MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Improving Maryland's Agriculture, 1840-1860
Vivian Wiser

John A. J. Creswell of Maryland: Reformer in the Post Office
Robert V. Friedenberg

The Development of Baltimore Business
Part II
Eleanor S. Bruchey

Vol. 64 No. 2 **Summer, 1969**

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

Colonel William Baxter, *President*
Hon. Frederick W. Brune, *Past President*
Charles P. Crane, *Membership*
Dr. Rhoda M. Dorsey, *Publications*
C. A. Porter Hopkins, *Vice President*
Samuel Hopkins, *Treasurer*
Edward G. Howard, *Recording Secretary*
Bryden B. Hyde, *Vice President*
Francis H. Jencks, *Gallery*
Charles L. Marburg, *Athenaeum*
William B. Marye, *Secretary Emeritus*
Robert G. Merrick, *Finance*
J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, *Vice President*
A. L. Penniman, Jr., *Athenaeum*
Thomas G. Pullen, Jr., *Education*
Hon. George L. Radcliffe, *Chairman of the Council*
Richard H. Randall, Sr., *Maritime*
A. Russell Slagle, *Corresponding Secretary*
Mrs. W. Wallace Symington, Jr., *Women's*
Dr. Huntington Williams, *Library*

Harold R. Manakee, *Director*

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
VOL. 64, NO. 2 SUMMER, 1969

CONTENTS

Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $5.00. Each issue $1.25. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

Richard R. Duncan, *Editor*

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. Second-Class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

CONTRIBUTORS

ELEANOR S. BRUCHEY holds a doctor's degree from Johns Hopkins University. Part I of her article, "The Development of Baltimore Business, 1880-1914," appeared in the Spring issue of the *Magazine*.

ROBERT V. FRIEDENBERG is a Doctoral Fellow in the Department of Speech at Temple University in Philadelphia. He holds a bachelor's degree from Towson State College and a master's from Temple University. He is currently working on the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

VIVIAN WISER holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of Maryland where she completed her doctoral dissertation, "The Movement for Agricultural Improvement in Maryland, 1785-1865," in 1963. She is a historian in the United States Department of Agriculture and is co-author of *Century of Service: The First 100 Years of the United States Department of Agriculture*. Dr. Wiser is also the author of several articles on agricultural history, which have appeared in *Agricultural History* and this *Magazine*.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 64 SUMMER, 1969 Number 2

IMPROVING MARYLAND'S AGRICULTURE, 1840-1860

By VIVIAN WISER

THE TWO decades before the Civil War were characterized by a constant ferment that affected almost every aspect of life in Maryland. Reform and innovation were in the air, benefitting education, industry, and agriculture. The population of the city of Baltimore, the commercial, industrial, and educational center of the State, increased from 102,313 in 1840 to 212,418 in 1860. During the same period, the population in the adjacent District of Columbia grew from 33,745 to 75,080. These growing urban centers meant expanded markets for agricultural commodities, a demand that encouraged producers in nearby areas to shift to fruits and vegetables, livestock and dairy products, and hay production. Simultaneous improvements in transportation brought the farmers' goods to city markets more rapidly.

In part, the expanding industry in Baltimore became a factor in the developing agriculture. Flour milling had become increasingly important as it utilized grain produced in Maryland and other states. Baltimore was becoming a center for the manufacture of agricultural equipment. Its nurseries and seed companies supplied the farmers' needs. The Monumental City was also the early center for

the distribution of guano, the Chilean fertilizer. Then in 1849, when mixed fertilizers were first manufactured there, a new industry for Baltimore was in the making.

Maryland leaders had frequently combined politics, industry or a profession, and agricultural pursuits as a way of life. They supported organizations affecting these various facets of life. For example, in 1840, some took an active part in the Democratic Convention in Baltimore, while some were also vitally concerned with the National Tobacco Convention, held in Washington, the same year.

Baltimore became the headquarters for the several state agricultural societies. Although an organization formed in 1840 was short lived, it provided a link in the chain of events contributing to agricultural advance. John Stuart Skinner, who had inaugurated the pioneer agricultural journal, the *American Farmer,* and had been active in an earlier state agricultural society in the 1820's, apparently knew nothing of the effort. Early in April 1840, he had spoken of the need for such a group. On May 20th, the society's executive committee, composed of some of those who had sponsored a fair in Ellicott City the previous year, announced that it would hold its first fair during the following fall. It offered premiums for horses, mules, cattle, sheep, hogs, domestic goods, and farming equipment. The fair was held on September 16, 1840. The new society elected Thomas Emory of Queen Anne's County as president, John Mercer of Anne Arundel and Anthony Kimmel of Frederick County as vice presidents, and B. U. Campbell as secretary-treasurer.[1]

The *Baltimore Sun*, stating that it would lead to better livestock, crop production, and agricultural equipment, commended the group for holding the fair. However, John Stuart Skinner criticized it as having been too much of a showing of fine animals rather than a fair for the sale of livestock. He believed that the "body of the practical Farmers of the neighborhood and of the State generally" were more interested in the Presidential campaign than in such a mundane event as an agricultural fair. In January of the following year the editor explained that the responsibility for the event had fallen on one or two persons because of the absence of an "all prevading earnestness" so necessary to such an undertaking. Even the wealthiest planters did not support it. Nevertheless, the society sponsored another fair in 1841. Many of the pens were empty, and entries were predominantly by residents of Howard County. Then

[1] *American Farmer,* I (May 20, 1840), p. 409.

the organization seems to have disintegrated. At about the same time, a society for Baltimore City and County was formed at Govanstown, and attempts were made to expand it into a state society. However, another group was agitating for a new state agricultural society.[2]

Markets, especially in Baltimore and Washington, were influenced by improved transportation facilities and better production practices. On December 31, 1842, the *Farmers' Monthly Visitor* reported that twenty to thirty years earlier the land between the two cities had been barren. Fresh vegetables had been scarce when Congress was not in session. But now in the 1840's no market was better supplied. Land values were also on the upswing. Producers were writing to the *American Farmer* of the increased value resulting from soil building practices. One wrote that tobacco land on which plaster or lime had been applied had increased from ten and fifteen dollars per acre to fifty dollars. Many producers were not aware of the increased value of their lands. Therefore, George Patterson suggested that the United States Patent Office, which at that time had jurisdiction over agricultural matters, make a survey of land values and publish the results. By 1856, the journal reported that land values had increased from 100 to 400 per cent in most sections of the state during the previous fifteen years largely because of soil improvement.[3]

The state legislature, composed of many members from rural areas, had shown its concern for soil improvement. In 1832, it had authorized the appointment of a geologist to make a geological survey and to analyze soils and minerals. The project was dropped after the death of J. T. Ducatel, the geologist, but interest in soil analysis continued. As early as March 1841, a bill to appoint an agricultural chemist was introduced in the legislature. The committee on agriculture reported, in 1844, on a study it made of the increasing use of lime and other calcareous materials and the extent of soil improvement in the state. Not until March 9, 1848 did the legislature pass the bill to authorize the appointment of an agricultural chemist to lecture and analyze soils throughout the

[2] *Ibid.*, II (September 23, 1840), p. 137; (January 13, 1841), p. 265; *The Sun* (Baltimore), September 18, 1840; *National Intelligencer* (Washington), September 6, 1841.

[3] *The Farmers' Monthly Visitor* (Concord, N. H.), IV (December 31, 1842), p. 177; *American Farmer,* II (February 3, 1841), p. 290; XII (December, 1856), pp. 177-78.

state. James Higgins, who served in this capacity for a number of years with his headquarters at St. John's College in Annapolis, regularly included a discussion of the need and the use of fertilizer in his annual reports to the legislature.[4]

Enterprising agriculturists were using all sorts of materials to build up their lands and were alert to new developments. They had used ashes; animal manures; lime; marl; compost made from such materials as leaves, grass, and garden waste; bone meal; and household waste materials. But these materials were not enough. The answer to the quest seemed to come from guano, the dried excrement of birds, imported from arid islands off the coast of South America. Skinner's son-in-law, Midshipman Bland, had brought some of this fertilizer back to the United States in 1824. Although the editor of the *American Farmer* publicized the event, it had no effect for nearly twenty years.

The first commercial shipment of guano arrived in Baltimore in 1843, an important milestone in American agriculture as well as that of the state. Producers were anxious to acquire it. Residents of Maryland who subscribed to the *Farmers' Register,* published by Edmund Ruffin in Petersburg, Virginia, had read about the miracles that guano had brought to England. While Ruffin had discounted them in part, he acknowledged that it had its worth.[5]

Large quantities of guano were purchased by residents of the state; some agricultural societies and wealthier planters contracted for lots which they, in turn, broke up and sold. In Montgomery County alone, in 1847, farmers purchased over seventy tons. In 1849, one vessel brought nearly twenty-five tons of guano and Chappell's fertilizer to Centreville on the Eastern Shore. Soon many were buying guano on such a scale that they had little left for ordinary expenses, and it was anticipated that the state would soon be on a par with the most improved states of the Union.[6]

[4] Maryland, *Documents,* 1843, "Report of the Committee on Agriculture"; Vivian Wiser, "Maryland in the Land Grant College Movement," *Agricultural History,* XXXVI (October, 1962), p. 195.

[5] *Sun,* June 26, 1845; Frank R. Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore,* Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, No. 9 (Baltimore, 1897), p. 39; *Farmers' Register,* IX (July 31, 1841), pp. 400-01; (September 30, 1841), pp. 556-57; (December 31, 1841), pp. 716-17; X (February 28, 1842), pp. 56-63; (March 31, 1842), pp. 104-06.

[6] *American Farmer,* III (November, 1847), p. 155; *Sun,* April 3, 1849; Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Peruvian Guano Gospel in the Old South," *Agricultural History,* XXIV (October, 1950), pp. 211-21; *Planters' Advocate* (Upper Marlboro), September 17, 1851.

Accounts of the use of guano appeared in the newspapers, the *American Farmer,* and other agricultural journals. Many inquiries about its use were answered by editors, but evidently some questions were sent directly to the original contributor. Edward Stabler of Montgomery County said that such correspondence occupied much of his time, some of it from people that he did not know. He, reporting that his club had purchased nineteen tons in one spring, had also written to the United States Patent Office on the subject. He himself used guano with lime, marl, bonemeal, animal manure, etc., thereby increasing his yield of wheat from three and four bushels per acre to twenty-five to thirty bushels. Caleb Stabler of the Sandy Spring area, Charles Calvert of Prince George's County, A. P. Giles of Baltimore County, J. A. Pearce of Kent County, Augustus Shriver of Carroll County, and Nicholas B. Worthington also wrote about the South American fertilizer. They confirmed Edward Stabler's findings, and saw in guano a boon to worn-out lands. A planter, using the pseudonym of "Potomac," wrote to the

John Stuart Skinner. 1788-1851. Oil on Panel. Joseph Wood. 1825. Present owner unknown. From a Photograph.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

editor of the *Baltimore Sun* of the new era in agriculture introduced by guano that made "one surprised at himself, and throws an emigrant from old Montgomery on returning to visit his native place into fits of wonder."[7]

For several years, no doubt, planters felt that they had a sympathetic agent when John Stuart Skinner worked for the companies that handled the Peruvian Government monopoly, but its policies of supply control and arbitrary high prices alienated Skinner and provoked intense resentment that had a disastrous effect on the trade in the long run. In the shorter run, however, supplies from Columbia, Mexico, and the West Indies provided stiff competition.

The agricultural convention of 1848 gave producers an opportunity to discuss the availability of guano at some length. Consumers had complained of all sorts of tricks and frauds which had shortchanged the farmer, in spite of the state inspection system established under an 1846 law. Delegates at the convention felt that more information was needed, especially as to the relative value of the various kinds on the market in order to prevent the deception of purchasers.[8]

At the May meeting in 1850 of the board of managers of the new state agricultural society, John Carroll Walsh was appointed chairman of a committee to ask the federal government to intervene to remove some of the restrictions of the Peruvian government on the guano trade. The State Department reported shortly thereafter that it was undertaking such negotiations. In 1852, the state Senate committee on agriculture was directed to study the inspection laws to determine if the cost of inspection could be reduced and whether amendments were needed to protect against frauds. A heated discussion ensued in October 1853. Opinions ranged all the way from that of James T. Earle, who considered it beneficial to the consumer, to that of Hector Humphreys from Annapolis who saw no good in it. Ramsey McHenry of Harford County, who opposed the extension of government, said: ". . . the proper policy for farmers is to say to

[7] *American Farmer,* V (June 28, 1842), pp. 41-42; I (August, 1845), p. 51, (September, 1845), pp. 69-71; II (May, 1847), pp. 334-35; (June, 1847), p. 356; IV (July, 1848), p. 14; (October, 1848), p. 103; VI (July, 1850), pp. 9-11; VIII (September, 1852), p. 104; (October, 1852), p. 126; *Cultivator,* II (May, 1845), p. 153; U.S. Patent Office, Letters, Essays, Reports, etc., V, p. 137, National Archives; Diary of Augustus Shriver, May 27, 1852, MS. 750.1, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Sun,* July 29, 1854.

[8] *American Farmer,* IV (October, 1848), pp. 107-08; Maryland, *Laws,* 1846, Chapter 311.

legislation [sic] 'let us alone,' whenever officers have been appointed to protect us, they have robbed us." In 1854, another law was passed to strengthen the inspection procedure, that, no doubt, diverted part of the trade from Baltimore to New York.[9]

However, general opposition increased, and in March 1856 a protest meeting, composed of delegates from a number of states, convened in Wilmington, Delaware. Charles B. Calvert, Samuel Sands, A. P. Willis, James L. Davis, and G. Stites represented Maryland. Another convention met in Washington on June 10th. The state agricultural society, and the Charles and Queen Anne's counties agricultural societies elected proxies. Farmers of Buckeystown and New Market also sent delegates. Most of those attending the convention came from Maryland and Virginia; but Delaware, North Carolina, and other states sent emissaries.[10]

Other forces were at work that neutralized the control of the guano trade. A whole new industry was emerging. The first mixed chemical fertilizers manufactured in the United States were sold in Baltimore in 1849, six years after the first commercial shipment of guano had been received. Among these were Chappell's Fertilizer or Agricultural Salts and Kettlewell and Davison's Renovator. The manufacturers and handlers of guano and the chemical fertilizers advertised their products, including letters from producers who had used them. Kettlewell and Davison, anxious to sell their new fertilizer, invited members of the state agricultural society to their plant. In the spring of 1849, Chappell appealed to the Maryland State Agricultural Society to appoint a committee to analyze his fertilizer. The society did this to protect consumers, some of whom were its members. The industry expanded as the price of guano increased. By 1860, there were seven factories in the United States, and the foundation of a large industry was laid. The curtailment of shipping during the war period put the finishing touch on the guano trade.[11]

During the nearly two decades in which the guano trade flourished and the controversy raged, agriculture was undergoing change. Although tobacco continued to be an important crop, the

[9] *American Farmer,* V (June, 1850), p. 429; VI (October, 1850), pp. 145-46; IX (December, 1858), pp. 172-74; Maryland, *Proceedings of the Senate,* 1852, pp. 289, 546; *Laws,* 1854, Chapter 317.

[10] *Sun,* March 21, June 5, 11, 12, 1856; *American Farmer,* XI (April, 1856), pp. 305-08; XII (July, 1856), pp. 1-12.

[11] *American Farmer,* IV (June, 1849), pp. 399-401; V (November, 1849), p. 139; VIII (April, 1853), p. 343.

production area became more limited. Increasing attention was given to livestock and diversifying operations. Throughout the state, many were concerned about not only a good return but also about the improvement of their basic land resource. Some were wealthy, but others had more moderate means and naturally there were different approaches.

Francis P. Blair, who had come to Washington from Missouri, bought about three hundred acres in Montgomery County and the District of Columbia from the Carroll family—much of it in timber. Within a few months, he spent between four and five thousand dollars. He cut wood and sold it in Washington and returned with loads of manure or lime to apply on his lands.[12]

Horace Capron, who had been primarily a businessman, started in agriculture as an extra activity. He bought land, near Laurel in Prince George's County, on which he soon spent large sums of money, $3,000 in one year for wood ashes obtained from Washington residents. He carried on an extensive correspondence and wrote articles for the *American Farmer,* stressing the desirability of an all-out program for soil improvement. His work in Maryland gave him a background which was to prove valuable when he became Federal Commissioner of Agriculture and advised planters in Virginia and other Southern states on soil improvement during the Reconstruction years.[13]

For over a decade, Capron's estate near Laurel was a gathering place for many—some of whom were interested in seeing his factory, some of whom were planters interested in his production practices and his blooded cattle and horses, and some who, as Capron himself wrote, "appreciated my work as important to the State and the Country—including members of Congress—Governors of States and the President of the United States."[14] Zachary Taylor spent several days as Capron's guest in July 1849; six months before he recommended the establishment of a separate agricultural bureau within the new Federal Department of the Interior.

Samuel Sands, the editor of the *American Farmer,* was glowing in his praise of Capron's achievements. His wheat, hay, and pastures were luxuriant. He had about one hundred head of cattle, from

[12] *The Farmers' Monthly Visitor,* IV (December, 1842), pp. 177-78.
[13] Merritt Starr, "General Horace Capron," *Journal of Illinois Historical Society,* XVIII (July, 1925), p. 278.
[14] Memoirs of Horace Capron, pp. 82-83, Typed copy in the National Agricultural Library, United States Department of Agriculture.

which he sold from 130 to 150 gallons of milk daily in Baltimore, Washington, and Laurel. This milk was conveyed in pipes from the stable to the dairy, strained twice, and then drawn off in cans for market. These were cooled by water piped from a nearby pump. Sands stressed the cleanliness which prevailed everywhere, due, he said, to Capron's close supervision of all activities.[15]

In June 1847, Horace Capron, emphasizing the importance of a will to persist in improvement, described the advancements made by the Stablers, Roger Brooke, and others in the Sandy Spring area of Montgomery County. Edward Stabler had returned to the Sandy Spring area in poor health and with little money. His efforts exemplified what could be done without Capron's lavish expenditure of money. With others to help him he showed how a group could work together to transform an area. He used manure, guano, carried leaves into his hog pen, and spread lime on his land on which he planted clover, hay, corn, and wheat. In 1852, he reported that he had twenty-two head of cattle. Stabler also raised potatoes, asparagus, watermelons, lima beans, and raspberries, probably for his own use; though he did sell some seed potatoes. He was among the faithful contributors to the *American Farmer* and won prizes from that paper and the state agricultural society for his essays on the renovation of worn-out lands and the comparative advantage of drilling seed rather than broadcast sowing. He suggested that provision be made for water run-off to prevent erosion; draining of lowlands; deep plowing to utilize moisture and increase productivity; the use of marl, lime, bones, guano, leached ashes, poudrette, and green crops; and a system of crop rotation. He was also an agent and correspondent for the Albany, New York *Cultivator.*[16]

Thomas Hughlett had about four thousand acres in Talbot County with barns, stables, and other buildings in the "most approved style." He raised Durham and Devonshire cattle, Cotswold and Bakewell sheep, and Chester hogs, showing them at the state fairs. Hughlett paid special attention to his livestock and was regarded as one of the most successful planters on the Eastern Shore.[17]

Charles B. Calvert was a versatile agriculturist. In 1848, he had

[15] *American Farmer,* IV (July, 1848), pp. 6-8.

[16] *Monthly Journal of Agriculture,* III (July, 1847), pp. 108-14; Diary of Edward Stabler, 1852, MS. 776, Md. Hist. Soc.; *American Farmer,* III, (July, 1847), pp. 9-11; IV (October, 1848), pp. 97-104, (December, 1848), pp. 161-64; VIII (July, 1852), pp. 5-8.

[17] *Ibid.,* VII (September, 1851), p. 109.

a water-power mill for making flour. He furnished a large amount of lumber, sawed by his steam sawmill, to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that went through his lands. Samuel Sands, in an account in the *American Farmer* of a visit to Calvert's estate, was enthusiastic about white oak furniture made there. About 1848, Charles Calvert bought a franchise and a machine for making wire fencing for Prince George's County from Chester Coleman. In 1853, he was the principal proprietor of the National Hotel, the largest in the Nation's Capital. Here he entertained the officers and committees of the United States Agricultural Society in 1855. He supplied the hotel with milk, cream, and garden vegetables from his estate.[18]

On July 20, 1848, Samuel Sands visited Calvert, perhaps for the first time and possibly to discuss his proposal for a state agricultural convention. He was astonished at the improvements being made and the manner in which they were conducted. Calvert followed procedures that ordinary farmers might use to build up their soil without a lavish outlay for commerical fertilizers. He used materials available on his estate—from the woods, marshes, stables, sawmill, and fireplaces and stoves. He improvised inexpensive drainage systems for lowland and marsh areas. By these means, he substantially increased his production. In 1848, he had 150 acres in oats with clover, 150 acres of corn, 35 to 40 acres of root crops, and several acres of pumpkins, in addition to those sown with the corn. He sold most of his hay and fed turnips, shorts, and cornstalks to his livestock.[19]

Calvert was well known for his Ayrshire, Shorthorn, and Alderney cattle, and for his Southdown sheep, and Suffolk and Chester hogs. Considering their care of prime importance, he designed his farm buildings with this in mind—an octagonal barn surrounded by a yard. This, in turn, was bounded by the sheep house, hog pens, calving stalls, calf house, horse stables, corn house, and carriage house.[20]

John Merryman had inherited "Hayfields" from Nicholas Bosley, his uncle who had improved the land and had erected substantial buildings on it. In 1856, Merryman laid the foundation for a herd

[18] *American Farmer,* IV (August, 1848), pp. 54-55; VIII (May, 1853), p. 373; *Genesee Farmer,* XIV (February, 1853), p. 47; (May, 1853), pp. 143-44; *Cultivator,* V (October, 1857), pp. 303-05; *National Intelligencer,* October 29, November 3, 1849; Chester Coleman to Augustus Graham, June 19, 1848, Cock-Coleman Papers, MS. 244, Md. Hist. Soc.

[19] *American Farmer,* XIII (October, 1857), p. 122.

[20] *Ibid.,* IX (June, 1854), pp. 369-71.

of Herefords which was destined to exert far-reaching influence on cattle breeding in the United States. He exhibited his animals at the fairs of the United States Agricultural Society, the Maryland State Society, and other state organizations, where they took many premiums. He purchased his first Herefords from William Sotham and Erastus Corning, who had earlier imported stock from England. He also bought stock from Moreton Lodge in Canada and at fairs in other states. Many of the best of his stock found their way North and West.[21]

Chester Coleman, of Frederick County, who had tried silk culture in the 1830's, cheese making, and the manufacture of farm tools, represented another phase of the movement for agricultural improvement. A native of New York, he discussed his ideas with his relatives, including S. M. Brown, who was president of the Onondega County Agricultural Society. Subscribing to a number of agricultural journals and newspapers, he was aware of developments elsewhere. He made a number of trips in Maryland and adjoining areas to sell his hoes, rakes, and other equipment to merchants and farmers.

John Merryman. 1737-1814. Oil on Canvas. Peale.
Present owner unknown. From a Photograph.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

[21] Alvin H. Sanders, *The Story of the Herefords* (Chicago, 1914), pp. 321-37; Hilton Briggs, *Modern Breeds of Livestock* (New York, 1958), p. 73; *American Farmer,* XIII (August, 1857), pp. 59-61.

Coleman, considering that success would determine the future practices of the community, went about his tasks seriously. His many discussions with William Baer, who lectured on agricultural chemistry at the Frederick Academy, enabled Coleman to profit by Baer's knowledge. He underdrained his meadows in Frederick County. He repeatedly canvassed the city of Frederick for wood ashes to apply on his lands and stored them in rented cellars until weather permitted him to move them. However, he found that he had competition as he went from house to house, since soap manufacturers and candlers also wanted the ashes. By 1847, he and Baer were discussing the use of ground bones on his fields. Coleman bought equipment to process bones and oyster shells and designed a lime kiln to burn the native rock. Then he began to buy bones, at one time collecting about 44,800 pounds. Sometimes he mixed ashes and plaster with the ground bones and then added sulphuric acid. He continued to use guano and hauled out "barnyard manure" to his fields. His neighbors watched his experiments with interest. By 1849, he increased his average yield of wheat from 9½ bushels to nearly 21 bushels per acre, but he hoped for 40 bushels per acre. Unfortunately, he left Maryland about a year later to care for his father-in-law.[22]

While many followed a four-field system of rotating crops, Frisby Tilghman of Washington County had an eight-field system of farming—one each in wheat, corn, roots, hay, and oats; and three in pasture. He enriched his lands by what he called farmyard collection of manure, to be spread just before plowing.[23]

This improvement in Maryland was attracting attention elsewhere. In 1845, Isaac Dilton described his visit to two Maryland farms in the Albany, New York *Cultivator*. Thomas Dorsett, at "Roedown" in Anne Arundel County, had four hundred acres, of which three hundred were cultivated on a four-field system—wheat after clover; corn and tobacco; wheat on tobacco stubble, and oats on the corn stubble; and clover. Under this plan he harvested, per acre, fifteen to twenty bushels of wheat, thirty-five to fifty of corn, one hogshead of tobacco, and forty bushels of oats. He had blooded horses, Durham cattle, and a flock of mixed sheep—Merino, Southdown, and Leicester.

Dilton also visited "Springfield," the estate of George Patterson

[22] Correspondence of Chester Coleman, 1840-1850, Cock-Coleman Papers.
[23] *American Farmer*, II (June 3, 1840), p. 12.

in Carroll County. Of his 1,725 acres, about twelve hundred were under cultivation. In twenty years Patterson had put over 160,000 bushels of lime on the land. He had a rotation system for his grain and hay crops which gave him twenty to thirty bushels of wheat, sixty to eighty bushels of corn, and two to three tons of hay per acre. His blooded horses, Devon cattle, Berkshire hogs, and Southdown sheep were well known to breeders. Patterson fed his cattle and hogs in the barns during the winter. He bred his cattle to develop good milkers and sold some to Horace Capron.[24]

Reports on extensive crop damage to wheat from scab, smut, rust, Hessian fly, joint worm, and hail were not uncommon in Maryland. Editors of farm journals encouraged their readers to write up their preventative measures. Tench Tilghman of Plimhimmon wrote his recipe for preventing smut in wheat. William Carmichael, a frequent contributor to the *Farmers' Register,* wrote that he believed stem rust was caused by malarial conditions, and producers should try to find an earlier ripening wheat. Some farmers continued to try to treat their seed, time their planting, or experiment with new varieties in an attempt to continue to compete in an expanding market. Meanwhile, corn was attacked by cutworms. By the middle of the 1840's potato rot was causing some concern. On December 13, 1845, the Maryland Farmers' Club acknowledged the need for measures to control or eradicate it.

The Club directed Professors Baer and Ducatel to conduct experiments to determine the nature of the disease and remedial measures. Baer made his report at the meeting in March 1846. The rot became sufficiently serious in 1848 for the Maryland House of Delegates to direct its committee on agriculture to investigate its cause.[25]

John Piper, an innkeeper in Flintstone, Allegany County, was also trying to find some remedy for the diseases and pests attacking crops. He soaked some of his seed wheat in brine or saltpetre, rolling it in lime, plaster, or wood ashes, sometimes gauging this to the phase of the moon; some he planted dry. He also rolled his clover and timothy seed in lime. Some of his corn was soaked in copperas or saltpetre and then he added a handful of a mixture of salt, lime, and wood ashes in each hill. Piper tried a number of different kinds of wheat, including Mediterranean, Gordon White wheat

[24] *Ibid.,* I (August, 1845), pp. 42-43.

[25] *Ibid.,* IV (April 26, 1843), p. 385; I (January, 1846), p. 212; (April, 1846), pp. 300-03: VIII (October, 1852), p. 134; Maryland, *Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* 1848, p. 255.

from Bel Air, Clubhead, White Blue Stem, Blacklock from Jefferson County in Virginia, Chilean, Algerian, Red Chaff, and Zimmerman wheat developed in nearby Frederick County. He also planted oats, barley, buckwheat, and several varieties of turnip seed from England —Yorkshire Paragon, Dale's Hybrid, and Sutton's Purple Topped Yellow Hybrid. No doubt, he used his crops in his inn and sold the rest to those driving animals through Flintstone to market.[26]

Strawberry culture was on a large enough scale that by May, 1840 berries were being shipped from Baltimore to New York. By July, 1857 it was reported that about six hundred acres near Annapolis had been planted in strawberries and was producing nearly twenty thousand bushels a year. About twelve hundred persons picked them during the season. Forty two-horse wagons were constantly going to the Baltimore and the Philadelphia steamboat landing, made two trips daily, and took about fifty thousand quart boxes. Strawberries were, at the time, part of a rotation system along with corn, wheat, and cabbage.[27]

Fruit culture was becoming of increasing importance in the state. In 1848, James Cassady of Cecil County had three hundred acres in peaches, thirty thousand trees of twenty-eight varieties—most of them young and bearing for the first time. In 1851, he had four hundred acres in orchards, and in 1859, he had six hundred and fifty acres in peaches, from which he expected to receive over $40,000. Others on the Eastern Shore were turning to fruit growing and had many large orchards. The area seemed destined to be a "great vegetable and fruit garden for the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston." The war, however, was to delay this development, but producers were anxious to solve their problems as soon as it was over. A peach growers convention was called to meet at Easton on July 5, 1865.[28]

Probably much of the fruit was consumed at home or sold fresh, but some was being canned. Processing plants sprang up near growing areas on the Eastern Shore and in the city of Baltimore, the railroad and shipping center of the state. In the late 1840's, Thomas Myer combined fruit canning with packing oysters. By 1857, a Mr.

[26] Farming Record of John Piper, September 29, 1847-1855, Maryland Room, McKeldin Library, Univ. of Maryland.

[27] *Sun*, May 23, 1840; *American Farmer*, XIII (July, 1857), p. 19.

[28] *Monthly Journal of Agriculture*, III (April, 1848), pp. 473 ff; *Sun*, July 18, 1848, August 11, 1851, and September 19, 1859; *The Weekly Sun* (Baltimore), September 5, 1862, and June 17, 1865.

Hopkins was canning peaches for market. By 1860, Isaac Solomon had an elaborate canning factory in Baltimore. He found that by adding calcium chloride to boiling water he could reduce cooking time from five or six hours to twenty-five or thirty minutes. At the same time, he increased his output from 2,500 to nearly 20,000 cans a day. By 1865, H. B. Slaughter was packing fruit in jars with hermetically sealed caps, and Sandy Beach Platt opened a fruit and oyster packing plant in Baltimore.[29]

The rallying point of planters interested in agricultural betterment became the agricultural society—local, county, or state. Such state groups had been organized in 1786, 1818, and 1840. Another attempt was made in 1845. Some years later, Samuel Sands, who served as its recording secretary, wrote that Daniel Bowley, Isaac McKim's nephew, had had the idea and talked it over with him and John Glenn, Judge of the United States District Court. Glenn promised his assistance and offered the use of his law office, located in his home, as a meeting place. Sands endorsed Bowley's idea in the *American Farmer*.[30]

Bowley thought that active members of the new organization should be landowners within Baltimore County. Other landowners and agricultural writers in the state and prominent agricultural leaders in other states and abroad might be corresponding and honorary members. The president and first vice president were to be Baltimore City or County residents; subordinate vice presidents were to represent other counties. The main purpose of the organization was the exchange or increase of knowledge—by periodic discussions on agricultural subjects. To foster this a library and reading room was to be established. In addition, a "refectory" was proposed where farmers on business in the city might relax and obtain low cost meals.[31]

The society held its initial meeting on September 13th at the office of the *American Farmer*. This was adjourned until November 8th in Glenn's office, where it reassembled on November 15th to complete its organization. At this time Bowley elaborated on his

[29] Industrial Annals, VII, p. 122, Samuel Harrison Papers, MS. 432, Md. Hist. Soc.; Mary B. Sim, *Commercial Canning in New Jersey: History and Early Development* (Trenton, 1951), p. 17; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore, 1881), pp. 394-95; *Cultivator,* XIII (May, 1865), p. 145.

[30] *American Farmer,* VII (August, 1878), pp. 272-76.

[31] *Ibid.,* I (September, 1845), p. 82.

ideas which had been presented in the September issue of Sands' paper. He believed that, since agricultural chemistry and geology were attracting an increasing amount of attention, the club should add an agricultural chemist and a geologist to its list of officers. He also recommended the establishment of the office of machinist in the society. The organization, he felt, should maintain a showroom for models and exhibits of farm machinery, and shelves and cases for plants and seeds. Bowley was hopeful that some of the members or friends would make substantial contributions. If and when this happened, he proposed that the funds should be invested in breeding stock and horses to be stationed throughout the state for the benefit of members without cost, and for others at the usual price.[32]

John Glenn was elected president, but pressure of business prevented his attending most of the meetings. Bowley, as corresponding secretary, made the arrangements for the meetings of the club which soon included non-farmer members such as Johns Hopkins and J. H. B. Latrobe. The Maryland Farmers' Club was incorporated by the state legislature on January 21, 1846. Although heralded as an energetic young group, by July, 1846 attendance at the monthly meetings had declined, and finally they were postponed. By June, 1847 someone wrote to the editor of the *American Farmer* and asked what the status of the organization was. Sands replied that the society had been formed under the impression that agricultural interests would support it. Many of its members were not actually engaged in farming, and those who did attend meetings did so irregularly.[33]

The idea of a state agricultural society did not die. In the fall of 1847, William Brewer, president of the Medley District or Poolesville Agricultural Society of Montgomery County, discussed the problem with Samuel Sands. Since monthly meetings in Baltimore prevented all but wealthy planters from attending, Brewer proposed that a decentralized system should be established and that clubs with libraries should be organized in each election district. These groups could combine and hold annual county fairs. The delegates from the district organizations should meet once a year in Baltimore and report back to the local groups.[34]

[32] *Ibid.*, I (December, 1845), pp. 180-82.

[33] Maryland, *Laws*, 1845, Chapter 29; *American Farmer*, II (July, 1846), p. 19; (June, 1847), p. 368.

[34] *American Farmer*, III (February, 1848), pp. 246-47.

Brewer thought this might make the rural people a more cohesive unit that could be heard in the state legislature. Thus, farmers might gain the practical schools needed to educate their children, might prevent common frauds and impositions from being continued, and present the "many other subjects momentous to farmers' interests." A year later, he agreed with others that an agricultural convention was necessary to discuss the host of problems producers faced.[35]

Meanwhile the commercial and manufacturing interests of Baltimore established the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts on December 1, 1847. Some of the members decided to promote a fair during the following year, and ladies were invited to bring their handwork. Chester Coleman from Frederick County wrote that he expected to have a general exhibit of his machinery at this event and that he might sell some. He was fortunate in selling the franchise for his fencing machine in several counties. He also told of others bringing agricultural equipment from Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, and several other states. Samuel Feast was there with his strawberries. Encouraged by the response, the Institute planned a more elaborate exhibit of manufactured goods to last for three weeks.[36]

The officers of the Institute suggested that the agricultural producers hold a fair at the same time. Already Charles B. Calvert, Horace Capron, George Patterson, Ramsey McHenry, Howard, John Ridgely, Wilson Carey, Carroll, Clayton Reybold, Gorsuch, Jessup, and others had indicated they would participate.[37]

Calvert wrote to Sands that he hoped the proposal of the Institute would stimulate an awareness of the importance of "sustaining a society which has for its object the improvement of the Mechanic and Agricultural Arts." He proposed that a state convention of representatives of county and local groups be held on September 5th to make arrangements for the fair. When Sands received this letter, he went to see John Glenn, president of the inactive Maryland Farmers' Club, to get his sanction. Thereupon, Glenn called a meeting of that group to meet with representatives from other agricultural organizations. Delegates from fifteen counties, Howard

[35] *Ibid.*, III (June, 1848), p. 385; VII (August, 1878), pp. 272-76.
[36] Chester Coleman to Mr. and Mrs. Seth Coleman, May 4, 1848, Chester Coleman to Augustus Graham, May 7 and 21, 1848, Cock-Coleman Papers; *Sun*, December 1, 1847, February 9, May 6, May 27, and July 19, 1848.
[37] *American Farmer*, IV (July, 1848), p. 23.

District, Baltimore City, the Maryland Farmers' Club, and the Maryland Institute attended the convention beginning on September 5, 1848. Calvert called the meeting to order, and then John Glenn presided.[38]

Once this group assembled, it began to discuss many of its problems as well as to plan for the exhibition to be held two months later. William H. Farquhar of Montgomery County touched off a discussion on the use of guano and various problems connected with the trade. The dean of the agricultural journalists, John Stuart Skinner, introduced a series of resolutions on agricultural education, the importance of collecting agricultural statistics, fencing of lands, inspection laws, and sheepkilling dogs, questions that were to be raised repeatedly in the years ahead. George W. Dobbin suggested that a state agricultural society be formed. Thereupon, the constitution of the Maryland State Agricultural Society was drawn up and adopted. Brewer's suggestion of 1847 for a decentralized organization was passed over. The new society was based on a paying membership with vice presidents from each county, Howard District, the District of Columbia, Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Meetings were to be held in Baltimore.[39]

Samuel Sands, secretary of the new organization, later wrote that this society had a better chance for success than the Maryland Farmers' Club had had, because it was able to enlist the support of active planters. At his suggestion, Calvert had been nominated for president. He said that the new president was:

> . . . recognized as foremost among the most enlightened and devoted farmers of our State as well as a man actuated by disinterested and patriotic motives, but likewise as one conspicuous for his energetic and practical character and his eminent influence with his fellow-agriculturists.[40]

Initially, some thought that this society might follow the pattern of previous groups; blaze brightly for a short time and then die. However, it was functioning until the end of 1860. During this time its officers met periodically, planned annual fairs, and aided in the establishment of an agricultural college. The fairs taxed the limited resources of the group, forcing it to seek help from Balti-

[38] *Ibid.*, IV (October, 1848), pp. 107-11; VII (August, 1878), pp. 273-74; *Sun*, August 25, 1848.
[39] *American Farmer*, IV (October, 1848), pp. 109-11.
[40] *Ibid.*, VII (August, 1878), pp. 274-75.

more merchants, the state legislature, and from residents throughout the state. During the war the society became inactive, but with peace, it was reorganized.

The state agricultural society soon rented rooms in the Baltimore *American* building. Here it maintained an agricultural library and a registry for the sale of livestock and agricultural equipment. Nearby was the office of the *American Farmer* and an agricultural agency which sold seeds, plants, fertilizers, and farm supplies, and which was usually operated by the journal's publisher.[41]

The society's broad interest in agriculture was reflected in its discussions and its appointment in 1848 of committees on manures, inspection of tobacco, fencing, sheep, agricultural implements, farm buildings, and insects injurious to husbandry. The committees were to collect as much information as possible and report at the next meeting on November 8th. However, only the committee on fencing had its report ready when called upon to deliver it. Two months later, the committee on sheep did suggest taxing dogs, eradicating foxes and rabid dogs, and belling sheep to discourage marauding animals. The society decided at the next meeting to ask the United States marshals to determine the number of sheep killed by dogs in each county, when they took the census. The group continued to seek protective laws from the legislature, but none were passed that session. Before the legislature met again under its bi-annual system, the agricultural society reviewed the subject, with some members questioning the need for additional legislation. In 1854, however, the legislature enacted laws limiting free Negroes of Kent, Harford, and Cecil counties to one dog each.[42]

Agricultural producers had also complained for years of prices that they received for their commodities, of the inability to dispose of them once produced, of short measurements, and of improper classification or grading. Although the United States Patent Office had published some statistics on agricultural production, estimates of production were discontinued after the 1848 figures were released. By this time, planters in Maryland were becoming interested in such information for their own use. John Stuart Skinner introduced a

[41] *American Farmer,* IV (March, 1849), p. 288 (April, 1849), p. 328; *Sun,* February 24, and March 13, 1849.

[42] *American Farmer,* IV (October, 1848), pp. 108-111, (December, 1848), pp. 164-65, 175-76; V (November, 1849), p. 156, (February, 1850), pp. 287-88, (March, 1850), p. 312; VII (November, 1851), pp. 167-68; Maryland, *Proceedings of the Senate,* 1850, pp. 173, 335, 498, 558; Maryland, *Laws,* 1854, Chapter 169.

resolution at the state agricultural convention asking for an official state statistical survey of farm production, resources, and potentialities. A year later, the state agricultural society urged the establishment of a state bureau of statistics to collect data on condition and volume of production. The legislature did not adopt the suggestion.[43]

In November 1851, William Carmichael of Wye suggested that a state commission of agriculture be established. Composed of a representative from each county, it would be a center for information on production. William DeCourcey saw this letter, but he felt that the state agricultural society could do the task. Thereupon, a committee, consisting of two representatives from each county, was appointed to report at the annual meeting on estimates of gathered and growing crops. Narrative reports were received from Somerset, Washington, and Caroline counties. W. W. W. Bowie lamented the fact that American wheat was dependent upon Liverpool reports and quotations for determination of prices rather than on supply and demand in this country. He believed that better prices might be secured if statistics were collected in the large wheat states in the same manner proposed in Maryland—county by county.[44]

Statisticians in the United States Department of Agriculture have given special recognition to James T. Earle in their accounts of crop and livestock reporting work. Elected president of the state agricultural society in 1854, he actively promoted the gathering of such information. He introduced a resolution calling for the collection of statistics. On August 2, the society endorsed his resolution and stated that it was duty bound to give farmers the most reliable information to guide them in marketing their output. Two months later, Earle suggested that a committee should undertake the project. Earle, M. T. Goldsborough, and G. W. Hughes were appointed. The committee worked through the county vice presidents in Maryland. Intending to make the survey nationwide, it also circularized agricultural societies in other states. However, only New York sent information to supplement that collected in Maryland. At the May, 1855 quarterly meeting, Earle opened a discussion on the condition of the wheat crop. DeCourcey's suggestion, that the vice presidents make monthly reports on crop conditions, was adopted. These were to be sent to the editor of the *American Farmer*. The president con-

[43] *American Farmer,* IV (October, 1848), 108; V (November, 1849), pp. 149-51, 153-54.

[44] *Ibid.,* VII (January, 1852), p. 238, (March, 1852), p. 313; VIII (December, 1852), p. 195, (January, 1853), p. 235; *Sun,* February 20, 1852.

Edward Stabler. 1794-1883. From a Photograph.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

tinued in his attempts to collect statistical data. On July 16th, he wrote to other state agricultural societies and suggested a system for collecting such information. At the same time, he sent a questionnaire to a number of individuals and county societies in Maryland.[45]

Samuel Sands discussed crop production and its relation to economic conditions in the first issue of the *Rural Register* in 1859. Martin Herrington of Delaware commended the editor for this work and suggested that he expand this by using marshals and

[45] *American Farmer,* X (September, 1854), p. 82, (November, 1854), p. 131, (March, 1855), pp. 272-73, 278-79; X (June, 1855), p. 360; Sterling R. Newell, *Federal State Crop and Livestock Reporting Service; A Chronology of Development and Progress, 1866-1966,* USDA, 8 pp.; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *The Crop and Livestock Reporting Service of the United States,* Miscellaneous Publication No. 171 (Washington, 1933), pp. 3-4.

deputy marshals throughout the nation. Shortly thereafter, Oden Bowie, who later became Governor of Maryland, suggested that the vice presidents of the state society forward accurate reports, giving the amount of wheat threshed, to the editors of the *American Farmer* and the *Rural Register*. A number of these reports appeared in later issues of these two papers.[46]

Inspection, weighing, and related problems of marketing farm output also absorbed the attention of the state society. When members discussed the inspection of guano in 1851, a special committee was directed to study the entire inspection and grading system. In the meantime, the society urged the Legislature to establish standards of weight or measurement for potatoes, apples, bulbous roots, and fruits to "promote the convenience and interest of producers and fair dealers." On May 13, 1852, a law was approved specifying that the bushel or its fractions should be the standard of measurement in the sale of apples and potatoes, with fifty-six pounds to the bushel for potatoes and forty for apples.[47]

Once this inspection law was passed; the society vacillated in its position. In 1853, it opposed all inspection of agricultural commodities and asked that the law be revised. The Baltimore Board of Trade, which included a number of members of the agricultural society, defended the inspection system in its statement for the legislature. At its annual meeting in October 1857, the agricultural society reversed its stand and asked for state regulation of grain sales. In the following May, producers on the Eastern Shore resolved to consign no grain to any Baltimore commission merchant opposing such control. A law was passed on March 9, 1858 that provided for inspection, weighing, and measuring of grain at the request of the owner or consignee and established a means for settling disputes arising between producers and inspectors. However, this did not solve the problem; for, on May 1, 1860, a group from the Eastern Shore, including Ezekiel F. Chambers, Henry Hollyday, M. T. Goldsborough, Samuel T. Harrison, and James T. Earle, met with a committee representing the grain dealers of Baltimore and discussed the issue.[48]

[46] *Rural Register,* I (June 1, 1860), p. 371.

[47] *American Farmer,* VII (November, 1851), pp. 169-70, (March, 1852), p. 312; Maryland, *Laws,* 1852, Chapter 199.

[48] Maryland, *Proceedings of the Senate,* 1853, p. 504; *Sun,* May 29, 1858; Maryland, *Laws,* 1858, Chapter 256; *American Farmer,* VIII (April, 1853), pp. 341-42; IX (February, 1854), pp. 245-47; XIII (November, 1857), p. 149; I (June, 1860), p. 371; II (July, 1860), pp. 13-14.

Tobacco planters had their problems in marketing their crops. They, too, resented what they felt was the unwarranted control of Baltimore, and objected strenuously to state inspection that forced the centralization of the trade there. They wanted inspection facilities in the producing counties. On April 4, 1847, a number of planters met in Upper Marlboro. They recommended that three agents should be sent to Baltimore to sell tobacco until inspection was returned. Two years later a more modern approach was urged when some producers urged that more acreage should be planted in wheat and that only superior tobacco should be marketed. About four years later, a "Planter of Prince George's County" suggested that a convention should be held in Louisville, Kentucky to exchange ideas on tobacco culture, to maximize yield and profit, and to ask Congress to reduce duties. The writer concluded that agricultural societies served a purpose but that tobacco planters should meet by themselves. Such a convention was held in 1860, but it had little support.[49]

Agricultural machinery also became an important factor in the changing production pattern. Baltimore soon became one of the centers of its manufacture. The various agricultural societies fostered its adoption. In the spring of 1849, Charles B. Calvert, president of the state agricultural society, wrote to the vice presidents in the counties and suggested that county committees should be selected to test equipment that the growing farm machinery industry was placing on the market. These committees, cooperating with the county societies, would forward their reports to Baltimore, but the officers of the organization did not endorse Calvert's suggestion at that time.[50]

Contests were held to exhibit the merits of the various inventions. The McCormick and Hussey reapers frequently showed their relative efficiency in the Maryland grain fields as well as in other states and abroad. The Board of Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural Society for the Eastern Shore, a holdover from the 1818 State society, had early shown its interest in the Hussey reaper and sponsored contests. The state agricultural society also held such contests at its fairs. In 1852, an exhibit of the McCormick machine on the farm of a Mr. Young near Washington was well attended. On July

[49] *American Farmer,* II (March, 1847), pp. 274-75, (May, 1847), p. 333; *Sun,* April 26, 1847, and May 12, 1849; *Planters' Advocate* (Upper Marlboro), August 31, 1853.

[50] *American Farmer,* IV (June, 1849), pp. 400-01.

26, 1855, John Glenn reported on a contest between Hussey, Atkins, and McCormick reapers that he had arranged. On July 7 and 8, 1857 between two and three hundred people watched a demonstration on Ezekiel Chambers' estate near Chestertown.[51]

Plowing matches had long been a part of agricultural shows and fairs. As new plows came on the market, their makers were anxious to prove the merits of their products. In 1842, George Beltzhoover, Edward P. Roberts, and Gideon Smith reported on such a contest in Baltimore. In 1843, J. S. Eastman of Baltimore asked the editor of the *American Farmer* to give him a chance to show how his plow compared with the Prouty and Mears' two-horse plows, but the editor declined.[52]

In 1852, the state agricultural society sponsored a trial of hay presses on the estate of John Merryman. Hay was pressed in bundles of two hundred pounds before the interested eyes of farmers from adjoining counties, some of whom realized that hay so compressed increased in value from $13 or $14 to $20 to $21 a ton.[53] Wealthy planters continued to sponsor inventors who were perfecting new equipment. For example, Charles B. Calvert and Charles Carroll had given assistance to George Page when he was working on his portable steam engine. No doubt Obed Hussey had similar help when he was building his steam plow. The *American Farmer* served both the industry and the consumer. It included advertisements from companies manufacturing or distributing farm machinery. Sometimes these included pictures of the establishments as well as letters from farmers. Augustus Shriver wrote about his use of the Prouty plow; Allen Bowie Davis, Edward Stabler, and Aquila Talbot told of using the Hussey reaper.[54]

Nevertheless, many hesitated to adopt the new equipment. The increasing diversification of crops, the relatively small land holdings, or the terrain were deterrents to some. A hesitance to shift from traditional methods, lack of money to purchase the inventions—especially the reapers and threshing machines—or insufficient knowl-

[51] *Sun,* June 26, 1852; *American Farmer,* XI (August, 1855), p. 46; XII (April, 1857), p. 308, (June, 1857), p. 377; XIII (July, 1857), p. 16; *Planters' Advocate,* July 15, 1857; *Cultivator,* V (August, 1857), p. 251.

[52] *American Farmer,* IV (June 1, 1842), pp. 12-13; V (September 6, 1843), p. 124.

[53] *Ibid.,* VIII (October, 1852), p. 134; *Sun,* September 11, 1852; *National Intelligencer,* September 7, 1852.

[54] *Maryland Farmer,* XV (October, 1878), p. 321; *American Farmer,* V (December 27, 1843), pp. 249; VI (October, 1850), pp. 152-56; XI (September, 1855), p. 84.

edge and experience to maintain the machinery inhibited others. Larger planters with a heavy investment in slaves found that their abundant labor precluded the adoption of machinery. Moreover, slaves had little incentive or know-how to maintain the equipment.

It was still not uncommon for Maryland producers in the 1850's to use cradles in harvesting grain. Inventories of estates show the frequency of use. In 1851, David S. Gittings of Roslin Farm harvested with cradles, but he used a horse rake in haying and borrowed a threshing machine for further handling his wheat. Even that leader of the agriculturists, Charles B. Calvert, was still using cradles on his estate in 1857.[55]

However, a man with a cradle could cut, at best, not more than two acres of wheat a day. On the other hand, a reaper with two operators might cut as much as fifteen acres a day. With farm labor costing about $1.00 to $1.25 a day in Baltimore County, a significant saving would be made by utilizing farm machinery. Moreover, producers found adopting the new equipment helped to solve another problem—scarcity of labor. In 1855 "Potomac" wrote optimistically:

> Our farmers are all furnishing themselves with reaping machines, and with their aid, with a small force of hands, make harvest a light and pleasant job. Our harvests, although large, are not dreaded now as formerly. We do it within ourselves: the farmer drives his reaper, one of the son's rakes off, and the balance of the force, few or many, are quietly occupied in binding, shocking up, &c without relying upon hiring cradlers, who are not to be had even at high wages.[56]

The smaller planters, who did not have money to purchase the new labor saving equipment, experienced difficulty in obtaining low-cost labor in the slave economy. In 1843, farmers in Queen Anne's County met in protest against its high cost and discussed the possibility of making it correspond to the reduced value of agricultural commodities. But shifts in agricultural production indirectly were decreasing the number of agricultural laborers needed. The production of tobacco had required a much greater and more steady labor supply than fruit, vegetables, grain, or livestock production. Some sold surplus slaves further South; others freed theirs, or in some instances, made provision for them to go to Liberia; and some hired

[55] Diary of Work Done on Roslin Farm, July 5, 1851-July 4, 1852, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Cultivator,* V (October, 1857), pp. 303-05; VI (July, 1858), p. 203.

[56] *Sun,* July 20, 1855; Farm Account Book of Robert Smith, 1847-1882, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.

their slaves out to others for short or long periods. Moreover, Baltimore utilized an increasing number of Negroes, free and slave.[57]

During this period the state agricultural society was fighting an uphill battle for financial support from the state legislature. A charter incorporating the society was finally passed on January 11, 1850. The Legislature rejected a suggested appropriation for its work, although the salary of the agricultural chemist was increased and the Mechanics Institute was granted an annual appropriation of five hundred dollars. In 1854, the society asked for a state appropriation of five hundred dollars. The Baltimore *Sun* acclaimed the appropriation of $5,000 by South Carolina the following year for its state agricultural society, and added that Maryland would be doing an "act of justice" by following suit. In his annual message in 1856, Governor T. Watkins Ligon said that the time had come to assist the hard-pressed Maryland group that had been forced to rely on "private liberality and enterprise" as it spread "most useful and practical information." But the appropriation bill died in the Senate.[58]

The society appointed another committee in 1858 to request a state allotment equivalent to that of the Maryland Institute, with arrearages. The bill cleared the House of Delegates but failed again in the Senate by three votes. John Merryman, in a speech on October 18, 1858, criticized this urban outlook and reflected that: "I hold that the Senate should be preponderately in our favor" or rural controlled. At the October 1859 meeting, he was appointed chairman of another committee to re-present its bid for financial support. Samuel Sands, now editor of the *Rural Register,* warmly endorsed the proposal, and proceeded to itemize the support given by other States to their agricultural societies.[59]

The legislature finally passed an appropriation for the state agricultural society on February 14, 1860, but there was considerable opposition. Delegates Watkins of Howard County and Miles of St. Mary's County wanted the funds divided with the county societies. Anthony Kimmel from Frederick County said that the counties had as much right to it as the state society, since the latter represented

[57] *American Farmer,* IV (January 4, 1843), p. 260.

[58] *Ibid.,* V (March, 1850), p. 312; (April, 1850), p. 367; IX (March, 1854), p. 286; Maryland, *Laws,* Chapter 96; *Sun,* December 19, 1855; Maryland, *Documents,* 1856, Governor's Message.

[59] Maryland, *Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* 1856, p. 766; *American Farmer,* XII (February, 1858), p. 267; XIV (November, 1858), p. 132; I (January, 1860), p. 215; *Rural Register,* I (November 15, 1859), pp. 154-55, (January 15, 1860), p. 216.

Baltimore City and County. Others suggested restrictive amendments, prohibiting any "Black Republican," endorsee of the Helper book, or "Fire eater of the South" from receiving premiums paid by the funds.[60] Soon after the act was passed, Nicholas B. Worthington, editor of the *American Farmer,* and Samuel Sands, secretary of the state society and editor of the *Rural Register,* engaged in a journalistic battle over the act. Worthington, although his paper was the organ of the society, charged that the bill had been maneuvered through the legislature against the wishes of leading agriculturists. Sands replied that Worthington's criticism was prompted by personal considerations. Later Worthington, defending his position and suggesting that fairs be deemphasized wrote to Merryman, the society's president.[61]

Many of the agricultural problems common to various sections of Maryland were present in adjoining states. The state agricultural society provided a medium of discussion and action. Subjects which were being considered and supported attracted affected individuals to the organization. As problems were solved, projects completed, or the crises passed, interest waned. General economic conditions likewise were reflected in public support of the movement.

At times, policies adopted alienated some members. No doubt, others drifted away because of disagreement on such questions as slavery and the status of the free Negro, the proper role of government, or the control of the affairs of the state or the society by geographical, social, or economic groups. Tobacco producers felt that too much emphasis was placed on livestock rather than crop production. Moreover, the fact that much of the fluid capital was concentrated in the greater Baltimore area enabled producers there to purchase purebred stock for exhibit and precipitated the charge that Baltimore dominated the organization and the fairs.

Initially the Maryland State Agricultural Society had no residential requirements for its members. As neighboring states organized societies, membership became more limited to the Old Line State. Moreover, its members were attracted also to the larger circle of the United States Agricultural Society, with its broader program

[60] Maryland, *Laws,* 1860, Chapter 37; *Weekly Sun* February 18, 1860; *Planters' Advocate,* February 15, 1860; Maryland, *Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* 1860, p. 45; Maryland, *Proceedings of the Senate,* 1860, pp. 231, 255.

[61] *American Farmer,* I (March, 1860), pp. 273-74, (April, 1860), pp. 305-06; *Rural Register,* I (March 15, 1860), pp. 280-81.

—for the establishment of a Federal Department of Agriculture, Federal support for agricultural education, interstate cattle shows or fairs, and discussion of problems affecting agricultural producers throughout the nation.

In this era of widening horizons, Maryland had taken an active part, and at the same time she had improved her own economy. Her expanding industrial life had strengthened her ties with states to the North. Long entrenched social relations bound her to the South. Many of her younger sons had emigrated to the West and wrote of the opportunities there. Residents of the state had introduced new varieties of fruit and field crops and better livestock. They had made definite shifts from a single crop economy to a more diversified system. They had imported guano and built up their own commerical fertilizer industry. They had seen the growth of a farm machinery industry that could supply them with labor saving equipment. They had established a state agricultural society as well as a number of county organizations with fairs to exhibit the best of the crops, livestock, and farm machinery. The state society had also worked hard as a pioneer in founding the Maryland Agricultural College to provide practical training for those living in the Old Line State. All of these changes helped her meet the increased demands of the war years.

JOHN A. J. CRESWELL OF MARYLAND: REFORMER IN THE POST OFFICE

By Robert V. Friedenberg

John A. J. Creswell of Maryland became one of the nation's finest Postmaster-Generals while serving in one of its most inadequate administrations, that of President Ulysses S. Grant. Creswell's appointment to Grant's cabinet in March of 1869 came as a surprise to the country, as did virtually all of Grant's first appointments. Both official Washington, and the nation's press, were generally disappointed with Grant's choices.[1] Yet, the same press was near unanimous in endorsing Creswell. *The New York Times* believed that the "selection of Ex-Senator Cresswell [sic] of Maryland for Postmaster-General probably gives more general satisfaction than any other name on the list."[2] The Maryland papers were pleased to have a native son in the cabinet. *The Maryland Union* typified the state's reaction by calling Creswell a "happy choice."[3]

Born in 1828, Creswell was descended from one of Maryland's most respected families. His grandfather founded Port Deposit, Maryland, which had originally been named Creswell Ferry.[4] Creswell graduated first in his class from Dickinson College in 1848 and was admitted to the bar in 1850.[5] After developing a successful law practice, he was elected to the Maryland legislature in 1861, and two years later he was elected to the House of Representatives.[6] Here he worked closely with Henry Winter Davis, the Baltimore

[1] *The New York Times,* March 6, 1869 (hereafter cited as *Times*), *The Sun* (Baltimore), March 6 and 8, 1869.

[2] *Times,* March 6, 1869. The spelling of "Cresswell" has frequently caused confusion, though he consistently spelled his name with one "s." Creswell's middle initials have been considered abbreviations for both "Angle James," and "Andrew Jackson." Henry Powell's *Tercenary History of Maryland* and the *Dictionary of American Biography* use "Angle James." However, all government documents and the *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress: 1774-1961* use "Andrew Jackson."

[3] *Maryland Union* (Frederick), March 11, 1869.

[4] *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* December 24, 1891. Hereafter cited as *American.*

[5] Henry F. Powell, *Tercenary History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 25.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 26.

Representative who led Maryland's Radical wing of the Republican party. In 1865 Creswell was elected to fill the Senate seat left vacant by the death of Thomas Hicks. With the death of Davis, Creswell became the state's ranking Republican.[7]

Though a prominent Republican, Creswell's appointment was a surprise. Grant was expected to re-appoint Lincoln's Postmaster-General, William Dennison of Ohio. But there were three reasons why Grant appointed Creswell.

First, he was extremely loyal to the radical wing of the Republican party which had nominated and helped to elect Grant. As a border state Senator, his ardent advocacy on behalf of the Union and his harsh attacks on slavery had drawn national attention.[8] Creswell's speaking, suggested one of his fellow Senators, was that of "an able and vigorous advocate," whose "republicanism was of the most pronounced and uncompromising type."[9] In addition, Creswell held Grant, the party's leader, in high personal esteem. In the midst of his term as Postmaster-General, Creswell wrote that "Grant is so good and pure that all he needs for his perfect vindication is simply that the people shall know him and his works. The more I see of him the more devotedly do I admire and love him."[10]

The second reason was Creswell's experience in Congress. He had served in both branches of the nation's legislature. This experience made him uniquely familiar with many members of his party. Such familiarity was necessary for a Postmaster-General, since he distributes more patronage than any cabinet member.

Third, Creswell was from Maryland. Three days before he announced his cabinet, Grant was visited by a delegation of Congressmen from below the Mason-Dixon line. They urged Grant to appoint at least one man from their section of the country to his cabinet. They suggested that Creswell, or several Tennesseans, should be considered.[11] In choosing Creswell of Maryland, a border

[7] Dorothy Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician* (New York, 1943), p. 142.

[8] His anti-slavery speech to the Senate, in January of 1865, was widely reprinted.

[9] James B. Groome, *Tribute of Former United States Senator James B. Groome to the Memory of John A. J. Creswell at the Cecil County Bar Meeting, January 5, 1892* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Library, nd.).

[10] John A. J. Creswell to his Mother, October 24, 1871, Vol. 17, Creswell Papers, Library of Congress.

[11] *American,* March 6, 1869. Creswell was also supported by all or part of the Congressional delegations from Maine, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Grant's Vice-President, Schyler Colfax of Indiana, an old Senate friend of Creswell's, also supported the Marylander.

state, Grant particularly pleased Southerners, for they regarded Creswell as a representative of their much maligned region.[12]

Shortly after accepting President Ulysses Grant's appointment to the office of Postmaster-General, Creswell stated the two major problems which confronted him. First, how can the postal service of the country "be relieved from the heavy deficiencies annually charged against it?" Second, how can that service "be made most efficient?"[13] During his five and one-half years in office, Creswell resolved these problems with imagination and diligence.

Financial problems, particularly the huge annual postal deficit, were Creswell's most immediate concern. Yet he desired to reduce the deficit without decreasing, and if possible, while increasing the postal service. During Creswell's first nine months in office, he introduced his first reform. That reform was a dramatic reduction in Post Office Department expenses. In 1869, the year Creswell took office, postal expenses rose by $968,000. The preceding year's expenses had risen by $3,495,000.[14] Meanwhile, the department's revenue increased by $2,528,000.[15] Thus, at the end of his first nine months in office, Creswell reported that the annual postal deficit had been reduced by $1,084,000.[16]

Creswell imposed the same financial pattern on the department's operation in succeeding years. By holding expenses to a minimum, spending only enough to provide for the increasing demand for postal service, Creswell was able to reduce the annual postal deficit in 1870 by $1,156,000.[17] In 1871, again by holding the growth of postal expenses to a minimum, Creswell's administration presided over a $116,000 decline in the annual postal deficit.[18]

During the first thirty-three months of his term, Creswell had seen the yearly revenue of the department increase by $2,723,000

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] U.S., Congress, *House Executive Documents for 1869,* 16 Vols. "Report of the Postmaster-General," Vol. 3 (41st Cong., 2nd sess.), (Washington, 1870), p. 30. (Hereafter cited as *Annual Report for 1869*).

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 4. This and subsequent figures have been rounded off to the nearest thousandth or hundredth dollar. They can be found, stated to the penny, in the sources cited.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 3.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 4.

[17] U.S., Congress, *House Executive Documents for 1870,* 14 Vols. "Report of the Postmaster-General," Vol. 3 (41st Cong., 2nd sess.), (Washington, 1871), p. 3. (Hereafter cited as *Annual Report for 1870*).

[18] U.S., Congress, *House Executive Documents for 1871,* 18 Vols. "Report of the Postmaster-General," Vol. 4 (42nd Cong., 2nd sess.), (Washington, 1872), p. 81. (Hereafter cited as *Annual Report for 1871.*)

John A. J. Creswell. 1828-1891.
From a Steel Engraving.
Maryland Historical Society
Graphics Collection

or 15 per cent. More significantly, during the same period, the economy minded Postmaster-General had held the increased cost of running his department down to $1,252,000, or 5.4 per cent.[19] During this period Creswell returned over $8,000,000 to Congress from the funds that Congress had appropriated to cover the expected deficits of the department. Though the Post Office Department was still a decidedly non-profit organization, Creswell's spending reform was saving the nation money.

During this first half of his administration, Creswell saved money in a number of ways. While increasing the total service, he was able to reduce the unit cost of service. Nowhere is this more evident than in an examination of the department's rail usage. When Creswell took office in 1869, it was costing the department 11.4 cents for each mile of railroad that the mails moved over.[20] By 1871 usage of the railroads was up by a full one-third. However, the cost was down to 10.3 cents for each mile.[21] The department's use of steamship lines produced similar results. During the first half of his administration, Creswell increased the use of steamship lines by over 330,000 miles. Yet, the cost to the department decreased during this period by 1.3 cents a mile.[22] By increasing the size of the operation, Creswell was getting the nation more and better mail service for less money.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[20] *Annual Report for 1869*, p. 4.
[21] *Annual Report for 1871*, p. 84.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Creswell was unsuccessful in reducing the department's annual deficit during the last half of his term. The key to Creswell's early success had rested in his first reform, his ability to minimize expenses. Again in 1872 he held the growth rate of department expenses below the growth rate of revenue.[23] But in 1873 Creswell reported an excess in the yearly increase of expenses over the yearly increase in revenues.[24] This produced, for the first time during his administration of the department, an increase in the annual deficit of the Post Office.

Upon taking office Creswell had pledged to improve service as well as to reduce deficits. In 1873 these two goals came into conflict. Creswell chose to improve service, even though such improvement might result in an increase in the deficit of his department.

Railroad payments proved to be the issue which forced Creswell to sacrifice economy in order to improve service. In 1869 Creswell had recommended a change in the act of 1845 which governed rail payments.[25] This act had simply grown outdated. The rates that it fixed were based on the department's usage of the railroads in the 1840's.

By the 1870's these rates were unwarrantedly low. Consequently the Post Office Department, as Creswell reported, was encountering:

> many difficulties in its efforts to secure a rapid transmission of the mails, particularly those containing newspapers, to the South and West, owing to complaints by the managers of the railroads of the inadequacy of their pay, and their refusal to allow the use of their fastest trains.[26]

Many railroads threatened to refuse to handle the mail when their present contracts expired. But the Erie Company had served notice that it would try to pick up the expiring contracts and thereby threaten to establish a monopoly on them. This threat prevented the other companies from carrying through with their plans.[27]

[23] U.S., Congress, *House Executive Documents for 1872,* 12 Vols. "Report of the Postmaster-General," Vol. 4 (42nd Cong., 3rd sess.), (Washington, 1873), p. 3. (Hereafter cited as *Annual Report for 1872*).

[24] U.S., Congress, *House Executive Documents for 1873,* 18 Vols. "Report of the Postmaster-General," Vol. 3 (43rd Cong., 1st sess.), (Washington, 1874), p. 3. (Hereafter cited as *Annual Report for 1873*).

[25] *Annual Report for 1869,* p. 4.

[26] *Annual Report for 1871,* p. 84.

[27] Elizabeth Grimes, "John Angle James Creswell" (unpublished master's thesis, Columbia University, 1939), p. 25.

The railroad situation resulted in Creswell's second reform. The railroad complaints were justifiable. Under the 1845 law the maximum a railroad could receive was $375 per mile, per annum. This could only be obtained if 18,000 pounds of mail went over the line every year. Yet this rate had been established before the introduction of expensive new cars designed specifically for handling the mail. Nor did it take account of the tremendous increase in the volume of mail handled by the railroads. Certain routes, such as the Pennsylvania Railroad line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, were carrying well over 18,000 pounds of mail per week. Yet the Pennsylvania Railroad was getting paid the same $375 as lines carrying only 18,000 pounds of mail a year.[28]

Because he could not offer them just payment, Creswell had difficulty in obtaining cooperation from the railroads. Consequently, he urged Congress to revise the outdated law of 1845. Congress responded with a new law which raised the maximum pay to $600 per mile, per annum. In addition, rates throughout the scale were raised by about 60 per cent.[29] This increase in the payments made to the railroads went into effect in 1873 and accounted for the first increase in the postal deficit under Creswell. But the economy-minded Marylander felt that reform in the railroad pay-scale was vitally necessary to preserve good service.

Creswell's third major reform partially offset the increased payments made to the railroads. By 1873 his long campaign to eliminate the franking privilege met with success. This privilege allowed 31,933 citizens to send and receive mail without cost.[30] Creswell felt that such a privilege was an injustice. In 1872 he devoted a major portion of his annual report to the franking question:

> In my three previous reports I have urgently recommended the immediate and unconditional repeal of the franking privilege. The experience of the past year has strengthened my conviction that it is necessary to an efficient, economical, and vigorous administration of our postal system. . . . I think it is safe to say that the free matter carried during the past year, if taxed at ordinary rates, would have yielded a revenue of three and a half millions of dollars, a sum larger than the entire deficiency of the year. In addition to the heavy loss of revenue thus indicated, great inconvenience was experienced from

[28] *Times,* March 13, 1873.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Annual Report for 1869,* p. 28.

> derangements and delays in the regular and prompt transmission of the mails caused by the immense amount of free matter thrown suddenly, and without notice or system, upon the postal system of this country.[31]

Creswell attacked the franking privilege for several reasons in addition to the negative effect it had on his department. He called it a "special privilege granted to a favored class at the expense of many."[32] He pointed out that postage franks were constantly counterfeited and that the detection and prosecution of these criminals were impossible.[33]

On January 28, 1873, Creswell's constant lobbying produced results. The pleas of every Postmaster-General since the Jackson administration became reality with the elimination of the franking privilege. The repeal of the privilege came to the amazement of the public and press which expected Congress to amend the repeal bill. However, fearful of unfavorable public opinion about their special privilege, none of the Congressmen attempted to amend the bill.[34]

The repeal of the franking privilege resulted in a marked increase in the sale of stamps. In 1873, the sale of stamps rose by $1,635,000.[35] These sales partially compensated for the higher payments to the railroads which were also initiated in 1873.

Though highly successful in administrating the finances of the Post Office Department, Creswell met even greater success in attain-

Ulysses S. Grant. 1822-1885.
From a Photograph.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

[31] *Annual Report for 1872,* pp. 19-20.
[32] *Annual Report for 1869,* p. 26.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 27.
[34] *New York Times,* January 28, 1873.
[35] *Annual Report for 1873,* p. 20.

ing his second goal: more efficient service. In his annual report for 1872, Creswell pointed to the fourth of his reforms. "During my administration," the Marylander wrote, "improved postal conventions and arrangements have been concluded with the leading commercial countries of Europe and America, establishing greatly reduced postal charges on correspondence with all parts of the civilized world."[36]

These new postal treaties, most of which became effective in late 1870, resulted in a significant savings to both the Post Office Department, and the average citizen. During 1871, the first full year that these treaties were law, the cost of trans-Atlantic steamship service was reduced by $148,000.[37]

The average citizen was paying a minimum of 20 per cent, and in some cases as much as 50 per cent less, to send mail overseas under the new agreements negotiated during Creswell's administration.[38] Moreover, Americans were now corresponding with the rest of the world far more than before. In 1871, the number of letters Americans sent overseas increased 10.5 per cent over the preceding year.[39]

While Creswell was securing changes in the international postal laws, he by no means neglected the domestic postal laws. The Marylander's fifth major reform was a complete rewriting and the codifying of almost all domestic postal laws. During his first years in office, Creswell and his own hand-picked legal force produced a bill to "revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to the Post Office Department."[40] Congress, recognizing that such a bill was long overdue, passed it without hesitation in June of 1872.[41]

Seeking to make postal service both convenient and efficient, Creswell introduced his sixth reform, the simplest and most practical service of the Post Office Department—the post card. Creswell's post card, identical except in price to the post cards used today, was patterned after the "Correspondent's Cards" of Great Britain.[42]

[36] *Annual Report for 1872,* p. 11.
[37] *Annual Report for 1871,* p. 89.
[38] For a country by country breakdown of these reduced postage rates see the *American,* November 3, 1870.
[39] *Annual Report for 1871,* p. 89.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 107.
[41] Prior to these revisions, the department experienced difficulty because of harsh punishments that were provided by the postal laws. Juries were reluctant to find a man guilty of petty offenses because he might be subject to extreme punishments, including death.
[42] *Annual Report for 1870,* p. 25.

Creswell believed that the cards would be useful because they did not require the bother of folding and sealing. Thus, they would be "ready for use at any moment where pen, ink, paper, and envelope were not accessible." Moreover, Creswell hoped that post cards would increase the "clarity and ease" of writing.[43]

During 1873, their first year on the market, the cards fully lived up to Creswell's expectations. The department sold $310,000 worth of the penny cards. The only criticism leveled at this new innovation was in jest. *The New York Times* cautioned its readers to beware of what they wrote on the card, since the contents would be visible to all. The same issue of that paper predicted, with tongue in cheek, that the Marylander's post cards would eliminate the ancient art of letter writing.[44]

Creswell's seventh reform was the revision of the postage stamp. Stamps had fallen into disuse due to the inferior quality of the adhesive. Additionally, poor design and small size made stamps easy to counterfeit. To remedy these problems and to make the postage stamp once and for all useful, Creswell brought out a new line of stamps, featuring a much improved adhesive and larger difficult-to-counterfeit designs.[45]

Though selected largely because Grant felt that he could effectively handle the distribution of patronage, Creswell's use of his appointive powers illustrated his concern for the Post Office Department and constituted his final major reform. Creswell did not disappoint Grant. He efficiently removed the anti-Grant men in the department and replaced them with men of the proper political persuasion. The partisan Democratic *Hagerstown Mail* commented that "McCormick's reaper, which is covered all over with medals and stars would leave twenty heads standing where Creswell leaves one."[46]

But the *Mail* seems to have overstated the case against Creswell. Quite to the contrary, he made outstanding use of his appointive powers. Though his appointments were partisan, they never resulted in corruption or graft, such as that which resulted from the appointments made by other members of Grant's Cabinet.[47]

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.
[44] *Times,* July 10, 1873.
[45] The new designs were copied after marble busts of famous Americans, including Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, and Lincoln.
[46] Quoted in the *American,* May 7, 1869.
[47] The appointments made by Grant's Secretaries of Treasury and Interior were exceptionally poor.

Creswell's reactions to the pressures on him for appointments illustrate that he never swerved from his goal of maintaining efficient service. Early in his administration Creswell's office was packed with Congressmen, all seeking to have a friend appointed to the same position. As the Congressmen waited expectantly, Creswell's office announced an important appointment—that of a clerk to take the names of Congressmen who wished their own constituents in office. As they left in disgust, the Congressmen heard that the Postmaster-General felt that such a list would prove of value when his department next requested funds.[48]

Early in his administration local postmasters, seeking to maintain their jobs in the new administration, crowded Creswell's lobby. After waiting until the lobby was completely filled, Creswell had a clerk announce that the presence of a postmaster in Washington was considered proof that the man was neglecting his job back home. The crowded lobby immediately emptied, as the men fled for the railroad station.[49] Creswell may have used his appointive powers for many reasons, but chief among them was a constant desire to better the service provided by his department.

Creswell was also one of the first government administrators to make use of the Civil Service registers. By 1871 several minor laws had been passed which required competitive examinations for a limited number of jobs in Washington and New York. These laws did not directly effect the Post Office Department. But Creswell, believing in the concept of a civil service selected on merit, acted in accordance with their spirit. Consequently, personnel turnover in the Post Office Department was sharply decreased under the Marylander's administration.[50]

Creswell, the only Southerner in Grant's Cabinet, was also the only member of the Grant administration to make serious use of the Negro. The Marylander deliberately appointed Negroes to positions in every state of the Union. Though they occasionally encountered trouble when attempting to deliver mail in the South, Creswell did not hesitate to make far greater use of the Negro than any other cabinet member of his time.[51] Thus, because he did not abuse his appointive powers, because he used them to aid him in improving

[48] *American,* March 17, 1869.
[49] Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician,* p. 144.
[50] *Ibid.,* p. 150.
[51] *American,* April 5, 1871.

service, because he followed the spirit of the new Civil Service movement, and because he alone made extensive use of the Negro, Creswell can be said to have "distributed the enormous patronage of his office with a minimum of friction."[52]

In 1874 John A. J. Creswell voluntarily resigned from his position as Postmaster-General of the United States. He claimed that his private interests demanded his attention.[53] His resignation, which came as a surprise, was greeted with dismay throughout official Washington. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, one of the few good men in Grant's Cabinet, was quite disappointed when he learned of Creswell's resignation.[54] Grant expressed his sorrow at seeing the last of his original cabinet members depart. He hoped that Creswell's successor could be as effective an administrator and as close a friend.[55] *The New York Times* regretted the resignation of a "hardworking, pains-taking, energetic officer."[56]

As he walked down the steps of the Post Office Department building for the last time, John A. J. Creswell could reflect on five years and four months of accomplishment. The Marylander had correctly assessed the major problems that he faced. Conscientiously, he reduced the postal deficit. Moreover, his financial reforms were accompanied by significant reforms designed to increase the efficiency of the Post Office Department. He greatly increased the use of railroads to speed mail delivery. He eliminated the postage frank, and favorably revised both our foreign and domestic postal laws. He introduced the post card and improved the postage stamp. In addition, he distributed patronage effectively, always remaining cognizant of his department's needs. As John A. J. Creswell left the Post Office Department, the *Boston Globe,* in a prediction that proved to be an accurate assessment, commented that "he was by character essentially an innovator, and it may be that in years to come he will be honored with the more dignified appellation of a reformer."[57]

[52] William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant: Politician* (New York, 1957), p. 160.

[53] *Times,* June 26, 1874. Creswell resumed his law practice and became a director of his uncle's bank.

[54] Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York, 1936), p. 719.

[55] Grant's reply to Creswell's letter of resignation can be found in *Times,* June 25, 1874.

[56] *Times,* June 25, 1874.

[57] *Boston Globe,* July 2, 1874.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALTIMORE BUSINESS, 1880-1914

By Eleanor S. Bruchey

PART II*

Baltimore's economy by the 1880's was undergoing fundamental change. While the city's port remained one of national importance, old patterns of foreign trade gave way to the dominance of the export of western grain and semi-refined copper. To be sure, domestic trade with the South, which had revived after the Civil War, remained brisk and investment ties strong. Nevertheless, it was the growth of manufactures that absorbed increasing attention. Whereas Baltimore's economy had relied primarily on commerce, it now became increasingly industrial.

Having determined in Part I of this article what were statistically the more significant industries, let us consider briefly their operations, sources of raw materials, markets, and some of their problems. The manufacturing of ready-to-wear clothing in Baltimore had begun before the Civil War, as early as 1838, reaching sizeable proportions by 1859 when it emerged a national leader in the field. The Civil War brought disruption with the loss of the Southern and Western markets.[1] After the war, however, these were regained and the growth of the industry resumed, particularly rapidly after 1870. By 1880 local firms were "constantly competing with New York for supplying the West and the South."[2] The South at this time was purchasing over one third of Baltimore's output and the Middle West about one fourth. Surprisingly, an amount equivalent to about one third of the value sent to the South was consumed in New York and New England. By 1895 Baltimore practically

* Part I appeared in the Spring, 1969 issue.

[1] Maryland, State Planning Commission, "Report on Men's Clothing Industry," by A. A. Imberman (mimeographed, 1936), p. 15.

[2] Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series LIX, no. 2; Baltimore, 1941), p. 41, quoting Joseph Nimmo, "The Internal Commerce of the United States," in U.S., Bureau of Statistics, *Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States: 1880,* appendix, no. 5, p. 123.

dominated the southern market for boys' and men's clothing[3] and this remained the case for the rest of the period. Because of the emphasis on the southern trade, summer clothes were a local specialty. The market was not confined exclusively to the South, however, but rather by 1914 it had become definitely a national one in response to the national advertising of several local companies. Indeed, clothing was one of the few Baltimore manufactures that was well advertised by this latter date. As of 1883, the materials came mainly from New York and New England. As of 1914, at least, production was concentrated on the medium and high priced grades.[4]

The related industry of shirts, overalls, and underwear was also a most active one throughout this period, competing vigorously with Troy, New York, the acknowledged center of men's furnishings. By 1883 Baltimore had built up a large business in overalls which went mainly to the South and the West. Ladies underwear too became something of a specialty, supplying both northern and western markets as well as New York, which drew heavily on Baltimore output in this field. Shirts were made mainly from northern cotton textiles and marketed in the South and West, following the routes of the general dry goods jobbing trade.[5] By 1914 the picture had shifted somewhat. The overalls were being made from the cheap southern textiles and marketed all over the country. Even dress shirts were using southern textiles increasingly and by this time were having difficulty meeting the competition from Troy. Certain types of men's underwear and pajamas were, however, of growing importance and made Baltimore a leader in this area. The materials were from both New England and southern mills, and the market was national but with a southern emphasis.[6] Looking beyond Baltimore's activity in this field for a moment, the manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing was a major industry in the nation and a kind of index to industrialism in that it gave a clear view of the increasing reliance on standardized factory products, which were eventually sold all over the country.

[3] John R. Bland, *A Review of the Commerce of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, n.d.), p. 86; Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900,* p. 41.

[4] *Industrial Survey of Baltimore: Report of Industries Located Within the Baltimore Metropolitan District* (Baltimore: 1914), p. 34. Hereafter cited as *Industrial Survey;* Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 86.

[5] Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 102.

[6] *Industrial Survey,* pp. 35-37.

Baltimore had been a center of the canning industry since the Civil War. Up until the mid-1880's, oysters were the main concern of the business, and they commanded a wide market in the West as well as in Europe and even in the Far East. Then the focus shifted to fruits and vegetables which supplied a national, and to some extent, a foreign market.[7] By the turn of the century, however, it was noted that Maryland, always heretofore a leader in this area, was losing its lead. This was not due to lack of enterprise, it was felt by the Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics, but rather to a relative lack of produce at hand compared with the amount grown in larger agricultural states.[8] By 1914 the picture was again encouraging, with tomatoes the single most important item packed and making up about two fifths of the tomatoes canned commercially in the entire country. Oysters came next in importance. The city had, however, dropped radically in its national standing in the canning of peas, from first to sixth place. Further loss had come when pineapple canning, which had been centered in Baltimore, moved to the islands of supply around 1904. From 1910 on, nevertheless, the industry had very strong growth.[9]

The fertilizer industry had been first established in the United States in Baltimore about 1850. Initially it relied heavily on the importation of guano from the West Indies and Chile, but this was replaced by crude phosphate rock after the discovery of extensive deposits in South Carolina.[10] In the early 1880's, at least, this latter formed the main ingredient in the local manufacture.[11] But with this change in raw material the industry by the 1890's began to move south, closer not only to the source of supply but also to the main market, the cotton fields. At this time the South used more fertilizer than any other section of the country. Baltimore's early predominance began to wane.[12] By 1914, however, the local industry was reported to be in excellent shape with Baltimore described as the largest fertilizer manufacturing center in the world and growing every year. The market had been expanding at the rate of about 10 per cent per year for the previous few years largely due to the intensive educational efforts of the Department of Agriculture and

[7] Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900,* p. 42.
[8] Maryland, B.I.S., *Tenth Annual Report* (Baltimore: 1902), p. 74.
[9] *Industrial Survey,* p. 13.
[10] Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (1929 ed.; New York, 1949), III, p. 289.
[11] Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 91.
[12] Clark, *History of Manufactures,* III, p. 289.

various state agricultural colleges. The South constituted an increasing proportion of the market (about 60 per cent in 1914) not only because of its cotton but also because of its expanding acreage in truck and intensive farming. The demand from the West was of next importance and constantly increasing.[13]

Foundries and machine shops embraced a variety of specialties. The manufacture of machinery, although very hard hit by the depression in the 1890's, supplied a national and a foreign market. In the 1880's it had supplied the South as well, but by 1896, at least, this area was no longer an important market for Baltimore machinery. Freight rates were blamed by the producers for this loss.[14] By 1914, at least Baltimore was the leader in the number and the value of machines made for the canning industry. The market for these, incidentally, was not local but largely out of town where the new canning establishments were rising and giving the local canning industry increasing competition. Baltimore was also important in the field of machinery to make tin cans, a close corollary of the canning industry. A great variety of other types of machines was made here such as turbine water wheels, boilers, engines, machinery for breweries, and for preparing fertilizer and tobacco.[15]

Architectural iron work, iron bridges, stoves, furnaces, and steam heating apparatus were marketed widely throughout the country in this period with no one section being of specific preponderance.[16] In the larger firms quite often iron foundries formed part of the same company as machine shops, but in most instances they were separate by 1914, at least. They supplied mainly the local market, in many cases machine shops. About 40 per cent of their output was shipped to a geographically limited market of nearby points in the state, the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania. The weight of the products, mainly iron castings, combined with the slim margin of profits to make it imperative to minimize freight charges and thus to limit the extent of the market.[17] The general complexion of these three related branches of activity was one of health throughout the period, except, of course, for the serious set back in the 1890's. In general, this was an area of steady importance rather than spectacular growth.

[13] *Industrial Survey,* pp. 7-8.
[14] Maryland, B.I.S., *Fifth Annual Report* (Baltimore: 1897), p. 14.
[15] *Industrial Survey,* p. 17.
[16] Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 98.
[17] *Industrial Survey,* pp. 18-19.

Fayette and Holliday Streets, Baltimore, Maryland. c. 1900.
From a Photograph by Eduard Löllmann.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

Slaughtering and meat packing was a notably growing and healthy industry in Baltimore throughout this period. It is an excellent illustration both of an industry which was growing to fill the demands of the increasing and increasingly urban market, and also of local resistance to the western meat packers' attempt to build up a national market. In 1914 the local situation was so strong that it was reported that slaughtering was "fast becoming the leading industry of Baltimore."[18] Although aggressive competition from the western packers as well as local restrictions on the location of the plants were considered serious threats to continued growth, vigorous effort on the part of the local industry was, for the time being, it seemed, retarding the inroads of outside suppliers. The energies of the local packers were mainly directed towards "educating" the local butchers and banding together to sell the offal.[19] This was in partial imitation of some of the big western

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

packers who had realized the commercial value of this by-product and had gone into the fertilizer business on the side.

Tin, copper, and sheet-iron ware manufactures really lump together several quite separate and independently important industries. Tin itself was manufactured here for a variety of purposes, among the more significant being roofing and household cooking articles. The market for these was increasing in this period with the growth of the city. The local canning industry promoted a large manufacture of tinware in the making of tin cans and consumed in 1883 an estimated 80 to 100 million cans. The market for all the types of tin goods discussed above extended beyond the local scene to include the rest of the state, Pennsylvania and the South. The tin plate necessary in all these manufactures was imported,[20] presumably from Britain as that was the prevalent practise before the McKinley tariff boosted the domestic manufacture of the plate.[21] The replacement of handmade by machine-made cans began in 1880 and was nearly complete by 1896 when the great majority of can-making factories used the fully mechanized process whereby a can was made by machine from a piece of sheet tin. As a result, output was increased and the price of cans reduced.[22] By 1914 Baltimore was making more tin cans than any other city in the United States and was supplying a national market. Local demand accounted for only 15 per cent of the output, even though the local canners bought all their cans from Baltimore producers. About 50 per cent was sold within two hundred miles of Baltimore and the rest distributed over the country. There was also some export trade which was on the increase. By 1914 the sheet tin for this product was supplied almost entirely by Pittsburgh.[23]

The processing of copper had become an important local industry by the 1880's at least. The business, as was previously mentioned, was located in Canton. In 1883 the smelting of copper was reported to have been of large proportions, producing up to 20 million pounds annually.[24] The ores which had always been imported from Cuba and Chile, after 1869 came mainly from Arizona and Montana. Despite the increasing tendency for the refining industry to move west to be closer to the enormous domestic sources which were being

[20] Bland, *Review of Commerce*, p. 104.
[21] Clark, *History of Manufactures*, II, p. 373.
[22] Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900*, p. 34.
[23] *Industrial Survey*, p. 44.
[24] Bland, *Review of Commerce*, p. 104.

increasingly exploited, much of the Montana ore was still being shipped to Baltimore in 1892.[25] Baltimore's role shifted somewhat, however, in response to the tendency to smelt the ore at the mine. Increasingly, copper came to Baltimore in the form of pig to be refined and rolled into sheet.[26] The electrolytic refining plant which was built at Canton in 1891 was the largest in the country.[27] By 1914 Baltimore ranked first among all the cities in the United States for the amount of copper smelted and rolled,[28] and the value of the copper smelting and refining works, together with the coppersmithing business, was estimated at $20 million in 1912.[29] The city supplied a world market, but particularly Europe and the United States.[30] The strong demand for this semimanufacture is another evidence of the tide of urbanization and the dimensions of the urban market. Copper wire was a mainstay of electrical equipment in lighting both city streets and homes.[31]

In the tobacco industry Baltimore had the advantage of being near some of the sources of supply. In 1883 the tobacco manufactured in the city came from four areas: 53 per cent from Virginia and North Carolina, 20 per cent from Maryland, Ohio, and Kentucky, 15 per cent from Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Wisconsin, and 10 per cent from Cuba and other foreign sources. In the early 1880's Baltimore sold its tobacco products to a national market in the following distribution: 53 per cent to the West, 20 per cent to the South, and 27 per cent to Pennsylvania, New York, and New England.[32] As was the case in the entire national industry, the youngest branch, cigarettes, experienced the most striking growth in this period.[33] This again reflected the growth of the urban market as cigarettes were sold principally in cities.[34] Unfortunately, only sparse information is available on the snuff and smoking tobacco branch of the industry which was well represented in Baltimore for the entire period by very large factories. Their brands were well

[25] Clark, *History of Manufactures,* II, pp. 97 and 368-369.
[26] E. Emmet Reid, "Commerce and Manufactures of Baltimore," *Baltimore, Its History and Its People,* ed. Clayton C. Hall (New York, 1912), I, p. 525.
[27] Maryland, B.I.S.I., *Twenty-first Annual Report,* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 184.
[28] *Industrial Survey,* p. 50.
[29] Maryland, B.I.S.I., *Twenty-first Annual Report,* p. 184.
[30] Reid, "Commerce and Manufactures," p. 525; *Industrial Survey,* p. 50.
[31] Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "The Beginnings of 'Big Business' in American History," *Pivotal Interpretations of American History,* ed. Carl N. Degler (New York, 1966), II, p. 135.
[32] Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 105.
[33] Clark, *History of Manufactures,* II, p. 513.
[34] Chandler, "Beginnings of 'Big Business,' " p. 114.

known in Europe as well as in the United States.[35] In 1891 they were bought out by the American Tobacco Company, and thereafter no figures are available as they would reveal the operations of a single firm.

Cotton textiles were a major part of the economy of Baltimore for, although all but two of the mills were located outside the city, they were owned by Baltimore men, had their central offices in the city, were run by Baltimore capital, and their products were marketed through Baltimore.[36] An estimate of the value of product in 1883 of over $6 million and of the value added by manufacture of almost $2 million[37] should establish the industry as one of the leaders in the city. It was ignored, however, by the census which canvassed only the part of Baltimore that was incorporated. Then, of course, several of the mills were outside even the metropolitan district. Most, however, were clustered at Woodberry, which until it was annexed in 1888, was a small manufacturing town in Baltimore County. In 1883 there were altogether twenty-one mills with a total of 128,514 spindles, 2,469 looms, and a labor force of about 4,795.[38] A great variety of goods was produced, such as shirtings, sheetings, drills, yarns, netting, and twine. A very heavy grade of cotton duck was the main product, for which the Baltimore area was the manufacturing center for the entire country. Duck had been made in this area well before the Civil War and had then received a great impetus from the war demand. After the war the manufacturers had expanded their facilities further. By 1883 it was estimated that this area had more than double the number of duck looms in the rest of the country and produced about four-fifths of all this fabric in the United States.[39] At this time the duck and heavy goods had a world market, while the lighter goods were distributed on the national market as follows: 15 to 20 per cent to New England and New York, 40 per cent on the home market and to the local jobbers, and the remainder to both the West and the South.[40] By 1889 the number of mills had increased to 25 with a total of 175,642 spindles and 3,536 looms.[41] In 1894 a rough estimate of the value of cotton

[35] Maryland B.I.S., *Sixth Annual Report*, p. 60.
[36] *M.R.*, Sept. 29, 1883, p. 196.
[37] Bland, *Review of Commerce*, p. 88.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *M.R.*, Sept. 29, 1883, p. 196.
[40] Bland, *Review of Commerce*, p. 88.
[41] *M.R.*, Aug. 10, 1889.

manufactures was $16 million.[42] By 1914 the emphasis was still on heavy goods and Baltimore still led in the production of cotton duck. Although formerly most of the duck had been used for sails, this demand, of course, had fallen off dramatically and now only about 1 per cent of the output was used for that purpose. By this time it was used principally for awnings, grain conveyors, deck and life boat coverings, and tents,[43] which would very probably mean a lessening of the importance of the local industry, although there are no readily available figures to prove this.

Making iron in Maryland can be traced back to colonial days when there were many small furnaces using the local ore. Small amounts of ore had also been imported. Baltimore, which had always been the leading iron center in Maryland, established a reputation for high quality charcoal pig. In the late nineteenth century with the introduction of new technological methods, the importation of iron ores expanded into importance about 1880 to meet the needs of Eastern steelmakers for high grade Bessemer pig. Baltimore was a point of importation of these ores from Northern Spain and Algiers.[44] In the late 1880's ore from Cuba was also coming into Baltimore.[45] Despite the tradition of Peter Cooper, who had owned and operated iron forges here that eventually became the well-known Abbott Iron Works, which made iron plate and armor for ships in the Civil War, iron and steel production at Baltimore was not impressive in the 1880's.[46] This was the transitional period not only in metallurgical methods in the industry but also in transportation. Furnaces in uneconomic locations in terms of the new technology were being dismantled in favor of increased output in better located plants. In Baltimore the shift was made away from the small furnace production of charcoal iron to large-scale production in 1889 when the first of four giant furnaces at the new steel plant at Sparrows Point went into blast. The tract of land at Sparrows Point had been bought in 1887 by the Pennsylvania Steel Company. The plant, although built by the above company, was nominally owned by the Maryland Steel Company which was closely tied in with the parent company above. By 1891 three blast furnaces were in operation,

[42] George W. Engelhardt, *Baltimore City, Maryland* ([Baltimore], 1895), p. 133.
[43] *Industrial Survey,* pp. 33-34.
[44] Reid, "Commerce and Manufactures," p. 525; Clark, *History of Manufactures,* II, pp. 204, 198.
[45] *M.R.*, Sept. 4, 1886, p. 115.
[46] Reid, "Commerce and Manufactures," p. 526.

First Aerial View of Baltimore Harbor. 1914.
From a Photograph by Eduard Löllmann.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

and Bessemer steel was beginning to be produced. The next year an annual capacity of 400,000 tons of steel had been reached, and the shipbuilding division began operation.[47] The location was convenient to the raw materials, the Cuban and Mediterranean ores, the Pennsylvania coke and the Baltimore County limestone. The site had been selected also with distribution in mind. Much of the output was in the form of rails, about one-half of which went to foreign customers.[48] Bleak times came, however, when 1893 brought a prolonged, though not permanent, set back. The industry was extremely hard hit by the depression; production had to be cut back and parts of the plant idled. The company itself went into receivership and had to be reorganized administratively as well as financially along more efficient lines.[49] After 1896 the picture brightened, production

[47] Clark, *History of Manufactures,* II, pp. 199-200, 204, 232.
[48] Reid, "Commerce and Manufactures," p. 527; Clark, *History of Manufactures,* III, p. 38.
[49] Maryland, B.I.S., *Fifth Annual Report,* p. 18; Clark, *History of Manufactures,* III, p. 38.

rose impressively, and the turn of the century proved to be a period of rapid expansion. The census for 1909, necessarily vague to avoid revealing a firm's operations, stated that the combined value of product of the steel works, blast furnaces, steel shipbuilding yards and coke ovens reached into the millions. The census of 1914 simply asserted that the steel works at Sparrows Point were among the most important in the country.[50]

In two moves, one in 1875 and the other in 1877, the Standard Oil Company successfully took over the oil refining industry in Baltimore. Later on the city's oil industry was placed under the jurisdiction of Jersey Standard.[51] Although few figures are available, the indications are that the refining business was expanding locally in this period. In 1883 the estimated capacity for refining crude oil was about 800,000 barrels per year. Most of the crude oil came directly by pipe line from Pennsylvania and, to a less extent, West Virginia, with only a relatively small amount handled by rail. The refined product was distributed domestically throughout the state and to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The export trade amounted roughly to three-quarters of the amount of the domestic consumption. The combined value of the two in 1883 was not quite 2½ million.[52] The plant was enlarged in 1895, and between 1893 and 1897 its consumption of crude oil increased by 67 per cent. By 1906 the refinery at Baltimore had a daily capacity of 6,046 barrels which in 1911 had risen slightly to 6,654 barrels. Despite its progress it was the smallest of the three refining plants operated directly by the parent company.[53]

Mention should be made, at least briefly, of the coal mining companies which, with Baltimore executives, capital, and main offices, worked the vast stretches of bituminous coal in Garrett and particularly Allegany County. The Consolidation Coal Company which was capitalized at well over a million dollars in 1880 was the largest and best known.[54]

Malt liquors made in Baltimore throughout this period supplied primarily the local market. The grain came from Maryland and

[50] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. X, Manufactures: 1909*, p. 963; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1914*, I, p. 564.
[51] Ralph W. Hidy and Muriel E. Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business, 1882-1911* (New York, 1955), pp. 18-20, 290.
[52] Bland, *Review of Commerce*, pp. 74-75.
[53] Hidy and Hidy, *Pioneering in Big Business*, pp. 289, 291, 414, 420-421.
[54] Maryland B.I.S., *First Annual Report* (Annapolis, 1894), p. 220.

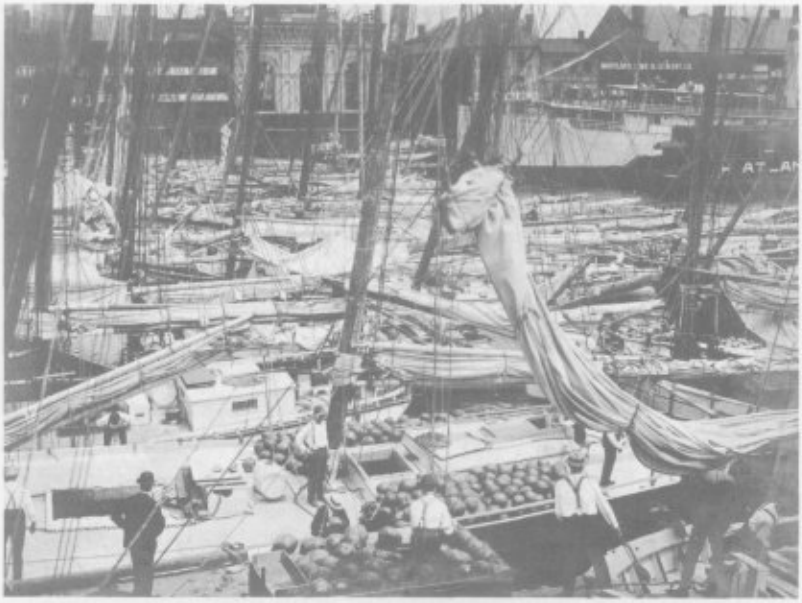
Virginia as well as the West. As was reported in 1883, "the business is in good condition, without having attained for any one great reputation."[55] In 1914 the same unspectacular situation prevailed. The lager beer brewed here took care of 90 per cent of the local demand and some was sent to near-by points, which made up for the invasion of out-of-town beer. The increase in consumption of beer was calculated to be 5 per cent per year, "being relative to the increase in population."[56] Compared with other cities the amount of beer produced was not as great, due to the fact that the areas adjacent to the city were not so well populated.[57]

Finally, there are two manufactures traditionally associated with Baltimore which were more famous than quantitatively important: rye whiskey and straw hats. Long before 1880 Maryland distilleries had achieved an excellent reputation for the quality of their whiskey. In 1880 the industry was very active, producing over 1,500,000 gallons. Approximately 50 per cent was consumed in the North, 25 per cent in the South and Southwest and the rest locally. By 1913 output had risen to about 4,750,000 gallons, of which 85 per cent was distilled in the unincorporated part of the metropolitan district.[58]

The manufacture of straw hats was very insignificant in Baltimore in 1870, but by 1883 the value of product was about $852,000, and the business was reported as steadily growing. From the start the quality was very high.[59] By 1914 it was observed that "for more than a generation Baltimore had led the country in both the amount and factory value of product in this industry."[60] Whereas formerly the market had been largely in the South, by 1914 it was nationwide and included Canada as well.[61]

From the point of view of the large-scale organizational changes inherent in the emergence of big business in this period, Baltimore remained a follower rather than a leader. It did not develop into a central-office city for huge firms aggressively acquiring plants and other properties in other parts of the country, as did New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh. Rather, Baltimore firms were in many instances bought out by such giant corporations and became part

[55] Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 99.
[56] *Industrial Survey,* p. 3.
[57] *Ibid.,* p. 4.
[58] Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 90; *Industrial Survey,* p. 4.
[59] Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900,* p. 45; Bland, *Review of Commerce,* p. 67.
[60] *Industrial Survey,* p. 49.
[61] *Ibid.,* p. 50.



Watermelon Boats. Pratt Street Wharves, Baltimore, Maryland. 1902.
From a Photograph by Eduard Löllmann.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection

of out-of-state complexes. Mergers with national companies as well as those between local firms characterized the turn of the century particularly. We have already seen one example of the former in the case of the Standard Oil Company. Another excellent illustration is the American Agricultural Chemical Company, which in 1898 bought out eight local fertilizer plants.[62] Many of the mergers between purely local firms such as the Maryland Brewing Company, however, tumbled apart in a very few years.

It is also important to note the growth in both the number and size of corporations in Baltimore, although they by no means necessarily involved the large, formally structured bureaucratic administration that characterizes big business. According to Charles Hirschfeld, there were only thirty-nine industrial corporations of any size whatsoever in the city in 1881, while by 1895 there were at least 196.[63] These are admittedly only rough estimates based on the

[62] Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900,* p. 80.
[63] *Ibid.,* p. 76.

corporation assessment lists of the State Tax Commission. From the same source a count was made of just the larger corporations, those assessed at $100,000 and up. From this angle then, there were fifty-two large Baltimore corporations in 1881, eighty four in 1891, 105 in 1901, and ninety-six in 1911. While the number of very highly assessed corporations within this group increased steadily and their assessed value rose from the top figure of $4 million in 1881 to the top figure of $12 million in 1911,[64] the overall group declined after the turn of the century. This is very likely a result of the merger movement. In any event, by 1905 17.3 per cent (or 374) of all industrial establishments in the city were incorporated, producing 52.1 per cent of the total value of products and employing 49.3 per cent of all workers. On the other hand, at the same date, 60.5 per cent of all industrial establishments were still individually owned. They produced, however, only 14.3 per cent of the total value of products and employed 14.7 per cent of the total number of workers. While Baltimore in 1905 fell somewhat below the national level of 23.6 per cent incorporation of all industrial firms, nevertheless the trend toward corporate organization is clear.[65]

Baltimore throughout this period was being constantly reminded of its industrial potential and encouraged to make the most of it or else be hopelessly outranked by faster growing cities. Spearheading a veritable campaign to change Baltimore from a predominantly commercial to a leading industrial center was the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, founded in 1880 to galvanize business opinion and efforts. The Association created a host of committees to report on various aspects of the city's economic situation. In a pamphlet published in 1882, it asserted that "Baltimore is primarily and above all things else, not a commercial city," nor a distributive center but a manufacturing center, even though it may be in a state of arrested development.[66] The cry was picked up by the *Manufacturers' Record,* which was established in 1882 and was ever ready to itemize Baltimore's manufacturing advantages and to predict with fulsome cheer the rosiest industrial development just around the corner. Joining the chorus were the Board of Trade, *The Sun,* the special supplements of the *Baltimore American* and a number of small

[64] Maryland Tax Commissioner, *Report of the State Tax Commissioner,* (Annapolis, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911).
[65] Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900,* pp. 77-78.
[66] Edward Spencer, *A Sketch of the History of Manufactures in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1882), p. 51, quoted in Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1880-1900,* p. 36.

incidental publications such as guides of the city.[67] On the other hand, genuine concern for the continued economic progress of Baltimore was expressed by many local leaders after the fire of 1904. There were fearful references to the crushed spirit and sapped vigor of Baltimore's citizens emerging from the Civil War, and there was worry that this catastrophe would have like results.[68]

For all the earlier optimism, in the cold light of fact, Baltimore's industrial growth in this period was disappointing. Such was the verdict of the committee supervising a local industrial survey, the results of which were published in 1915.[69] The investigation was sparked by J. E. Aldred, the president of the Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Power Company and carried out under the direction of an advisory committee. The committee consisted of: Jacob Hollander, professor of Political Economy at Johns Hopkins University, John R. Bland, president of the United States Fidelity and Guaranty, who as erstwhile secretary of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association had conducted a rather similar examination in 1883, and Frederick W. Wood, president of the Maryland Steel Company. The committee felt that the survey was "a deliberate and sober inquest designed to acquaint our citizen-body with facts as they are."[70] It proceeded to sum up the conclusions of the report:

> The one clear and emphatic impression left upon our minds by the data hereinafter presented is that the industrial growth of Baltimore has been less pronounced than it should have been, having in mind the general economic progress of the country and the forward strides of other cities no more favorably circumstanced.
>
> The population of Baltimore has increased less rapidly than that of certain competing communities and it has fallen back in relative rank among the great cities of the United States. Real estate values, a reasonable index of industrial activity, have been, with some notable exceptions, relatively immobile and there have been considerable areas of absolute decline marked by vacant properties and reduced rentals. The number of newly established industries is less considerable than it seems reasonable to expect and there are certain discouraging instances of the decay of one-time flourishing establish-

[67] Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1880-1900,* pp. 36-37.

[68] James B. Crooks, "Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895 to 1911" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1964), p. 185.

[69] *Industrial Survey.*

[70] *Ibid.,* p. v.

ments. There is no evidence of any considerable influx industrial workers, such as inevitably occurs in a growing manufacturing center.

We deem it mistaken policy in anywise to suppress or gloss over the fact that the industrial progress of Baltimore has been thus sluggish.[71]

The committee attributed this retardation to "an economic transition the ill effects of which have been too long tolerated."[72] The transition was from the commercially oriented ante bellum economy of the city which was smashed by the Civil War. Thus disrupted, the economy of Baltimore tried to change over to manufactures and in this new area to make up for the losses caused by the war. It was not an easy transition and was made even worse, according to the committee, by the fact that Baltimore did not fully realize the situation. "In a word, the industrial retardation of Baltimore is largely traceable to the absence of organized effort to make easy an abrupt change in our business life."[73] As an illustration of this the committee pointed to the lack of any material progress in the years just before the survey was taken. Recent expansion in industries such as copper smelting and refining, the manufacture of tin cans, canning of fruits and vegetables, and slaughtering and meat packing, the committee elaborated, was counter-balanced by the gradual curtailment, sometimes even the elimination, of other industries such as the manufacture and repair of railroad cars, sugar refining, the manufacture of iron bars, chrome, crockery and pottery, boots and shoes, wall paper and soap. It was the committee's opinion that basically what was lacking was not individual initiative or talent but rather "a collective consciousness and a communal effort which should take account of existing difficulties growing out of the historical change of Baltimore from a commercial to a manufacturing city, and which should encourage and facilitate the endeavors of individual enterprise to adapt itself to this necessity."[74]

The future need not look bleak, according to the committee, because Baltimore had probably not only about equal advantages in geographic location, manufacturing sites, taxation exemption, climatic conditions, and municipal spirit with any other place, but could offer three other essential advantages as well: a labor supply with lower wages, a coal supply, and favorable freight rates.[75] The

[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.*, p. vi.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

conclusion was, in effect, that if given the proper *hardheaded* encouragement the industrial development of Baltimore could markedly improve. Thus at the end of the period as at the beginning the cry was for greater industrial effort so that Baltimore would catch up to where it should be.

As has been shown in the course of this chapter, major economic change came to Baltimore in the period 1880 to 1914 in the form of overall economic expansion with a shift in emphasis from commerce to industry. A few new types of industry arose and older ones expanded to meet the needs not only of a growing Baltimore and South, the latter Baltimore's traditional market, but also of a national urban market. In response to the latter, the forms of business organization changed in Baltimore, in many instances linking the city still closer to a national economy by consolidations with national companies. But though the city was much influenced, in a sense transformed, by the national economic trends, it remained largely on the side lines, losing the race with the faster-growing industrial centers, where businessmen had a reputation for being on the safe side of business transactions.[76]

[76] Maryland, B.I.S., *Second Annual Report* (Annapolis, 1895), p. 212.

MASTER'S THESES AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN MARYLAND HISTORY

Compiled by DOROTHY M. BROWN AND RICHARD R. DUNCAN

PART III

—P—

Pancake, John Silas, The General from Baltimore: A Biography of Samuel Smith, Ph.D., Virginia, 1949.

Pancake, John Silas, The General from Baltimore: The Public Life of General Samuel Smith, 1752-1812, M.A., Virginia, 1947.

Panczyk, Matthew Leo, James Whitfield, Fourth Archbishop of Baltimore, The Episcopal Years, 1828-1834, M.A., Catholic, 1963.

Parr, John Francis, A Study of Daniel Dulany, the Younger, Maryland Loyalist, M.A., Georgetown, 1948.

Peifer, William H., Roemer's Battery: From Annapolis to the Appomattox, March 1864—April 1865, M.A., American, 1965.

Pemberton, Naomi B., A Critical Analysis and Interpretation of Trends in Curriculum Development in the Elementary School in Baltimore, Maryland from 1900-1954, M.A., Catholic, 1957.

Pesci, Frank Bernard, The Junior College Movement in Maryland: 1939-1962, Ed.D., Catholic, 1963.

Petrie, George, Church and State in Early Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1891 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.*, ser. 10, no. 4).

Pettengill, Dwynal B., Campaign Finance in Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1959.

Phillips, Watson D., The History of Public Education in Cecil County, Maryland, before 1876, M.A., Maryland, 1939.

Pinkett, Otho Preston, Anti-Slavery Sentiment in Maryland, M.A., Howard, 1939.

Plater, Helen Marie, A History of the Public Education of the Negro in Maryland, 1865-1940, M.A., Howard, 1942.

Pressley, Helen Wade, Drinks and Drinking in Colonial Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1943.

Prinderville, James Edward, The Calvert Family Claims to the Colony of Avalon in New Foundland 1623-1754, M.A., Catholic, 1949.

Pritzl, John J., James Cardinal Gibbons, Champion of Christian Education, M.A., Catholic, 1935.

Puffenbarger, Charles William, A History of Land Planning Politics in Montgomery County, Maryland, M.A., George Washington, 1964.

—Q—

Quigg, Dorothy, Checklist of Maryland Imprints from 1874 through 1876, with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1954.

Quinn, Edward, Recruitement and Enlistment in Maryland during the Civil War, M.A., Catholic, 1943.

—R—

Radcliffe, George Lovic Pierce, Governor H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1900 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 19, nos. 11-12).

Randall, Daniel Richard, The Puritan Colony at Annapolis, Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1887 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 4, no. 6).

Raymond, Anne Farley, A Checklist of Maryland Imprints from 1872 through 1873 with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1954.

Rea, Leonard Owens, The Financial History of Baltimore, 1900-1926, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1928.

Reizenstein, Milton, The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1853, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1897 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 15, nos. 7-8).

Remington, Jesse A., Jr., Sports and Amusements of Eighteenth Century Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1938.

Remington, Jesse A., Jr., States-Rights in Maryland, 1787-1832, Ph.D., Maryland, 1940.

Renzulli, Libero Marx, Maryland Federalism, 1787-1819, Ph.D., Virginia, 1962.

Rice, Didrikke Moen, A History of the Silver Spring, Maryland Public Library from 1931 to 1951, MLS, Catholic, 1961.

Richards, William McAlpine, An Experiment in Industrial Feudalism at Lonaconing, Maryland, 1837-1860, M.A., Maryland, 1950.

Richardson, Hayes Ayres, License Taxation in Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1938.

Riedel, Erna Maria, History of Home Economics in the State of Maryland, M.S., Maryland, 1936.

Rigdon, Wilson O., The Early History of Education in Harford County, Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1933.

Robins, Ruby Matson, A History of Education in Montgomery County, Maryland from 1776 to 1865 exclusive of the Academies, M.A., Maryland, 1943.

Roddy, Ruth, Sister, A History of Saint Joseph College Library, 1902-1955, Emmitsburg, Maryland, MLS, Catholic, 1956.

Rodriquez, Adelaide Villarreal, A Checklist of Maryland Imprints from 1853 through 1854 with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1953.

Rohr, Charles James, The Governor of Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1931.

Rollo, Florus Timothy, The Political Career of Roger B. Taney, M.A., Catholic, 1937.

Rosenthal, Elaine P., A Checklist of Maryland Imprints for the Year 1863 with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1963.

Roth, Alfred Cyrus, Jr., History of Education in Anne Arundel County, Maryland before 1865, M.A., Maryland, 1944.

Rouleau, James Petrie, The Governors of Maryland and Education, 1850-1950, M.A., Maryland, 1951.

Ruane, Joseph William, The Founding of Saint Mary's College, Baltimore, 1799-1812, M.A., Catholic, 1933.

Rubin, Julius, Imitation by Canal or Innovation by Railroad: A Comparative Study of the Response to the Erie Canal in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, Ph.D., Columbia, 1959.

Rudd, Darrell Lee, La Plata Municipal Government, 1954-1964, M.A., Maryland, 1965.

Rutter, Frank R., South Mexican Trade of Baltimore, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1897 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 15, no. 9).

Ryan, Edmund Granville, S.J., An Academic History of Woodstock College in Maryland (1869-1944): The First Jesuit Seminary in North America, Ph.D., Catholic, 1964.

Ryan, Edmund Granville, S.J., The Early Years of Woodstock College in Maryland (1869-1890): The First Jesuit Seminary in North America, M.A., Catholic, 1962.

—S—

Sanderlin, Walter S., A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, Ph.D., Maryland, 1945.

Schlegel, Laurence, O.S.B., The Publishing House of John Murphy of Baltimore: The First Forty Years, with a List of Publications, MLS, Catholic, 1961.

Schlonick, Myron I., The President and the Senator: Franklin Roosevelt's Attempted "Purge" of Maryland's Millard Tydings in 1938, M.A., Maryland, 1962.

Schmeckebier, Laurence Frederick, History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1800 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.*, ser. 17, nos. 4-5).

Schultz, J. Logan, The Indices of Value and Production of Maryland Agriculture for the Period, 1918-1938, M.S., Maryland, 1940.

Schwartz, Ernest T., Jr., Maryland in the Eyes of German Travelers from 1776-1864, M.A., Maryland, 1959.

Schwartzberg, Joseph Emanuel, A Geographic Analysis of Old Order Amish and Stauffer Mennonite Communities in Southern Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1951.

Semmes, Raphael, The Economic Beginnings of Maryland, 1634-1661, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1927.

Shannon, William Hunter, Public Education in Maryland (1825-1868), M.A., Maryland, 1964.

Shannon, William Hunter, Public Education in Maryland (1825-1868), with Special Emphasis upon the 1860's, Ed.D., Maryland, 1964.

Sheff, Mildred K., The Position of Women of Maryland in the Nineteenth Century, M.A., Maryland, 1946.

Shipley, Alice Mildred, Why George Calvert Favored Religious Toleration, M.A., Maryland, 1966.

Shugart, Gardner, A History of the Maryland State Teachers Association, M.A., Maryland, 1933.

Silver, John Archer, The Provisional Government of Maryland (1774-1777), Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1895 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.*, ser. 13, no. 10).

Singleton, Carey Bryan, An Evolution of Land Use in Kent County, Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1953.

Singleton, Evelyn Ellen, Workmen's Compensation in Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1933.

Sioussat, St. George Leakin, Highway Legislation in Maryland and its Influence on the Economic Development of the State, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1889 (Repr. for *Maryland Geological Survey,* 3:105-189).

Skaggs, David Curtis, Jr., Democracy in Colonial Maryland, 1753-1776, Ph.D., Georgetown, 1966.

Smith, Helen Wampler, Montgomery Blair and the Negro, M.A., Maryland, 1967.

Smith, Mary Eleanora, Sister, The Jenkins Family of Baltimore, M.A., Catholic, 1941.

Smith, Ruth Pruvis, The Established Church in Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1941.

Smith, Wilbur Wayne, The Whig Party in Maryland, 1826-1856, Ph.D., Maryland, 1967.

Snyder, William Trammel, Our Rights Asserted, M.A., Maryland, 1966.

Sommerville, Charles William, Robert Goodloe Harper, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1899.

Son, Mal Hee, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland from 1870 to 1920, M.A., Maryland, 1962.

Sowers, Lowell M., The Early History of Education in Washington County, Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1937.

Sparks, Francis E., Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1896 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 14, nos. 11-12).

Spencer, Helen I., A Checklist of Maryland Imprints from 1850 through 1852, with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1953.

Spiro, Joanna H., Thomas Swann and Baltimore: The Mayor and the Municipality, 1856-1860, M.Ed., Loyola College, 1964.

Steiner, Bernard C., The History of University Education in Maryland, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1891 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 9, nos. 3-4).

Stickley, Elizabeth Waller, The Maryland Library Commission, 1902-1921, M.A., George Washington, 1940.

Stone, Richard Gabriel, Hezekiah Niles as an Economist, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1932.

Stoner, Kenneth G., Why Maryland Entered the Revolution, M.A., Maryland, 1929.

Sullivan, Kathryn L., Maryland and France, 1774-1789: A Study in Some Foreign Contacts of an American State during the Revolution and the Confederation, Ph.D., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1935.

Summers, Charles Alvin, A History of Education in Washington County, Maryland, 1865-1900, M.A., Maryland, 1950.

Summers, Festus P., Baltimore and Ohio Railroad: A Study in the Civil War, Ph.D., Univ. of W. Va., 1933.

—T—

Tansill, Charles Callan, The Pennsylvania-Maryland Boundary Controversy, Ph.D., Catholic, n.d.

Taylor, Charlotte Mason, Domestic Architecture of Colonial Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1933.

Taylor, Mary Thomas, O.S.P., A Study of Progress and Needs in the Catholic Secondary Schools of the Archdioceses of Baltimore and Washington between 1945-1960, M.A., Catholic, 1964.

Terwilliger, W. Bird, A History of Literary Periodicals in Baltimore, 1825-1850, M.A., Maryland, 1938.

Thigpen, Neal Dorsey, The Presidential Aspirations of Albert C. Ritchie, M.A., Maryland, 1966.

Thomas, M. Evangeline, S.S.J., Toleration of Non-Christians in Maryland, M.A., Catholic, 1934.

Thomas, Thaddeus Peter, The City Government of Baltimore, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1895 (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 14, no. 2).

Thompson, Janice Marie, Patterns of Population Change in Small Urban Places in Maryland from 1900-1960, M.A., Maryland, 1965.

Thompson, John Howard, Checklist of Maryland Imprints from 1867 through 1869, with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1953.

Thompson, Paul Singer, The Summer Campaign in the Lower Valley, 1864, Ph.D., Virginia, 1966.

Thon, Robert William, Jr., Mutual Savings Banks in Baltimore, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1933.

Tierney, John J., The Life and Letters of Otho Holland Williams, 1775-1783, M.A., Catholic, 1944.

Titus, Thomas R., A Checklist of Maryland Imprints for the Year 1839, with a Historical Introduction, MLS, Catholic, 1963.

Tolliver, Barbara Dierks, Bibliography of the History of Montgomery County, Maryland, MLS, Catholic, 1964.

Tommey, Richard, Fielding Lucas, Jr., First Major Catholic Publisher and Bookseller in Baltimore, Maryland, 1804-1854, MLS, Catholic, 1952.

Turner, Louise Boone, A Maryland Manor in Transition, M.A., Maryland, 1965.

—V—

Vavrina, Vernon Sebastian, The History of Public Education in the City of Baltimore, 1829-1956, Ph.D., Catholic, 1958.

Vardaman, James W., The Baltimore Proprietary and the Growth of the English Colonial Policy, 1630-1691, Ph.D., Vanderbilt, 1958.

Venezky, Adelyn B., Negro Education in the State of Maryland since the Civil War, M.A., Maryland, 1929.

—W—

Ward, George Washington, The Early Development of the Cheaspeake and Ohio Canal Project, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1897, (Repr. in *J.H.U. Stud. in Hist. and Pol. Sci.,* ser. 17, nos. 9-11).

Warren, Robert Daniel, The Pennsylvania-Maryland Boundary Controversy, M.A., Georgetown, 1958.

Watkins, Wilma Louise, Attempts to Establish a Uniform System of Public Education in Maryland, 1852-1864, M.A., Maryland, 1942.

Webb, Erna Mae, Checklist of Maryland Imprints from 1811 through 1814, with a Historical Introduction of the Period, MLS, Catholic, 1954.

Webster, Ralph R., The Development of Public Education in Somerset County, Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1929.

Weinrich, Forna Richard, The Distribution of Tobacco Production in Southern Maryland, M.A., Catholic, 1949.

Wentworth, Evelyn L., County Alignments in Maryland Elections, 1934-1958, M.A., Maryland, 1961.

Werline, Albert W., Problems of Church and State in Maryland, Ph.D., Columbia, 1947.

Whealton, Louis Napoleon, The Maryland and Virginia Boundary Controversy (1688-1894), Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1897.

Whisler, Olive Carroll, Changes in Agriculture: Calvert County, Maryland, 1940-1960, M.A., Maryland, 1965.

White, Frank F., Jr., The 1928 Presidential Election in Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1947.

Whitney, Herbert Chester, The Origin and Development of the Baltimore Junior College, M.A., Maryland, 1949.

Wilhelm, Lewis Webb, Sir George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1884 (Repr. in *Maryland Hist. Soc. Fund Pub.,* no. 20).

Williams, Gertrude A. C., A History of Education in Allegany County, Maryland, 1798-1900, M.A., Maryland, 1937.

Williams, Mary Leona, O.S.P., History and Description of the Baltimore Archdiocesan Library Council, MLS, Catholic, 1960.

Williams, N. Bancroft, An Examination of the Factors leading to the Defeat of Millard E. Tydings in the Maryland Senatorial Election of 1950, M.Ed., Loyola College, 1966.

Wilson, Emily Wanda, The Public Education of Negroes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, M.A., Howard, 1948.

Wise, Mary Charles, Sister, History of the Catholic Church in St. Mary's County, Maryland, M.A., Catholic, 1944.

Wiser, Vivian Doris, The Movement for Agricultural Improvement in Maryland, 1785-1865, Ph.D., Maryland, 1963.

Wiser, Vivian Doris, Negro Colonization by Maryland, 1860-1865, M.A., Maryland, 1939.

Wold, Catherine Theresa, A History of the Washington High School Cadet Corps, 1882-1934, M.A., Maryland, 1935.

Wolman, Margaret, Real Property Tax Delinquency in Baltimore, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1937.

Worthington, Leland Griffity, Forces leading to the Establishment of the Maryland Agricultural College, M.A., Maryland, 1933.

—Y—

Yeager, Mary Hildegarde, Sister, The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and the Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877, Ph.D., Catholic, 1947.

Yonkers, Genevieve A., The Formation of the State Government of Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1937.

Young, Alexander Joseph, Jr., Pre-Civil War Horseracing in Maryland, M.A., Maryland, 1963.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by EDWARD G. HOWARD

Not In Semmes V

By BERNARD DE BRUYN

Robert Heywood—A Journey to America in 1834 . . . 1919.

A JOURNEY TO | AMERICA IN 1834 | BY | ROBERT HEYWOOD | OF THE PIKE, BOLTON | [ornamental leaf] | PRIVATELY PRINTED | 1919.

Collation: (8-$\frac{7}{16}$" x 5-¼") : π^4, 1-7^8.

Signing: $1, 2 signed.

Pagination: 60 leaves: pp. [i]-[iv], v-viii, [1], 2-112. Fleurons of type ornaments on either side of page numerals.

Contents: p. [i] half-title A JOURNEY TO | AMERICA IN 1834, p. [ii] blank, p. [iii] title, p. [iv] One hundred copies printed for | the Editor by J. B. Peace, M.A. | at the University Press | Cambridge. October, 1919., p. v ROUTE, p. vii NOTES, p. [1] DIARY OF A JOURNEY | TO AMERICA | IN 1834, followed by text through p. 110. p. 111 LETTERS.

Binding: quarter white linen and tinted boards. Vertical rectangular paper label on spine: A Journey to America. Rectangular paper label on front cover: [within two rectangular borders of type-ornament fleurons] Diary of a Journey | to America in 1834.

Reference: 3 Clark 54.

Notes: the diary was edited from the MS by Mary (Heywood) Haslam, and the book was designed by Bruce Rogers. The severely limited edition, the interest of the book for members of the Heywood family, and the Bruce Rogers *cachet* combine to make the *Journey* rare and sought after. I am not aware of a copy in Maryland. The only one I have seen (from which this description was prepared) is that in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Heywood toured the United States for his own pleasure, and his diary was obviously a personal one not designed for publication.

In consequence his comments on his trip tend to be both artless and cryptic.

His exposure to Baltimore was only overnight. He arrived on the steamer from Philadelphia late on a June afternoon. After dinner he called on an unnamed young man of Baltimore who took him on a walking tour of the city. Heywood reported: "Greatly disappointed with the Cathedral; only a very plain edifice with two good pictures; charged ¼ dollar by a zealous old Catholic [for a tour of the buliding] . . . Then we walked to a beautiful fine column of white marble, surmounted by a large figure of Washington. Came to the Court House, better than that at Philadelphia; thence to the Exchange. From the column we had a very delightful view of the country all round . . . Bought a large pike for 18 cents. Visited the Museum, also had music and singing and a good imitation of singing birds . . . the bread at Baltimore is very good."

On the way to Washington the next day Heywood commented: "The road to Washington very hilly. Buzzards, a species of eagle soaring high in the air. Some disturbance by Indians, muskets placed in threes and fours. The soldiers and officers in curious working dress, the land generally very poor."

How came Indians to be disturbing the Baltimore-Washington post road in 1834? And what soldiers contained them with muskets in array? Heywood, equally concerned with buzzards and land quality, does not say.

NOTES ON THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

By Bayly Ellen Marks, Manuscripts Curator

Throughout its history, the Society has acted as a repository for valuable records of existing institutions. Although it is no longer the Society's policy to accept long-term deposits, records of several Baltimore organizations, which were former deposits, are now in the Society's collections.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Baltimore, founded in 1696, has given the Society possession of its records since 1710. While a fire in 1854 destroyed many of the vestry records, the church registers were saved and are complete from 1710 to 1935, with typed transcripts and indexes. Some of the early vestry records saved include pew rents (1769-1792), a "test" book with names of vestrymen (1785-1836), and various financial records from 1798 to 1811; vestry minutes begin in 1878 and run to 1931, with a letterbook of 1903-04. Records exist of services for the first two decades of the twentieth century, with more promised. The collection, *St. Paul's Church Records,* is MS. 1727.

In 1945 the War Records Division of the Society was created to collect and publish records of Maryland's contributions to World War II. This vast collection, which resulted in the publication of four volumes entitled *Maryland in World War II,* forms the focal point of a growing interest in twentieth century archives. Running from 1945 to 1965, it includes approximately 237,000 copies of separations from service records of Maryland veterans, as well as questionnaires and newspaper clippings relative to the state's military, industrial, and civilian defense services. Also included are extensive materials on home front volunteer activities. The Collection is still housed in its own quarters, designated MS. 2010.

The Land Office of the City of Baltimore has contributed some of its earliest records to the care of the Society. Ninety-three boxes of unclaimed Baltimore City deeds (1792-1865) are included in MS. 2011. The reasons for the unclaimed status of the deeds are unclear; presumably death circumvented claiming the deed. Nonetheless, they have been carefully filed, along with pertinent plats and street plans, in alphabetical order by vendee within each year.

Also received have been the private papers of *William Henry*

Daneker, MS. 1705, the gift of Mr. John Pentz, covering Daneker's career from Male Central High School in Baltimore City in 1858 through his residence at Woodbury in the Jones Falls valley, now a part of the city, but in his time a portion of Baltimore County. Daneker's student records consist of the usual school exercises, including poems and essays, and some accounts of the male senior class of the Exeter Sunday School. Like many young men of his generation, Daneker fought in the Civil War, rising from the rank of sergeant to lieutenant in the Union army. His accounts of ordnance stores and pay of the 9th Maryland Volunteers and a letter written in 1866 concerning the death of one of his men give a poignant view of one young man's growth from boy to man as a result of the war. Material on Daneker after the war, terminating in 1889, is limited to his rent book from Woodberry. Also included in the collection are daybooks and accounts (1852-1853) of "William Henry Daneker, Commission Merchant," who does not appear in any city directories but dealt in dry goods, tobacco, and clothing in Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis. The younger Daneker appears to have had no part of this business, as his letter of application for the position of bookkeeper with Evans, Peters & Co. in 1858 appears in their 1852-1861 ledger. The eight volumes and twenty-two items cover 1852 to 1889.

Nineteenth Century life in Port Tobacco, Charles County is brought into focus through the *John W. Mitchell Port Tobacco Records,* MS. 1728, gift of Mr. J. Richard Rivoire. Mitchell, admitted to the bar in 1844, was only one of a family of lawyers whose papers span seventy-five years in Charles County. Their law practice, from Walter Mitchell and William B. Stone's partnership in 1842 through the practice of John H. Mitchell, who died in 1901, covered all aspects of the southern Maryland community. Wills, inventories, accounts, with local stores, material on Charles County politics and the Democratic party in the 1870's, as well as John H. Mitchell's school work at Charlotte Hall Academy, St. Mary's County (1850-1860) is included. There is also a considerable amount of material on the county court, including a trial docket from 1878, numerous petitions, complaints, county tax receipts, voters lists from 1879, a list of "Good Democrats" in 1880, and Justices of the Peace in 1878. Accounts of various Port Tobacco stores begin in 1820 and include sales of food, textiles, tobacco, etc., to 1889. The collection of 542 items covers 1768 to 1935.

GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS

By Mary K. Meyer

The results from the first two articles that appeared in this space have been most gratifying, and we would like to pass these results along to our readers.

The first article described the manuscript collection of the late Maria Ewing Martin (G-5076), consisting of twenty-eight volumes and three boxes of Beall family genealogical material. In that article we expressed the hope that some interested person would come forward with an offer to assist in arranging or indexing the collection in order to make the information contained therein more usable to our readers.

In response to our plea, Mrs. Marian Shallcross of Hyattsville, Maryland and Mrs. Margaret Cook of Oxon Hill, Maryland have offered to assume the task of calendaring Mrs. Martin's collection. Mrs. Shallcross and Mrs. Cook, both experienced genealogists and tireless researchers of Beall family genealogy for a period of years, plan to publish a definitive Beall family genealogy in the near future.

The response to our second article in reference to the Society's collection of church registers was equally rewarding. Through a most generous gift from Mrs. Norris A. Harris of Glen Burnie, Maryland, the Society has been enabled to purchase the necessary card index, cabinets and other supplies to build and house a master index of our parish registers. Mrs. Harris' gift was made in memory of her late husband, Norris A. Harris. The Harrises shared a lifelong interest in genealogy, and were active in numerous hereditary and patriotic societies.

The establishment of the Norris A. Harris Church Register Index is to be counted one of the more important events in Maryland genealogy for many years. Only one other state in the United States —Connecticut—has a comparable master index, albeit the Barbour Index of Connecticut consists of vital records as well as church records.

Another happening of prime importance to the field of Maryland genealogy took place the first of this year when the Maryland Historical Society entered into an arrangement with the Maryland Genealogical Society, whereby the latter now occupies a room in the Historical Society building. This arrangement coming at this

particular time proved to be fortuitous. Not only has the Genealogical Society found permanent headquarters at long last, but can provide additional assistance to the readers in the Historical Society Library through volunteer help.

Six of these volunteers have been working since January, indexing the church registers in the Society's collection as part of the Norris A. Harris Church Register Index program. As the indexing of each register is completed, the register is retired from the stacks, and searchers may now use the new Harris Index for information from those registers. To date, a number of registers have been completed, and the Harris Index has become a reality. A project of this magnitude cannot be finished in a month, or even a year; it will of necessity grow slowly, but it will surely become one of the finest genealogical sources in America.

The Maryland Genealogical Society, now in its Tenth Anniversary year, maintains one room, housing its library, at Historical Society headquarters. This room is open to the public each Saturday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., and at other times to non-residents by special appointment. Non-residents wishing to make such an appointment may write Mr. Robert W. Barnes, 1204 Silverthorne Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

The MGS library is staffed by Genealogical Society personnel only and on a volunteer basis. Only officers of the MGS and certain authorized personnel have access to the MGS library. A list of such authorized personnel may be obtained from the MGS Librarian, Mrs. Esther B. Anderton, 6217 Groveland Road, Linthicum, Maryland 21090.

The Historical Society has recently purchased the remaining copies of the Lucas Genealogy from the estate of the author, Mrs. Annabelle Kemp. This book traces the Lucas family, which had its American origin in Maryland, and it is considered one of the better genealogies published on a Maryland family within the last decade. Originally priced to sell at $15.00, the books are now being offered for sale by the Society at a reduced price of $12.50. Orders may be sent to the Publications Office of the Maryland Historical Society.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895 to 1911. By JAMES B. CROOKS. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Pp. x, 259. $8.50.)

At long last, accomplished assessments of local history are appearing with laudable frequency. Professor James B. Crooks' contribution in this effort is especially noteworthy. With our current concern with urban affairs, it is refreshing to realize that earlier generations of Americans struggled with problems not unlike our own. Crooks clearly describes how some of the major problems of Baltimore were identified and the organizations which developed to attempt their solution. Successes and failures are highlighted by a comparison with the experiences of other contemporary urban reform movements.

The stress laid on the origins of the reformers and their motivation leads one to identify Crooks with the Hofstadter-Mowry thesis regarding the status-conscious upper and middle class origins of progressivism (Chapter VIII). However Crooks does provide the reader with additional evidence and assumptions regarding the stimulation of an individual's progressive effort. He selects four areas of experience (family background, education, religion, and adult activities) in order to demonstrate that progressives shared parallel development. In addition, Crooks notes the role played by new-stock Americans and indicates by his tables in Chapter II that the working class lent support to reform efforts. Unfortunately, he doesn't explore, in depth, the reasons for this development or its consequences.

The book is based on extensive research in original letters and records. The relevant secondary material has been effectively used. Because of this effort the book abounds in detail although it doesn't interrupt the even flow of the narrative. The illustrations are well chosen, but additional maps would have enhanced the reader's appreciation of Crooks' description of Baltimore's environs.

Eastern Illinois University DAVID J. MAURER

The Politics of the Universe; Edward Beecher, Abolition, and Orthodoxy. By ROBERT MERIDETH. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968. Pp. xiii, 274. Bibliographic essay, index. $5.95.)

However skeptical we may be toward Merideth's claim that Edward Beecher's intellectual dilemmas were a paradigm of the intellectual conflict that marked mid-nineteenth century America, we can only admire his achievement in writing this unusual book.

Beecher was one of the many accomplished children of the famous New England divine Lyman Beecher, who, someone has said, was the father of more brains than anyone else in America. The family reached a climax of public acclaim in the 1850's when Harriet published *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Edward published *Conflict of Ages,* a massive theological exposition, Henry Ward achieved enormous popularity as a preacher in Brooklyn, New York, and other Beecher children who are not so well known today made accomplishments of only slightly less magnitude.

So far as most historians have known, Edward's fame derives from the facts that he was in Alton, Illinois, in the fall of 1837 during the tumultuous days just before the murder there of the abolitionist Elijah P. Lovejoy, and that soon afterward he wrote an historical and literary gem interpreting the event, *Narrative of Riots at Alton,* a work that I described elsewhere as "perhaps the most eloquent defense of freedom of inquiry ever written in this country."

Now Merideth resurrects Beecher's later, nearly forgotten writings, especially his *Conflict of Ages,* to support the claim that he occupied the very forefront of the theological—and hence the political—controversies of his time (Merideth insists on making precisely this identification of theology with politics). Beecher hoped to become the "moral Copernicus" of America. That is, he planned by his theological tomes to set the nation on a new course. He sought to resolve the conflict between the nineteenth century impulse toward social reform and the inhibiting orthodox doctrine of man's fall. He sought to reconcile theological orthodoxy and radical politics. He hoped to accomplish these feats through the peculiar doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and a suffering God.

Merideth detects an awareness of slavery as a great national sin pervading nearly everything Beecher wrote (yet he is termed a "conservative" abolitionist). He influenced his sister Harriet's opinions regarding slavery and theology, Merideth claims, and thereby helped shape *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which was published in the same year as his own *Conflict of Ages.*

Merideth seems to imply an influence for Beecher beyond the demonstrable. Such exaggeration would constitute a serious flaw in a conventional biography. But this is not orthodox history or biography. It is a work of great originality that breaks new paths to historical research and understanding. To accomplish his purpose, Merideth need not have proved Beecher's "influence." It is enough for him to see reflected in Beecher's mind and works the central concerns of his time; for *The Politics of the Universe* is one of the first attempts to apply to an historical subject the methods of the new criticism as developed by Bernard Bowron, Leo Marx, and Arnold Rose. Meri-

deth's aim is to use their techniques of literary analysis to write a chapter in "the history of culture and consciousness" in America.

Many historians in their willingness to learn from—and perhaps to be—social scientists have adopted some of the insights of sociologists and psychologists, and have attempted to use their techniques of research and analysis. But fewer have cared to remember that history is also literature; thus, with notable exceptions, historians have not so freely borrowed from the methods of the literary critics. Merideth, who directs the American Studies program at Miami University, demonstrates that this still novel approach can yield fresh understanding. We can learn much about Beecher and the nineteenth century from this book, but we will find it still more important for revealing new dimensions and possibilities for our craft.

The Ohio State University MERTON L. DILLON

The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, The Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, The Younger (1722-1797). By AUBREY C. LAND. 2nd Printing. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, Pp. xi, 333 + notes, bibl., index. $8.95.)

In 1956, Professor Clinton Rossiter, reviewing the first printing of Professor A. C. Land's *Dulanys of Maryland,* remarked that the work possesses an awareness "that history is, among other things, a form of art." (*W. & M.,* 3rd series, XIII, 268-70.)

Of course, among the other things, history is a science in its methods and unrelenting pursuit of truth. But every historian suffers a wearing of this credo when he comes to the task of placing his findings on the printed page, or even as he searches out material. As Land states in the Preface to the second printing: the historian's "most important perceptions cannot really be documented, however meticulous his research or voluminous his writing notes." But he must live with his conscience, known professionally as integrity, and cannot trespass upon what he feels to be truth.

The author's brief statement of his historical philosophy clearly evidences why this contribution, in every sense humanistic in its approaches, has become a classic work. Despite what surely were nearly insurmountable difficulties, because of the sparseness of materials, Professor Land combined thoroughness of research and a keenness of literary effort in relating the story of the father, Dulany and his son. Furthermore, as past reviewers have pointed out, the work goes beyond an unusual biographical study; it is also a political, economic, and social history of eighteenth century Maryland. It is witty and

charming; it has employed a good knowledge of life and humankind; but more, it beckons the perspicacious scholar toward further work, embracing these high standards, about our nation's colonial past and her people.

Georgetown University RICHARD WALSH

The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856. By PHOEBE B. STANTON. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968. Pp. xxiv, 350. Illustrations and index. $12.95.)

It is difficult to classify this volume. While it is definitely a history of an architectural style, it is also an important account of one phase of a religious movement within the Anglican and Episcopal churches, and the story of the strivings toward professional and critical standards made by American architects in the middle of the nineteenth-century.

The author, a professor of Fine Arts at the Johns Hopkins University, contends that the Gothic revival in church architecture in the United States had its basic roots in the Oxford Movement in England and in this movement's desire for greater formality in church liturgy and visual opulence in church architecture. She sees the architectural movement as a reaction to the classical revival and its inherent secularism in church and art. The English reformers wished to separate the church from "corrupting secular attachments" and saw a revival of Gothic architecture as functional for ceremony and also "suggestive of a splendid moment in the national past."

Gothic revivalism came to the United States largely as a result of the missionary efforts of the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society). The gospel preached by this Society was that the architecture of an age "illustrates its inner strengths, and weaknesses" and that the architectural profession could be an influence for good or evil on the times. To the author, the Society was militant in character because it insisted that the "teachings of the Church were embodied to the 'eye of sense' by architecture." Professor Stanton believes that the Society's particular contribution to America was its championing of the medieval parish church as a model for what it quaintly termed "the colonies."

The Ecclesiological Society had a direct influence on American architecture by interesting reform-minded clergymen in its activities, such as the Right Reverend G. W. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, and the Right Reverend W. R. Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland; by the immigration of ecclesiologically committed architects to the United

States, such as Frank Wills; by its conversion of American architects to its cause, such as Richard Upjohn; by its supply of actual plans to be used by American parishes in their building programs, such as St. James the Less, Philadelphia; and by example, such as the establishment of the New York Ecclesiological Society. The American Society's publication, the *New York Ecclesiologist,* was the first journal in the United States devoted solely to architecture. The author claims that it possessed "character, individuality, and independence of mind," and that it was a major influence in the professionalization of architecture in America.

Maryland readers might be particularly interested in Professor Stanton's comments on Bishop Whittingham, a High Churchman, who, once he was able to establish control of his Diocese, was responsible for the construction of many new church buildings and the restoration and remodeling of existing buildings in a style acceptable to the ecclesiologists. The volume includes many illustrations of Maryland churches built under the Bishop's influence in Gothic revival style.

The influence of the Gothic revival has been long lasting, but as a major design style, it did not "endure as a revolutionary force." It did endure long enough to challenge the Georgian and Greek revivals and to bring about fundamental changes in architectural principles. As a lasting principle, Professor Stanton claims the revival expanded knowledge of the history of architecture and demonstrated that in "buildings of quality" use had been "visible in" and had "directed design." In other words, form had followed function.

This interestingly done volume is the first in an ambitious new series, the Johns Hopkins Studies in Nineteenth-Century Architecture, which will include a variety of books on many nineteenth-century architectural themes. Professor Stanton is general editor of the new series.

Florida Atlantic University DONALD W. CURL

The History of Montgomery County, Maryland, from its Earliest Settlement in 1650 to 1879. By T. H. S. BOYD. (Photo-offset reprint of the first edition of 1879. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1968. Pp. 2, x, 9-187. $7.50.)

Boyd's *History of Montgomery County* is one of the rarest (though by no means the most informative or learned) of Maryland's county histories. This reprint, despite its faults, is therefore a welcome addition to the list of easily accessible local reference works. Among the book's virtues is its directory of Montgomery County towns which classifies the residents of each by occupation.

The reprint contains a nineteen page index of names that does not appear in the original edition. As far as it goes, it is of benefit to historian and genealogist alike. But the index quite inexcusably omits twenty-four pages devoted to descriptions of "Prominent Mercantile Firms" of Georgetown, Washington, and Frederick. These names, both personal and institutional, are equal in importance to those contained in the text proper. They could and should have been indexed.

It is also unfortunate that the reprinter has reproduced the first (1879) rather than the second (1880) edition. The texts are identical (and are from the same setting of type), but the second edition contains fourteen additional pages of descriptions of other "Prominent Mercantile Firms" of Washington, Alexandria, Rockville, and Baltimore (plus a leaf of display advertisements) not present in the first edition.

Reprinters have an obligation to select the most useful text when they reproduce a scarce work. Boyd's second edition, though seemingly a rarer bird than the first, is not unknown. The Regional Publishing Company should have reprinted it.

Baltimore EDWARD G. HOWARD

Coasting Captain Journals of Leonard S. Tawes, Relating His Career in Atlantic Coastwise Sailing Craft from 1868 to 1922. Edited by ROBERT H. BURGESS. (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariners Museum, 1967. Pp. 461. $8.50.)

After a lapse of many years, The Mariners Museum has again entered the publishing field, not however with materials in its own collections, but with a series of reminiscences based on journals kept by Captain Tawes, now in the possession of his granddaughter. Had these journals come from the pen of a deep water skipper, they would have met so much competition that it is doubtful that they would have seen print, but being devoted primarily to the seafaring trade along our East Coast, they have an interest far greater than the usual China or California voyage. No Cape Horner had a more dangerous track to follow than that across Nantucket Shoals or past Hatteras. Sailing up the Pearl River to Whampoa Reach was no more difficult than up the narrow torturous St. John's or Savannah or Cape Fear. Granted the 3-masted schooner *City of Baltimore* which Captain Tawes commanded for so many years was a far handier vessel than an East Indiaman or even a Clipper which invariably took local pilots, whereas Captain Tawes frequently had to act on his own judgement and his Eastern shoreman's nose for shoal waters. Occasionally Captain

Tawes did "go foreign" as voyages to South America's East Coast or the West Indies were called, but even these were little more than extensions of his voyages along the American Atlantic Coast. He brought his schooner through them all, fair wind and hurricane with hardly any serious damage for the twenty years Captain Tawes commanded her. She ended her days abandoned at Nassau.

Very little has been written first hand about the coasting trade which was far greater in volume than our foreign trade was at any time, and yet the latter has been covered time after time. We welcome this book on our shelves, and we are glad the editing has been so well done, preserving for us just about the only evidence of the trade and the typical men in it. One only regrets we have not been given one or two maps to cover the scenes of Captain Tawes' career.

The Kendall Whaling Museum M. V. BREWINGTON

Liberty and Authority: Early American Political Ideology, 1689-1763. By LAWRENCE H. LEDER. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968. Pp. 167. $5.50.)

This small volume attempts to show the continuous development of colonial political thought from the Glorious Revolution until 1763. Professor Leder writes that the "perpetual struggle in every colony between privilege and prerogative" is the central issue of his investigation. But he is not dealing with the practical demands made by the colonials but the theory behind these movements. How much thought did the Americans give to the theoretical framework of government and man's relation to the state? How prepared were they to meet the challenges presented by the events after 1763? It is to these questions that Dr. Leder addresses himself.

To omit discussion of the political reasons for the development of ideology is a serious error on the part of the author. What Dr. Leder has done is to outline the theoretical basis in a vacuum and this is not satisfactory. In New Jersey in the 1740's and 1750's the struggle over the question of ownership of large tracts of land helped determine the outcome of relations between the governor and the assembly. And this struggle influenced the concepts of government.

The author's basic source for discovering the answers is in the public printed word: newspaper and pamphlets. How accurate these sources are for determining the political beliefs of the general populace is open to question. If they were no closer a reflection than today's papers, then the basis of the book is seriously jeopardized. But, Dr. Leder contends that the newspaper accurately mirrored public opinions. And, in fact,

he finds that the press played a prime role in defining political attitudes.

While the colonials were able to reach "certain clear and definite conclusions" on the meaning of the terms "constitution" and "British constitution," they were unable to arrive at a similar stance on their several constitutions. Leder attributes the failure to the three types of government (corporate, proprietary, and crown) and the peculiar situations in each of the colonies. The varied reactions to British actions after 1763 can be traced to the problem of developing a unified theoretical framework upon which to build their case against Whitehall.

The pragmatic nature of American society prevented a solution to the most important issue of all: "an adequate definition of the relationship of the colonies and the mother country." As long as the Americans were able to control their own destiny, they were unconcerned with the larger question of where the locus of power was located. After 1763, when the question became all important the colonials were unprepared to meet it squarely, and they came off second best in the controversy with England. To Dr. Leder this was the fatal flaw in the development of American political thought.

Liberty and Authority is a useful study for those who want to understand the events after 1763 because it sets the background for the arguments raised by the Americans. It establishes that the Americans had been concerned with the ideological basis for their government for long decades before the final break. More importantly, it sets forth the growth of American political ideology pre-Revolution and therefore fills an existing void in our knowledge of that period. And finally, it opens new areas for further study.

Adelphi University GARY S. HOROWITZ

Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation. By JAMES P. BAUGHMAN. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968, Pp. 302, with index. $10.00.)

Professor James P. Baughman, professor of Business History in Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, has produced an excellent study of an outstanding businessman of nineteenth century America. This is another volume in the ever expanding business history shelf which is keenly appreciated, especially after reading his note on sources showing where his search has led him.

As the material on the dust jacket states, "Charles Morgan is a classic example of an easterner with capital and purpose who found profitable employment for his resources in the less-developed area of

the South. He began opportunistically, but his enterprises soon became an important factor in regional economic growth." This is what Baughman shows in some ten well-organized chapters. A very little attention is given to his family background and personal life; rather it is a story of his business and public life.

In an early chapter, the author defines certain economic and business terms which are necessary for studying the man and his business ventures. After this, the story evolves in terms that can be understood by student and layman alike.

Morgan, a contemporary of Cornelius Vanderbilt, became a leading steamboat and railroad specialist of his generation. Starting in New York, he became an owner-manager and general entrepreneur in the Atlantic Coastal Shipping and Transport world. Actually he was a pioneer, as early as 1830, in the field of common carriage. He decided, following this interest, to enter the economic life of the Mexican Gulf, which enabled him to find great opportunities awaiting him in the Mexican and Civil Wars and also the Gold Rush. Not only did he have control of the Steamship lines, but also, he bought stock in the gigantic Louisiana and Texas Railroad and Steamship Line, which spread into the States bordering the Gulf.

The story is continued to cover the 1880's when the Morgan lines became a part of the vast Southern Pacific Railroad Company stretching from San Francisco to New Orleans. This event is shown as marking the end of an era in the closely controlled family enterprise with his sons and son-in-law involved and the rise of an impersonal national corporation. Prior to this then, there was a Morgan empire of transportation stretching from New York to Mexico. Through the story, Baughman has shown Charles Morgan in the context of his times or the interaction of the business magnate in the surroundings he helped shape or was shaped by.

The footnotes are both quite complete and accurate, likewise the tables and bibliography are exceedingly useful to the student. This study is a great contribution to the business history of the nation.

Washington and Lee University CHARLES W. TURNER

Maryland Architecture: A Short History from 1634 through the Civil War. By H. CHANDLEE FORMAN. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1968. Pp. xvi, 102. $6.00.)

To anyone not familiar with the author's work, this book should prove tantalizing in its brevity. In his acknowledgment to himself, the author admits that there is little new in it. Those who have his earlier works on their shelves may be a little disappointed to find that this

slim volume is culled, in its main, from them. If, however, they have enjoyed his uniquely serious attempt to record a unique culture, they will in turn enjoy his fresh additions to that record.

In spite of poor photographic reproduction—which may be due to the age, rarity or to the personal non-commercial quality of most of them—the volume is a beautiful compilation of type and page composition. The author's own drawings are delightful and somehow strangely suited to a treatise on the area, particularly to the Eastern Shore.

The book runs the course from Maryland's early medieval full circle to Maryland's gothic of the mid-1800's, from the cottage of St. Mary's City to Strickland's church in Easton. The latter points up, since Strickland is scarely thought of as a gothicist, the diversity of Maryland styles, as both cottage and church point up their simplicity.

This is a survey covering two hundred and thirty-some years of what is possibly the most diverse culture of its time. As such it could serve as an important introduction to that culture for anyone approaching it for the first time. More broadly, the author's experience in teaching has made possible a scholar's book with genuine appeal to the lay reader; in this he contributes to a balance of science and the liberal arts which is essential to our continuance.

Maryland is supposed to be divided by the Chesapeake Bay. Yet, compared with the national canvass, there is much in common between the Eastern Shore and the Maryland Main. Their British and German origins are tempered by the Quaker influence with its simplicity of expression suited to the whole area. Nor is the resultant flavor confined to the boundaries of the State: it extends well into Delaware, south through the lower Shore counties and most certainly into the Shenandoah Valley where practically nothing has been done to record a strong architectural tradition.

Dr. Forman is of the Eastern Shore with Quaker forebears in Winchester of the Shenandoah Valley. It would be well if he would go on to do for that little-known region between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies what he has done for the Bay area.

Bozman, Maryland IAN C. MACCALLUM

The Early Settlers of Maryland, 1633-1680. Ed. by GUST SKORDAS, with a foreword by Morris L. Radoff. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968. Pp. xi, 525. $15.00.)

In 1917, Arthur Trader, Chief Clerk in the Land Commissioner's office, prepared a typed list of the index to the early settlers of Maryland. Five copies in all were made, of which only two were deposited

in Maryland—at the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Maryland Historical Society. Thus it has remained comparatively unknown to all but the habitues of these two institutions.

Trader was aware of some of its limitations, but it has been left to Mr. Skordas, Assistant Archivist, State of Maryland, to check and correct and rework the whole list; and now for the first time there is an accurate alphabetical index to names of immigrants compiled from records of land patents, 1633-1680, in the Hall of Records. As Dr. Radoff notes, "Since the land was given free on demand, we can assume that most, if not all, of the immigrants to Maryland for the first fifty years, are listed." No lists of passengers or ships are extant, and so this work is unique, and there is nothing comparable in any other state. Although it might be considered as first rate material for genealogists, its importance to historians should not be overlooked, and editor and publisher are to be congratulated for placing such a fine tool in the hands of researchers.

Maryland Historical Society P. W. Filby

NOTES AND QUERIES

Association for The Study of Negro Life and History—The 54th Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will be held on Thursday—Sunday, October 9-12, 1969 at the Tutwiler Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama. Persons interested in proposing sessions or papers should write to the Program Chairman, Walter Fisher, Department of History, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, 21212.

Baltimore Museum of Art Exhibition—The Museum would like to locate, in the Maryland and Washington areas, paintings by Maryland artist Hugh Bolton Jones, for a small exhibition planned for this fall. Please direct all replies to William Voss Elder, III, Curator of Decorative Arts, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland, 21218.

Study Commission Seeks Folklife Information—In 1968 the Maryland General Assembly passed a joint resolution asking for the creation of a gubernatorial commission to study: the need for a central archive and regional archives of Maryland folklife; and the need to coordinate all agencies, groups, and individuals in the State toward the preservation of its folklife. The Study Commission on Maryland Folklife, since appointed, has begun its survey of the State as to what has been done, what is being done, and what the will of interested and informed groups and individuals is concerning preservation of Maryland's folklife. To accomplish this purpose, the Commission has prepared a questionnaire directed to groups which may have holdings or whose objectives may be related to Maryland folklife. Such groups may obtain copies of this questionnaire by writing the Study Commission on Maryland Folklife, P.O. Box 30052, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014.

Genealogical Information Needed

McGRAW, Catherine. b. 12 May 1887, Md. m. 14 Feb. 1906, Baltimore, husband, Francis Xavier George (b. 30 Mar. 1884, Baltimore), left orphan on death of both parents. Need all information on father, William McGraw, mother (maiden name unknown), brothers, John and James, and sister, Mary A. Buser (nee McGraw).

GEORGE, ANDREW. b. c. 1857, Baltimore, Md. son of Francis J. (b. 1826, Prussia) and Roscena Welsbach (b. 1824, Prussia). wife, Catherine (b.c. 1858, Penna., maiden name not known). Need all information on both parents, Andrew, Catherine, and siblings (2 sons, 4 daughters?).

Please send all replies to Francis Xavier George, Jr., 229 Smith Road, Danville, California, 94526.

COVER — *View of Baltimore from Federal Hill. c. 1870. From a Photograph. Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

1968

For the Maryland Historical Society the year 1968 was one of substantial significance. The most visible accomplishment was the complete renovation of the Keyser Memorial Building, including the Enoch Pratt Mansion, under the diligent and knowledgeable direction of Mr. Abbott L. Penniman, Jr., Co-chairman of the Trustees of the Athenaeum. A less evident accomplishment, but one more important to the world of scholars, was the publication of *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society,* a long-desired achievement that will encourage and give time-saving direction to researchers in the history of the colony and the state. Another important scholarly contribution was the completion of a study by Dr. Paul F. Norton of the University of Massachusetts, as to the feasibility of publishing the drawings, papers and sketches of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The survey, the cost of which was met through the generous interest of the National Historical Publications Commission, found that publication of the papers not only would be feasible, but also would constitute a highly desirable contribution to the academic world. Funds to begin this project are diligently being sought.

It is pleasant to report that despite a year of unusual expenditures —many of them of a non-recurring nature—the Society was able to continue its recently begun and modest programs of sorely needed restoration in its library, manuscripts and museum departments. Too, for the first time in many years, each department not only has been able to keep abreast of incoming accessions, but also to nibble consistently at its large backlog of unfinished work and to begin, on a small scale, the preparation of new indices as well as the refining of old ones.

Further, it is encouraging to note that memberships in the Society grew from 3,388 as of December 31, 1967, to 3,548 at the end of 1968. The present total breaks down as follows: individual, 1,802; contributing, 380; husband and wife, 1,167; sustaining, 56; donor, 32; life, 100; patron, 4; and student, 7. Much of the gain is attributable to a membership campaign initiated late in the year by Mr. Charles P. Crane. The campaign will continue.

It is my greatest pleasure, however, to report that the better facilities and expanded services being rendered to members and to the general public since the recent expansion into the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building have resulted in an attendance for the year of 39,942 persons—approximately 15,000 more than in any previous year.

These and other evidences of service to members and to the public could not have been accomplished without the help of many efficient and faithful volunteers in all departments. Their number has increased to the extent that space precludes their names being listed, but special mention should be made of the growing program of the Junior League guides who now are not only conducting guided tours of the Society's collections but also are presenting slide-illustrated talks on Maryland history in school classrooms. To all of the Society's service-oriented volunteers go the deep and warm thanks of the governing Council.

Generous gifts to the Society's several collections as well as monetary contributions, either for specific purposes or for general operational expenses, continue to indicate approval of our activities and to merit the whole-hearted appreciation of the entire Society. Particular thanks go to the donor (who prefers to remain anonymous) of the wall, fence and gates along Monument Street; to those who are assisting in the conversion of the former art gallery to a rare book room, and to all of those donors whose names were listed in the Spring 1969 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

In addition to carrying on their overload of routine work, many members of the staff attended a number of professional meetings, often partially or wholly at their own expense. Mr. P. W. Filby, Librarian and Assistant Director, contributed numerous book reviews to *Library Journal, Research Quarterly, American Notes* and other periodicals; Miss Bayly Marks, Curator of Manuscripts, and Mrs. Lois McCauley, Curator of Graphics, reviewed for *Library Journal;* and Miss Marks and Mrs. Mary Meyer, Genealogical Librarian, initiated updating reports in their special fields which will appear regularly in the *Maryland Historical Magazine.* The Director, Mr. Harold Manakee, was the author of a brochure titled *Maryland—A Students' Guide to Localized History* which was published by the Teachers College Press of Columbia University.

Such accomplishments notwithstanding, the Society still has many pressing needs, because improvements in its programs result in calls

for more and wider services. Additional personnel is needed in almost every department, and the necessity for an exhibits technician and at least one full-time stenographer is urgent. Upon the re-opening of the Keyser Memorial Building the employment of several more guards will be critically necessary. Restoration programs have been neglected so long that funds to expand their modest beginnings are most desirable. In this area the Director issues a particular plea for liberal donations to restore a dilapidated sedan chair believed to have belonged to Sir Robert Eden, the last proprietary governor of Maryland.

The long hoped for publication of the Latrobe Papers—if, indeed, the project eventuates—will require 10 to 12 years of work by a sizable and highly competent staff as well as a very large sum of money. A crying need of long standing is a one-volume survey of Maryland history written to the standards of modern scholarship. Not only should the Society sponsor such a volume, but also it should be in a position to encourage and aid the production of a series of monographs on various Maryland subjects and personalities, especially those of the post-Civil War era.

Though funds are available for the installation of the Darnall Young People's Museum of Maryland History, the possibility exists that the Darnall bequest, generous as it was, will not be sufficient to cover operational costs. In addition, the "explosion in education" has resulted in greater demands on the Society. School officials often have urged the Director to expand the Society's educational services by such means as: sponsoring the volume in Maryland history mentioned above; establishing workshops in Maryland history for teachers; organizing Saturday programs for young people; and adding substantially to the present 24 titles in the series known as the Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History.

Clearly, then, as the Society grows, it faces growing challenges. These challenges must be met if the Society is to remain a private corporation. So long as the Society's function were confined to a single building, its annual budget was slightly less than $100,000. Since its operations have expanded into two buildings, the budget has zoomed to $225,000 a year, and the sum is not sufficient.* I urge the entire membership to face this problem squarely. Spe-

*The auditor's report has been delayed due to circumstances beyond the company's control. Hopefully it will be published in the next issue of the *Magazine*.

cifically, members can help to increase the Society's income for operational expenses by: obtaining new members; by upgrading the category of their own memberships; by making memorial donations to the Society; and by contributing toward the furtherance of a project related to their special interests. To assist in the growth of the Society's endowment fund members can: subscribe to a minimum membership classification of life membership; remember the Society in their wills, even if only for modest sums; or participate in the Society's newly adopted life insurance policy plan. Since the Society is recognized by the state and federal governments as a non-profit, educational institution, the adoption of any of these procedures will result in tax advantages ranging from modest to substantial.

As president of the Society I join with our membership in looking to the coming year as one of continued growth during which several major projects presently in progress will be completed. Specifically, I refer: to the opening of our new rare book room; to the completion of the period room exhibits in the Keyser Memorial Building, and to its reopening; to the completion and opening of the Darnall Young People's Museum of Maryland History; and to a vigorous move forward in the Society's publication program.

Finally, I express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to the governing Council of the Society, to the various committee members, to the dedicated staff, and especially to the generous donors to the Society for their firm and generous interest and support.

WILLIAM BAXTER
President

PUBLICATIONS

—◆—

Studies in Maryland History

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 . . . . . $ 6.00

Texts and References for School Use

Maryland: A Students' Guide to Localized History. By Harold R. Manakee . . . . . $ .75

The War of 1812 On The Chesapeake Bay. Illustrated paperback. By Gilbert Byron, 1964 . . . . . $ 2.00

My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, Revised edition . . . . . $ 4.50

The Star-Spangled Banner. Illustrated booklet. Description of the writing of our National Anthem by Francis Scott Key . . . . $ .50

Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959 . . . $ 1.80

Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961 . . . $ 4.50

Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (24 titles) . . . . each $ .10

Miscellaneous

The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Avril J. M. Pedley, comp. 1968 . . . . . $15.00

A History of the University of Maryland. By George H. Callcott. Illustrated. 1966 . . . . . $ 7.50

Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By J. Reaney Kelly. Illustrated. 1963 . . . . . $ 5.50

The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . . $ 4.00

History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . . $ 7.50

From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. By Julia A. Drake and J. R. Orndorff. Orndorff Genealogy. Illustrated. 1938 . . . . . $ 5.00

Chesapeake Bay Sailing Craft. By M. V. Brewington. Illustrated pamphlet . . . . . $ .50

Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 $10.00

The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962 . . . . . $10.00

The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland) By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959 . . . . $ 2.00

Lucas Genealogy. Annabelle Kemp, comp. 1964 . . . . . $12.50

World War II

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, *Industry and Agriculture,* 1951; Vol. IV, *Gold Star Honor Roll,* 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp. . . . . each $ 3.25

History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953 . . . . . $ 5.00

Maryland in World War II—Register of Service Personnel, 5 vols. . . . . each $20.00

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Postage and tax, if applicable, extra.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING