor at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Emory supported their plans to relocate and told Caroline that "Pennsylvania contains stronger inducements than any other state." Emory had recently travelled through the "romantic valley of Wyoming." As Caroline described it, he "seemed enraptured with the scenery particularly that above Wilkes Barre and suggested that it would be worth your while to think of it as a place of residence where you might make your fortune." Slavery no longer existed in Pennsylvania, and Emory argued that the practice had negative effects on Maryland's economic prospects. Caroline was quick to agree with him—"They seem to me like so many fetters, when we would move binding us down"—and hoped to move to a state without slavery. "If you should dispose of your own property I would greatly prefer removing to some free state and hope you will not think of Baltimore unless you should have a *very advantageous* opportunity of engaging a business there." Caroline's view that slaves were "fetters . . . binding us down" suggests that she viewed enslaved laborers as a hindrance, not primarily as productive property, and certainly not as fellow members of the community. Historian Walter Johnson has persuasively argued that in the antebellum South, slave ownership shaped identity in powerful ways. Even before purchasing a slave, potential owners imagined how those laborers would change their lives, "they imagined who they could be by thinking about whom they could buy." Caroline Nicols inverted that fantasy by believing that slave ownership prevented her and her husband from living a better life. In doing so, Caroline echoed the lament of other antebellum slave holders who tried to convince others (and perhaps even themselves) that owning slaves was "a duty and a burden." However, the vast majority of antebellum slave owners who thought along such lines would not have seriously considered actually disengaging from the institution.[19]

What is striking about John and Caroline's correspondence is their deep pessi-

mism regarding the economic future of their state. Many historians have noticed this among antebellum southern planters, especially those in eastern states like Virginia and Maryland. David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelley describe a "literature of declension" that developed in Virginia in the early nineteenth century, mentioning novels by Nathaniel Beverly Tucker and George Tucker, as well as comments from planters such as James McDowell, John Hartwell Cocke, and Francis Eppes. This emphasis on economic decline also suffused much of the literature on agricultural reform. It is not possible to know precisely how thoroughly such pessimism pervaded Maryland and Virginia, and there is evidence that some planters rejected such views. Claudia Bushman argues that Virginia farmer and slave owner John Walker "would have been surprised to hear that he lived in a blighted area," and did not agree that migrating would have helped him.[20]

It is also certainly true that the economic downturn that began with the Panic of 1837 echoed well into the 1840s, making life difficult for individuals as well as the state, and pessimism pervades much of the Nicolses' correspondence. Implicitly, this pessimism shows in John's interest in moving anywhere without a clear idea as to what he would be doing. It also appears in Caroline's interest in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania because of its beauty (and perhaps its proximity to Newark) rather than its economic opportunity. The Nicolses, who did not appear to be on the verge of economic ruin, seem to have been very concerned about a future on the Eastern Shore. Their pessimism also becomes explicit when they critique the state of their farmland and their inability to make substantive improvements. At one point Caroline complained to her mother that their farm's soil was just not adequate to provide the kind of harvest she hoped for. "The crop [of wheat] here is a tolerable good one, somewhat lessened by the previous dry weather, but I suspect the unimproved state of the soil is the chief obstacle to a large ingathering. Can we expect figs of thistles?" Caroline's view highlights the nature of her pessimism. The wheat crop was a "tolerable good one," but it did not stop her from complaining about the nature of the soil. By the early 1840s, John's pessimism about the farm was linked to his fears about the condition of the local economy as a whole. In February 1843, John wrote from Annapolis about the difficult financial situation facing the people of Maryland. "You have no idea how much distress pervades the state. We have every day in our legislative capacity, petitions before us for relief from pecuniary distress. What this is to end in, it is impossible to predict."[21]

Although the Nicolses seemed ready to move by the end of summer 1838, they remained on the Eastern Shore until 1845, when Caroline died following a brief illness. It is not clear why they did not leave during her lifetime, but the couple may have been unable to find a suitable buyer for their property. In February 1847, two years after his wife's death, John himself received a letter from Robert Emory, who had become president of Dickinson College. Emory asked Nicols to free his slaves, in a public way, and perhaps even advocate a further move towards a state-

sponsored gradual emancipation plan. Emory viewed slavery as unproductive and believed that the practice damaged land values. "Our landed property in Maryland has always been very unproductive, but I have held on to it, hoping that at some subsequent time, we could sell to better advantage. I am now satisfied that the only hope of any great increase in the value of land in Maryland depends on the abolition of slavery. If I can be convinced that is not to take place shortly, I shall be for selling out, forthwith, every acre of ground we own. The state can never prosper while that incubus rests upon it." Neither Emory nor his father, Bishop John Emory, earned their livelihood farming, though the bishop had worked the land for a time, his son wrote, for "improvement of the health of himself and his family." But writing before the Mexican War and the gravest crisis yet concerning the question of slavery, Emory remained optimistic that Maryland could abolish the institution. He wrote Nicols that "I shall still hope for better things. The signs of the times are brightening." For Emory, the greatest challenge was convincing whites in Maryland that slavery could be ended without colonization. He did not advocate racial equality, making instead a demographic argument that once the state abolished slavery the white population would again increase faster than the African American. "Whatever might be the case at the extreme South, it is not so in Maryland. If slavery were abolished there, the white population would rapidly increase on the black, and the latter would soon be no more in the way there then they are now in Pennsylvania." Emory believed that the free black population would fail to grow and gradually would be replaced by a white population bolstered by natural increase and immigration.[22]

Emory also appealed to Nicols to work toward ending slavery in his state. "I verily believe, as I have intimated before, that if some of you who influence the political world would show the way, the people would follow." Such action would not be without "sacrifice" and if they failed, "it is a great cause even to fail in." Emory went on to suggest that if Nicols did take action he might be remembered as one of the great abolitionists. "Think you that he, who should move for emancipation in Maryland, would not have more supporters than Wilberforce, when he first moved for the abolition of the slave trade. John, slavery must come to an end, in Maryland, very soon. I am anxious that you should have the honour of hastening its extinction." It appears that although Nicols did make accommodations to emancipate his slaves, he did not take on a public role in favor of state-sponsored emancipation. John Nicols left the Eastern Shore the same year, settling first in Pittsburgh (where he married Sarah Ross in October 1848) and then moving to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1855. The former Maryland legislator became active in Republican Party politics and worked as a dry goods and hardware merchant until his death in 1873.[23]

In the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, thousands of native-born Marylanders left the state for western settlements. The correspondence of John and Caroline Nicols provides valuable information on the reasons a relatively wealthy Eastern Shore farm family believed their circumstances warranted emigration. First,

the Nicolses, as did others who contemplated emigration, relied on advice and information from family and friends, at least one of whom lobbied energetically for John to emancipate his slaves as an example to other Marylanders. The Nicolses' proximity to "free soil" made it more likely that they would hear arguments critical of the institution of slavery. Second, even though they appeared in no danger of losing their farm, they grew pessimistic about the economic future of the state. This pessimism undoubtedly grew from the economic decline that followed the Panic of 1837. The evolving nature of slavery on the Eastern Shore may also have played a role, for John and especially Caroline Nicols saw slave holding as detrimental to their economic livelihoods. Third, the fact that they did not move for several years following John's abrupt decision to leave suggests that perhaps many Marylanders wanted to emigrate but could not without buyers willing to pay acceptable prices for their property. Not all Eastern Shore slave holders shared John and Caroline's views, but the Nicolses' correspondence provides some insights into the tensions and questions potential Maryland migrants faced as they contemplated the future.

NOTES

1. John Nicols to Caroline Nicols, July 31, 1838; Caroline Nicols to John, August 16, 1838, Nicols Family Papers, Special Collection P1439, Minnesota State Archives, St. Paul, Minn. (hereafter NFP).
2. One way to look at outmigration is to examine the census. The census of 1850 was the first federal census to record the birthplace of the free population. According to that census, there were 127,799 whites and free blacks who had been born in Maryland but lived in other states as of 1850. (The total free population of Maryland, including immigrants, was slightly more than 492,000 people), see J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of The United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, DC: Beverly Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854), 114.
3. Both Joan Cashin and James Oakes emphasize the individualized nature of much migration, see Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Vintage, 1982), 73–91; on the other hand Jane Turner Censer and Edward Baptist emphasize the importance of kin connections, both in the decision to move and in the actual process of migration, see Censer, "Southwestern Migration among North Carolina Planters: 'The Disposition to Emigrate,'" *Journal of Southern History*, 57 (1991): 407–26; Baptist, "The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power," *Journal of Southern History*, 62 (1996): 527–54. Also see James D. Miller, *South by Southwest: Planter Emigration and Identity in the Slave South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002) and David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Phillip J. Schwarz, *Migrants Against Slavery: Virginians and the Nation* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); John d'Entremont, *Southern Emancipator: Moncure Conway: The American Years, 1832–1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); the state of Maryland "faced the prospect of bankruptcy" following the Panic of 1837, and while the state did not repudiate its debt, it did fail to make any debt payments between 1841 and 1848, Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament: 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 232.
4. James E. Homans, ed., *The Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. VIII (New York, 1918), 457–58. It is unclear how many slaves Nicols owned at the time of his marriage. According to the listing in the biography published in 1900, John's father Henry was a "'gentleman farmer,' as the term is understood in Maryland, living on and superintending his estate which was of considerable extent." See Homans, *Cyclopedia*, 457–58; Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *Archives of Maryland, Historical List, New Series*, Vol. 1 (Annapolis, Md.: Maryland State Archives, 1990); See letter from C. Harris to "Dear Sister" Mary C. Meeker, Newark, June 25, 1836, NFP, "Mr. Nichols regrets that father has come to the conclusion not to purchase in M[arylan]D. But Caroline as well as myself think the investment in Missouri quite as judicious an operation as a purchase in M.[arylan]D. especially as regards pecuniary matters."
5. Historical Census Browser from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu; Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984); John Nicols to Caroline, August 7, 1837, NFP.
6. Caroline Nicols to John, June 6, 1835; Caroline Nicols to Obidiah Meeker near Newark,

New Jersey, February 20, 1835, NFP; for a powerful examination of the way planters (and some slaves) used this language of sentiment, see Phillip Troutman, "Correspondence in Black and White: Sentiment and the Slave Market Revolution," Stephanie M. H. Camp and Edward E. Baptist, eds., *New Studies in the History of Slavery* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 211–42.

7. Caroline Nicols to John, 6 March 1837, NFP; in 1841, this poem is based on one entitled "Come Home . . . By a Sister to a Long Absent Brother," *The Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. VII (Richmond, Va.: Thomas W. White, 1841), 208; according to the editor, the poem had originally been published in a Philadelphia newspaper four years earlier.

8. John Nicols to Caroline, June 1, 1835, NFP.

9. John Nicols to Caroline, March 9, 1837, NFP; Anya Jabour, *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 2.

10. Caroline Nichols to John, August 16, 1838, Caroline Nicols to John, August 25, 1838, and John Nicols to Caroline, September 1, 1838, NFP.

11. For examinations of the devolution of slavery in New Jersey, Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Freedom in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1997); and Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

12. U.S. Census Bureau, *1830 U.S. Federal Census* Roll M19-79, page 235 and *1840 U.S. Federal Census* Roll 189, page 251; in 1830, Meeker's household included three free blacks and seven whites; Caroline Nicols to John, September 3, 1838, NFP; C. Harris to Mary Meeker, June 25, 1836, NFP.

13. John Nicols to Caroline, January 2, 1837, NFP.

14. Caroline Nicols to John, January 9, 1837, John Nicols to Caroline, January 16, 1837, and Caroline Nicols to John, February 28, 1837, NFP.

15. Edward C. Papenfuse, et. al. *Archives of Maryland, Historical List, new series*, vol. 1 (Annapolis, Md.: Maryland State Archives, 1990); Caroline Nicols to John, January 17, 1842, NFP.

16. For an examination of the challenges of mastery, see Kirsten E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); for the colonial period, Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute of History and Culture: 1998), 524–26; for the antebellum period, Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 6–7; John Nicols to Caroline, September 10, 1836, NFP; for the flexibility of slavery in terms of slave hiring, Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); John Nicols to Caroline, August 24, 1844, NFP.

17. John Nicols to Caroline, January 9, 1837, and John Nicols to Caroline, January 13, 1841, NFP.

18. John Nicols to Caroline, December 28, 1842, NFP. There is no record of a manumission document that names John Nicols or Robert, but it certainly might be possible that Robert was the child of an enslaved woman who had been granted her freedom by her owner, and whose manumission may have provided for Robert's freedom as well. Also, it might be noted

that John's language suggests that he was not closing off the possibility of manumission for Robert at some point in the future.

19. Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 79; Eugene G. Genovese argues that these words were "central to the self-image and self-respect of the master class," Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1976), 75.

20. Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away*, 204–5; Joan E. Cashin, "Landscape and Memory in Antebellum Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (1994): 477–500; Claudia L. Bushman, *In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming and Society in the Journal of John Walker* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 4.

21. For the continuing problems at the state level into the mid-1840s, see Brugger, *Maryland*, 232. The Nicholses were supportive of temperance reform, but they do not appear to have been involved in any agricultural reform movement; for evidence of their support of temperance, see Caroline Nicols to John, January 17, 1842, NFP; Caroline Nicols to Mother (Mrs. J. C. Meeker), July 20, 1843, and John to Caroline, February 20, 1843, NFP.

22. In a letter dated August 28, 1838, John mentioned that while some prospective buyers had looked at his brother James's nearby mill, no one had yet made an offer. When John left the state, he did so without selling his home on the Eastern Shore; see "Descendants of Rev. Harry Nicols," typescript [1903?], in NFP; Robert Emory to John Nicols, February 14, 1837, NFP; Robert Emory, *The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D.D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: George Lane, 1841), 271.

23. Robert Emory to John Nicols, February 14, 1847, NFP. According to Nicols's biography in the *Cyclopedia of American Biography*: "Although inheriting an extensive slave estate he was, in marked contrast with the most of his neighbors, strongly opposed to slavery, and in 1847, in practical application of his theory that no human being should be master of another, gave full freedom to all his slaves who had attained their majority. Even after he had left the State he returned from time to time to free others as they became of age, until all had been manumitted. Nor did his kindly interest in the helpless creatures who had come to him as a legacy cease with the granting of their freedom, for he continued to watch over and assist them throughout his life." While I was not able to find any record of those manumissions in 1847, there is evidence that Nicols did not free some slaves in the 1850s because he was not their sole owner (see letter dated December 24, 1854). A Caroline County Certificate of Freedom noted that on March 12, 1857, John Nicols of St. Paul, Minnesota, set free Margaret; her freedom was to take effect on January 1, 1858. There are also several manumissions recorded by the Caroline County Court in 1862 signed by John Nicols of St. Paul; see Caroline County (Circuit Court), Certificates of Freedom, 1852–1864, MSA CM 951-2, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md.

"What Has Become of Olevia Neal?": The Escaped Nun Phenomenon in Antebellum America[1]

JOSEPH G. MANNARD

In his classic essay from the early 1960s, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," historian Richard Hofstadter pointed to the role of "the renegade from the enemy cause" as an essential element in conspiracy theories. "The renegade," he wrote, "is the man or woman who has been in the secret world of the enemy, and brings forth with him or her the final verification of suspicions which might otherwise have been doubted by a skeptical world. . . . The renegade is living proof that all the conversions are not made by the wrong side," and he or she brings "the promise of redemption and victory," the triumph of good over evil.[2]

In the anti-Catholic nativist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the apostate priest and escaped nun served the role of "renegades from Rome." These men and women had been privy to the clandestine workings of the Vatican in America and were reportedly ready and willing to expose those secrets to the unsuspecting American public. As the literary scholar Susan M. Griffin recently observed, "The renegade's role in establishing the truth goes beyond the spy's"—"the renegade not only conveys evidence but *is* evidence."[3]

Beginning in the 1830s, the phenomenon of the "escaped nun" became a staple of anti-Catholic thought in the United States, Canada, Britain, and parts of Continental Europe, resulting in various forms of opposition to nunneries. In antebellum America, anti-convent sentiment expressed itself in three central ways. Anti-convent writings, both fiction and nonfiction, warned against nunneries as schools of subversion, as prisons of physical and mental torture, and as dens of immorality and sexual deviance. Anti-convent mobs frequently threatened and sometimes destroyed convents. And, in the Know-Nothing era of the 1850s, anti-convent petitions and bills called for several state legislatures to inspect, regulate, and suppress convents.[4]

More than seven decades ago, the historian Ray Allen Billington first underscored the key role that hostility toward convents played in what he dubbed the "the Protestant Crusade" in pre–Civil War America. Billington concluded that antebellum nativist writers viewed the Catholic convent system as "the worst of all iniquities invented or practiced by Rome." Later historians beginning with David Brion Davis have analyzed how the issue provoked impassioned reactions from Americans who

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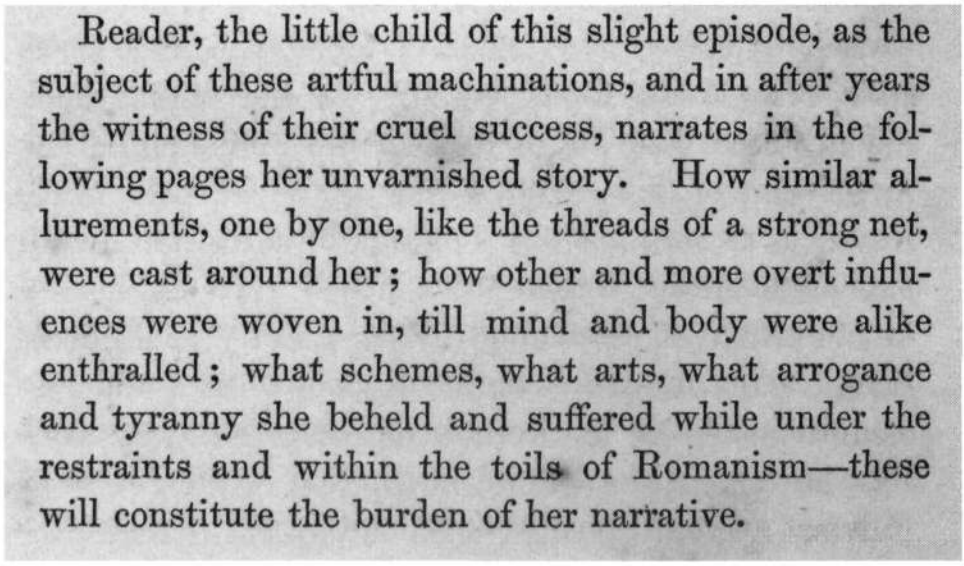

Reader, the little child of this slight episode, as the subject of these artful machinations, and in after years the witness of their cruel success, narrates in the following pages her unvarnished story. How similar allurements, one by one, like the threads of a strong net, were cast around her; how other and more overt influences were woven in, till mind and body were alike enthralled; what schemes, what arts, what arrogance and tyranny she beheld and suffered while under the restraints and within the toils of Romanism—these will constitute the burden of her narrative.

Escaped nun narratives such as Miss Bunkley's Book *fueled anti-Catholic suspicions about convent life. Josephine M. Bunkley,* Miss Bunkley's Book*:* The Testimony of an Escaped Novice from the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, Emmettsburg, Maryland . . . *(New York: Harper & Bros., 1855).*

linked the "woman question" to the "Catholic question," two of the most volatile problems in nineteenth-century political culture. Recent literary scholarship in gender studies and cultural studies looks again at convents and nuns and reinterprets their importance to the "antebellum Protestant encounter with Catholicism."[5]

Since publication of Jenny Franchot's influential volume *The Roads to Rome* (1994), much of the subsequent academic work reflects historians' fascination with deconstructing the rhetoric found in anti-convent writings—fiction and nonfiction—particularly narratives allegedly by or about "escaped nuns." As these scholars are interested in identifying the broad cultural themes found in the literature, primarily analyzing how the image of the Catholic nun epitomized "the Other" for many American Protestants, relatively fewer studies have sought to situate these women in the specific social and historical contexts from which they originated. For example, with the exception of the infamous Ursuline Convent Riot in 1834, few new studies have closely examined convent riots. Nor have convent inspection campaigns such as those in Massachusetts (1855) and in Maryland (1856) attracted much recent scholarly attention.

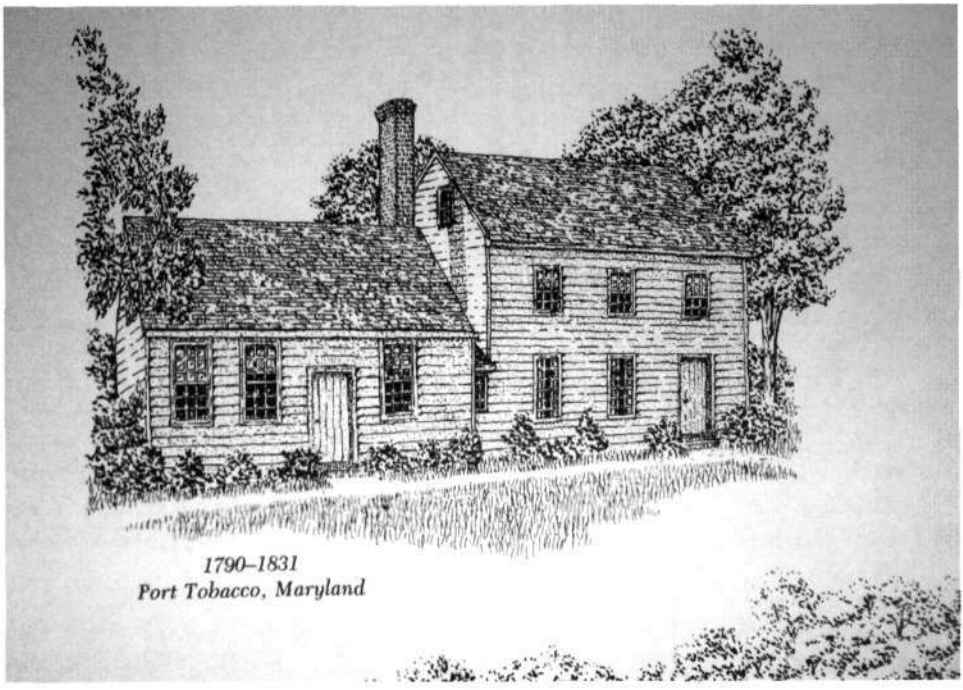
Arguably the three best-known "runaway nuns" of the antebellum period were Rebecca Reed, Maria Monk, and Josephine Bunkley. Reed purportedly penned the first bestselling anti-convent narrative *Six Months in a Convent* (1835), an exposé of her time as a trial member of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The torching of this institution by an angry mob only the year before is usually held to be the most outrageous act of anti-Catholic nativism in U.S. history. Maria Monk,

the supposed author of the infamous *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* (1836), wrote a salacious mix of forbidden sex and horrific violence that led to sales in excess of 300,000 copies, totals surpassed in the pre–Civil War era only by *Uncle's Tom's Cabin* (1852). Twenty years later, Josephine Bunkley published *Miss Bunkley's Book: The Testimony of an Escaped Novice from the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, Emmettsburg, Maryland, The Mother-House of the Sisters of Charity in the United States* (1855), a volume whose lurid contents and impressive sales made its alleged author the "Maria Monk" of her generation.[6]

Convent exposés like those attributed to Reed, Monk, and Bunkley, as well as convent novels of authors such as Boston's Charles W. Frothingham, commonly depicted the innocent young novice as the moral opposite to the scheming Mother Superior. These works usually presented the novice as a convert from Protestantism who, while attending a convent school, had been attracted by the externals of religious life. Although entering the nunnery by manipulated choice, she remained against her will, having learned too late the brutal realities of the cloister. The image of the naïve novice both reflected and exploited parental worries about Protestant daughters who, following a convent education, might convert to Catholicism and take the veil. Converts from Protestantism may never have accounted for a large percentage of the women in convents, but the concern of their families was real, as was that of anti-convent writers, however irrational its basis. According to Franchot, escaped nun tales reflected cultural anxieties and demonstrated "the frailty of Protestant girlhood."[7]

This essay examines the case of one "escaped nun," Olivia Neale (1803–1864), a Carmelite whose deranged flight from her Baltimore monastery in 1839 ignited three nights of rioting. Miss Neale's story produced a longstanding controversy in the press and pulpit, and her alleged fate helped foster a petition campaign in the 1850s to regulate convents in Maryland. The case of Olivia Neale thus both reflected and generated all three expressions of anti-convent sentiment—riot, rhetoric, and regulation. If less remembered today than other "runaway nuns" and less studied by recent scholars, Olivia Neale, nevertheless, was a highly controversial figure in antebellum America, one whose notoriety uniquely bridged the gap between the two major waves of anti-convent sentiment in the 1830s and 1850s, respectively.

In his 1890 chronicle celebrating the centennial of the Carmelite Monastery, the first community of women religious founded in the original United States, Reverend Charles Currier expressed his uncertainty, even puzzlement, over how to assess the significance of Olivia Neale to the history of the American Church. "The case of Sister Isabella is one of those in which we must bow before the mysterious decrees of an all-wise Providence," he confessed, "waiting patiently until the veil shall be uplifted, and God's designs shall be made known." With due respect to Charles Currier, this work attempts to lift the veil on the case of Olivia Neale, even if it cannot make known the divine designs surrounding the mystery of her insanity, flight, and the controversy her story occasioned.[8]

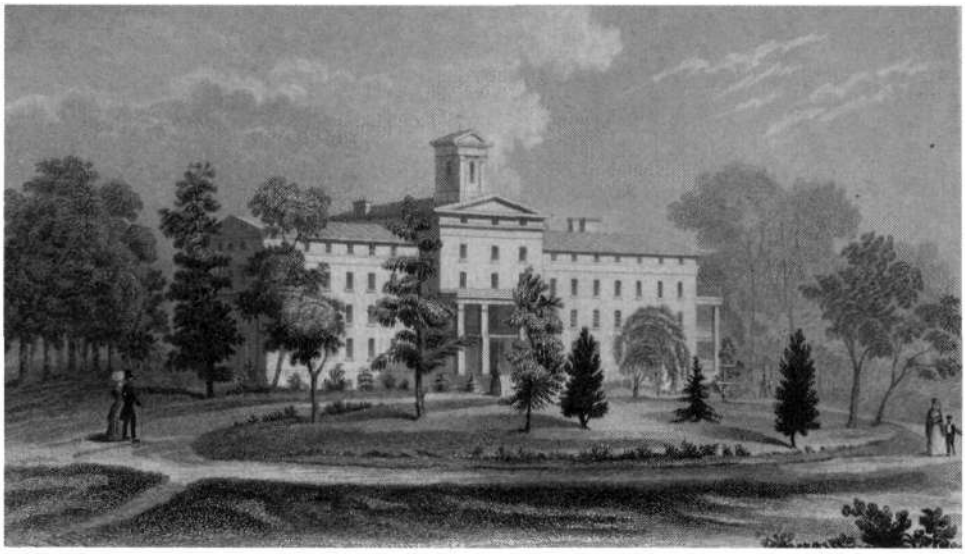


The Carmelite Monastery at Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland, was the first community of women religious in the United States. Olivia Neale entered the monastery in 1820. She lived with the order for eleven years before accepting a transfer to the new facility on Aisquith Street in Baltimore City. (Courtesy, Archives of the Carmelite Sisters of Baltimore.)

In contrast to Currier, for those who believed in the Papal plot against American liberties there was no ambiguity about Olivia Neale. Her case, and those of other "escaped nuns" of the era, remained significant as she had long lived in "the secret world of the enemy." Her testimony, if she were only permitted to give it freely, promised to provide "the final verification of suspicions" about the evil designs of Romanism in general and of the crimes of its convent system in particular. Her revelations, they believed, would help bring Protestant America "the promise of redemption and victory" over the nefarious forces of the Pope.

Cradle Catholic

Olivia Neale was born in 1803 in Charles County, Maryland, into the wealthy home of Edward and Grace Fenwick Neale. After being educated at the Convent of the Visitation in Georgetown, D.C., she joined the Carmelite Monastery at Port Tobacco in 1820, bringing with her the large dowry of $1,600. In doing so, she followed the example of her widowed mother, who had entered the Carmelite Monastery in 1818 following the death of her husband. On March 19, 1821, in her eighteenth year, Olivia professed as a choir sister, taking the name Isabella of the Angels. In 1831 when the Carmelites relocated from their farm in rural Port Tobacco to a new monastery on



*Mount Hope Institution, 1848. Olivia Neale spent the last twenty years of her life at this asylum, the first in the nation under Catholic leadership. (*The Sixth Annual Report of the Mount Hope Institution, near Baltimore, for the year 1848, *frontispiece.)*

Aisquith Street in the city of Baltimore, Archbishop James Whitfield chose her as one of the five teachers in the Carmelite Female Academy.[9]

Soon after the move to the Monumental City, however, Neale began to show signs of mental illness. After years of being "subject to fits of melancholy," Sister Isabella was relieved of her teaching duties and transferred to household chores by the Mother Prioress. Her problem may have been genetic, for one of her brothers suffered from insanity. Over time Neale's condition worsened as exhibited in one of her odd behaviors, the desire to refrain from eating, except "peach leaves, grass, and other similar articles." She also expressed a desire for solitude and an avoidance of a certain kitchen window for fear that she might exit through it. Despite her symptoms, Neale moved freely throughout the cloistered grounds of the Carmelite Monastery. Then, unexpectedly on Sunday, August 18, 1839, Neale jumped through the kitchen window and sought asylum in the home of a neighbor, Mr. Wilcox, ironically a warden of the town jail.[10]

Olivia Neale's "escape" set off three nights of mobbing that endangered the Carmelite Convent. On the order of her brother-in-law Colonel William Brent of Georgetown, D.C., to quell public concern, a team of five physicians from the faculty of Washington Medical College in Baltimore examined Neale. They judged her a "monomaniac," and Colonel Brent placed her in the charge of the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, who staffed the Maryland Hospital. The following year saw Neale transferred to another Sisters of Charity institution, Mount Saint Vincent's Hospital (renamed Mount Hope Institution in 1844 and Mount Hope Retreat in 1856), the first

hospital for the insane in the nation under Catholic leadership. As she was not prone to violent behavior, Neale later received permission from the Mother Prioress for occasional visits back to the Carmelite Monastery on Aisquith Street, but the Mother Prioress and her counsellors denied her requests to return permanently, suggesting that her derangement, however mild, remained debilitating. Neale, therefore, lived uneventfully at Mount Hope until her death in 1864.[11]

As with Reed, Monk, and Bunkley, little about Neale's life was especially remarkable or noteworthy until her "escape" from the Carmelite Convent. In that way, her story seemed to embody a stock character in anti-convent fiction—the unfortunate nun who loses her mind due to forced confinement. But, in other ways, Neale did not fit the profile of the typical "escaped nun" of the era. Indeed, those very differences made her a potentially valuable renegade witness for the No-Popery cause. For example, unlike Monk and Milly McPherson, an alleged former nun from Kentucky, Neale had been an actual member of a convent. Unlike Reed and Bunkley, at the time of her flight, Neale was not a young postulant or novice, but a thirty-five-year-old woman who had professed solemn vows as a nun and been a member of the Carmelite Monastery for nearly twenty years. Also unlike like Reed, Monk, and Bunkley, Neale had not converted from a Protestant sect—rather, she was a cradle Catholic. Finally, and most importantly, unlike Reed, Monk and McPherson, Neale came not from the shadowy social margins but hailed from the Maryland Catholic elite that traced its lineage back to the seventeenth century. These and other differences surrounding her case illuminate much about the social and political, rather than primarily cultural, significance of the "escaped nun" phenomenon in antebellum America.[12]

Olivia Neale descended from two prominent, old Catholic families of Southern Maryland—the Neales of Charles County and the Fenwicks of St. Mary's. On her maternal side, Olivia was related to two members of the American Catholic hierarchy. Her mother, Grace Fenwick Neale, was first cousin to Edward Dominic Fenwick, founder of the Dominican Order in the United States and first Bishop of the Diocese of Cincinnati (1822–1832). Another kinsman, Benedict Joseph Fenwick, born to a different branch of the family, joined the Jesuit order, served briefly as the president of Georgetown University, and then was installed as the second Bishop of Boston (1825–1846). On her paternal side, Olivia was linked to several distinguished Jesuit clergymen, including Leonard Neale, second Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Neale, a president of Georgetown University, and Charles Neale, first chaplain to the U.S. Carmelites. Moreover, at least nine of her cousins were members of the Convent of the Visitation, founded in Georgetown in 1799.[13]

If such a thing as a Catholic aristocracy existed in America—whether defined socially or ecclesiastically—Olivia Neale carried the birthright. Her authenticity and longevity as a nun, her pedigree as a member of the traditional American Catholic elite, and her residence in the epicenter of American Catholic administrative and spiritual life distinguished Olivia Neale from the era's other "escaped nuns." Born

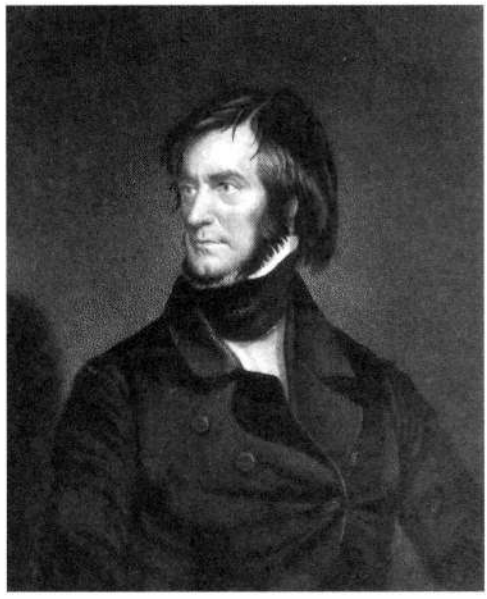
Leonard Neale (1746–1817), second Roman Catholic archbishop of Baltimore and Olivia Neale's kinsman. (John Gilmary Shea, History of the Catholic Church in America *[New York: The Author, 1886].)*

to ancient bloodlines in the "Cradle of American Catholicity," with members of her extended family in prominent positions within the American hierarchy and female religious institutions, and living her entire life in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, the "Premier See," the "American Rome," defined her unique situation. Her background and personal experience meant she could be the greatest witness to the schemes and depredations of Romanism, particularly its convent system. Unlike Reed, Monk, and Bunkley, however, Olivia Neale left no narrative recounting her life in the convent. This omission explains why recent cultural theorists and literary critics have given her case little attention. Nevertheless, contemporary convent opponents believed Neale's story had the potential to damage the public reputation of the American Catholic Church and they sought to use her situation to their advantage.

Anti-Convent Sentiment

The initial wave of anti-convent sentiment in Maryland surfaced by the mid-1830s in the wake of the Ursuline Convent Riot in Massachusetts and crested five years later with the Carmelite Convent Riot in Baltimore. The second wave swelled in the early 1850s, coinciding with the rise of the American, or Know-Nothing, Party, and peaked in 1856 with a state-wide petition campaign to inspect, regulate, and suppress convents in the state. The figure of Olivia Neale bridged both periods of heightened activity and fueled sectarian tensions in each outbreak.

Neale's case became the *cause célèbre* of Reverend Robert J. Breckinridge and Reverend Andrew B. Cross, two Old School Presbyterian ministers who edited *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine* (*BLRM*). They hailed her flight from the

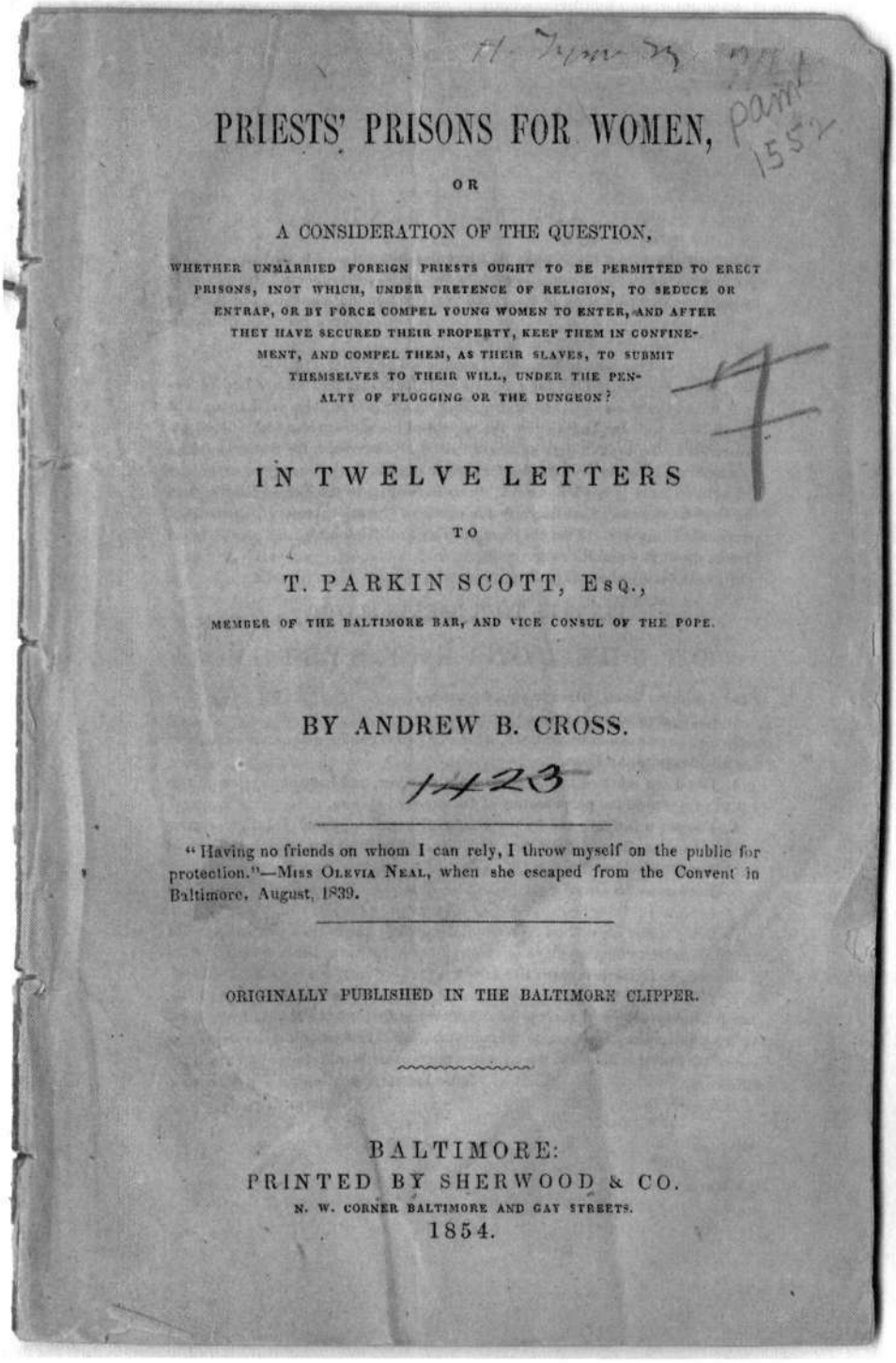


Robert J. Breckinridge (1800–1871), leader of the anti-Catholic crusade in Baltimore and editor of the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine. *(Maryland Historical Society.).*

Carmelite nunnery as confirmation of charges they had been leveling for the last five years against popery in general and its convent system in particular. Breckinridge, as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church just a few streets south of the Carmelite Monastery, was in the midst of his Sunday service when he heard of the "flight" of Sister Isabella. According to Reverend Louis Deluol, Sulpician Superior of St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, "Breckinridge left his congregation at their assembly, to go to the help of Sister Isabella, who laughed at him."[14]

Not surprisingly, the *BLRM* presented a rather different version of Breckinridge's meeting with the fugitive nun, claiming that she had asked for his protection. Whereas medical judgment sufficiently assured most of the city's non-Catholics of Neale's insanity, Breckinridge and Cross remained unconvinced and publicized their views in their journal and other publications. In the October issue of the *BLRM*, the editors provided a competing narrative about the events surrounding her escape titled "The Case of Olevia Neal the Carmelite Nun, Called Sister Isabella." They argued that Neale was completely sane and contended that she had attempted to escape five years earlier, an incident that local authorities had covered up because of undue Catholic influence.[15]

As ardent supporters of the belief that the Vatican, through the influence of the Jesuits, was attempting to subvert the American Republic in favor of Roman despotism, no amount of contrary evidence would sway them from their world view. Hence the group of five Protestant physicians that had ruled Olivia Neale insane were, at best, the unwitting dupes of popery, or, at worst, the willing agents of the Jesuit plot to deliver America to the Pope. Either way, according to Breckinridge and Cross, the physicians condemned a sane woman to a life of forced confinement and



PRIESTS' PRISONS FOR WOMEN,

OR

A CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION,

WHETHER UNMARRIED FOREIGN PRIESTS OUGHT TO BE PERMITTED TO ERECT PRISONS, INOT WHICH, UNDER PRETENCE OF RELIGION, TO SEDUCE OR ENTRAP, OR BY FORCE COMPEL YOUNG WOMEN TO ENTER, AND AFTER THEY HAVE SECURED THEIR PROPERTY, KEEP THEM IN CONFINEMENT, AND COMPEL THEM, AS THEIR SLAVES, TO SUBMIT THEMSELVES TO THEIR WILL, UNDER THE PENALTY OF FLOGGING OR THE DUNGEON?

IN TWELVE LETTERS

TO

T. PARKIN SCOTT, Esq.,

MEMBER OF THE BALTIMORE BAR, AND VICE CONSUL OF THE POPE.

BY ANDREW B. CROSS.

"Having no friends on whom I can rely, I throw myself on the public for protection."—Miss Olevia Neal, when she escaped from the Convent in Baltimore, August, 1839.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE BALTIMORE CLIPPER.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY SHERWOOD & CO.
N. W. CORNER BALTIMORE AND GAY STREETS.
1854.

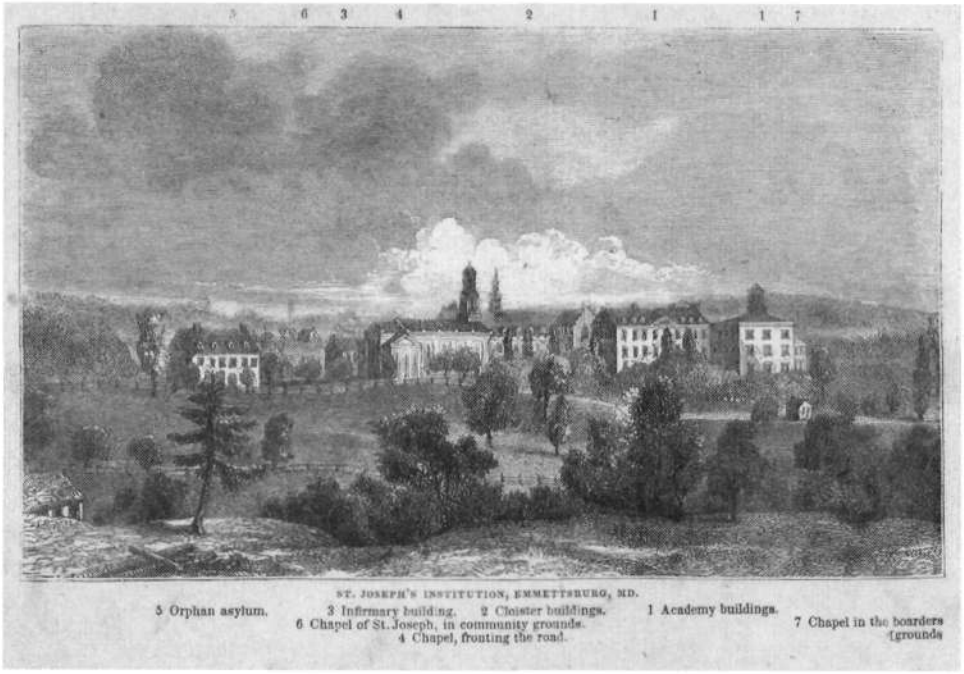
Andrew Boyd Cross, Priests' Prisons for Women . . . , *1854, a collection of the anti-convent articles Cross wrote for the* Baltimore Clipper.

demonstrated, to anyone willing to see, the dangerous degree that Catholic power already dominated Baltimore City.

Breckinridge and Cross had established the *BLRM* in January 1835 as the first anti-Catholic periodical published in the "American Rome," in the heart of the enemy's stronghold. Founder and senior editor Breckinridge was then just thirty-five years old and scion of a distinguished family in Virginia and Kentucky. He had already gained a well-deserved reputation as a religious controversialist within the Presbyterian Church. A decade younger than Breckinridge and then fresh from Princeton Theological Seminary, Cross publicly enlisted in the "No-Popery Crusade" in the latter half of 1834 when he agreed to be co-founder and junior editor of the new project. In its pages, the editors monitored what they called the "Papal Controversy" in Baltimore. They were also the driving force behind the 1835 formation of the Protestant Association, a non-sectarian organization of like-minded Protestant ministers concerned about the growth of Catholic power nationally and locally.[16]

The two men published the *BLRM* for seven years until Cross resigned to accept a calling to a church outside of Baltimore. For two years, Breckinridge continued to publish the magazine under a new title, the *Spirit of the XIXth Century*, before accepting in 1843 the presidency of Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania. After the demise of that journal and Breckinridge's move, local clamor over the Olivia Neale case receded but never completely disappeared.[17]

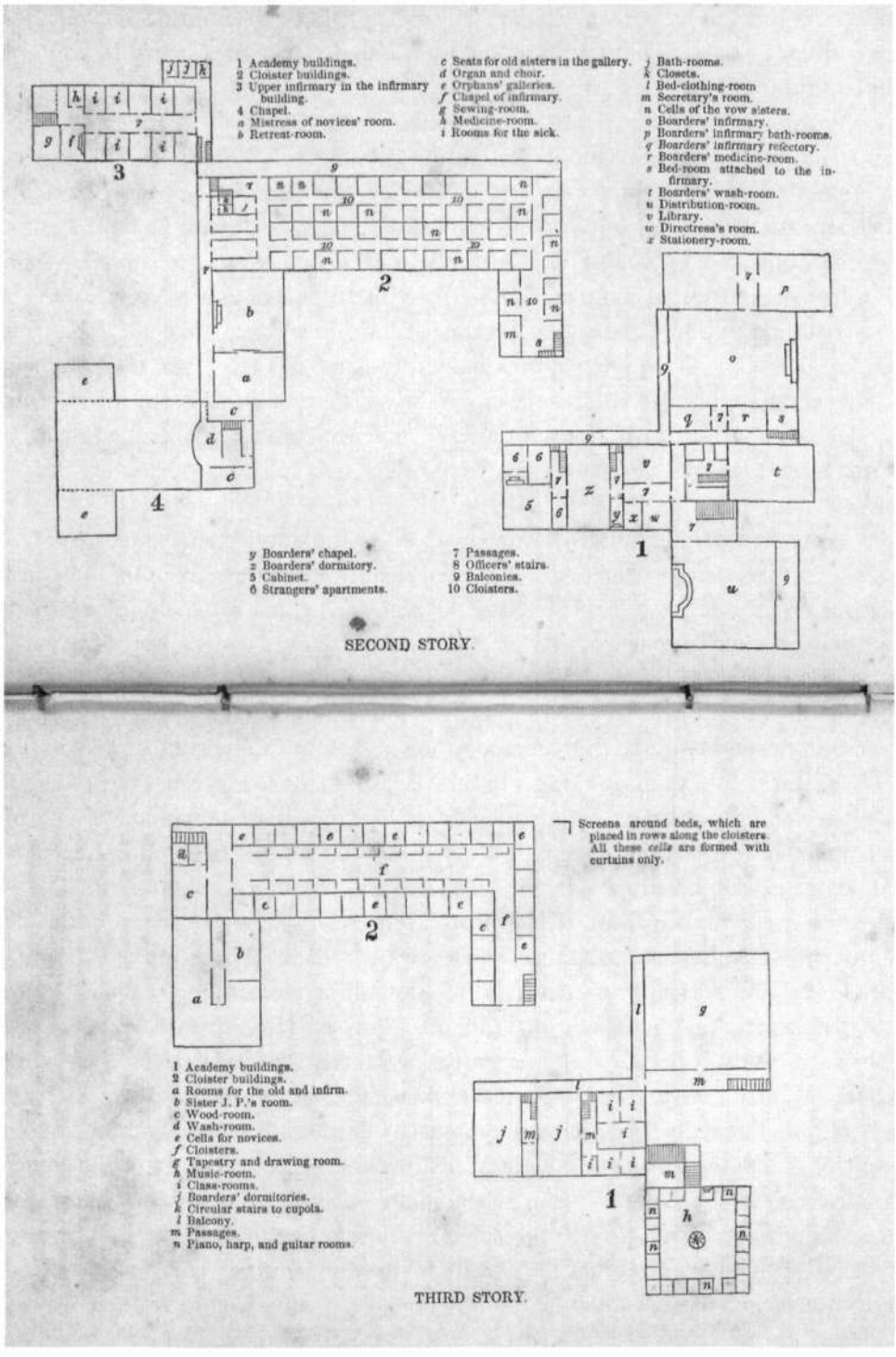
Although extra-legal action against nunneries failed in the 1830s, the rise of the Know-Nothing Party in the early 1850s seemed to portend a more favorable climate for the legal abolition of convents. By that time, Andrew Cross had returned to Baltimore and revived the anti-convent movement by raising questions in print about the fate of Olivia Neale, a cause that for him would border on personal obsession over the next five years. In December 1853, he published the first of a dozen letters on the topic in the *Baltimore Clipper*, a newspaper that would soon become the chief organ of the Know-Nothing party in Maryland. The collected essays soon appeared as a separate pamphlet under the imposing title, *Priests' Prisons for Women, Or a Consideration of the Question, Whether Unmarried Foreign Priests ought to Be Permitted to Erect Prisons, inot [sic] which, under Pretence of Religion, To Seduce or Entrap, or by Force Compel Young Women to Enter, and After They Have secured Their Property, Keep Them in Confinement, and Compel Them, as Their Slaves, to Submit Themselves to Their Will, under the Penalty of Flogging or the Dungeon? In Twelve Letters to T. Parkin Scott, Esq. Member of the Baltimore Bar, and Vice Consul of the Pope.* On its cover page under the author's name was a quote from "Olevia Neal" allegedly spoken after her flight from the Carmelite Convent in 1839: "Having no friends on whom I can rely, I throw myself on the public for protection." Several of his letters also cited the case of Olivia Neale to support the charge in his title, claiming that she had twice tried to flee the Carmelite Convent and lamenting that "every priest and nun that escapes, is belied and slandered and accused of insanity. They say Olevia Neal was



St. Joseph's motherhouse, Emmittsburg, Maryland, 1855. Josephine Bunkley fled the Sisters of Charity convent just six months after entering the order. Her sensational account of her experience sparked outrage among anti-Catholic factions. Bunkley, Miss Bunkley's Book, *frontispiece.*

insane, and Milly McPherson, . . . &c." Cross even titled his fourth letter "Where is OLEVIA NEAL?" and repeatedly posed this question throughout the pamphlet. In a later letter he asked rhetorically, "Can any one wonder why *Olevia Neal*, or *Milly McPherson* is not heard of if they have been immersed in mortar up to their neck, or if they have been inducted into a room with a trap door over a dark cell where a ray of light or a breath of air can never come?" He ended with the query, "What has become of Olevia Neal?"[18]

In March 1854, the Maryland House of Delegates received a petition "praying the passage of a law for the suppression of convents in this State" with the signatures of 311 citizens attached. Although no legislative action followed this memorial, its appearance signaled that Cross's message had reached the public and foreshadowed a statewide petition drive two years hence. Late that same year, an event occurred in Frederick County in Western Maryland that seemed to verify all of Cross's charges regarding the imprisonment of Olivia Neale. Josephine Bunkley, a young convert from Norfolk, Virginia, left the Emmitsburg motherhouse of the Daughters of Charity on November 9, 1854, after serving only six months of her novitiate. In itself her departure from religious life after a trial period was hardly noteworthy, since the first-year attrition rate in most convents was fairly high. The state's nativist newspapers, though, especially the *Frederick Examiner*, reported her decision as the case



Bunkley's floor plans of the convent interior. Miss Bunkley's Book, *npn.*

of yet another sadder but wiser young lady escaping from the inquisitional realities of convent life, a parallel to the flight of Sister Isabella from the Carmelite Convent in Baltimore fifteen years earlier.[19]

Within six months, *Miss Bunkley's Book: The Testimony of an Escaped Novice* appeared in nativist bookshops, recounting her allegedly horrific experiences as a member of the Daughters of Charity. Bunkley thus became the Maria Monk of her generation, and in truth her "testimony" about immorality in the Emmitsburg Motherhouse owed much to the "awful disclosures" by her notorious predecessor. Bunkley demonstrated complete familiarity with the case of Olivia Neale, calling it "the triumph of Romish intrigue over the natural and legal rights of a feeble woman." At one point, she quoted approvingly from Cross's *Priests' Prisons for Women.* Bunkley differed from Cross, however, on the question of Neale's sanity. Referring to her as the "unfortunate victim of priestly violence," Bunkley contended that the time in Mount Hope had made Neale "a hopeless maniac, driven to desperation by her tormentors."[20]

If much in Bunkley's account merely rehashed the "revelations" made by previous "ex-nuns," her book helped to heighten suspicion of convents in the state just as the Maryland legislature opened its 1856 session. With an overwhelming majority in the House of Delegates of fifty-four Know-Nothings to twenty Democrats and others, convent reformers confidently believed that they now had the means and the opportunity to launch a true investigation resulting in the final suppression of nunneries in the Old Line State. On February 7, 1856, Nelson Cullings, a Know-Nothing representative of Baltimore County in the Maryland House of Delegates, presented the petition of the Reverend Andrew B. Cross. The memorial demanded passage of a law "for the protection of young women in the convents of the State," and called for state inspection, regulation, and, ultimately, suppression of all nunneries. Controversy over whether or not to hear the petition read sparked a rancorous debate among the members of the House of Delegates, in which the question of the sanity of Olivia Neale was a prominent point of contention. Demanding that the House refuse to receive the Cross petition, William T. Merrick, a Democratic delegate from Charles County, a heavily Catholic part of southern Maryland, called it a "false charge against a large, pure and respectable portion of our community." Merrick asserted that based on personal acquaintance with the subject, and contrary to the contentions in the Cross petition, Olivia Neale was medically insane. "I knew her from her birth," he attested, "through her childhood and school days, and knew that she was deranged. Her family is subject to derangement and she had this infirmity, and yet Mr. Cross asserts that she was imprisoned against her will, and subjected to outrage, and all that, when he knew it to be false." In trying to counter Cross's charges, however, Merrick's statements further muddied the waters by leaving the impression that Isabella Neale had been mentally unstable from childhood, a claim that not only contradicted Carmelite testimony that Neale's first symptoms appeared

only after a decade in the monastery, but which also, if true, would have prevented her acceptance into the religious order.[21]

In response to Merrick, Jehu B. Askew, a Know-Nothing from Baltimore City, rose to support the reading of the petition and to contend that "upon his honor as a gentleman that Olivia Neal was not insane." A machinist by trade, Askew was the most outspoken defender of Andrew Cross and the most ardent champion of convent reform in the House of Delegates. At this point in the discussion, Merrick produced a letter from a Mr. Stewart, the superintendent of the Maryland Hospital, which stated that Olivia Neale was insane. It seems more than a coincidence that Merrick just happened to have the letter on hand at just the right moment and suggests that the Democrats and Catholics in the House were expecting submission of the Cross petition and had duly prepared their response.[22]

After heated exchanges, the House eventually appointed a special committee of five members to examine the matter. During the next four weeks, supporters of convent inspection in Maryland waged an impressive grass-roots campaign, flooding the legislature with over forty petitions containing approximately four thousand signatures. Convent opponents thus more than doubled the number of petitions sent the previous year to the state legislature in Boston that had led to the infamous convent-inspection tour by the so-called Know-Nothing "Nunnery Committee." Called the "Smelling" Committee by its opponents, it backfired on the Know-Nothings, and the scandal discredited anti-convent forces in Massachusetts. Appointment of the Maryland "Nunnery Committee" climaxed the intermittent, two-decade-long anti-Catholic crusade in Maryland.[23]

Although successful in their petition campaign, Cross and his anti-convent allies suffered a major setback on March 4 when the Nunnery Committee issued its much-awaited report. The special committee made up of three Know-Nothings and two Democrats unanimously concluded that "Mere complaints . . . are not sufficient to justify legislative protection" and that the existence of habeas corpus provided sufficient guarantee of the right of a woman not to be detained in a convent against her will.[24]

Most likely, a majority in both parties could find no great political advantage and feared the divisive consequences of dredging up what the *Annapolis Gazette* called "this vexed question" of convent reform. The councilmen of Urbana, a town in Frederick County, summed up the sense of frustration and betrayal supporters of convent reform felt toward Know-Nothing legislators when on March 29 they passed resolutions condemning the Nunnery Committee's report. They promised to continue the fight and pledged to vote only for men who would support them on the convent issue. Convent reformers, however, soon found they had no place to go but the Know-Nothing party, which had seemed to promise so much and yet had delivered so little.[25]

Disappointed but still determined to chase his convent chimera, Cross proffered a third petition to the Maryland legislature in its 1858 session. This time he broadened

his proposal, demanding "the suppression of abuses and protection of persons confined in prisons, convents and madhouses." The reference to "madhouses" alluded to Mount Hope Retreat in Baltimore, where Olivia Neale had lived under the care of the sister nurses since 1844. Demonstrating the malleability of the insanity issue, Cross now echoed Josephine Bunkley's charges and argued that if Neale were insane, her condition had resulted from fifteen years of enforced confinement at Mount Hope "under rules which border on starvation."[26]

No additional petitions supplemented the new Cross memorial, and the House voted to print just one hundred copies of the petition for use by its members, a far cry from the one thousand copies printed two years prior. Instead of creating a special committee to consider the petition, the Maryland lawmakers consigned it to the Committee on the Judiciary, where it quietly died. Cross's third unsuccessful attempt to obtain regulatory legislation effectively marked the end of two decades of formal anti-convent agitation in the state.[27]

Legacy

Olivia Neale left an ambiguous legacy as an "escaped nun." Unlike her contemporaries, Rebecca Reed, Maria Monk, and Josephine Bunkley, she neither embraced nor aspired to the role of renegade. Yet, during both phases of anti-convent hysteria in the state, she played a prominent, if unwanted and ironic, part—in the 1830s as an accidental actor and in the 1850s as a symbol both sides used to justify their positions. She had proved a polarizing figure to the crowd in the city streets in 1839 and to the residents of the entire state in the 1850s. The contested nature of her story, particularly over the issue of her sanity, served as a kind of nineteenth-century Rorschach test of public attitudes toward the Catholic Church in America. Her story also complicates and qualifies important points in the recent scholarly interpretations of escaped-nun tales.

Robert Breckinridge and Andrew Cross constructed the convent narrative that Olivia Neale did not leave, hoping and expecting that her story, once revealed, would expose the corrupt system of popery and thereby awaken the American public to the danger to the Protestant Republic. In the end, however, their claims and charges about "Olevia Neal" better served the opinions of those already hostile to Rome, rather than change the minds of neutral parties. In the 1850s Cross did use "Olevia Neal" successfully as an icon to energize his anti-convent base, but in the process found himself preaching mainly to the anti-Catholic choir. At the same time, his fanatical rhetoric alienated many undecided voters, and his unsubstantiated charges caused many Know-Nothing legislators, who might otherwise be allies, to distance themselves from a cause that threatened to embarrass their young party much as a similar crusade had done in Massachusetts the previous year.

For conspiracy-minded types like Breckinridge and Cross, however, "Olevia Neal" remained the renegade that might have been, one whose testimony, had she

ever been free to give it, would have settled the "Papal Controversy" in Baltimore in favor of Protestant republicanism over Roman despotism. Reluctantly, in the end, Cross had to count Neale as yet one more victim of the convent system. Still, for him and his anti-convent supporters, her case remained an object lesson in the power and influence of Popery and the ruthless means Rome would take to cover up its crimes. This protean adaptability to circumstances combined with an unshakeable certitude in the face of evidence to the contrary is yet one more characteristic of the paranoid style that helps explains its persistence over time.

NOTES

A version of this paper was presented at The Eighth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious, *Confronting Challenges: Women Religious Respond to Change,* University of Scranton, Scranton, PA June 27-30, 2010. The author is grateful for the helpful comments and suggestions offered by Chris Anderson, Anne Butler, Sr. Constance Fitzgerald, Sr. Dolores Liptak, Irwin Marcus, and Sr. Betty Ann McNeil.

1. Andrew B. Cross, *Priests Prisons for Women* (Baltimore: Sherwood & Co., 1854), 40–41.
2. Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 34–35. In coining the term, Hofstadter differentiated between what he called the "paranoid style" in politics and clinical paranoia. "The clinical paranoid sees the hostile and conspiratorial world in which he feels himself to be living as directed specifically *against him;* whereas the spokesman of the paranoid style finds it directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life whose fate affects not himself alone but millions of others." For Hofstadter, "It is, above all, a way of seeing the world and of expressing oneself" (4).
3. Susan M. Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 27. John Higham still offers the best definition of nativism, "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connection." He cites three types of nativism: 1) anti-Catholicism, 2) anti-foreign radicalism, 3) Anglo-Saxon racism. In the antebellum era, anti-Catholicism was the principal form of nativism. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 4–10.
4. The classic survey of anti-Catholic nativism before the Civil War is Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study in the Origins of Nativism* (1938; reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963). While dated in interpretation, Billington remains an indispensable research source. On Britain, see Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982) and Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism*, 168–69. For a recent comparative study of trans-Atlantic Anti-Catholicism, see Timothy Verhoeven, *Trans-Atlantic Anti-Catholicism: France and the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
5. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade,* 366; David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 47 (1960): 205–24; David H. Bennett, "Women and the Nativist Movement," in *"Remember the Ladies": New Perspectives on Women in American*

History, ed. Carol V. R. George (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975), 70–84; Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 41–47; and Joseph G. Mannard, "Protestant Mothers and Catholic Sisters: Gender Concerns in Anti-Catholic Conspiracy Theories, 1830–1860," *American Catholic Studies*, 111 (2000): 1–21; Jenny Franchot, *The Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

6. See James R. Lewis, "'Mind-Forged Manacles': Anti-Catholic Convent Narratives in the Context of the American Captivity Tradition," *Mid-America*, 72 (1990): 146–67; Susan M. Griffin, "'The Dark Stranger': Sensationalism and Anti-Catholicism in Sara Josepha Hale's *Traits of American Life*," *Legacy*, 14 (1997): 13–24; Marie Anne Pagliarini, "The Pure American Woman and the Wicked Catholic Priest: An Analysis of Anti-Catholic Literature in Antebellum America," *Religion and American Culture*, 9 (1999): 97–128; Tracy Fessenden, "The Convent, the Brothel, and the Protestant Woman's Sphere," *Signs*, 25 (2000): 451–78; Timothy Verhoeven, "Neither Male Nor Female: Androgyny, Nativism, and Anti-Catholicism," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vols. 24–25 (2005): 5–19; Sandra Frink, "Women, the Family, and the Fate of the Nation in American Anti-Catholic Narratives, 1830–1860," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 18 (2009): 237–64; Catherine McGowan, "Convents and Conspiracies: A Study of Convent Narratives in the United States, 1850–1870" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2009). Historian Nancy Isenberg offers a fascinating analysis of the writings of Lucretia Mott that demonstrates how that Quaker reformer metaphorically contrasted the image of the hysterical nun confined in the convent with that of the liberated woman Mott sought to achieve by the antebellum woman's rights movement. See "'To Stand Out in Heresy': Lucretia Mott, Liberty, and the Hysterical Woman," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 127 (2003), 7–34. On the Charlestown Convent riot see, for example, Jeanne Hamilton, O.S.U., "The Nunnery as Menace: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 14 (1996): 35–65; and Nancy Lusignan Schultz, *Fire and Roses: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834* (New York: The Free Press, 2004). The detailed work of Daniel A. Cohen also demonstrates that it is still possible to discover new insights about the Charlestown Riot. See his "Passing the Torch: Boston Firemen, 'Tea Party' Patriots, and the Burning of the Charlestown Convent," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 24 (2004): 527–86; "Alvah Kelley's Cow: Household Feuds, Property Rights, and the Charlestown Convent Riot," *The New England Quarterly*, 74 (2001): 531–79; as well as earlier pieces on "The Respectability of Rebecca Reed: Genteel Womanhood and Sectarian Conflict in Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16 (1996): 419–61; and on "Miss Reed and the Superiors: The Contradictions of Convent Life in Antebellum America," *Journal of Social History*, 30 (1996): 149–84. An exception is John R. Mulkern, "Scandal Behind the Convent Walls: The Know-Nothing Nunnery Committee of 1855" *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, 11 (1983): 22–34; and Mulkern, *Know-Nothing Party in Massachusetts: The Rise and Fall of a People's Movement* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990); Rebecca Reed, *Six Months in a Convent and Supplement* (Boston: Russel, Odiorne and Metcalf 1835; facsimile edition, New York: Arno Press Inc. 1977); Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* (New York: By the Author, 1836; facsimile edition, Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1962); Josephine M. Bunkley, *Miss Bunkley's Book: The Testimony of an Escaped Novice from the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, Emmettsburg, Maryland* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1855).

7. Billington notes that Frothingham in one year published *The Convents' Doom; a Tale of Charlestown in 1834* (1854), *Six Hours in a Convent; or the Stolen Nuns* (1854), and *The Haunted Convent* (1854). See *The Protestant Crusade*, 348, 368, n. 15. Joseph G. Mannard, "Converts in

Convents: Protestant Women and the Social Appeal of Catholic Religious Life in Antebellum America," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 104 (Spring-Winter 1993): 79–90; Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, 155.

8. Charles W. Currier, *Carmel in America: A Centennial History of the Discalced Carmelites in the United States* (Baltimore: John Murphey & Co., 1890), 271.

9. "Olivia Neale" in *Profession Book of the Discalced Carmelites of Baltimore* (unpaginated), and *Death Book of the Carmelites* (unpaginated), Archives of the Carmelite Monastery, Baltimore; Currier, *Carmel in America*, 141, 158, 194.

10. Currier, *Carmel in America*, 212–13; John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church within the Limits of the United States, from the First Attempted Colonization to the Present Time*, 4 vols. (New York: John G. Shea, 1890), 3:448, 728. For a full account of the riot and its aftermath, see Joseph G. Mannard, "The 1839 Baltimore Nunnery Riot: An Episode in Jacksonian Nativism and Social Violence," *The Maryland Historian* 11 (1980): 13–27.

11. Currier, *Carmel in America*, 219–20, 224; Mannard, "1839 Baltimore Riot," 14–15; [Sr. Mary John Crumlish, D.C.], *1809–1959* (Emmitsburg, Md.: Saint Joseph's Central House, 1959), 31. From the Maryland Hospital, Sr. Isabella went to Mount Saint Vincent's (1840–1844), Mount Hope Institution (1844–1856), Mount Hope Retreat (1856–1944) in succession as Mount Hope developed and relocated. I wish to thank Sr. Betty Ann McNeil, Provincial Archivist of the Daughters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland, for clarifying the name changes and chronology for this institution; e-mail correspondence McNeil to Mannard, July 20 and October 17, 2010.

12. Except for Reed and Monk, there is surprisingly little biographical information on most of the other so-called escaped nuns in the pre–Civil War era, and even much of that is questionable because of the biased nature of many sources. In his 1856 petition to the Maryland legislature demanding inspection of convents in the state, Reverend Andrew Cross provided his list of the eight best-known alleged "runaway nuns" to appear over the past quarter century— "Miss [Elizabeth] Harrison and [Rebecca] Reed, in Massachusetts; Maria Monk in Montreal; Milly McPherson, in Kentucky; Louise Wortman, at St. Louis; Ann Fallon, at Providence, R.I.; Olevia Neal, in Baltimore; Miss [Josephine] Bunkley, from Emmitsburg, and also other cases." Elizabeth Harrison was an actual nun who did "flee" the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown briefly but returned of her own will and remained a nun for the rest of her life. Milly McPherson was a Catholic, but there is no evidence that she ever entered a convent. I could not find additional information on Louise Wortman or Ann Fallon. See Andrew Cross, [Petition] "To the Citizens, to the Honorable the General Assembly and Governor of Maryland," January 31, 1856, reprinted as "The Cry from the Priests' Prisons," *Baltimore Clipper*, February 8, 1856. On the Milly McPherson case, the best source is C. Walker Gollar, "The Alleged Abduction of Milly McPherson and Catholic Recruitment of Presbyterian Girls," *Church History*, 65 (December 1996): 596–608; On Reed's background, see especially Cohen, "The Respectability of Rebecca Reed," and Schultz, *Fire and Roses*, 120–21. On Monk's background, see Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 99–108; and Maureen McCarthy "The Rescue of True Womanhood: Convents and Anti-Catholicism in 1830s America" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1996). On Bunkley's background, see Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, 310–11.

13. The following sources provided genealogical information on Olivia Neale and her relations: Magdalen McWilliams Mackall, *The Neales of Maryland and Their Descendants* (Priv. publ., 1965); Magdalen McWilliams Mackall, *Our Colonial Ancestors* (Priv. publ., 1963); Charles Fenwick, "The Fenwicks of St. Mary's County, Maryland," Maryland State Archives, Annapolis; and Elise Greenup Jourdan, *Early Families of Southern Maryland*, 2 vols. (West-

minster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1992). Providing historical context on the colonial period is Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776" (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland, 1993). I wish to thank Tricia Pyne, director of the Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University in Baltimore for directing me to these works.

14. Rev. Louis Deluol Diary, translated by A. J. Gendreau, RG 1, Box 1, RG 1, Box 1, Archives of the Associated Sulpicians of the U.S., Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary & University (Baltimore).

15. Breckinridge and Cross and other nativist writers usually misspelled Olivia Neale's name as either "Olevia Neal" or "Olivia Neal." Many modern scholars have repeated their mistake, thus making research of her case a bit more difficult. When referring to writings by Breckinridge and Cross, I keep their spelling of her name, but place it in quotation marks. *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, 5 (October 1839): 440; and "Carmelite Convent in Baltimore; an Outrage which Was Probably Committed Therein," *BLRM*, 1 (May 1835): 129–33. See also, Robert J. Breckinridge, *Papism in the XIXth Century, in the United States: Being, Select Contributions to the Papal Controversy, during 1835–1840* (Baltimore: David Owen & Son, 1841), a collection of articles from the *BLRM*. The articles that most relate to the case of Olivia Neale are found on pages 7–16, 235–80.

16. See "Robert Jefferson Breckinridge," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Volume 2, editors Allen Johns and Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 10–11; Cross attended Princeton from 1830 to 1833, see *General Catalogue Princeton University, 1746–1906* (Princeton, N.J.: published by the university, 1908), 143; "The Protestant Association," *BLRM*, 1 (May 1835): 153–55.

17. *Spirit of XIXth Century*, 2 (December 1843): 663.

18. The best overall study of nativism in antebellum Maryland is Jean Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). It should be supplemented by William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), and compared with two older studies, Sr. M. St. Patrick McConnville, *Political Nativism in the State of Maryland, 1830–1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 1928), and Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 17 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899). On how nativism in Maryland compared with that in other slave states, see W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950). An important recent comparative study that gives a great attention to nativism is Baltimore, New Orleans, and St. Louis in the 1850s is Frank Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004); Baltimore *Clipper* December 3, 13, 20, 30, 1853, January 5, 14, 19, 1854, February 15, 1854, March 4, 18, 1854, April 1, 1854, and May 5, 1854; Andrew B. Cross, *Priests' Prisons for Women* (Baltimore: Sherwood & Co., 1854); 12–16, 23, 40–41.

19. *The Catholic Mirror*, March 11, 1854 and April 15, 1854. One of the names on the petition was William S. Crowley, owner and operator of a bookstore in Baltimore where nativist literature such as that authored by Cross was sold, Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 4–5. Another signature belonged to Reverend Nathan L. Rice, an Old-School Presbyterian clergyman, anti-Catholic writer/editor from Kentucky, and chief promoter of Milly McPherson as a runaway nun who had been murdered to keep her quiet. The Baltimore *Clipper* of April 10, 1854 carried a story on the demands for nunnery inspection in England. The *Clipper's* editor, Reverend John N. McJilton of the Episcopal Church, recommended similar petitions be sent to state legislatures

in America; Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick: L. R. Titsworth & Co., 1910), 224; Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 311; Frederick *Examiner*, November 22, 29, and December 6, 13, 20, 1854. On attrition and retention rates in early convents, see Barbara Misner, SCSC, *"Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies": Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790–1850* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988).

20. In 1850, the Emmitsburg sisterhood formally affiliated with the Foundation of Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent De Paul, Paris, France, and accordingly changed their appellation from "Sisters of Charity" to "Daughters of Charity" and adopted the white cornette and blue-gray habit of that order; [Crumlish] *1809–1859*, 73, 80; Bunkley, *Testimony of an Escaped Novice*, 302. The quote from Cross is on page 241. See also, *The Catholic Mirror*, December 9, 1854. The *Mirror* gave considerable attention to debunking Bunkley's charges. See, for example, the articles: "The 'Escape' From St. Joseph's," December 9, 1854; "The Miss Bunkley Affair," May 5, 1855; "The Emmitsburg Nunnery Case," May 12, 1855; "Miss Bunkley's Book," May 26, 1855; Bunkley, *Testimony of an Escaped Novice*, 42.

21. *Baltimore Republican*, February 28, 1856; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 81–82; *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland* 1856, 235; "Legislative Proceedings," [in Annapolis, February 7, 1856], as printed in *The Catholic Mirror*, February 16, 1856.

22. *The Catholic Mirror*, February 16, 1856; *Baltimore Republican*, February 8, 1856; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 48, 73. Askew's occupation is listed in *Wood's Baltimore Directory* (1856–1857).

23. *Journal of the House*, 1856, 235, 298, 330–31, 360–62, 377–78, 422, 428, 443, 448–49, 472, 493–95, 517, 542, 583, 629–30, 635, 667–68, 700; *Journal of Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland*, 1856, 245–46, 336–37. The General Court of the State of Massachusetts, 1855, listed twenty-one petitions received on the convent issue. In Maryland, twenty-nine petitions together totaled 2,657 signatures, an average of ninety-two names for each. The exact totals for the remaining fourteen memorials are not recorded, though each had "sundry" names attached to them. Using the average number of names from those petitions that are given, I have estimated that the other fourteen petitions totaled 1,288 names. Together the forty-three documents contained an estimated 3,945 signatures. On the Massachusetts Nunnery Committee, see Mulkern, "Scandal behind the Convent Walls: The Know-Nothing Nunnery Committee of 1855," 22–34; and Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 413–15.

24. Report of Nunnery Committee, *Journal of the House*, 1856, 641–44; *The Metropolitan*, 4 (April 1856): 199.

25. Frederick *Examiner*, April 2, 1856.

26. *Journal of the House*, 1858, 281; Document K, Maryland General Assembly *Documents* (House), 1858, Part 2, 4.

27. *Journal of the House*, 1858, 282.

Robert B. Morse and a Regional Water System for Montgomery and Prince George's Counties

JUSTINE CHRISTIANSON

In 1914, Robert B. Morse, Chief of the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering of the Maryland State Department of Health, described what he viewed as the atrocious conditions of the state's public works. He went on to write:

> That Maryland is so poorly serviced by water supply and sewerage facilities is partly due to apathy and a lack of realization of the needs of modern life on the part of many inhabitants, and partly to the lack of money; but the greatest factor is the short-sighted policy of municipal officials, who think they are keeping down expenses on public works . . . with the resulting establishment of improperly protected or uneconomically operated water supplies, and poorly designed sewerage systems which are uneconomical in construction, unsatisfactory in maintenance and operation, and which create dangerous or offensive conditions in the bodies of water into which they discharge.[1]

This article examines Morse's pivotal role in transforming the random collection of water systems with questionable sanitary levels into a regional system delivering safe water treated at a single water filtration plant of innovative design. The establishment of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC), in which he played a key role as its first chief engineer, aided his efforts. The story of Morse's work to establish a healthy water system for Washington, D.C.'s Maryland suburbs reflected a nationwide trend in the first half of the twentieth century toward establishing regional water and sewerage systems with large-scale filtration plants.

Although American cities established waterworks during the nineteenth century, the development of urban areas in the first part of the twentieth century increased the need for both water and sewerage systems. Scientific study identifying the causes of disease, along with ideological beliefs, particularly progressive ideas that promoted

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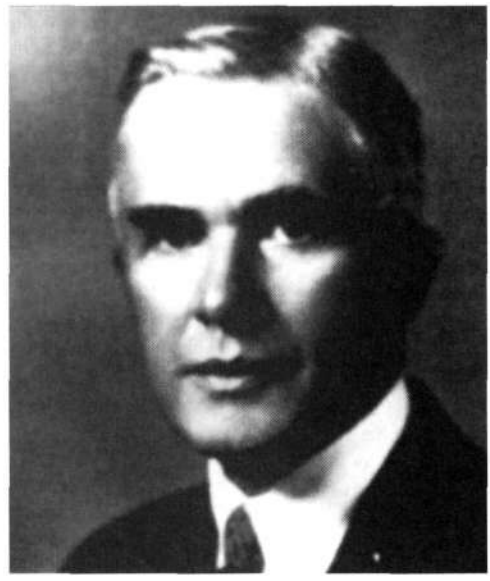


Robert B. Morse (1880–1936). From Art Brigham, History of the WSSC, 75th Anniversary, 1918-1993 *(Laurel, Md.: Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, 1993).*

"the maintenance of a sound physical environment to meet social ends, that is to impose a 'civilizing influence' on urbanites through the use of technical expertise in the development and management of city services," pushed the growth of municipal water works. Combined, these factors led to the establishment of municipal systems in the United States from the 1890s to the 1920s. Continued expansion in the 1930s resulted from the availability of federal funding from such programs as the Public Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Act, and the Civil Works Administration. The authority of city governments to tax and issue bonds to support the establishment of utilities, as well as increased regulatory powers, further made the large-scale construction of waterworks possible.[2]

Legislating Clean Water

Robert B. Morse was born in Montpelier, Vermont, on September 13, 1880, to Harmon Northrop Morse, a chemistry professor at the Johns Hopkins University, and Caroline Augusta (Brooks) Morse. Robert attended Baltimore City College, the Johns Hopkins University, the University of Maine, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). In the process, he earned two bachelor's degrees, one in civil engineering from Johns Hopkins in 1901 and the other from MIT in 1904. After completing his studies in 1904, Morse worked as a draftsman at the Bureau of Construction and Repairs of the U.S. Navy Department before accepting a position as a draftsman at the Sewerage Commission of Baltimore City. He held various positions within the commission before moving to New York City where he accepted a one-year appointment as an assistant sanitary engineer with the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission and helped develop the plans to clean up the polluted New York harbor. Morse returned

to Maryland to work for the Maryland State Board of Health as the chief engineer of the newly created Bureau of Sanitary Engineering from 1912 to 1918.[3]

When Morse moved back to Maryland, he found universally poor sanitary conditions in the state and little governmental oversight. He blamed the situation on municipal officials unwilling to expend funds on public works, a decision that ultimately resulted in substandard water and sewerage systems and threatened public health. Throughout his career, Morse advocated for cooperation between government agencies and municipalities in creating comprehensive water and sewerage systems while also considering the impact of systems on neighboring communities.

Maryland state officials had established a Bureau of Sanitary Engineering within the state's Department of Health in 1910, but inadequate funding delayed organizing the bureau until 1912, after which Morse became its chief and Harry R. Hall became its assistant engineer. The bureau had little authority and its duties consisted primarily of advising municipalities planning to develop water supply and sewerage systems, reporting on sanitation in public buildings, business waste, and sewerage practices, and devising methods to improve sanitary conditions and the state's water supply. Morse believed that the agency's limited authority compromised their ability to combat Maryland's high rates of typhoid and to modernize its dangerous water and sewerage systems. Over time, he acquired the power needed to effect change. He served as consultant on the establishment of the Washington Suburban Sanitary District and Commission and then became the WSSC's chief engineer from its inception in 1918 until his death in 1936 at the age of fifty-five.[4]

The origins of the WSSC lie in a 1912 joint resolution of the Maryland General Assembly that established the Prince George's and Montgomery counties Sewerage Commission, charged with reporting on the area's sanitary conditions with a particular focus on sewage issues. The impetus for focusing on these two counties lies in their proximity to Washington, D.C., and their watersheds. As stated in a 1918 report, "The unsanitary conditions of Little Falls Branch, the growing pollution of Rock Creek, and the increasing offensiveness of the Anacostia River, were beginning to awaken a dread, not only in the Sanitary District but in the District of Columbia itself, of an epidemic of typhoid or other diseases." The governor appointed representatives from both counties to serve on the commission alongside three members of the Maryland State Board of Health. Although the General Assembly professed to be aware of the severity of the sanitary situation, they failed to fund the commission. As a result, the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering proved to be of invaluable assistance, with State Assistant Engineer Hall performing most of the commission's engineering work and Chief Morse serving as advisor. In February 1914, Morse presented the commission's findings to Governor Phillips Lee Goldsborough and the legislature, along with a bill creating a Sewerage District. The bill did not pass, but the legislature did approve the two acts that created the Montgomery County Commissioners and Prince George's County Commissioners.[5]

Undeterred, Morse and 1912 commission members T. Howard Duckett and William T. S. Curtis kept meeting in the Southern District offices of the State Board of Health in Hyattsville. The trio continued crafting legislation, broadening their scope to include water supply issues. Duckett presented revised legislation at the 1916 session of the Maryland General Assembly, and it was finally approved as Chapter 313, Acts of 1916. The approval resulted in the creation of the Washington Suburban Sanitary District, encompassing a ninety-five-square-mile area, forty-one square miles of which were in Montgomery County and fifty-four in Prince George's County. The Montgomery County portion of the district included most of Bethesda and Wheaton, a small portion of Rockville, and additional unspecified "election districts." Chillum, Hyattsville, Riverdale, Bladensburg, Seat Pleasant, and parts of Vansville and Kent comprised the Prince George's County portion. As created, the district included parts of the Rock Creek and Anacostia River drainage areas and all of the Oxon Run and Little Falls Branch drainage areas.

The legislation also established a sanitary commission made up of three members and allocated ten thousand dollars toward their work. The governor appointed J. William Bogley, Curtis served as representative for Montgomery County, and Duckett for Prince George's County. The commission focused on investigating the water supply, developing a water supply and sewerage system plan, and identifying potential construction projects and distribution methods. The legislation called for the State Department of Health, and Morse as Chief of the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering, to be involved in the work. The commission completed its findings and recommendations in 1918 and presented the plan to the General Assembly.[6]

The report included data on the water and sewerage systems and highlighted the lack of sanitary systems, "residents not having access to a public sewerage system and not served by a scavenger system either have to maintain cesspools or private sewage disposal plants, use drains discharging into streams or ditches, or get rid of the contents of outhouses as best they can, generally by burying on their own property, often in dangerous proximity to wells supplying drinking water." The commission went on to estimate that probably more than half of the private wells supplied unsafe drinking water and based the claim on the results of a study of one hundred water samples—half of which failed U.S. Public Health Service standards for safe drinking water. Morse and the commission urged the state to create a central body responsible for developing and administering regional public water and sewerage systems, later noted as "a pioneer effort in the establishment of regional networks for the purposes of pollution control and water supply."[7]

As a result of its findings, the commission recommended making the WSSC a permanent agency overseeing both Montgomery and Prince George's counties. Rather than connect the sanitary district's systems with those that the District of Columbia operated, the commission believed independent sources of water and a separate distribution system should be established. To that end, the commission

asked the legislature for the authority to acquire land, build, operate, and maintain the water supply, sewerage, storm drainage, and trash disposal systems, as well as the authority to take over already established town systems after paying fair market value. Three commissioners would direct the WSSC, one appointed by each member of the Board of County Commissioners with input from the State Board of Health, and one gubernatorial appointee. The final recommendation was that private entities be restricted from establishing rival systems without prior approval. The General Assembly approved the plans as Chapter 122, Acts of 1918, effective May 1, 1918.[8]

The newly formed WSSC with its three commissioners (Curtis, Bogley, and Duckett) wasted no time in starting work, holding the first meeting at their headquarters in Hyattsville on May 15, 1918. The group directed their efforts to establishing a water and sewerage system for the area under its jurisdiction. The rapid growth of the Maryland suburbs from the end of World War I to the end of World War II, which resulted from the expansion of the federal government, had pushed the capacities of the existing patchwork infrastructure to its limits. The WSSC, consequently, had to unify and expand the system to keep up with the pace of development. The commission's first endeavors during the period 1919–1924 included entering into agreements with the mayors and common councils of Hyattsville and Mt. Rainier to purchase their water systems and develop plans to build sewer and water mains in Bladensburg, Cottage City, Riverdale Park, and trunk-line sewers in Chevy Chase, Takoma Park, and Kensington. The WSSC also decided to take over the water-supply equipment in Chevy Chase, build a water system and supply line for College Park and a sewer system in Capitol Heights, and run a main water line from Hyattsville to Seat Pleasant.[9]

The WSSC's first major building campaign, a temporary filter plant with a capacity of 2.5 million gallons per day (abbreviated Mgd and the standard unit of measure of the output of water filtration plants) at Burnt Mills on Colesville Road in Silver Spring, Montgomery County, opened in 1924. The location of the Northwest Branch of the Anacostia River had long made it a prime site for mills, including one that had burned in 1788 and thus given the area its name. From about 1890 to 1903, Samuel Waters and William Mannakee operated a flour and corn mill to the south of Colesville Road on the east bank of the Northwest Branch. The mill ceased operation during World War I, and in 1920 the land became part of the Boy Scouts' Camp Woodrow Wilson. In 1924, the *Washington Post* stated that more than 1,500 Boy Scouts used the camp, and two years later the popular youth organization embarked on a building campaign that included constructing a cabin and leveling the surrounding land for tent camping.[10]

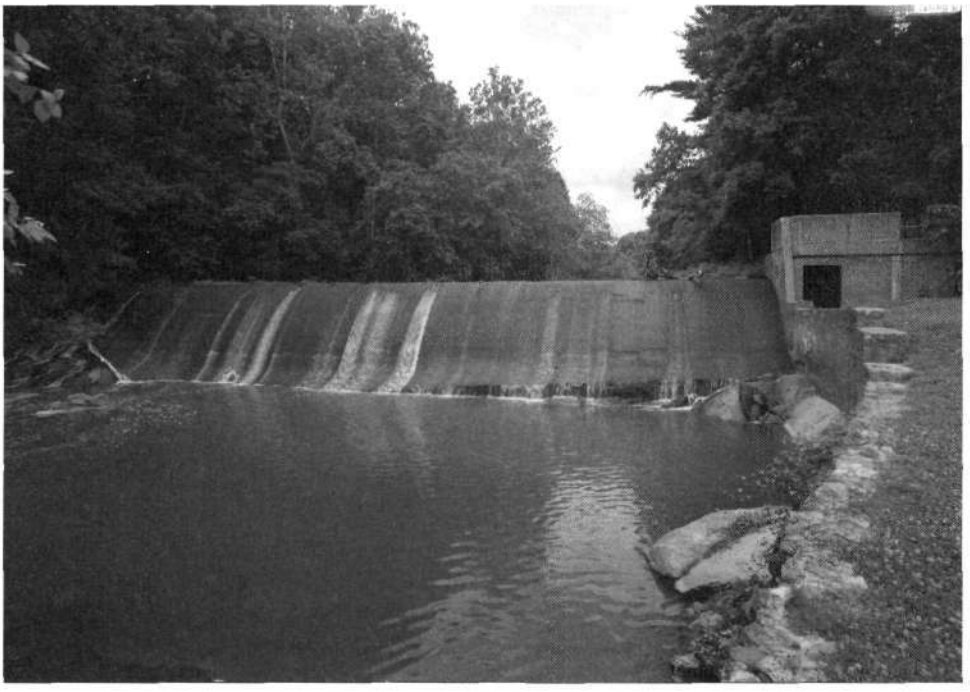
The WSSC had obtained a portion of the Scouts' landholdings in the early 1920s and razed the mill, reportedly used as a dining hall, to create a clear site for the construction of a filter plant. Drawing from the Northwest Branch, the plant consisted of a stone intake dam, four filters in a galvanized iron building, a steel

filtered-water reservoir, and pumping facilities, with additional structures erected in 1926. The commission hired contractors for concrete curbs, sidewalks, and driveways that same year. The structures, with the exception of the galvanized iron building and the pumps, came from an unknown industrial plant in Hopewell, Virginia, that had been abandoned after World War I. By 1930, however, it had become evident to the WSSC that the temporary Burnt Mills water filtration plant could not supply sufficient water to burgeoning suburban Maryland, particularly during periods of drought.[11]

They then made plans to build a new plant with at least a 10 Mgd capacity on the same site. As chief engineer, Morse designed a unique filter to handle the filtration needs of the region while also responding to the challenging topography of the site and the need for low-cost construction. Water filtration consists of a number of steps, including sedimentation, coagulation, filtration, and distribution, which were traditionally housed in separate structures. Morse combined the steps into one unique filter assembly made up of concentric rings with a central pipe vault and operator's house on top. The precedent for Morse's design can be found in a circular filter built and operated by John Gibb of Paisley, Scotland, from circa 1804 to about 1861. Gibb had built a circular filter to supply his bleachery and the town's private residences after mud and industrial waste fouled the River Cart. Gibb's filter, a central well surrounded by concentric rings made of masonry walls, must have informed Morse's later design. Morse explained that he had "in mind the apparently unchallenged belief among engineers that the most compact and economical arrangement of filter-tank assemblies required rectangular units," but that he "proved that cylindrical units permitted of at least equal compactness." The confined site, on the Northwest Branch and bisected by the Colesville Road, dictated the need for a compact design.[12]

Morse's concern about the cost of the plant, understandable in the early 1930s, informed the design and building choices. In the filter assemblies, cost savings were realized in the use of steel as the primary construction material, rather than the more typical reinforced concrete and in his decision to leave the coagulating basin and filters uncovered. Six winters of experience operating the temporary filters uncovered had not reduced function or efficiency, even when eight inches of ice coated the surfaces. Other measures included installing electric heat in all of the buildings, thereby eliminating the need for a furnace room, chimneys, pipes, and radiators. Additionally, a hydro-pumping station resulted in a savings of $3,800 in electrical costs over a period of seventeen months.[13]

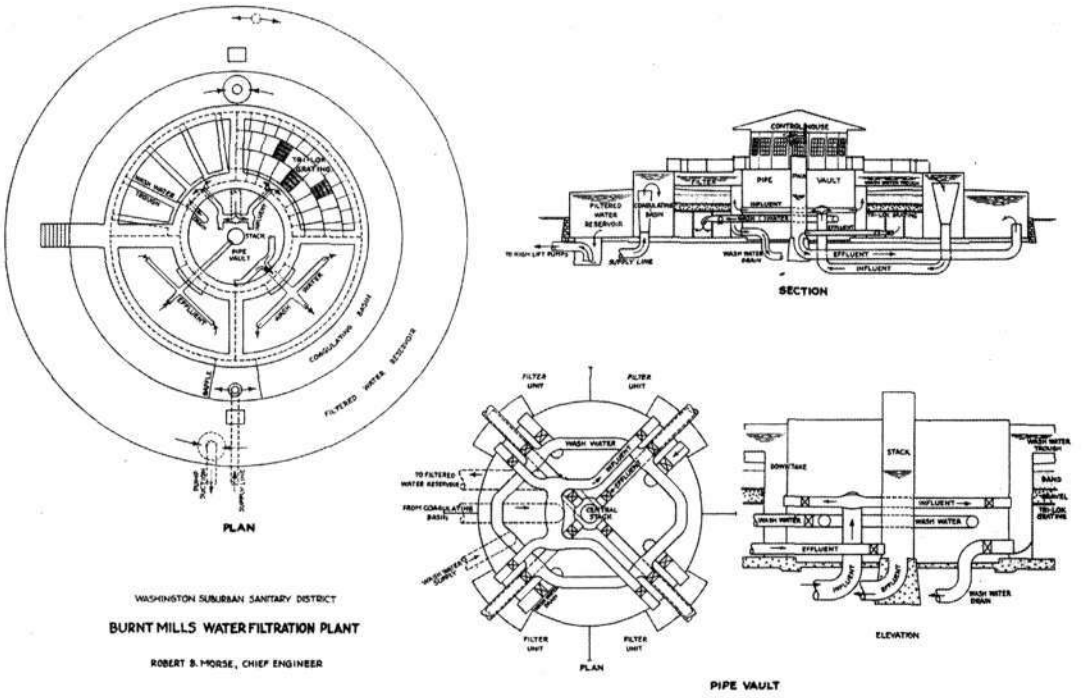
A 1927 amendment increased the bond limit; funding for the $350,000 plant could be obtained. A bill for a special bond issue of $500,000 to fund the new plant also passed, and the WSSC began selling bonds in December 1932. The *Washington Post* reported that same year that the commission had applied to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) for a $250,000 loan to finance the construction of the



View of the dam on the Northwest Branch that impounded water for use at the Morse Filtration Plant. Photograph by Renee Bieretz and Jet Lowe, Historic American Engineering Record, 2008, HAER No. MD-166.

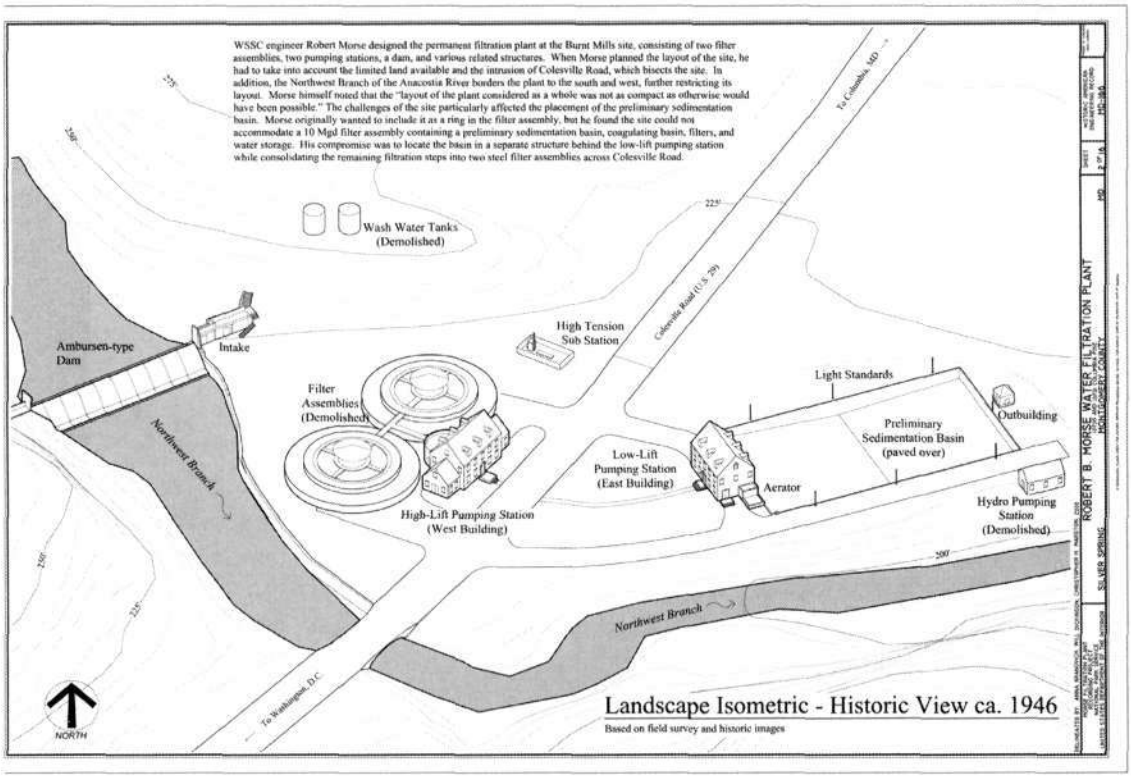
plant and a two-mile-long pipe from the Patuxent River to the Northwest Branch headwaters. By spring 1934, one of the filter assemblies was in operation, while the second filter assembly was completed a year later. The entire facility, named the Robert B. Morse Water Filtration Plant in honor of its deceased engineer, opened for use in 1936.[14]

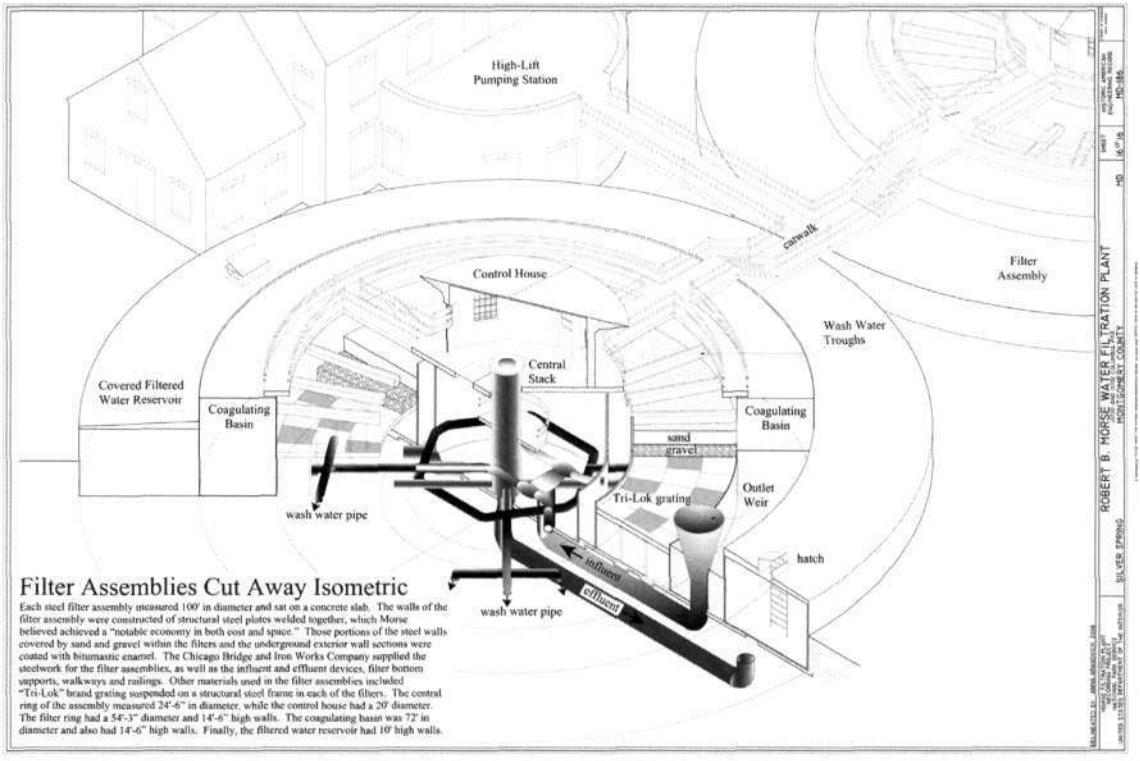
As built, the plant consisted of a dam on the Northwest Branch that impounded water to be treated at the plant. Two pumping stations facing each other across Colesville Road contained the pumps used to move the water through the site and housed the water treatment chemicals. Morse designed the stations in the Colonial Revival style found throughout Montgomery County. The brick buildings with their regular facades and elegant entrances belied their utilitarian purposes. The low-lift pumping station sits south of Colesville Road with the preliminary sedimentation basin, now a parking lot, behind. Morse had originally wanted to include the preliminary sedimentation basin as a ring in the filter assembly, as specified in his patent for a "Liquid Purification Plant," but he soon discovered the site could not accommodate a filter assembly of that size. Auxiliary structures on this side of Colesville Road included the hydro-electric pumping station (since removed) on the bank of the Northwest Branch. Another outbuilding still stands at the south end of the preliminary sedimentation basin. On the north side of Colesville Road is the



The Filter-Coag. Basin—Clear Well Assembly of the New Filtration of the Washington Suburban Sanitary District—at Burnt Mills, Md.

Above: Robert B. Morse, "Burnt Mills Water Filtration Plant" drawing, reproduced in Water Works and Sewerage, June 1934, p. 181. Below: Site plan by Anna Aranovich, Will Dickinson, and Christopher H. Marston, 2008, of the Historic American Engineering Record. See HAER No. MD-166.





Schematic of Filter Assembly. Drawn by Anna Aranovich and Christopher H. Marston, 2008, Historic American Engineering Record. See HAER No. MD-166.

high-lift pumping station, with a parking lot behind covering the former site of the two filter assemblies. Finally, wash water tanks used to clean the filters were located on the hill above the filter assemblies and high-lift pumping station.

The basic operation of the Robert B. Morse Water Filtration Plant involved impounding raw water via the dam. This water was piped from the dam to the low-lift pumping station south of Colesville Road where chemicals called coagulants (at this plant, primarily alum and activated carbon with the occasional use of soda ash) were added to the raw water. Pipes carried this treated water to the aerators located outside either end of the low-lift pumping station, which thoroughly mixed the water and chemicals together. The water then sat in the preliminary sedimentation basin behind the pumping station where the coagulating chemicals attracted particles in the water and formed clumps called "floc" that settled to the bottom of the basin. After three to four hours, pumps raised the water from the preliminary sedimentation basin into supply pipes extending to one of the two filter assemblies behind the high-lift pumping station. The water passed through the filter assembly, first entering the coagulating basin ring where another round of chemicals was added to remove impurities, and then through the filtration ring where it filtered through layers of sand and gravel. Finally, the water entered the filtered water reservoir ring, which could store 275,000 gallons. Pipes led from this ring to the high-lift pumping station where chlorine was added before the potable water finally reached the WSSC's distribution lines.[15]

View of the rear façade of the low-lift pumping station with the high-lift pumping station in background. Photograph by Renee Bieretz and Jet Lowe, Historic American Engineering Record, 2008, HAER No. MD-166.

WSSC closed its smaller plants after opening the new Robert B. Morse Filtration Plant, anticipating that it would supply adequate amounts of water to the Washington Suburban Sanitary District until at least 1960. The construction of the plant was the culmination of the WSSC's early efforts to create a unified system served by one large filtration plant. Initial projections proved to be overly optimistic because of the growing population of Montgomery and Prince George's counties. By 1949 the district covered two hundred square miles and served 230,000 people whose rate of consumption had soared to twenty million gallons of water per day as compared to 1918, when the district encompassed a mere ninety-five square miles and served 32,000 people consuming 250,000 gallons of water a day. The population of the Maryland suburbs had boomed between 1940 and 1948 as the federal government expanded during World War II.[16]

By the middle of the twentieth century, the WSSC had begun drawing water from the Patuxent River in addition to the Northwest Branch. The Morse Filtration Plant could no longer serve as the sole source of water for the district, and the WSSC completed the Willis School Plant in 1944 to serve a portion of Prince George's County while the Morse Plant continued to serve Montgomery County. There were several expansions of the Patuxent Water Treatment Plant (formerly known as the Willis School Plant) in the 1950s, after which the Morse Plant was put on standby and then closed in 1961 following the construction of the Potomac River

Filtration Plant in western Montgomery County. After closing the Morse plant, the WSSC had the filter units, pumping equipment, and piping removed from the site but continued to use it as a storage facility for its vehicle fleet. Driver training was also conducted at the site. In 1996, the WSSC transferred that portion of the property east of Colesville Road to the Maryland–National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M–NCPCC), and it became Burnt Mills East Park. In 2000, the WSSC transferred the portion of the property west of Colesville Road to M–NCPPC, and it became Burnt Mills West Park.[17]

Although the WSSC proclaimed the Robert B. Morse Filtration Plant as the first of its type worldwide, its impact on filter technology is difficult to ascertain, particularly since Morse died soon after the completion of his design. The incorporation of nearly all the steps into one structure was novel, but the practice of separating the filtering process into various structures continued to be standard. Not surprisingly, the WSSC spoke of the plant in self-congratulatory terms in its press releases, lauding its innovative design. The commission released reports of delegations touring the site, including a group of Soviet engineers and another contingent from India. Robert Morse's obituary in the *Washington Post* stated: "Though patents are still pending on the Morse filter in the United States, the invention has been patented in several foreign countries." Other Morse filters were built throughout the United States, including one in Bristol, Connecticut. A three-person commission from that city studied concrete and steel filter plants and were particularly interested in Morse's design, even visiting the plant in the summer of 1936. After a second site visit, they decided to build a filter assembly similar to that at Burnt Mills with modifications to accommodate their specific locale.[18]

Morse's influence in the field of sanitary engineering was addressed in several obituaries that extolled his engineering career and highlighted his contributions to the field. The *Portland* [Maine] *Press Herald* wrote that he was "considered one of the outstanding sanitary engineers of the Country." His feats included establishing the "present Washington sanitary district considered among the best engineering feats of sanitation in the Country." Morse had also "pioneered a new field in his designing and constructing of concentric filters at the Burnt Mills water works in Maryland," a design replicated at various locations across the nation. Washington's *Evening Star* reported that Morse was "regarded as one of the outstanding sanitary engineers in the Eastern States," while the *New York Times* noted he was "widely known in the field of sanitary engineering." His filtration plant at Burnt Mills signaled the consolidation of the WSSC's filtration operations into one facility while also exhibiting the essence of Morse's views on water filtration and systems, that they should be regional in nature, cost-effective, and efficient. Although largely forgotten, Morse's influential role in the establishment of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, his advocacy of a regional water and sanitary system, and the creation of a unique filter assembly fostered the development of Montgomery and Prince George's counties.[19]

NOTES

1. Robert B. Morse, "State Control over Water Supply and Drainage Conditions in Maryland," *American Journal of Public Health*, 4 (1914): 848.
2. Martin V. Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 213, quote from page 103; Werner Troesken, "Typhoid Rates and the Public Acquisition of Private Waterworks, 1880–1920," *Journal of Economic History*, 59 (1999): 927–48.
3. Biographical information about Robert Morse from "Robert Morse Funeral is Set for Tomorrow," *Washington Post*, February 2, 1936, X7, and "Robert Brooks Morse Family History," pamphlet prepared by Lawrence Trever Fadner, March 1992, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Morse also published a number of articles during his career, including "State Control Over Water Supply and Drainage Conditions in Maryland," *American Journal of Public Health*, 4 (1914): 847–52, written while he was chief of the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering, Maryland State Department of Health, and "Water Service to Consumers in Areas Outside of Municipalities," *Journal of the American Water Works Association*, 23 (1931): 733–35. In 1926, he and his wife settled in Hyattsville, Md., on 42nd Avenue. Their community involvement is noted in the society columns of the *Washington Post*.
4. Morse, "State Control," 849–52; "Robert B. Morse, Hyattsville, Buried," *Washington Post*, February 4, 1936, 7. Morse died of septicemia three weeks after a minor operation.
5. "Report on the Advisability of Creating a Sanitary District in Maryland, Contiguous to the District of Columbia, and Providing it with Water and Sewerage Service to the General Assembly of Maryland by the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission," January 12, 1918 (Baltimore?: n.p., 1918?), 2, found at the Library of Congress; Representing Montgomery County were William T. S. Curtis, Dr. J. Dudley Morgan, Dr. John L. Lewis, John I. Cassidy, J. Dawson Williams, and Dr. Charles A. Fox. T. Howard Duckett, Oliver Metzerott, Jackson H. Ralston, J. Enos Ray Jr., and Louis L. Dent represented Prince George's County. The Maryland State Board of Health representatives were board president M. S. Beech, Dr. William H. Welch, and Dr. H. Langton Price; Art Brigham, *History of the WSSC, 75th Anniversary, 1918–1993* (Laurel, Md.: Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, 1993), 7–8; "Report on the Advisability of Creating a Sanitary District in Maryland," 2.
6. Brigham, *History of the WSSC*, 3, 9–10; "Report on the Advisability of Creating a Sanitary District in Maryland," 11. J. William Bogley died in 1917. His brother, Emory H. Bogely, assumed his position.
7. "Report on the Advisability of Creating a Sanitary District in Maryland," 12; Brigham, *History of the WSSC*, 10.
8. Brigham, *History of the WSSC*, 10; "Plan Single Water and Sewer System," *Washington Post*, December 23, 1917, E6.
9. Brigham, 15–16; "Water Supply for Suburbs," *Washington Post*, April 23, 1919, 14; "Rock Creek Water Best," *Washington Post*, April 28, 1919, 7; "Plan Work in Suburbs," *Washington Post*, June 15, 1919, 3; "Sewers for District Suburbs," *Washington Post*, May 22, 1920, 3; "More Sewers for Suburbs," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1922, 4; "News from Suburbs of Capital," *Washington Post*, April 6, 1924, 3.
10. "37 Acres of Land Given to Boy Scouts' Cause," *Washington Post*, March 13, 1925, 9; William Bushong, "Robert B. Morse Water Filtration Plant," Maryland Historical Trust State Historic Sites Inventory Form, May 1994, Section 8; "Searching for the Mill," *The Hillandaler*, January 2006, unpaginated.

11. Bushong, Section 8; Brigham, *History of the WSSC*, 16; classified ad, *Washington Post*, June 22, 1926, D4.
12. Quote from Robert B. Morse, "Features of the New Water Purification Works at Burnt Mills, Maryland," *Water Works and Sewerage*, 81 (1934): 179; M. N. Baker, *The Quest for Pure Water: The History of Water Purification from the Earliest Records to the Twentieth Century* (New York: The American Water Works Association, Inc., 1948), 77–80. Morse applied for a patent for his "Liquid Purification Plant" in 1934, which was granted posthumously in 1938.
13. Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, "A Brief Detailed Description of the Robert B. Morse Filter Plant and Appurtenant Works at Burnt Mills, Maryland," June 8, 1936, unpaginated; quote from Robert B. Morse, "The New Water Purification Works at Burnt Mills, Maryland," *Water Works and Sewerage*, 81 (1934), 687; Morse, "Features of the New Water Purification Works," 180–81.
14. "New Bill Provides Sanitary District with More Funds," *Washington Post*, March 19, 1927, 8; "R.F.C. Loan Asked for Water Project," *Washington Post*, September 28, 1932, 8; Morse, "Features of the New Water Purification Works," 179, 181–82; "Board Seeks Water Plant Loan of R.F.C.," *Washington Post*, September 11, 1932, 1; "Sanitary Board Sells Bonds to Build Plant," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1932, 5. The plant was also known as the Burnt Mills Facility because of its location.
15. The description of the water filtration process is based on: Morse, "Features of the New Water Purification Works at Burnt Mills, Maryland," 179–182; Morse, "New Water Purification Works at Burnt Mills Maryland," 679–91; Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, "A Brief Detailed Description of the Robert B. Morse Filter Plant and Appurtenant Works at Burnt Mills, Maryland," June 8, 1936; and George D. Norcom and Kenneth W. Brown, *Water Purification for Plant Operators* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942). For more detailed documentation of this site, including large-format photographs, historical report, and measured and interpretive drawings, see Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, "Robert B. Morse Water Filtration Plant," HAER No. MD-166, available online at the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs website, http://loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/.
16. *The Washington Suburban Sanitary District, Annual Report*, 1949, prepared by Wainwright Ramsey & Lancaster, New York, 1–5, 16, available in Record Group 15: Commissions and Boards, Records of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, 1918–1994, Montgomery County Archives, Rockville, Md.; "New Pump Station Plans Nearly Done," *Washington Post*, August 21, 1930, 4. Purchasing water from Washington, D.C., would cost $65 per million gallons as compared to the WSSC's production cost of $40 per million gallons.
17. Residents in the county located southeast of the District of Columbia obtained their water from two 600-foot artesian wells; *Annual Report*, 1949, 10; Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, "Your Sanitary Commission: What It Is and Does," January 1954, pamphlet, 3, *The Washington Suburban Sanitary District, Maryland, Annual Report*, 1956, 1–9, 13, and *The Washington Suburban Sanitary District, Maryland, Annual Report*, 1962, 7–8, all available in Record Group 15: Commissions and Boards, Records of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, 1918–1994, in Montgomery County Archives, Rockville, Md.; Bushong, Section 8, Page 2; classified ad, *Washington Post*, December 11, 1961, B9; "Eight Contracts Are Awarded," *Washington Post*, July 14, 1962, 26.
18. James A. Newlands, President, Henry Southern Engineering Company, Hartford, "Description of Rapid Sand Filter Plant of Steel Construction, Bristol, Connecticut," 37, available at www.csce.org/images/1938-SandFilterPlant.pdf, accessed July 2010; Brigham, *History of the WSSC*, 17; "Robert Morse Funeral is Set"; Arthur P. Brigham, "WSSC Water Supply

Work-Horse is Retiring," news release from the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, January 19, 1962; "Historic Waterworks Done in by Progress," *Washington Post*, January 22, 1962, A12.

19. "Rob't B. Morse Dies in Washington, DC," *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Me.), February 9, 1936, located in "Robert Brooks Morse Family History"; "R. B. Morse Dies, Noted Engineer," Washington *Evening Star*, February 1, 1936, and "Robert B. Morse," *New York Times*, February 2, 1936, both located in "Robert Brooks Morse Family History."

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The Papers of William Beatty

JOHN H. BEAKES JR.

Around 10:00 A.M. on April 25, 1781, nine hundred British soldiers moved quietly through the woods toward Nathanael Greene's unsuspecting American army at Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile and a half north of Camden, South Carolina. Green's force numbered some fifteen hundred men, most of whom were proven, veteran troops. Twenty-two-year-old Captain William Beatty commanded the right-most company of the First Maryland Regiment, an outfit with a superb reputation for performance in battle.

The British advance struck the American outer defenses as the men in the main American camp were performing routine chores—washing, shaving, and cleaning their weapons. The British commander, Lord Rawdon, had achieved a complete surprise. The American pickets slowed the British attack long enough for the solders in the main camp to hurry into their assigned formations. The men moved briskly and wasted no time; these veteran troops did not panic.

They had recovered quickly from their initial surprise, and the situation seemed promising as they held the high ground. Some of the best troops in the American army, including the Maryland Line, were about to receive the British assault. Maryland Continentals had forged a reputation for battlefield excellence dating to the start of the war five years earlier. They had performed exceptionally well at Brooklyn Heights, Germantown, Camden, Cowpens, and Guilford Court House. The American commander was optimistic about his chances for a complete success here at Hobkirk's Hill, but much to everyone's surprise and chagrin, rather than engaging the British, the First Maryland Regiment broke and ran. The First Maryland, under the command of respected and experienced officers Col. John Gunby and Lt. Col. John Eager Howard, had never performed so poorly. A furious Greene believed his most reliable troops had let him down and blamed Gunby for the debacle.

It is not always possible to determine what caused a panic such as the one that swept through the First Maryland Regiment at Hobkirk's Hill. Years later, when John

Mr. Beakes is co-author with Dr. Jim Piecuch of "Cool Deliberate Courage"; John Eager Howard in the American Revolution.

Eager Howard provided answers to questions from Revolutionary War historians, he remained uncertain as to why the Maryland troops had turned and fled. Howard did, however, mention several factors that may have contributed to the failure. "Capt. Beatty on or near the right of Gunby's regiment was killed very early in the action. . . . No doubt Beatty's being killed was one cause . . . that occasioned it." One twentieth-century historian of the battle is more specific: "Captain William Beatty commanding its right-hand company was shot down early in the attack and his men halted in confusion.*

Captain William Beatty must have been a fine officer. As long as he was there to lead his men, they maintained their discipline and performed with characteristic efficiency. But when their young captain fell, they lapsed into leaderless confusion. We are privileged to know a little about this Captain Beatty, for he kept a journal from the time he entered the service as an eighteen-year-old ensign in June 1776 until just before his death in 1781. Several letters to his father in Frederick, Maryland, have also been preserved, providing unique insight into his military career and inner feelings. The original documents are in the Maryland Historical Society library, and the society published them in pamphlet form in 1853 and again in 1866.

Beatty's writings are a rich resource for the student of the Revolutionary War, or for anyone who has ever been, known, or loved a young soldier. They contain the spontaneous, unembellished observations of a young man who spent his late teens and early twenties in the American army in time of war. He became an accomplished officer, but his journal and letters are those of a sensitive and thoughtful young man.

Beatty witnessed the war from a limited perspective in the ranks, and therefore his observations on the battles in which he participated—Harlem Heights, Brandywine, Germantown (where he was hit in the leg by a spent musket ball, which caused a red spot, but no other damage) and Monmouth Court House—do not add significantly to our understanding of the overall strategy employed or the significance of those battles. Yet his straightforward language offers fascinating insights into such aspects of military life as the strict discipline that resulted in regular executions for desertion and other breaches of conduct, his travels back and forth between his home in Frederick and the army, his visits to families in the vicinity of the army, and time spent with young ladies.

Beatty saw several instances of harsh discipline. In one of his earliest entries during the 1776 campaign around New York City, he described how an officer was humiliated for cowardice. "A New England Captain Was Dressed in Woman's apparel arm'd With a Wooden gun & Sword & Drum'd out of the army." He wrote of the

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* John E. Howard, undated letter to William Johnson, Bayard Papers, MS 109, Box 4, Maryland Historical Society Library; Craig L. Symonds, *A Battlefield Atlas of the American Revolution* (Annapolis, Md.: Nautical and Aviation Press, 1986), 95.

hanging of a Tory ("poor fellow") on July 31, 1777, for helping American deserters. Beatty mentioned executions of American soldiers for infractions such as desertion and house-breaking on July 25, 1777 (these two men were reprieved); August 9, 1777; April 29, 1778; August 17, 1778; October 30, 1778; and January 5, 1781.

Beatty's writings also provide some insight into the more mundane aspects of soldiering. He was assigned to a road repair detail in November 1778. His ammunition became soaked and unusable during various river crossings. He supervised his men in "hutting," or building their own winter quarters, and sometimes recorded the distance of a day's marching—up to nineteen miles a day. He noted two accidents with firearms, one in September 1776 in which the unintentional discharge of a musket broke a soldier's leg and required amputation.

During his service, Captain Beatty was able to leave his unit and either return home to Frederick on extended leave or pursue other personal endeavors at various times. In July 1778, he left the army in New Jersey and took a trip of several days to Cecil County to obtain some personal items. His journey was lightened by kind travelers who gave him a lift in their carriages. He spent the winters of 1778–1779 and 1779–1780 at home in Frederick.

Beatty also revealed that there was time for our "rabble in arms" to enjoy some of the finer things of life. In July 1778 he dined on oysters, and rode into Connecticut where he "cracked some good wine." In December he and some friends "collected the girls in the neighbourhood and had a kick up," and then had a second "kick up" the following Friday. A few days later, he walked to a Captain Bradner's, where he "spent the afternoon with the Young Ladies his daughters." In spring 1779, it was "very peaceable," and he spent his spare time "with a number of fine Ladies in the neighbourhood."

Captain William Beatty is a compelling figure. He spent almost five years of his young life in the American army during the Revolutionary War, and won the respect of his men and senior officers as a competent military leader. Through his journal and letters, we are able to see hints of a typical young man in his late teens and early twenties, seizing every opportunity to enjoy normal peaceful pursuits, or just to go home. His pleas to his family for more letters from home could have been written by any soldier at any time in history.

In the back of his journal, Beatty once mused as any young man might do, with thoughts that the pamphleteers of 1853 and 1866 chose not to include, perhaps because they were too personal—"Gentleness of manners, softness of heart are the most amiable characteristics of a Woman." His untimely death on a long-forgotten battlefield ended those ponderings, yet Beatty's journal and letters are precious relics that offer a faint peek at everyday life in revolutionary America and allow a rare glimpse at the humanity of a young warrior, unusually personal and intense, and far different from a cold recitation of military facts or a stiff memorial to deeds long forgotten.

The Papers of Captain William Beatty of the Maryland Line

June 25th 1776: I was apptd. an Ensign in ye flying Camp raised in the state of Md the 3d July.[1] I reced my Warrant in Seven days recruited my Quota of men March'd for Philadelphia the 13th August Where the compt Joined the Regt to Which it belonged.[2] After Some few days Which it took to Equip We proceeded to New York Where we arrived the 5th of September & Continued in it a week when the whole army except a small body moved up the island within one mile of Fort Washington.[3] On the 15th of this month the enemy landed on the Island near Hell Gate & forced the Whole of our advanced troops to retire to the main body which lay Encamped in the neighborhood of Fort Washington.[4] The 16th in the forenoon some of our troops met With the Enemies Van Which brought on a brisk Engagement which lasted Some time, when the Enemy gave Way.[5] Some few days after this Happened a New England Captain Was Dressed in Woman's apparel arm'd With a Wooden gun & Sword & Drum'd out of the army for Cowardice. Sometime in October the Whole army except a garrison in Fort Washington Left York Island.[6] the Same day that this happened I being very unwell, crossed the North river for the purpose of going in the Country to recover my health. After laying two Weeks at a Dutchmans at Scrawnburg Church Which lays nine Miles from fort Lee & five from Hackensack Town I proceeded to join our Regt, Which during this time had been on their Way from Kings Bridge to Peeks-kill.[7] Where I met it in the beginning of November after laying here two or three days. We Went on board of Boats Which transported us down the North river to Kings ferry where we landed and Encamped One night. The next morning We began Our march towards the Jerseys by the Way of Tappan, Hackinsack Bridge & the Town about 10 o'clock the night after passing the last place Our Brigade Were Ordered to Fort Lee Where we arrived some little time before day. On this March We crossed a ferry on the Hackensack, about five miles below the bridge Which we crossed the day before, the day after our arrival at Fort Lee being the day the Enemy attacked Fort Washington, Which Surrendered to them in the afternoon.[8] The Enemies next object being Fort Lee Our army began to prepare for a retreat But before this Could be accomplished the Enemy landed above us Which Obliged Our army to make a quick retreat leaving all our Heavy Cannon & Stores & Baggage of all kinds behind, the Whole of Which fell into the Hands of the Enemy.[9] We now began our retreat through the Jersey by the way of Aquckanack Bridge Which Was tore up after Our troops had pass'd it.[10] From this We retreated down the 2nd river to a little village by the Same name at this place. With Some more Officers I quartered at a Gentlemans house Who treated us With a great deal of politeness & Hospitality. From here I march'd with a Piquot by the Way of New ark to One Pecks, about four miles from New ark towards the mountain the Whole of this march being in the night the darkness of Which together With the Intolerable bad roads made this tour of duty very hard. This Was the last time I mounted Guard While in the flying Camp. From Newark Our army retreated

in two Collums One by the Way of Wood bridge to Brunswick & the Other by the New-ark mountain Springfields, Scotch-Plains Quibbletown & to Brunswick. While Our army lay in the neighborhood of New ark the Sick Were Sent to Morristown. Two or three days after Our arrival at Brunswick being the first of December & the Expiration of the flying Camp troops time Our Brigade March'd to Philadelphia leaving Our Brave General With a very Weak army who in a little time after Was obliged to retreat across the Delaware river.[11] Notwithstanding the few troops that were left With Our Hero it is well known that he in less than a month killed & took upward of 2000 of the Enemy & Obliged a very Superior force to retreat to Brunswick the Consequence of Which Was they Were obliged in the Spring to abandon the Jersey intirely. After the flying Camps arrival to Philadelphia, I was employed in assisting to Pay & Discharge Companys until the 10th of December When I set out for Home Where I arrived the 14th following.[12]

January 1, 1777. I accepted a first Lts Commission in the Contl Service & immediately began to recruit On Which Service I Continued until some time in June When I march'd from Home With a party to join'd the Regt in Which I was to Serve.[13] I found the Regt With the army Which lay at Lincolns Gap the 29th June.[14] In two or 3 days after Our Division March'd towards the north river by Way of Morristown, Pumpton Smiths Cove & newbern, Where We Crossed the 7th of July and march'd to Fishkills. On the foregoing March at Pumpton I went On the first Genl Court Martial I ever Sat on the 18th, 19th & 20th. We lay at Fishkills Monday the 21st of March'd to Peekskills 22nd March'd five Miles towards Crowtan Bridge, The 23rd We March'd 4 miles farther & Encamped On a Hill Called Mount Pleasant. It lies in Cortland's manor. The 24th a detachment of 500 Men Were Ordered out of the Division to hold themselves in readiness to March at the shortest notice, however they never Were detached. The 25th the troops were drawn Out for the Execution of two Soldiers for house Breaking. The men were reprieved. Saturday 26th of July Our Division being Ordered to return to the Jersey again We March'd from mount Pleasant to Kings Ferry. Sunday 27th in the forenoon the 2nd Brigade Crossed the Ferry & in the afternoon the first Brigade Cross'd likewise. The Whole Division Encamped on the West Bank of the river, Monday 28th. We march'd to Kakaa Which is 8 miles from Kings Ferry. The next day We march'd to Paramas which is about 13 miles. Wednesday 30th We began our march very early this morning & made a halt about 10 o'clock at the Pasayac river about a Mile below the falls. Curiosity led me to see them they are a Curiou Worth Seeing the Water Some Small Distance before it falls passes between two rocks about six feet from each Other then falls about 30 feet & passes between the same rocks for about 30 yards Which Widen gradually till they are near 30 feet apart.[15] At the end of these rocks the Water makes a very large pond. What makes the place of halting this day more remarkable happining in a House near Where the troops Halted, the owners of which had a child they said was 23 years of age; the Head of this Child Was Larger than a Half Bushnell; the body

about the Size of a Child 7 or 8 years Old its Hands & feet Were useless to it the Skin as White as Milk notwithstanding it had Never been able to Walk Or see. Its Parents have taut it to read & it Would answer almost any Scriptural Quotations that were askd it. The neighbours told me that the Father & Mother Were fonder of this child than any they had, altho they had Several beside that were not Deform'd. About 2 o'clock We proceeded On Our march about 3 Miles below acquackanack Bridge on the 2d river. The Whole of this days March Was about 19 miles. *Thursday 31st*: This morning about the time the troops began to March One of the Inhabitants Were taken up for assisting some of our Deserters over the Second River about a mile after passing through New-ark the troops Halted a Court Martial being immediately Ordered for the trial of the Tory taken in the Morning. The Court passed Sentence of Death on him which Genl Debore Ordered to be put in Execution by Hanging the poor fellow On the limb of a Sycamore Bush close on the side of the road. The troops march'd to Springfield this Evening. *Fryday august 1st 77*: We marched to Quibbletown & 2d to Middle Brook the 3d by the Way of Pluckemin to Vieltown, a Shower of rain this afternoon gave me a Compleat Soaking as I passed Pluckemin I Call'd & Din'd at Mr Pawlisons this days march 17 miles.

Monday the 4th: March through Morristown to Hanover Which is 9 miles from Viel town, at this place We lay encamped untill the 21st of august Only changing our ground of Encampment a little, the 9th While at this place a Soldier was shot for Desertion to the enemy. *Thursday 21st:* the Division leaving their Tents & Baggage with a small guard, began their march by the Way of Elizabeth Town & Crossed the Sound next morning about 2 o'clock. After the Whole of the Division being Safely on Staten Island We began to Penetrate it two ways the first Br. upwards & the 2d Brigade Downwards. About 10, O' cl the Whole of our forces on the Island began to move towards the Old Blazing Star Ferry to recross But the want of Sufficient No of Boats made that business go on so slow that the Enemy had time to Cut off about 230 of our Rear. We took & brought off 9 officers & about 100 Men of the Enemy's new levies. Most of the troops that got off the Island Went to Spunktown this Evening. *Saturday the 23d:* We march'd to Springfield Where we lay the next day. *Monday, 25th:* The army & Fleet of the Enemy being now in the Chesapeak Bay.[16] The Whole of our troops began to Move that Way this day.[17] We reach'd Brunswick [on the] 26th, Princetown Where we lay untill the 28th than proceeded to Trenton & Crossed the Ferry, 30th, We march'd five miles past Bristol. *Saturday 31st:* March'd past Philadelphia & Encamped On the West Bank of Skuykill Where we Continued On Sonday. *Monday Sept 2d 1777:* March'd to Chester & the next day to Wilmington Where We lay until the Sixth this day the troops being drawn up to march a musquet unluckily Went off and Broke a soldiers leg Which Was cut off Soon after, we march'd to Ridlick Creek & Encamped. *Sonday 7th:* as the approach of the Enemy gave reason to apprehend an attack the Whole of the troops were ordered to throw up Breast works in front of their respective Camps. We began this Work to day & Compleated

it On Monday the 8th about 10 O'Clock. The Enemy not thinking Proper to Continue their march On the Road by Wilmington & new-Port But Push'd to cross the Brandewine at Shadsford Obliged Our army to Move that Way the 9th. We began this march about 2 O'clock in the morning. *Wednesday 10th Sept:* the alarm guns Were fir'd & the Whole army got under arms However the Enemy did not approach. The army extended its Right Higher up the Brandewine at the Same time a Battery Was began by the Park of artillery Opposite Shads Ford. Our Division being On the Right of the Army, we extended to [a] large stone Mill about One Mile above the Ford in this Position We lay all night. *Thursday 11th Sept* The Enemy appearing about 10, o'clock the alarm Guns Were fired & troops drew up in Order of Battle from this time till about two in the afternoon there Was a pretty Constant Cannonade at Shads Ford.[18] There Was likewise Some Skirmishing between parties of our people & the Enemy some time about the middle of this afternoon. Intelligence was received that a very strong Body of the Enemy had cross'd above Our army and Were in full march to outflank us. This Obliged Our Right Wing to change their front to the right, But before this Could be fully put in execution the Enemy appeard & made a very Brisk attack Which put the Whole of our Right Wing to flight.[19] However I believe this Was not done Without some Considerable loss on their Side as Some of the Right Wing behaved Gallantly at the Same time the attack Was made on the Right. The British came to Cross Shads Ford Which made the fire almost general on all quarters. About Sun down the Whole of our army gave Way and retreated to Chester, We lost Eight Field Pieces. I Immagin about 500 Men killed, Wounded & Prisoners as to the Enemies loss I cant pretend to Say but I immagin it must have been Considerable as there Was a great deal of very Heavy firing.[20] *Friday 12th:* We Continued Our Retreat to Skuylklill & the next day Passed by Philadelphia to German Town Where We Encamped.[21] *Sonday Sept 14th:* the Whole army Recross'd the Skuylkill at the Spring Mills and on the 16th Drew up in Order of Battle in the Neighbourhood of the White Horse But a very heavy rain Coming up prevented the Enemie attacking us. About 2 o'clock We began to march towards Yellow Springs where we arrived about 2 O'clock. The next morning all the Small Branches that We Were obliged to Cross On this march Were so rais'd by the Hard rain that they took us to the Waiste & under the arms When We Waded them. None of our men preserved a Single round of ammunition that did not get thoroughly Wet. The rain left off falling the morning of the 17 about break of day. In the afternoon We began our march towards the valley Forge near Which We again Waded the Schuylkill On the 18, & Continued Our march until we got Opposite the Enemy at Sweeds Ford. After laying in this position a day or two the Enemy put themselves in motion to Cross the Schuylkill & our army leaving the Passes clear at the same time march'd up the Country, to a Place called New Hanover Where We lay Some days. During our stay at this place a Detachment Was sent to Mud Island below Philadelphia.[22] From this place We March'd to Perkeomen Mills. While at this Place We Were join'd by the Maryland

Militia. Here Were fired 13 Pieces of Cannon for our Success to the northward.[23] About the beginning of October We march's from the Mills toward the Enemy & on the 3d in the Evening our Whole army began their march to attack the Enemy Who lay at German town and on the morning of the 4th about Sun rise the attack Was made With such Briskness that We had the pleasure to pursue the Enemy Intirely through German town.[24] When Cornwallis Coming With a reinforcement & Some bad management on our side obliged us to retreat this Was about 9 o'clock many of our troops Reached Pennybeckers Mills on the Perkeoman this Evening. The next day our Wounded Were sent to Reading & the army Encamped after laying at this place a few days the army mov'd towards the delaware River to the next main road between Perkeomen & that river. While at this place We had the satisfaction of fireing the second feu de joy for our nothern armys Success against Burgoin.[25] From this place the army movd to the Encampment We occupied the Evening before the Battle of Germantown. Here we reced the glorious news of the Captivity of Burgoin & his army. On this Occasion was fired a Feu De Joy of Small arms & Cannon from this Encampment.[26] We movd Within three Or four miles of White marsh Bridge this being some time in November the next move was to the Hights near the Bridge befere mentioned Where We remained until some time in December. Some few days before our army left this Encampment the Enemy Came out as far as Chestnut hill about one mile & a half in our front. During their Stay We lay Continually on our arms. There happened some skirmishing between our advanced Parties & the Enemies. The third night the British thought proper to retreat Which they did With precipitation. Our army in two days after the Enemy retreated began their march for Winter Quarters, Genl Sullivans Division in front Who after they had Crossed the Schuylkill On a foot Bridge near the gulf Mills Were obliged to recross by the appearance of a Body of the Enemy that Were on the West Side of the river here. We lay till near night then march'd as high as Sweeds Ford Where we lay a day & night then march'd to the Gulf Hills from Which place all the army except the Md Division march'd to the Valley Forge Where they built huts to pass the Winter.[27] In the Md Division Went to Qrs in Wilmington Where they fared very well as to Quarters but the duty Was very hard & the troops very bare of Clothing. However in a few days after our arrival there We had the good fortune to take a valuable Prize of cloathing &c from the Enemy Which had ran ashore in the Delaware. Some time in February 1778 the Garrison Was alarmed by some boats coming down the river full of Men. After this Was over We pass'd the remainder of our stay in quietness Which was till Some time in may When the Division mrched and Joind the army at the Valley Forge.[28] While We lay in Wilmington a certain John Dewick was Executed for Desertion & Piracy. His Execution was on the 29th of April 1778. Some time before the division left Wilmington I went on a Detachment Under the Command of Col P Down to Bombay Hook Island & Dover in Kent County Delaware. While on this Detachment We took two British navy officers 11 marines, 60 or 70 Tories.

Early in June the detachment returned to Wilmington, June 5th about 9 o'clock at night. We march'd from Wilmington & reached Delworthtown, next morning about 2 o'clock, Where We Stay'd till some time after day than March'd and join'd the 2d Brigade Which lay near Shadsford. In the afternoon We began our march for the Valley Forge. This night We Encamped near One Mattocks, June 7 we march'd to the Warren On the Lancaster Road & quartered in that neighbourhood in Barns & Houses it being rainy Weather. *June 8th:* We march'd & Joind the army at the Valley Forge Where We continued untill the 18th When part of the army began to march towards the Jersey, this Was in consequence of the Enemies leaving Philadelphia.[29] *June 19th:* the remainder of the army left the Valley Forge and reach'd Credells Ferry the 21st next day we Cross'd & Joind that part of the army that march'd from the Valley forge the day before We did. *June 23rd:* The army left the Whole of their Tents & Baggage & March'd to Hopewell, the next day Our Tents & Baggage came up & the army Encamped from this place, a strong detachment Was Sent Out towards the Enemy June 25th the army left their Tents standing & Proceeded towards the Enemy Who Was retreating With all Possible Dispatch. This day We March'd as far as Rockey Hill Where We lay till Sun down then Continued Our march till about 1' o'clock next morning. This day While We lay at Rockey Hill a Second detachment Was Sent out in pursuit of the Enemy. *June 26th:* We march'd about 5 miles this day in the afternoon We had a very great gust of rain. *June 27th:* the army began to march about Sun rise then halted & Compleated Our men with 40 rounds of Cartridges. *June 28th 1778:* About 8, o'clock We began Our march towards English town, Which Was about 5 Miles in Our front.[30] We had not March'd far before a Cannonade Was heard Which happened between Our advance & the Enemies rear near Monmouth Court house about a mile before We reach'd English Town. We Were Ordered to leave Our Knapsack & Blankets then resumed Our March passing by English Town to a Church about two miles nearer Monmouth. By this time our advanced troops had retreated nearly to this place Which Occasioned a very Sharp Cannonade between our front line & the Enemy. This had not lasted long before the [sic] our front line of Infantry & the Enemy Which obliged the Enemy to give up the field With the loss of upwards of 300 killed Which Were left. This Was about 6' o'clock in the Evening. Our rear line then advanced and took the ground On Which the front had been. The Whole of our army lay On their arms all night. The Enemy took the advantage of Moon Shine about 1 o'clock the Morning of the 29th and retreated to avoid the attack Intended to be made on them by day break. They left a number of their Wounded Officers & Men at Monmouth Court house & Some prisoners they had taken about 5. In the afternoon of ye 29, We march'd from the field of Battle to Where We had left our Packs Where We continued the 30th. *July 1st 1778:* About 1 o'clock in the Morning We began Our March Which Was Continued to Shotswood forge, Where we arrived about 8, o'clock and Halted till next morning. About 1, o'clock then proceeded by Brunswick to Raraton landing Where the Whole army Encamp-

ed on the different Banks of the river. July 3d the troops took to clean & refresh themselves. *July 4th:* I obtained permission to go to Caecil County in Maryland after Some of my Baggage. I Went as far as Trenton this day. *July 5th 1778:* I Went to Philadelphia. The 6th in the afternoon I set Sail for Wilmington Where I arrived the 7th in the Evening. The next day I stay'd at this place. *July 9th:* After Sun down I went to Newark the next day to Octarara Where my Baggage was & did My Business. *July 11th:* I returned as far as Newark & the 12th to Wilmington, the 13th after Sun down I went On Board a boat for Philadelphia Where I arrived the 14th. *July 15th:* about 2 o'clock in the afternoon I left the City on foot but after going about 10 miles a gentleman overtook me Who gave Me a Seat in a chaise to Bristol Where I Stay'd all night. The next morning I proceeded again on foot to Trenton Where I Breakfasted then Continued my Walk towards Princetown. By the good fortune of a Second Seat in a chaise I reach'd that place by 2' o'clock. This Evening the Waggon I had with Join'd me. *Fryday July 17th:* Went as far as the Scoch Plains the next day to Mr dod's. *Sunday July 19th 78:* We lay by N B. It Must be Observed I left the army near Brunswick but on my return they had left that place & march'd to wards the White Plains. *Monday July 20th:* I left Mr Dods & Went to Kackaett, the 21st I cross'd the North river at King's Ferry & Went 4 miles past Peekskills, the 22d I overtook the troops about 6 Miles from White Plains, here We continued untill the 24, then march'd to the White Plains. *Thursday July 30th:* I rode to the Saw pits & din'd on Osters afterwards I rode into Connecticut & Crack'd Some good Wine. *Saturday 1st august 1778:* Our Brigade Mov'd their Encampment a little to the left, the 2d the Whole army struck tents & prepar'd to march. In about 3 hours they Were ordered to Pitch their tents on the same ground. *Thursday august 4th:* About 5 in the afternoon I went on a three days Command toward the lines under Genl Mulenberg. We march'd to Tuckahoe Heights & Encamped. The next day we March'd Within four miles of Kings Bridge from here Col Morgan Was Sent forward With two Battalions. The remaining two With the Genl Encamped 2 Miles Back. *Thursday august 6th 1778:* This Morning Our detachment March'd from their Encampment towards the lines by a Right Hand road about 2 Miles, then We turned to the left to the ground We lay on the day before here. We lay untill the evening then returned to our last Nights Encampment. *Fryday august 7th:* We returned to the White Plains. *Sonday august 8th:* Some time in the night We had a very heavy rain Which made the remainder of the night disagreeable. *Monday august 17th:* A Soldier Was Shot for Desertion. *Tuesday august 18th:* I Went On the Provost Guard from Which I was releived the next day. *Wednesday august 26:* The tents of the Whole army Were Struck & the Whole of the Baggage loaded in Order. It Was Expected to march about two Hours after we Ordered to sweep the Encampment & Pitch the tents On the Same Ground. *Wednesday Septr 16th 1780*[31]: The Whole army Struck their tents & Sent them off Early in the morning. The Troops Were Continued On their Ground Untill 3 o'clock in the afternoon, then March'd about 5 miles from the plains Where they Halted Without

their tents. Some time in the night a very heavy rain began to fall Which lasted all night. The Want of our tents made our Situation very disagreeable When the army left the White plains the Right Wing March'd the road leading by Crotans Bridge & the left Wing a road to the right of it. This Morning the Enemy surprised Col N Gists Regt of light Infantry Which lay about 8 Miles below the White Plains. *Thursday Septr 17:* We March'd about two miles above Crotans Bridge Where We got our Regt in a Barn & halted till our tents Came up. When We Encamped, Fryday Septr 18 about 2, o'clock in the afternoon we March'd about two miles, the next day we march'd about 8 miles Higher up the Country. *Sonday Septr 20th 1778:* We March'd about 4 miles past Fredericksburg Where We lay until the 22nd On Which day Our Division march'd 12 miles toward Fishkills. At this place We lay untill the 28th When We march'd to Fishkills. *Saturday Oct 3d:* A Soldier of our Regt Was Shot by accident. *Tuesday Octr 13*: We march'd to new Hackensack there We lay untill the 26th on Which day we returned to Fishkills the 30th. A Soldier Was Executed for House Breaking. *Monday Nov 2d*: I Went to new Hackensack & returned the next day. *Fryday Nov 6th:* a detachment of 600 Men Were Ordered from the division to Escort the Convention prisoners through the Jersey.[32] *Monday Nov 23d:* our B march'd from Fishkills & cross'd North river the next day. I Went forward With a Party to repair the roads about 5 miles from the Ferry. This night I was kindly Entertained by a Mr. Bellnap, the next day I proceeded With my Party as far as a Mr. Halls Within a Mile of Chester. *Thursday Nov 26th*: The division arrived at Chester about 1 O'clock, here the men Were quartered in the adjacent Barns. I lodged at a Mr. Jacksons this night, the next day Brought my men & quartered them in his Barn & Myself With Other Officers in His House. *Saturday Novr 28th*: I received Some cloathing Which Were Sent from home to me. *Sonday the 29th*: Several of us went to Meeting at Florida about 3 Miles from Mr Jacksons. *Monday Nov 30:* A Smart Snow fell in the fore part of the day. *Tuesday Dec 1st:* We Collected the Girls in the neighbourhood and had a kick up in the Evening, the Fryday following we had the Second. *Sonday Dec 6th:* I walked to Capt Bradner Where I spent the afternoon With the Young Ladies, his Daughters. *Monday Decr 7*: I went with a Guard to Oxford & took my post at a Mr. Sealys. The next day I was Order[ed] to Join the division With my Guard. *Wednesday Decr 9th:* We march'd from Chester by the Way of WarWick into Sussex County in the Jersey. Our Men lay in Barns in the neighbourhood of a Col Brodericks. I Lodg'd at a Mr Haggs. *Thursday Dec 10th 78*: We began Our March this Morning through a rain Which Continued to fall until the middle of the afternoon then turn'd to Snow Which fell very fast till Some time in the night then held up. We Qutrd our Regt at Sharpsburgh's Works. In company With Several Officers, I Quartered at Mr Browns Who Was Overseer of the Works. Here We continued until Sunday the 13th about 2' o'clock When Our Regt alone began to March in the Morning & began to rain Which lasted untill a little time before We halted for Qrs in the . . . at a Mr Birons. On the Road leading to Morristown the Snow Which had fell two days before & rain Which

fell to day made So much Water that all the Small Creeks much Swelled & the Whole of the road so full that but a few plases that did not come Over Our Shoe tops. *Monday Dec 14th 78:* March'd fro Biron to Suckeegunny Plains Where We Qrd our Men in Houses. I Quartered at Mr Randolph's. *January 5th 79:* I traveled from Cummings & cross'd the Ball-Fryer Ferry On the Susquehannah & Put up at Jolleys in Harford. The next day I got near Rogers Mills in Baltimore County & the day after ot Westminster in Frederick County. *January 8th 1779*: I arriv'd at Home Where I remained till the 15th of March When I set out for Camp by the way of York, Lancaster, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Trenton, and Princeton. I Joined the army the 29th March, in their Huts near Middle Brook. In the Beginning of april I Went on a Detachment to Shawsburg in monmouth County. Here We continued very peaceable Spending our Spare time With a number of fine Ladies in this neighbourhood untill the 26th of the month. In the morning before Sun rise We Were very near being Cut of by a party of British under Major Ferguson But have a little notice of the Enemies approach.[33] We retreated about 7 Miles towards Monmouth Court House I lost my Waiter & all my Cloaths except What I had On. Several Other officers Shar'd the same fate. Our loss in Men was 22, the Enemy left Shrewsbury 9 o'clock & the next day We took our Post again & Continued in it untill the last of May, then March'd for Middlebrook Where We arrived the 2nd of June. About a Week after the army began their march towards Smiths Clove by Morris Town, Pumpton & Rampaugh Clove, While the army lay in Smiths Clove On the 16th July before Day Genl Wayn took Stony Point, the 17th we march'd from Smiths Clove & Encamped at Buttermilk Falls the 20th. The 18 august before day Major Lee Surprised & took Paulis-hook.[34] We Continued at Buttermilk Falls forwarding the Works about West Point until the 26th Nov 1779 on Which day We march'd as far as Smith Clove through a heavy Snow that Was falling on our rout to Winter Qrs. We Continued our march by the Way of Ramapaugh Clove Pumton Battle Hill from Where We march'd the 3rd of December to Weeks Farm Where I Continued to forward my mens Huts till the 26th December then Set out for Maryland On the recruiting Service by the Way of Plackemin, Princeton, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Head of Elk, Baltimore, Annapolis & Rock Creek from Where I went to Fredrick Where I arriv'd the 20th of January 1780 & continued until the 23d of august following.[35] When I set out for Annapolis here I continued until the 22nd of October then march'd for our line Which Was at this time in N Carolina With a Party of recruits. By the Way of Alexandria, Richmond, Petersburg & Hillsborough Where I expected to Join the line but Was disappointed by their Marching to Charlotte, some time before, Fryday Nov 24th 1780 I march'd from Hillsborough With Genl Stephens Brigade of Virginia Militia to Join the army. Our rout Was by Guilford Courthouse, Salisbury from thence to Charlotte Where I arrived & Joind the line the 7th December 1780. Genl Greene had Superseeded Genl Gates in his Command of the Southern army a Day or two or before. When I Joind the troops Were Hutting Which they Compleated a few days after. Dec 16th two

Companies of Lt Infantry being Ordered out I got Comd of the Compy form'd by the late 7th Regt.[36] *Wednesday Dec 20, 80:* The army march'd from Charlotte 10 Miles to fords Farm the 21st to Richardsons Creek 18 miles from Fords the 22nd to Browns Creek, 19 miles from Richardsons the 23d to Cedar Creek 16 miles from Browns, the 24th Pass'd by anson C-House to Haleys Ferry, 18 Miles from Cedar Creek, the 25 was taken up in Crossing the Ferry, the 26th we reach'd Hicks Creek 15 Miles below Halys Ferry in South Carolina this being the place the Genl intended to take post at. We began to build Small Huts the 27th.[37] *January 5th 1781*: A Soldier Was Shot for Desertion. *Jany 10th*: A very Heavy rain fell Which rais'd the river Pee Dee and small Creeks so much that the troops Were Obliged to draw Corn in lieu of Meal On the Eleventh. *Fryday 12th*: In the night I went Hunting. *13th*: I wrote to F___ & P___. *Wednesday 24th*: The army in Consequence of a victory obtain'd by B. Genl Morgan On the 17 instant Over a Superior force of the Enemy Comd by Col Tarleton, near the Cowpens fired a Feu de Joy.[38] I wrote to C____ & G____. *Thursday January 25th 81*: Genl Stephens Militia left us their times being Expired.[39]

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September 18, 1776, Captain Beatty to his Parents, Camp Near Kings Bridge[40]

Honoured Father and Mother,

As it Was your desire that I should Write to you every opportunity I Could and to tell you How things Went With us I have Endeavourd now to let you Know how I and Henry are Which I hope Will give you Satisfaction to hear that We both are in good Health and I hope these few lines may Find you and all the Family in the Same, and Like Wise All Enquiring Friends and Relations. I Wrote to you from New York by Elijah Beatty Which I hope you have received by this time. It Would make me Very glad if I Could receive a letter from you that I Could Know how you and the Family are and if you and John Beattys had Settled that affair between you. I have Something Worth telling you of What happined this Week. Last Sunday the Enemy landed about three Miles below us and at the Sight of about 150 of them One Brigade and a half of New England Troops ran away in the Most Precipitated Manner and Chief of them Lost their Baggage. If they had Stood their Ground they Might have Cut them off But by their landing they Surrounded Many of our Troops in York Which had no time to get out. But they have a Strong fort near York Were they are and Have three Months provision and ammunition a plenty and the Commander declares that he Will not Surrender While he has either.[41] On Monday Last the Enemy thought to Drive Our Troops farther Salleyd Out and Were attact by Major Mantz With the three Rifle Companys of our Battalion under his Command and Major price With three of the Independent Companys of Maryland Troops

and three other Companys of Maryland Flying Camp and a Battalion of Virginians and Some Northern Troops. The attact Was Very Sharp on Both sides for One hour and a half and then the Enemy Retreated One Mile and a half to their lines. In all the action We Lost but about 20 Men Killed and about as Many Wounded. Among the Dead is One Colonel of the Northern Troops. The Men all behaved With Much Bravery In Capt Goods Company. There Was but two men Wounded, Capt Reynolds One Capt Grooh two. One of Which is the blind Cuppers Son in Fredktown, the other lernt the hatters Trade With Major Price. His Wound is in the Breast, the other On the back of his arm above the joint of his Wrist and so down to his fingers the Bone is not Broke. Our Company Lay out from Our Tents from Sunday Morning till Tuesday Night. Bill Witnell and his Child is both dead, four of our Men Deserted from us in Philadelphia, One of Which is Thomas Henissee and One got Drownded Comeing from New York to this place. I have no More to tell you at present but that you Would Write the first opertunity.

I am Sir Your Most Obedient Son
W. Beatty Jnr

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To Col Wm Beatty, Living in Frederick County Maryland, near Frederick Town

Skipack Bucks County Monday, October 6th 1777[42]

Honnoured Father
I Embrace this Opertunity of informing you of the late Engagement that happened On Saturday last near Germantown On Fryday last. The army Was Ordered to march about Dusk towards Philadelphia and Reached Chestnut Hill about Day break next morning at Which time Our advance Guard attacked the Enemys Piquet and Drove them after Which Our Division fell on the left flank of the Enemy and Drove them near two Miles at
Which time they Received a Strong Reinforcement Which forced us to retreat Which Was done in Very good Order. There Was about 4000 of Our Side Engaged Which began about Sun rise and lasted till 9 O'clock. I Cannot pretend to tell the Loss on Either Side Except Our own Regiment Which had four Men Killed and 28 Wounded and four Officers Wounded. I was in the action the Whole time and in the hottest of the fire, I Received a Dead Ball On my thigh, the Very first fire the Enemy made, But did me no harm, Only made the place a little Red. I Know no Body fell Except Unkle Michael and he fell Dead on the Spot. Capt Naff Received a flesh Wound On the thigh but is like to do Well. I Expect We Shall Soon have another touch With them Which Will Soon lessen their numbers. The Morning Was Very foggy Which Was

Greatly to Our Disadvantage and the Cause of the Engagement ending So Soon.[43] I am Well at present and I hope this Will find you and all the family Like wise.

I Remain With Respect your Most obedient Son
Wm Beatty

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Captain Beatty to his Father, Skipack October 13th 1777[44]

Honoured Father
I Received yours of the 24th of last month in Which you inform me of your health and of all the Familys Which gives me Great Satisfaction, you likewise inform'd me of Your not Receiving a letter from me Since I rote from Hanover in the Jersey but I beg to be excused and am not to blame for I rote a Second letter from that place just Before I Went On Staten Island and Since that time We Have never laid One Week at One place but Continually marching. The particulars of Statten Island and Brande Wine as far as lays in my power I have Sent by Dr Thomas Except a Return that Was taken at Germantown Battle Which gives an account that the Enemys loss at Brande Wine was 1976 Killed and Wounded. Since I Wrote to you Concerning the Battle of Germantown it is reported by the best authority that the Enemys loss is 2000 Killed and Wounded beside the loss of two Generals Killed and two Wounded. The Killed are Kniphausen and Grant, Egners and Erskine Wounded Mortally. Our Success to the Northward Still Continues, Except the loss of Fort Mountgomery Which Was taken by Storm by a body of the Enemy that landed at Dobsons ferry on the North River.[45] There has been a Smart Cannonading this three days past at the fort on Delaware and it is reported that the Enemy Were Building a Battery on Province Island But Our fire Was So heavy the Enemy Were forced to Strike and Surrender them Selves Prisoners.[46] At that place Were taken 3 Brass Twelve pounders, 1 Capt of the artillery and Six Men 50 of the light Infantry and Officers accordingly. It is Daily Expected that We Shall have the other tryal for Philadelphia. Our army are in high Spirits and Wait With impatience for the other Brush. I have no More at present Only that I am in Verry good health and in high Sprits. I hope this may find you and all the family in health.

I Remain With Respect and Obedience your Dutiful Son
W Beatty

N B the Breeches I hope you Will procure for I want them Verry Bad

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To Col Wm Beatty, Fredk. County, Maryland, Pr. Favourd. By Symm,
English Township June 30th 1778[47]

Honoured Father
I With Pleasure take this Opertunity to inform you that I am in health, hoping this Will find you and the family in the Same State. The Day before yesterday Was our Glorious Day, for after an action of Six hours Our Troops made the Enemy leave the Field With about 300 Dead besides 40 Wounded that they could not carry off. There Was 1 Captain and 3 Subalterns among the number and Col Monckton Killed With a number of Other officers of the Enemy. Our loss is not Supposed to be More than 100 Killed and Wounded. Capt Bayly By Whom this Comes Will be able to inform you the particulars of that Days action for he Was in the Heat of it. Our Division form'd the rear line Which Was Not Engaged at All.[48] I am Verry Sorry that I Could not See you When you Was at Wilmington for I am informed You Was Verry Uneasy on account of Some Scandalous Reports Raised to injure my Carrachter but thank God I hope that I can produce Recommendations in the regt that Will make every Raskal hang his head that Ever attempted to injure Me. I hope you Will not make yourself uneasy On that account for I Defy any Scandalous Reports that they Can Make. I have no time to Continue at Present but the next Opertunity I Will indeavor to let you Know how things Stand With respect to Myself.

I now Conclude With remaining your most obedient Son
W. Beatty

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To Col. Wm Beatty Maryland, favored by Capt. Bayly
Camp Guildford Court House, Febry 8th 81[49]

Honoured Father
The last time I Wrote You Was from Hicks Creek Which place We March'd from With the troops that lay there On the 29th of last Month.[50] This move of Ours Was in Consequence of the Enemies moveing Up the Kataba River Which they Cross'd the first instant and Made a Quick March by Salisbury to Sloinsford On the Yadkin Where they have lain ever Since till Yesterday When they Moved higher up the Yadkin & by Some reported to have Cross'd Or about Crossing. The Situation of Our army When we left Hicks Creek being much divided Obliged us to Make a very rapid March to form a Junction With Our light troops under Genl Morgan Who at this time Were retiring before the Enemy.[51] This day the Whole of Our Continental troops Will be assembled at this place. Our Continuance here Will entirely depend On the Movements of the Enemy. As to the Strength of the Enemy I don't immagin

it to be much above 2000 regulars Which to the Shame of the States be it Said are too many for us to Engage Without Some Providential advantage.[52] Genl Sumter With a body of Militia tis Said are in the rear of the Enemy disturbing their rear daily. Col Campbell, Shelby & others from up Wards are expected With Some rifle men.[53] Should We Engage the Enemy & obtain a Victory I am fully of opinion they Will not be able to Make a retreat for all our friends in these States are ready to take the advantage of Our Success. Just before We March'd from Hicks Creek Col Lee With his Legion took George Town, Commanded by Lt. Col. Campbell Who is prisoner.[54] Campbells Major Was Killed as to other particulars I am unacquainted With them, I hope the next time You hear from me Will be after We have expell'd Our Enemies, untill Which time I Continue your most dutifull & obedient Son.

W.H. Beatty
Feb 8th 81, N B all our heavy Baggage is Sent to Hillsborough/Mr. Luckett will be pleased to forward this to Fredk Town by the first oppertunity

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Col. Wm Beatty, Fredk County, Maryland, Favoured by Mr Wilhern
Camp Buffalo Creek 10 miles from Guildford Court House 3d March 81[55]

Honoured Sir
About the 8th of last Month While on our retreat to Virginia I Wrote you from Guildford Ct House. Our army the 10th following left that place & On the 14th Crossed Boyds & Irvins ferries. On Dan river the Enemy pursuing us Closely all this Way Our retreat Was Covered by Col Lee's Legion, Whites & Washington's Horse, five Companys of Light Infantry & Some Rifle Men, Militia the Whole Was Commanded by Col Williams Who Was appointed to that Command Genl Morgan being Sick absent.[56] Notwithstanding the Enemies Superior Strength & the Close pursuit they gave us Our Retreat Was So Well Conducted that We lost nothing in it but Some extent of Settlement Which if it Was not for the effect it Might have in the general Cause & On Some Individuals it had Much better be in the possession of a British Tyrant than in that of a free & Independent State. For Certain I am that above three fourths of the people Where the British has been in this State are the greatest Villians On Earth, therefore a tyrant ruler Would become them better than an Independent Government. The day after We retreated from Guilford the Enemies advance being So near Our light troops Rear that Col Lee found an ambuscade With Some of his Horse & entirely two officers & 22 Men he killed a Lt & 14 Men & took a Capt & 8, all belonging to Tarletons Horse, besides those Many other prisoners have been taken While they lay in Hillsborough Where they March'd to after We had Cross'd the Dan. They had a Piquet Cut off Consisting of an officer & between 20 & 30 Men,

Yesterday Was brought into Our Camp prisoners of a Lt Col of new levies & a Lt of the 23d Regt. The Cols name is fields, he Was a prisoner in Fredrick When the n,c, tories Where there. After Our army had Cross'd Dan We Cross'd another Small River Called Banister about Seven Miles from the former & March'd as far as Virginia as Halifax Court House Which is about Six Miles north of Banister.[57] At this place We lay Untill the 20th of Febry on Which day We began to return to n. c, by the Same Way We left it Ever Since Which time We have been maneuvering.[58] The night before last We lay all night & all day Yesterday within 10 Miles of the Whole British army. They Have left Hillsborough & lay at that time on the ground where the Battle Was fought between Governor Tryon & the n. c. Regulators in the year 70. We lay on the road leading from Hillsborough to Guildford Ct House about 15 miles from the latter. Last night We mov'd to this place Which is north of the road We lay in Yesterday & it is reported the Enemy have mov'd across roads 22 miles South of Guildford. Our light troops Who have been Considerably Strengthened by Militia & Riflemen from Virginia & this State are Some Where between us and the Enemy. Yesterday there happened a Skirmish between Some of ours & the British Parties. There Was nothing Material but a few Wounded On each Side. Lees Legion & Some Riflemen the parties Conversed on our Side. Our army has been Considerably Reinforced by the Militia of this State & Virginia. We expect daily to be join'd by 1000 Back Woods Rifle Men under Col Campbell.[59] When he joins it is generally thought that We Shall press the Enemy early & perhaps bring on a general Engagement Which I think they Will try to avoid untill they Recross the Yadkin Which Seems to be their intention by the Rout they March. We have reports in Camp that Genl Sumter & Marion are Driving all before them in S. Carolina, that Lord Rawden March'd from Camden With about 4 or 500 Men to join Lord Cornwallis in this State. So Soon as the former left Camden tis Said Sumter took it, it being garrisoned by none but Invalids & a few new levies. On the 25th of last month Col Lee being informed of about 300 tories Who Were Assembled about 25 Miles from Hillsborough On the road leading to Guildford to Join the British he March'd & fell in With them in the Evening & Killed about 200 few of the others Escaped Without a Wound. I have never received a line from You Since I left home Should be extremely glad to hear how You & all the family are, also how the State of Maryland Comes on in raising recruits to Compleat their Regiments. I Wish With all my heart the States in general Would exert themselves in that particular I am Sure We Want nothing but a few.

Expell the Enemy from our Country, I wrote by Lt Price for Some articles they will be Sent for I am in the greatest Want of them & there is not a possibility of getting them here. Please to remember my best respects to all the Family Who I hope with Yourself are all in perfect Health. I have been in Very good State of Health ever Since I left Home, Believe me Sir to be with the Sincerest respect your most obt & Dutiful Son.

W. Beatty

The back pages of the manuscript journal have a page of writing that was not included in the documents published by the Maryland Historical Society. The words are difficult to decipher, but the following is a first attempt:

> Gentleness of manners, softness of heart are the most amiable characteristics of a Woman, Let man like the strong oak brave the storm and stand immovable amidst the rage of it, Let Woman like the weeping willow . . . to every blest one like the . . . Be not . . . and profanity . . .

Notes

The cover of the original printed pamphlet is inscribed, "Captain William Beatty's Journal From The Year of Our Lord 1776 to 1781 . . . Presented by Judge Beatty of Kentucky." The inside cover of the original journal reads "Born 19th June 1758" in the same handwriting as the journal, presumably William Beatty's.

1. Less than two weeks before the Declaration of Independence. There is a note on the inside cover of Beatty's journal, "Born 19th June 1758." This would mean that he joined the Flying Camp just a few days after his eighteenth birthday. The Continental Congress passed a resolution on June 3, 1776, calling forth a "Flying Camp," a mobile reserve of 10,000 men to be furnished by Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. Maryland's quota was 3,400, and the men were to serve until December 1, 1776. Maryland responded with its own resolution, limiting these troops to service only in the middle colonies. The Maryland Convention was unwilling to let them go to New England, or to let them serve for more than six months. Companies in the "flying camp" had a captain, two lieutenants, and one ensign. The officers in Beatty's company were Capt. Philip Meroney, 1st Lt. Elisha Beall, 2nd Lt. John Hellen, Ensign William Beatty Jr. See *Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution,* William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 18:29.
2. "Frederick County. At the request of Lt. John Hellen, I have this day Reviewed and Passed twelve able bodied effective men for the Flying Camp. I also Reviewed and Passed, on the 14th Instant, twenty four effective men for the Flying Camp for Ensign Wm. Beatty, Jr., eight of which he requests may be appropriated for Lt. John Hellen's Warrant. Given under my hand this 20th day of July, 1776. Joseph Wood, Jr." See "Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution," *Arch. Md.* 18:48.
3. By the time that Beatty's unit of the Flying Camp reached New York, the American army had already been pushed off Long Island. Howe had landed at Gravesend on August 22 and passed through Jamaica Pass on August 26. The famous "Maryland 400" defense of Gowanus Creek took place on August 27. Howe confronted the main lines on Brooklyn Heights on August 29. Washington (with Glover's Marbleheaders manning the boats) evacuated Brooklyn Heights and got his entire force safely back to Manhattan the night of August 29.
4. The British landed a force at Kip's Bay on the eastern shore of Manhattan on September 15. Putnam's division had to rush out of New York City (then only on the tip of Manhattan) to get away safely to Harlem Heights and join the rest of the American army before the British could cut him off.
5. This is the Battle of Harlem Heights, where Howe assaulted the main American position on September 16, 1776. The Americans were in fixed fortifications, and inflicted twice as many casualties on the British as they received.
6. Washington retreated out of Manhattan up the Bronx River to White Plains, where he was attacked by Howe on October 28, 1776. Beatty makes no mention of this battle. All of John Eager Howard's biographies claim that he took part in that battle, although details of his involvement have not been found. The mention of White Plains in Howard documents does suggest that at least part of the Flying Camp participated in some way, as Howard was in the Flying Camp at the time.
7. A map of the area shows "Schralenburg" during this period. There is apparently no lon-

ger a town of that name, but there is a Schralenburg Road in Bergen County, New Jersey. Washington's Army crossed the Hudson from Peekskill to Haverstraw on November 10 and marched to Hackensack. Symonds, *Battlefield Atlas*, 28, 29.

8. Fort Washington, the last remaining American position on Manhattan, surrendered to the British on November 16, 1776. This was a disaster of major proportions for the Americans; 2,800 Americans (including Otho Holland Williams of Maryland) surrendered and went into a horrible captivity in New York. Stores, ammunition, and artillery were also lost.

9. The evacuation of Fort Lee left another post to the British, and represented another major loss of artillery, ammunition, and stores. At least the army got away.

10. This is Beatty's description of his part of the miserable American retreat across New Jersey after the defeat in New York. The American army virtually melted away. Washington had started out defending New York with some 20,000 men. By the time he had been pushed across the breadth of New Jersey and reached the Delaware River, his force had dwindled to some 3,000.

11. The Maryland Convention's Resolution about the Flying Camp had limited their service until December 1, 1776. Washington's papers show that he tried mightily to keep the Flying Camp under arms, but both Beatty and John Eager Howard ended their service on December 1. As a result, both Beatty and Howard missed the battles that literally saved the Revolutionary cause, Trenton on Christmas Day 1776, and Princeton on January 3, 1777. Beatty's journal reflects his regret that he was not there to support Washington during those trying times.

12. Beatty arrived home to Frederick County, Maryland, eleven days before the Battle of Trenton.

13. Beatty must have performed well in the Flying Camp, where he served as an ensign. After six months of service in that capacity, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Continental Service. *Arch. Md.* 18:189.

14. Lincoln's Gap is in the vicinity of Morristown, New Jersey. There is a Revolutionary War–era map that depicts this encampment.

15. The Passaic River Falls were a sightseeing spot in the eighteenth century. James McHenry accompanied George Washington there in July 1778. According to McHenry, they were not as impressive as Niagara Falls or other falls on the Mohawk River. Nonetheless, Washington was impressed, as they were the first falls he had seen. James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution* (New York: Little Brown & Co., 1968), 318.

16. In the summer of 1777, Howe decided to attack Philadelphia from the South. He embarked a large part of his army onto British ships, which first tried to penetrate the Delaware Bay, and then decided to attack via the Chesapeake Bay. They passed by Baltimore in late August, and landed at Head of Elk on August 25.

17. Washington shifted his army south to meet Howe and defend Philadelphia.

18. This is the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777.

19. The Americans were routed at Brandywine when Cornwallis led a force that attacked the Continental line from the unexpected position to their far right.

20. It is estimated that the Americans lost 1,000 in killed, wounded and captured at Brandywine, and that the British lost half that number, Symonds, *Battlefield Atlas*, 53.

21. For several weeks the Americans and British maneuvered in the area around Philadelphia. Beatty describes his own unit's daily activities during this jockeying for position between the armies.

22. Samuel Smith of the Maryland troops was one of the men sent to the Mud Fort, which was in the Delaware River south of Philadelphia. Its position was intended to keep the British fleet from reaching the city and to provide supplies. Although Smith performed gallantly

(and was awarded a sword by the Congress for his efforts there) the fort inevitably had to be evacuated due to superior British force.

23. The American victory at Bennington, Vermont, took place on August 16, 1777, and the victory at Freeman's Farm (the first of the two major engagements at Saratoga) on September 19, 1777.

24. This is the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777. Both Beatty and John Eager Howard were heavily engaged this day, when the American troops acquitted themselves well. They were finally beaten by a bad decision to try to root out the defenders of the Chew mansion (Cliveden), a heavy fog, and the unfortunate arrival of some American troops at a spot on the battlefield where they wound up firing on other Americans.

25. A *feu de joy* was a form of military celebration in which musket fire was timed to progress from one man to the next, producing a continuous roar, Mark Mayo Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1994), 366; The second celebratory firing that Beatty mentions was for the American victory at Bemis Heights on October 7, 1777 (the second of the major battles at Saratoga).

26. This last celebratory firing is for Burgoyne's surrender to Gates on October 17, 1777.

27. Most of Washington's Army wintered at Valley Forge in 1777–78. The Maryland troops had a much better situation in their winter quarters in Wilmington, Delaware.

28. The Maryland troops marched from Wilmington to Valley Forge at the end of the winter of 1777–78, and spent a few weeks there before moving with the army into New Jersey before the Battle of Monmouth. Although Beatty does not mention it, it is probable that the Maryland troops received instruction in Von Steuben's new manual and techniques during that time.

29. William Howe resigned his command while he occupied Philadelphia, and returned to Britain. He was succeeded by Henry Clinton, who sent Tories and supplies back to New York via ships, while he marched his army across New Jersey to return to his New York base.

30. This is the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, where Washington attacked the rear of Clinton's army as it marched from Philadelphia to New York. The Maryland troops (including Beatty and John Eager Howard) were not in the advance force commanded by Charles Lee that made the initial contact with the British. The Marylanders were at Englishtown with the main army and were called forward late in the afternoon to help stem a British advance.

31. Beatty evidently misdated this entry. The correct date should be September 16, 1778.

32. Convention prisoners were (presumably) prisoners from Burgoyne's army that had surrendered at Saratoga.

33. Probably the flamboyant and effective Patrick Ferguson, later killed at King's Mountain.

34. "Mad Anthony" Wayne surprised a British garrison at Stony Point (on the Hudson River, about thirty-five miles north of New York City) on July 16, 1779; "Light Horse Harry" Lee (Robert E. Lee's father) surprised and overwhelmed a British garrison at Paulus Hook, south of New York City on the Jersey shore of the Hudson River, on August 19, 1779.

35. Beatty was home on recruiting duty from January 20, 1780, to August 20, 1780. During this time, the Maryland troops had left the northern army in April, 1780 and marched under the command of Baron De Kalb south to join the southern army. While they were enroute to reinforce the Americans at Charleston under Benjamin Lincoln, Charleston fell on May 12. Horatio Gates was dispatched to the South to take command and suffered a disastrous defeat at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780. He was relieved by George Washington's most trusted subordinate, Nathanael Greene, in early December 1780. Beatty and the troops he had recruited reached the southern army shortly after Greene had taken command.

36. Shortly after taking command, Greene decided to split his force. He personally led his

main army, which included William Beatty, east to a "camp of repose" on Hicks Creek at Cheraws, South Carolina. The other portion of the army, the Light Army under Daniel Morgan, traveled southwest from Charlotte to the northeastern tip of South Carolina on the Pacolet River.

37. January 1, 1781, the Second Maryland Regiment included the following officers: Col. John Gunby; Lt. Col. John E. Howard; Maj. John Dean; Captains: Benj. Brookes, Alex. Trueman, Jonathan Morris, Walker Muse, William Wilmot, John Jordon, Wm. Beatty, Thomas Mason, John Gassaway. Captain Lieutenants: Adam Hoops, Edward Dwyer. Lieutenants: Jno. A. Hamilton, Christr. Richmond, John Carr, William Adams, Nicholas Gassaway, Arthur Harris, Thomas Price, William Murdoch, Zedekiah Moore, Mark McPherson. Ensigns: Jacob Crawford, William Smoote, James Arthur. Surgeon: Walter Warfield. (*Maryland Archives Online. Muster Rolls and Other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution*. 18:362.

38. The *feu de joie* that Greene's army fired was to celebrate the victory of Daniel Morgan over Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens on January 17, 1781. John Eager Howard, William Washington, and Andrew Pickens were Morgan's key subordinates at that battle.

39. Stevens commanded Virginia militia at the Battle of Camden, where they fled precipitously, much to Stevens's embarrassment. At his next battle (Guilford Court House on March 15, 1781), he placed sharpshooters behind his lines with orders to shoot any man who abandoned his post. Otho Williams referred to Stevens as "the gallant Stevens."

40. This letter of September 18, 1776, was written two days after the Battle of Harlem Heights.

41. This was Magaw at Fort Washington. Beatty's comments reflect the Americans' confidence in that fixed fortification. That confidence was misplaced; Magaw surrendered on November 16, 1776. This loss was a disaster to the American cause, with some 2,800 men taken prisoner.

42. This letter of October 6, 1777, was written two days after the Battle of Germantown.

43. A thick fog on the day of the battle was one of the factors that slowed the American advance at Germantown and contributed to the British holding the field at the end of the day.

44. This letter of October 13, 1777, was written nine days after the Battle of Germantown.

45. So far in the Saratoga campaign, the Americans had won victories at Bennington, Vermont, on August 16 and at Freeman's Farm on September 19, 1777.

46. This is the Mud Fort where Samuel Smith was fighting.

47. This letter of June 30, 1778 is written two days after the Battle of Monmouth.

48. As per his journal, Beatty confirms that his contingent of Maryland troops was in the rear of the army, and was not engaged at Monmouth.

49. This letter is written on February 8, 1781, three weeks after the Battle of Cowpens, and six days before the Americans under Nathanael Greene crossed the Dan River into Virginia and left the pursuing Lord Cornwallis and his army on the south side of the Dan, unable to cross. That episode of the war is called "The Race to the Dan." After the Battle of Cowpens, Greene had to unite the two halves of his force, one that had been under his personal command at Cheraws, South Carolina, and Daniel Morgan's Light Army, which fought 140 miles to the East at Cowpens. This letter is written from Guilford Court House, where an important battle was to occur a few weeks hence on March 15, 1781. It is generally believed that Greene had time to study this ground during the army's February stop here, which helped him plan the disposition of his troops for the Guilford Court House fight.

50. Hicks Creek was the location of Greene's "camp of repose" at Cheraws, South Carolina.

51. Beatty is referring to Greene's effort to unite his force and win the "race to the Dan."

52. Not enough troops came in to fill the American ranks. Greene decided to retreat into the safety of Virginia on the north side of the Dan River to refit and regroup. He would have to wait until he had more men to seek battle with Cornwallis.
53. Thomas Sumter, "the Gamecock," was an independent South Carolina militia commander who pestered the British successfully, but who was an irritation to Nathanael Greene because he would not submit to central coordination. Campbell and Shelby were successful leaders of "over-mountain" riflemen, who attracted and commanded units of tough frontiersmen. Shelby and Campbell were part of the American forces at King's Mountain and the American victory on October 7, 1780. King's Mountain is not mentioned in Beatty's writings, and it happened while he was marching south from Maryland to join Greene's army.
54. "Light Horse Harry" Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, was an outstanding cavalry commander. His *Memoirs* are a fine piece of Revolutionary War history, written in a robust, colorful style. Historians seem to think that he is a very reliable source, except when he is writing about his own exploits. John Eager Howard reviewed much of Lee's work (both Lee's original work and his son Henry, Jr's revision, which was written after "Light Horse Harry's" death), and is cited for it in the text.
55. This letter of March 3, 1781, is written after Beatty and his troops have crossed back into North Carolina and are seeking battle with Cornwallis. The Battle of Guilford Court House occurred twelve days later, on March 15, 1781.
56. Colonel Otho Williams commanded Greene's screening force of about 700 men on the final retreat to the Dan, and when the American army re-crossed back into North Carolina in late February. Williams was chosen for this important post after Daniel Morgan was forced to retire to his home in Virginia due to poor health, probably sciatica and hemorrhoids. John Eager Howard was Williams's infantry commander in this screening force.
57. Halifax Court House was the location north of the Dan River where Greene had rested his army, refitted, and drawn recruits after the "race to the Dan."
58. Greene had his army change positions every day, as he maneuvered to try to bring Cornwallis to battle at a time and place that gave advantage to the Americans.
59. Greene had been reinforced from many sources while he was at Halifax, Virginia, and troops continued to be drawn to his army. "Colonel Campbell" is the highly regarded William Campbell, who had played an important role in the American victory at King's Mountain in October 1780.

Paul Henderson with camera, photographer and date unknown. 1991.44.301

Paul Henderson's Baltimore, c. 1940–1960

JENNIFER A. FERRETTI

The Maryland Historical Society received Paul Henderson's photography collection when the Baltimore City Life Museum closed in 1997. Although the files contained scant information on the man or his work, the history he captured on film did come forth. Subsequent research has secured Henderson's place among Baltimore's most respected photographers.

One of eight children, Henderson lived in Lynchburg Virginia, and worked for the Richmond *Afro-American* before moving to Baltimore.* He married Elizabeth Johnson in 1930, and the couple took an apartment on McCulloh Street, within walking distance of Pennsylvania Avenue, the African American entertainment and shopping district. Residents considered the area a safe haven for the black community during an era of widespread racial segregation. Some businesses hired African Americans but did not allow them as customers, a practice found throughout the city. As activists staged boycotts and protests in their quest for equal rights, Henderson made his way around the city photographing those events as well as clubs, restaurants, and entertainment venues already desegregated.

Although Henderson primarily photographed people, some street scenes and architectural shots are interwoven throughout the collection. Henderson was there, camera in hand, for National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) meetings, Elite Giants practices and games, Morgan College graduations, protests at the segregated Ford's Theatre, and so many more events. He also met and photographed prominent African American figures such as Thurgood Marshall, Juanita Jackson Mitchell, Senator Verda Welcome, and Pearl Bailey. Whether important figures were being honored for their good work or were performing in public, they became more accessible through Henderson's photographs.

As a photographer he took just a few shots of each person or event, common practice in the pre-digital age when few could afford the luxury of taking hundreds of pictures at one time. The more than six thousand images in the Henderson Photograph Collection at MdHS make it clear that, although Henderson photographed to earn a living, he genuinely enjoyed his work. His legacy is an unparalleled photographic record of African American city life in the mid-twentieth century.

*John Gartrell, archivist at the *Afro-American* newspaper, confirmed that Henderson worked at the Richmond *Afro-American* before moving to Baltimore about 1930. Facts concerning his life may be pieced together through the archive of the Afro-American, available at http://www.afro.com/afroblackhistoryarchives/.

The Baltimore Elite Giants played in the Negro Leagues from 1920 until 1950. The team moved to Baltimore from Tennessee in 1938. Left to right: Catchers Hoss Walker, Frazier Robinson, Johnny Hayes, and Vic Harris. HEN.00.A1-053.

Druid Hill Park, March 1948. HEN.00.A1-135.

Thurgood Marshall receiving a plaque from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Baltimore in 1956. HEN.00.A2-148.

A meeting of the NAACP in October 1948. HEN.00.A2-147.

Group outside with a trashcan. Possibly for a Clean Block Campaign, July 1948. HEN.00.A2-187.

Protesters outside the segregated Ford's Theatre, March 1948. HEN.00.A2-178.

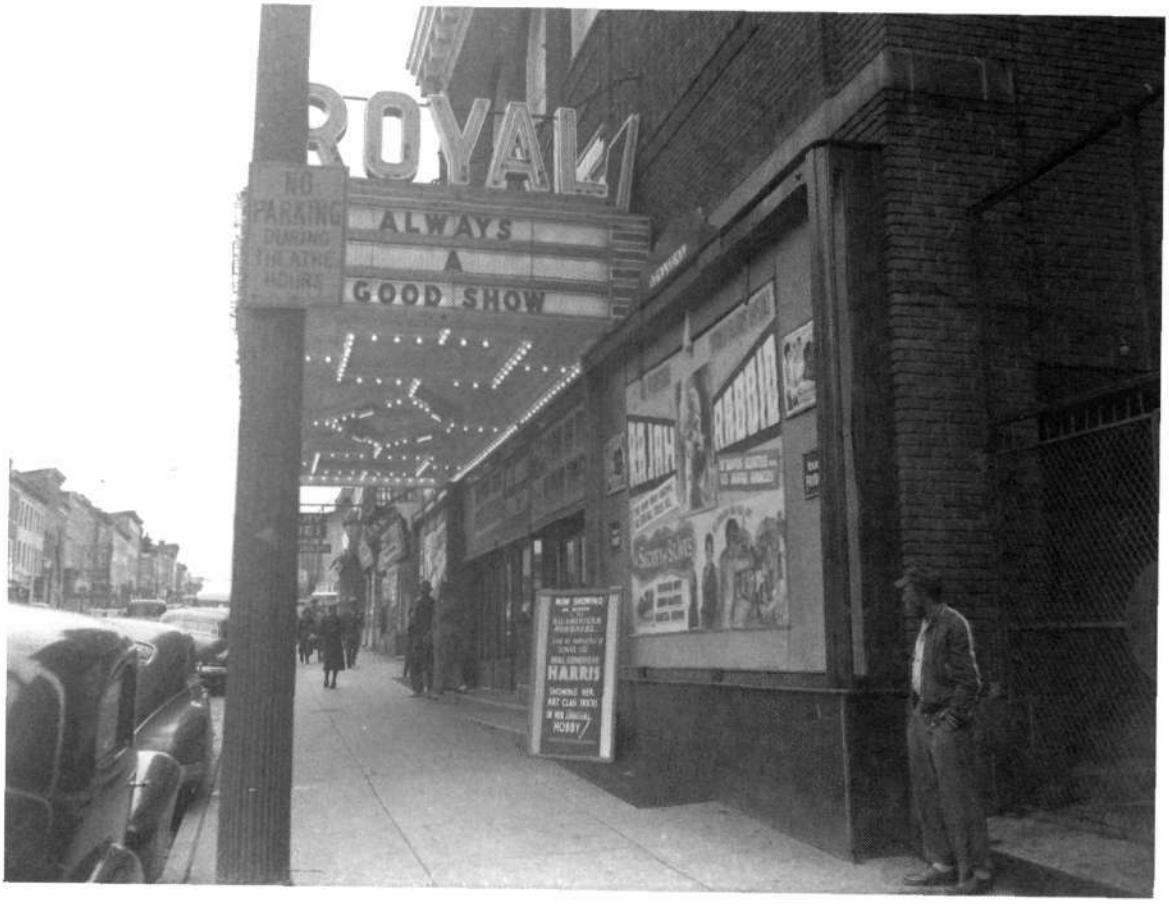
Planned Parenthood, June 1949. HEN.00.A2-182.

NAACP baby rally, 402 Dolphin Street, Baltimore, June 1949. HEN.00.A2-169.

Pearl Bailey in her dressing room, 1946. HEN.00.A2-247.

Mahalia Jackson, February 1949. HEN.00.A1-270.

The Royal Theatre, on Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, October 1949. HEN.00.B1-001.

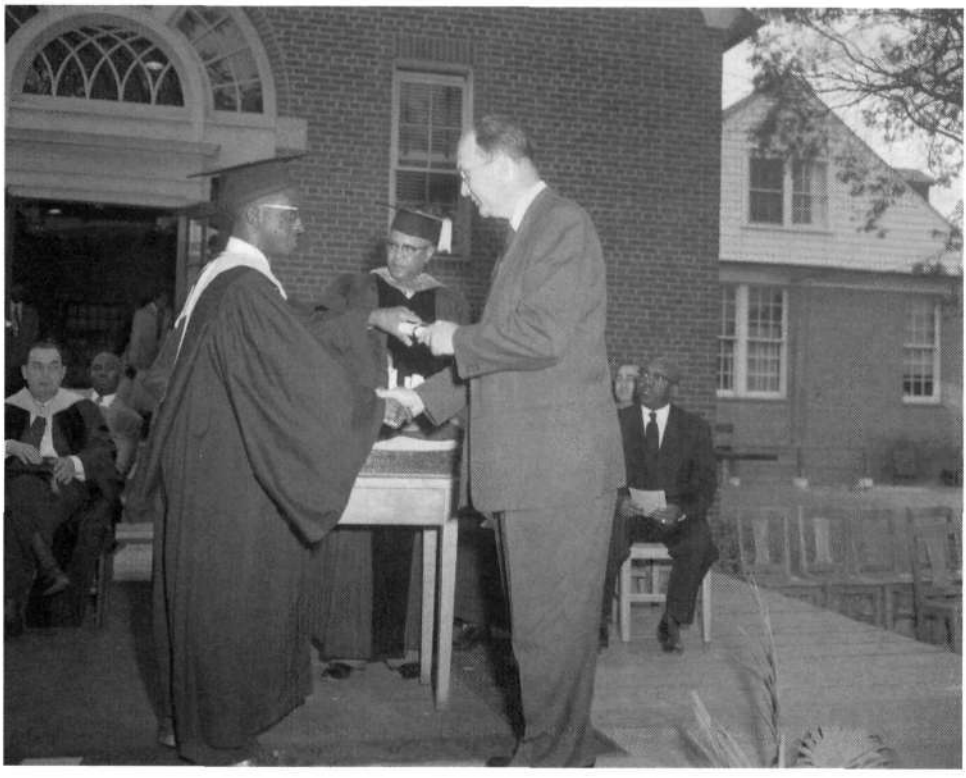


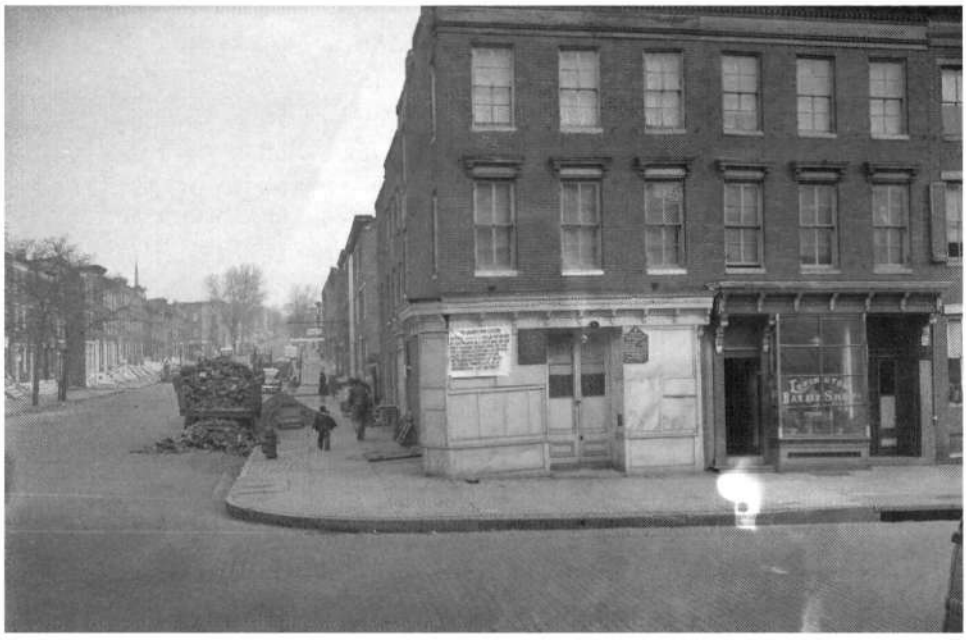
Verda Freedom Welcome (1907–1990), teacher, civil rights leader, and the first African American woman to be elected to the state senate, came to Baltimore in 1929 and graduated from Coppin State Teachers College. She was elected to the Maryland State Senate in 1962 and survived an assassination attempt two years later, after which two men were convicted. This photograph was taken in 1950. HEN.00.B1-054.

Juanita Jackson Mitchell with sons, Clarence and Kiefer. April 14, 1942. HEN.00.B1-094.

Women watching television at the Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie, later Bowie State University, 1953. HEN.00.B2-232.

Morgan College graduation, 1954. HEN.00.B2-240.





Lexington Barber Shop, Baltimore, February 1949. HEN.00.B1-105.

Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, March 1948. HEN.00.B1-111.

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