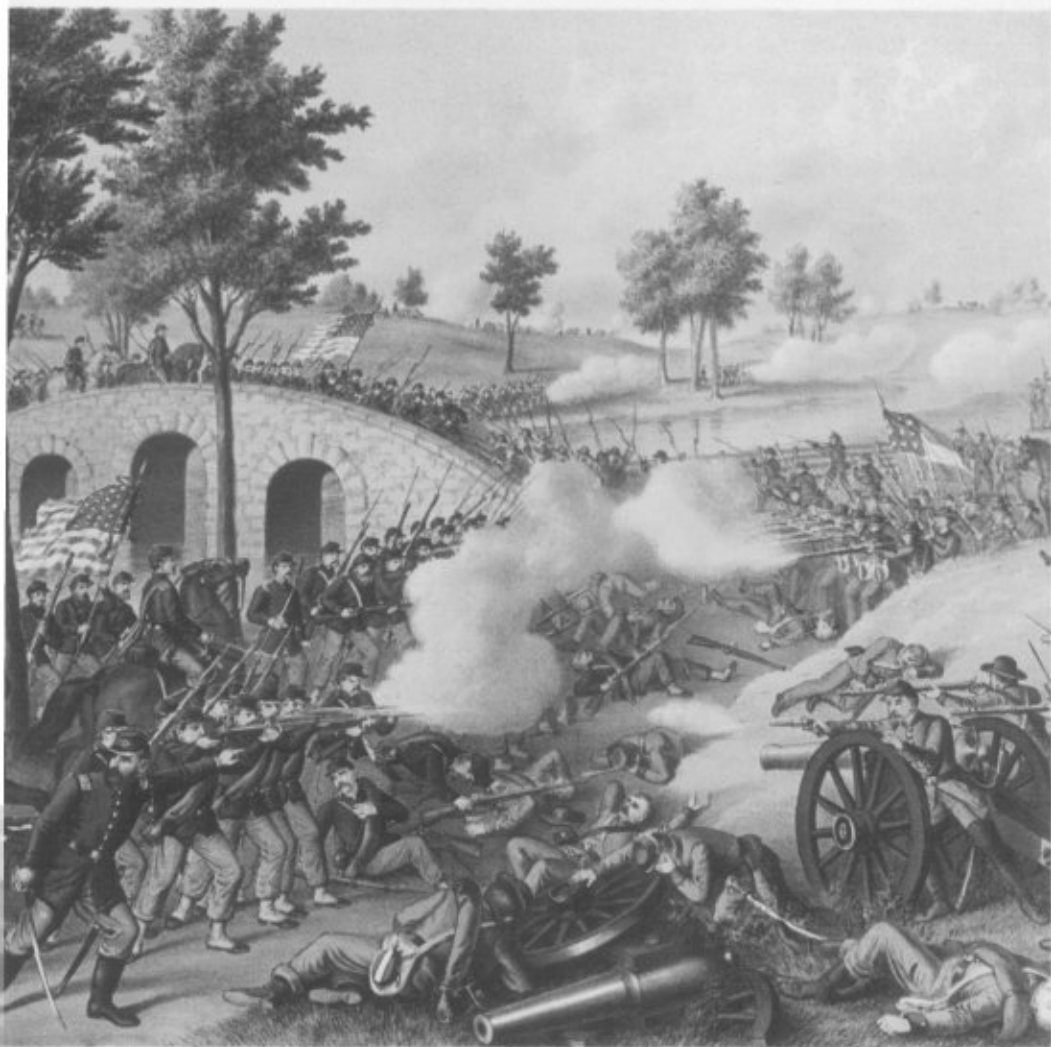


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This issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has been made possible through the generosity of T. Rowland Slingluff, Jr.



E 105 BATTLE OF ANTIETAM. ARMY OF THE POTOMAC; GEN. GEO. B. MCCLELLAN, COMM., SEPT. 17, 1862. . . COPYRIGHTED 1888 BY KURZ & ALLISON ART PUBLISHERS, 76 & 78 WABASH AVE., CHICAGO, U.S.A. ** Lithograph, printed in colors. 44.7x63.2 cm. MdBE.

Lower Bridge southeast of Sharpsburg, one of the many arched limestone bridges over Antietam Creek, was the site of the bloody conflict shown here. After many stubborn attempts, General Burnside's troops reached the west bank of the creek to attack the Confederates who were on higher ground. The scene stresses the conflict of battle, violent but oversimplified. There are vignettes of carnage aplenty as the quiet Antietam winds off in the distance toward the Potomac, having passed the three arches of the bridge known ever since by the name of the general whose troops fought so gallantly to cross it. Tilberg, *Antietam*, p. 40.

Black Republicans on the Baltimore City Council, 1890–1931

SUZANNE ELLERY GREENE

DURING THE FOUR DECADES FOLLOWING 1890, SIX DIFFERENT BLACK REPUBLICANS were victorious in thirteen of eighteen elections and became the representatives of their ward or district in the Baltimore City Council. These elections and the careers of the councilmen hold particular significance because they occurred at the time which marked the lowest point in the numbers of blacks holding elective office anywhere in the United States from the Civil War to the present. The city of Baltimore was almost unique nationally in the continuing presence of blacks in high public office. This fact is true for several different reasons, involving primarily state laws and population distribution.

At the end of the Civil War, the vast majority of the country's black population lived in the former slave states. During and immediately following Reconstruction, when black citizens were enfranchised by United States constitutional amendment, numerous black men were elected to local, state, and federal offices throughout the former Confederacy. Most of those men were Republicans. As Reconstruction waned and the national Republican Party turned its interest away from the post-Civil War South, Democrats gradually reestablished control of state governments there. From 1890 to 1910, those state governments passed a series of laws designed to disenfranchise most Southern blacks and to assure political control by the white Democrats. Because the federal Constitution forbade disqualification based on race, those states employed devices such as the literacy test, the poll tax, and the grandfather clause to achieve their goal. Voters were required to pass a literacy test, pay a poll tax, or both. Frequently, if a man's grandfather had also voted, he would be exempted from all requirements. Although some southern whites lost their vote as a result of these laws, the people most affected were blacks. The net result was that by 1910, only a few southern blacks retained the franchise and, with the exception of a few small all-black towns, nowhere in large enough numbers to elect their fellows to public office.

Blacks living in the North at the end of the Civil War were enfranchised by the same constitutional process that gave southern black men the vote. In the North, state governments did not act to remove that right and blacks continued to vote there throughout the twentieth century. Blacks generally did not elect members of their own race to public office, however, either during Re-

Professor Greene teaches at Morgan State University.

construction or during the early part of the twentieth century, because they did not have a large enough population in any one area.

Thus, the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri were the only areas of the country where blacks both continued to vote in significant numbers and had large enough populations to allow the election of black public officials throughout the end of the nineteenth century and the first several decades of the twentieth century.

In Maryland, where black men stood for election to federal as well as state and local offices, their only victories came in varying city council contests. In Baltimore, Annapolis, and Cambridge, blacks won seats from wards having large black populations. Because of the paucity of black elected officials during this period, the careers of these men bear particular significance.

This article will be limited to a study of the careers in the Baltimore City Council of the six black men who time after time won nomination in the Republican primary and victory in the general election. Little has been written about these six men. This article will focus upon their elections to the City Council, the legislation they were concerned with, and the issues they addressed while serving in that body.

The single most important fact about these men is that they held office when they did. One or two black councilmen could never control the vote of the entire City Council. The extent of their influence is difficult to assess because often other black leaders and other Republican leaders and, sometimes, local Democratic leaders supported the same legislation that the black Republican councilmen did. What is significant is that these men continued to speak out on matters of concern to the black community. They did this both when the black vote was being sought actively and when segregation and racism were openly supported by much of the white population. While never the only voice, the councilmen were in positions of authority where they would be heard by other political leaders in Baltimore. An account of the legislation they sponsored and the matters which concerned them indicates many of the issues that were significant to the black community of Baltimore during this period.

The power and influence of these Republicans were greatest during the earlier years of the period under study. The timing coincided with the national Republican Party expressing most concern about blacks. Indeed, the local and national status of black politicians appear to rise and fall together. Baltimore's black Republicans always spoke out on such issues, but their legislative victories were uneven, and the decline of their influence in the Republican Party nationally presaged the black switch to the Democrats of the New Deal.

The six black Republicans who served on the Baltimore City Council from 1890 to 1931 were: Harry Sythe Cummings, Dr. John Marcus Cargill, Hiram Watty, William L. Fitzgerald, Warner T. McGuinn, and Walter S. Emerson. The careers of these men fell into two periods, divided by 1917, the year of American entry into World War I. The remainder of this article will present, within these two time periods, an account of the election of these men, a brief biographical sketch of each, and their major activities within the City Council.

In 1890, Harry Sythe Cummings became the first black elected official in the state of Maryland. He had won the Republican nomination for the City Council seat from Baltimore's 11th Ward. Earlier that year, redistricting by the state legislature had added two Negro districts to the already Republican and partially black 11th Ward. For the first time, blacks made up the majority of eligible voters in a City Council ward. Cummings recognized the opportunity presented by this change in distribution of the ward's population. He filed in the Republican primary, defeated the major white contender, George W. Brooks, and then went on to an election victory over Democratic nominee, Joseph A. Gilliss.¹

Cummings won reelection in 1891, but was defeated by five votes in the following year by the white Democratic candidate. This occurred despite the presence of a black majority on the registration lists. In 1893 and 1894, a white Republican, James Doyle, won the City Council seat from the 11th Ward. The 1895 mayoral contest, in which Republican Alcaeus Hooper was the victor, increased voter participation in the election. Registration went up and, in the 11th Ward, black registrants outnumbered whites, 2,737 to 2,142. A black Republican candidate, Dr. John Marcus Cargill, who was one of the prime movers in the founding of Provident Hospital and a friend of Cummings, defeated the white Democrat. From this time until 1931, at least one black candidate won a seat on the City Council in every election except those of 1905 and 1923.² Dr. Cargill was returned to office in 1896 and then retired from politics to concentrate on practicing medicine.³ In 1897, Harry Cummings, once again the Republican standard bearer, won reelection by an almost two-to-one margin. The Council elected in November, 1897, was carried over until the spring of 1899. Redistricting in 1899 put the largest group of black voters in the 14th Ward. This was renumbered (without a change in boundaries) as the 17th Ward in 1901. From 1899 through the 1905 election, First Branch councilmen served two-year terms. Hiram Watty, a friend and business associate of Cummings', received the Republican nomination in the 14th and then the 17th Ward for each of those years and was elected to the City Council until he was defeated in 1905 by seven votes by a white Democrat, Oregon Milton Dennis. In 1907, Harry S. Cummings won the seat back for the Republicans with a sound defeat of Mr. Dennis. From 1907 to the present, the entire City Council has been elected for four-year terms. Cummings was reelected in 1911 and 1915, and he served until his death in 1917.

All three of these men possessed strong qualifications for their offices. They were educated and, by the time they were elected, possessed considerable political savoir faire.

Harry Sythe Cummings grew up in Baltimore and attended the city's public schools.⁴ His father, Henry, worked as a chef, a skilled craft. His mother, the former Eliza Jane Davage, sometimes worked in domestic service. Grandparents on both sides had been slaves in Baltimore County. Harry Cummings graduated from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in 1886 and in 1889 became one of the first two black students to receive a law degree from the Uni-

versity of Maryland. He was admitted to the Baltimore Bar in the same year, benefiting from an 1885 Maryland court decision that allowed blacks to try cases in the state's courts.⁵

John Marcus Cargill, born in Monticello, Georgia, and educated at Atlanta University, began his career as a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He preached in Georgia, then transferred to the Baltimore A.M.E. Conference, receiving a church in Washington, D.C. While there, he studied medicine at Howard University. His last church was Waters A.M.E. in Baltimore. After preaching there, he gave up the ministry for practicing medicine full-time. He served as one of approximately a dozen black physicians in Baltimore in the 1890s and led the movement to build Provident Hospital, which opened its doors in 1894. Cargill specialized in women's diseases and, after his tenure of the City Council came to an end, he invented and patented several medical preparations which were approved under the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.⁶

Hiram Watty began his career as a teamster and rose through the ranks of Republican Party patronage jobs which included the posts of inspector in the Customs House, messenger to the Collector of the Port, and inspector in the Baltimore office of the Treasury Department. He became a political manager and an intimate of Harry Cummings. And he was active in national as well as local Republican politics.⁷

These three men, along with other black leaders, faced a political crisis of major importance to the black population of Baltimore and the entire state. On three separate occasions, Democrats introduced amendments to the Maryland constitution designed to disenfranchise blacks, but all three amendments were rejected in constitutionally required state-wide referenda. This maintenance of their franchise marked a major victory for black political leaders.

The crisis began in 1895 when Republican Lloyd Lowndes carried Baltimore by over 11,000 votes and won the gubernatorial election, and when reform Republican Alcaeus Hooper became mayor of Baltimore. After this, the Democrats' campaigns became more racist and efforts to disenfranchise blacks increased. In Baltimore City, for example, one of the displays carried in a torch-lit parade was a transparency depicting a black teacher, in an integrated classroom, flogging a white child.⁸ In this year Dr. John Marcus Cargill was first elected to the City Council, continuing to campaign in the face of unhidden Democratic appeals to racist sentiment.

After the Democrats regained their power state-wide they began to push a series of laws designed to disenfranchise blacks and remove forever the possibility of another Republican victory. In 1901, the party emblems were stricken from the ballot and assistance for voters who were not physically handicapped was prohibited. Since 47 percent of Maryland's black voters were illiterate, Democrats hoped to destroy their effectiveness.⁹ The first test came in the Baltimore City Council election of 1901. Republicans opened schools in every precinct to teach recognition of the word "Republican." Not only did Hiram Watty carry the 17th Ward, but Republicans won eighteen of the twenty-four First Branch seats and all four of the Second Branch seats up for election.¹⁰

The Democratic-controlled state legislature then passed a series of laws to inhibit black voter participation. In 1904, they removed all party labels from the ballot.¹¹ But that still did not prevent blacks from voting. Then, three separate disenfranchisement amendments were passed by the state legislature in 1904, 1908, and 1910.¹² They used the devices of literacy clauses, grandfather clauses, and property requirements to reduce the number of black voters. All three amendments were defeated in the required referendum by an interesting combination of voters not present in such large numbers in most southern states where blacks were disenfranchised. Working against the amendments were: all blacks; most white Republicans; leaders of local reform movements, both Republican and Democratic, who sought to keep power out of the hands of the Democratic-controlled machine; and many immigrants and their leaders, sometimes even those allied with the machine, who feared that literacy tests and the grandfather clause would take away their political power as well as that of blacks. This heterogeneous opposition was particularly strong in Baltimore City. When other towns passed their own local disenfranchisement laws (for example, Annapolis in 1908, making the reelection of the black city councilman there impossible¹³), Baltimore did not even attempt to do the same. The quality and outspokenness and determination of men like Cummings, Cargill, and Watty helped prevent such disenfranchisement.

Like all black leaders, these councilmen not only opposed the disenfranchisement laws but continued to push other matters of concern to blacks that fell within the jurisdiction of the City Council. One area of primary concern was education. At this time, the City Council had direct authority over the opening of new schools, the enlarging of existing schools, and policies regarding the faculties and administrators. Furthermore, it frequently made recommendations concerning curriculum.

By the time of Harry Cummings' election in 1890, Baltimore City supported colored elementary schools and a colored high school, later Frederick Douglass High School, which was then an advanced section of Grammar School #1. Most of the staffs were all white. Far less money was spent per black pupil than per white pupil. When Cummings took office, one of his assignments was to sit on the Committee on Education.¹⁴ He introduced legislation for the purchase of additional land and the erection of additional buildings for the use of already existing colored elementary schools.¹⁵ Most importantly, he introduced on February 1, 1892, an ordinance, which was eventually enacted into law, to empower the Board of Commissioners of the Public Schools to establish a Manual Training School for Colored Youth.¹⁶ A white vocational school already existed. These institutions were considered important and useful innovations by progressive educators of the period.

When Dr. John Marcus Cargill took office in 1895, he was also appointed to the Committee on Education.¹⁷ Like Cummings, he proposed legislation to improve educational facilities and opportunities for blacks in Baltimore. In February, 1896, he introduced an ordinance to recognize the Colored High School as "an institution separate and distinct from Grammar School #1 and to create a faculty."¹⁸ This was done, opening the way for the development of a

more advanced curriculum. Later he introduced an ordinance, also passed, to change the name of the Colored Manual Training School to the Colored Polytechnic Institute,¹⁹ thus giving it a standing more comparable to that of the white institution. However, Cargill also met with several defeats in proposals on education. When he utilized his councilmanic prerogative and appointed a Negro youth to a scholarship for use at the Maryland Institute, the director refused to accept the boy. Cargill took the case to court, but the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled against him.²⁰ Cargill also nominated Reverend E. Egleston, then pastor of the Grace Presbyterian Church, to be the first black member of the Board of School Commissioners. The other councilmen demurred, so Cargill withdrew the nomination.²¹

The most important piece of legislation on educational policies introduced by Cargill was an ordinance that called for the replacing of white teachers in the colored schools by black teachers. But fellow councilmen, including Republicans, watered down this ordinance. The final version of the ordinance stipulated that an entire faculty had to be replaced at one time. As white teachers resigned, substitutes would be appointed until enough black teachers waited on the qualified list and until enough vacancies occurred that the entire faculty could become black at one time. The law also required that no more than one-fifth of the new teachers hired in any one year be black. In addition, black teachers faced a two-year residency requirement not applicable to whites.²² Weakened as it was, this ordinance meant that eventually black schools would have black teachers and that black professionals would be hired in large numbers.

Cummings returned to the City Council in 1897 and, though he no longer served on the Education Committee, he continued to introduce legislation in this area. He put forward ordinances, passed in April, 1899, calling for the appointment of black teachers of art and music to serve the colored schools.²³ He introduced another ordinance, also successfully, opening a night school at the Colored Polytechnic Institute, making its courses available to people with daytime jobs.²⁴ Cummings' next ordinance called for the appointment of a "competent colored person" to serve as Directress of Sewing in the colored public schools. This became law in March, 1899.²⁵ Cummings also authored the legislation establishing a kindergarten course in all the public schools, both black and white.²⁶ He was less successful in his endeavor to convince the Council to erect a new building for the Colored High School. This was refused several times.²⁷

During the next legislative session, Hiram Watty introduced similar bills for the appropriation of funds for the erection of "a suitable building for the Colored High School," but he met with no more success than Cummings had had.²⁸ In other legislation sponsored by Watty, few innovations were made. Several new colored grammar schools were built and a few additions augmented already existing facilities, but no new policies were instituted. The City Council, at the request of Democratic Mayor Thomas G. Hayes, did appoint its former member, Harry Cummings, to the Board of Managers of the

House of Reformation and Instruction for Colored Youth,²⁹ a post he continued to fill for many years.

After Cummings rejoined the Council in 1907 many of his actions became defensive, though the School Board continued to make occasional improvements in black educational institutions, such as the separation of the teachers' training course from the regular high school curriculum.³⁰ For example, he was the only councilman to vote against changing School #100 from a colored school to a white school. The legislation had been proposed because the school stood in a racially mixed neighborhood. The ordinance, after being passed by both branches of the City Council, was vetoed by Democratic Mayor James H. Preston who cited as his reasons the existence of several black churches in the area and the need for education for blacks. Cummings was one of a number of leaders who pressed for the veto.³¹

Another successful defensive action served to prevent one more form of segregation of the city's black teachers. Democratic Councilman Hoffman introduced a resolution during the 1907-1908 session calling for the separation by race of teachers attending lectures. In the future, he hoped, lecturers would give a repeat performance for the Negro teachers at another time, so the audience would not be integrated. Cummings, who cited economics and educational considerations in his argument against the measure, was supported by enough Democratic votes so that the bill was postponed indefinitely.³²

In March, 1913, Cummings argued for his resolution forcing the School Board to reconsider measures which it had announced that were designed to eliminate the higher branches of learning at the Colored High School. The advanced subjects were retained.³³ In defensive actions such as this, Cummings was successful. His prestige and personal acquaintance with the other councilmen probably served him well here. Although his was not the only voice speaking for the black community, his position on the Council gave him easy access to the ears of his fellow legislators. Nevertheless, the Council consistently refused to approve or fund Cummings' main project—the erection of a new Colored High School building.³⁴

In areas other than suffrage and education, defensive tactics were also necessary. The rights of Baltimore's black citizens which had increased after 1870 were constantly threatened, especially during the period preceding World War I. The encroachments both imposed segregation and did away with some already existing privileges and institutions. For example, in 1910, Democratic Councilman Oregon Milton Dennis, whom Cummings had defeated in another ward in 1907, introduced legislation to close the one public bath open to blacks, saying it was not used. Cummings attacked the proposal not only in the Council, but in public forums. He wrote in an article for the *Baltimore Afro-American* newspaper.

Mr. Dennis advocates the closing of the bath and using smaller quarters in the rear. If he would only look at the commissioner's twelfth annual report, he will find that 20,000 patrons advocated enlargements. . . . Mr. Dennis, in his aborted attempt to slander colored people, ignominiously fails.³⁵

Cummings clearly recognized Dennis' implications as well as his intentions and fought him on both levels. Public Bath #3 remained open.

Yet Cummings was unsuccessful in the most bitter and prolonged fight of his career, and black leaders had to turn to the court system for redress. In 1910, 1911, and 1913, the City Council passed variations of a law requiring segregation of Baltimore's housing by block units. The ordinance introduced by Samuel West in 1910 (F.B. #1166) forbade blacks to move into a block occupied by a majority of white families and also forbade whites to move into a block occupied by a majority of black families. It further specified that any applicant for a building permit must state whether the area was to be used by Negroes or whites. The same law applied to public buildings such as schools and churches. The penalty for failure to obey the law was \$100 fine or a jail sentence of from thirty days to twelve months or both. The law was introduced as "An ordinance for preserving order, securing property values and promoting the great interests and insuring the good government of Baltimore City. . . ." Despite strong protests by Cummings and other Republicans, the ordinance passed both branches of the City Council, was approved by Mayor J. Barry Mahool, and became law in December, 1910.³⁶ The West law was declared unconstitutional on February 4, 1911 by Judges Harlan and Duffy in Criminal Court.³⁷ In the test case, Warner T. McGuinn, who was later elected to the City Council, and J. Ashbie Hawkins defended a black man who had fought back when a white mob attacked him for moving into their neighborhood. The man was accused of wounding one of the boys throwing stones at his house. He was acquitted on the basis of a man's right to defend his home. The West law, which limited the rights of ownership of property, was declared unconstitutional.³⁸

In the spring of 1911, both branches of the City Council passed new segregation ordinances to replace the unenforceable one of the previous year. Samuel West proposed two different ordinances in the First Branch. The second West law of 1911 allowed the majority of property owners on a racially mixed block to petition to have that block exempted from the ordinance.³⁹ This law was stricken down by Judge Elliott in Criminal Court on April 24. The Maryland Court of Appeals concurred on October 7, 1913, in the case of *Maryland v. John H. Curry*. These decisions were based on the unconstitutionality of limiting an owner's rights to use and dispose of his own property.⁴⁰

In the midst of this controversy during the spring of 1911, Harry Cummings won reelection to his City Council seat. He campaigned against all segregation ordinances and took the offensive by demanding: more and better schools for colored children; a new high school with modern scientific appliances; and an end to discrimination in patronage jobs.⁴¹ Like Cargill in 1895, Cummings did not moderate his demands in the presence of strenuous opposition and blatant racism. In City Council sessions, he continued to speak forcefully against the segregation ordinance saying,

This segregation Ordinance has had a hard time to get safely through this Council and to stand the test of judicial determination before just and fair

judges, of which our city can justly boast. The reason for it is, that the law is a bad law, and try as you will you can never find a right way to do a wrong thing.⁴²

Cummings did not succeed in convincing any Democrats, who formed a majority of the City Council, to vote against the new laws, but he never let the issue drop.

Several new laws to segregate housing were proposed in the fall of 1913 to replace the previous ones.⁴³ Upon passage of the final segregation law, Cummings stated immediately that there would be another court test.⁴⁴ He did recommend that blacks obey the law until it was declared unconstitutional.⁴⁵ Several times he introduced ordinances to repeal the segregation laws, but these got nowhere.⁴⁶ The 1913 law came under the review of the Maryland Court of Appeals where a decision was deferred pending the Supreme Court ruling in the case of the Louisville, Kentucky, segregation law, *Buchanan v. Warley*. The Supreme Court declared that law unconstitutional in November, 1917, saying it "destroyed the right of the individual to acquire, enjoy, and dispose of his property."⁴⁷ The Maryland Court of Appeals then ruled that the decision applied to the Baltimore law. Future Councilman McGuinn again participated in the deliberations as he had in 1911.⁴⁸

Throughout times of legal and social advances, such as the additions to educational facilities available to black students, and times of setbacks, such as the enactment of the housing segregation laws, other matters continued to concern the black councilmen. A small portion of these represented matters that affected the city's population as a whole such as Cummings' ordinance establishing kindergartens or an ordinance introduced in June, 1896, by J. Marcus Cargill to regulate the sale of fish in Baltimore's markets.⁴⁹ The vast majority of legislation introduced by Cummings, Cargill, and Watty dealt with matters within the black community. Perusal of the City Council Journals yields long lists of ordinances, almost invariably passed, on routine concerns such as the paving and widening of streets, the installation of electric lights, the granting of permission to open businesses such as theaters and gasoline stations, and the addition of porches and garages to existing properties. Slightly less routine matters of concern within the black community were also treated as councilmanic prerogatives throughout the period. Examples would include an ordinance introduced by Cargill in the 1895-1896 session to change the wording of a city law so that Provident Hospital would be included in the list of hospitals where charity cases could be sent⁵⁰ and an ordinance introduced by Cummings during the 1916-1917 session for the acquisition of land on the southeast side of Biddle Alley for a park.⁵¹

In another area, generally considered to be councilmanic courtesy, city facilities were extended for the use of black groups in much the same manner as they were for white groups. In 1907, Cummings introduced a resolution inviting the National Negro Business League to hold its next annual convention in Baltimore. This was done, and Booker T. Washington presided over some of the meetings in August, 1908. While the group met, Druid Hill Avenue was il-

luminated with special displays of lights, as was the custom during all large conventions, and they enjoyed the use of the city iceboat, "F. C. Latrobe," for a pleasure cruise.⁵² In 1909, the black Grand Order of Odd Fellows of the U.S.A. held its annual meeting in Baltimore, and Cummings obtained for them also the illumination of Druid Hill Avenue and a cruise on the iceboat.⁵³ These were repeated again when the Colored Knights of Pythias accepted Baltimore's invitation, initiated by Cummings, to hold its National Biennial Encampment here in 1913.⁵⁴ Local black groups as well as other national organizations received similar amenities as a matter of course.

Less a matter of course, though greatly desired, was the distribution of patronage positions to blacks. These came in limited numbers and were less readily shared than was the use of the iceboat or the money to illuminate Druid Hill Avenue or the passage of individual ordinances favoring black constituents. Although Cummings was still talking about getting a fair share of patronage jobs at least as late as his campaign of 1911, the biggest push followed the Republican electoral sweep in 1895. The *Baltimore Ledger*, a local black-owned newspaper, estimated that \$200,000 in wages went into the black community as a result of Republican hiring practices. Republican Mayor Alcaeus Hooper promised to hire blacks and to place them in positions where they would come into contact with whites. Most of the jobs fell into the category of menial labor, although one black man was hired as a clerk in the office of the Register of Wills and Warner T. McGuinn was appointed clerk of the Baltimore Liquor Board. The City hired Dr. George Wellington Bryant as its first black superintendent of a sanitation district, but he was dismissed in 1897 and convicted of fraud for engaging in such activities as charging fees for enrolling job applicants and withholding part of his employees' wages.⁵⁵ It should be noted that these were neither uncommon accusations nor unusual practices for that period. When William Malster, another Republican, took over the mayoralty in 1897, he turned a deaf ear to Cummings' requests for additional patronage jobs. Although a few blacks did occasionally receive political appointments, their chances declined both as the Republican Party grew less influential in Baltimore and as blacks became less important in the national Republican Party.

The highest point attained in national politics by any of the six black Republican councilmen clearly came in 1904 during Theodore Roosevelt's campaign for the presidency when he actively sought black support. Both Harry Cummings and Hiram Watty, who then sat on the City Council, responded by stumping the country, speaking in black districts, primarily in northern states. In appreciation, Roosevelt invited Cummings, Watty, and Rev. Ernest Lyon, the U.S. Minister to Liberia, to visit with him in the White House. This visit received much attention in the nation's black press and was also covered by the *Baltimore Sun*.⁵⁶ A few months earlier, Cummings had been singled out when he was asked to give one of the seconding speeches for Roosevelt's nomination at the National Republican convention held in Chicago in June, 1904.⁵⁷

The situation changed enormously four years later. When a Republican Party rally was held in Baltimore in 1908 for Charles Evans Hughes, blacks

who attended were directed to segregated galleries. Harry Cummings was included among them. Those who refused to comply were forced to leave.⁶⁸ This decline in national stature of both individual men and black politicians in general corresponded with the decline in their influence on the local level as well.

J. Marcus Cargill returned to medicine. Hiram Watty's absenteeism on the City Council increased as the years passed.⁶⁹ Several other black leaders joined groups like the NAACP whose Baltimore branch was chartered in 1912.⁶⁰ Cummings remained on the City Council until his death in 1917, and he continued to fight for the larger issues. As it became apparent that the United States was likely to enter World War I, Cummings wrote a letter to Maryland Governor Emerson C. Harrington, urging that blacks be called upon to serve in the army. He wrote:

Among our population there are more than 225,000 people of my race, among these there are probably 50,000 available under proper circumstances for military service. . . .

Personally, I feel that I cannot lay down my life in any greater service than in the defense of my country and I know that thousands of men of my race feel the same way. . . . Our black brothers fell at Carrizal last week—this was only a repetition of history. Attucks fell on Boston Commons in the Revolutionary War; Nick Biddle shed his blood during the Civil War. The gallant Tenth saved Roosevelt's life at San Juan Hill during the Spanish-American War, and catching the spirit of the brave men of our race, we are willing and ready to defend our State and Nation. We know but one country and one flag.⁶¹

Numerous blacks from Maryland did fight during World War I. But, like the rest of the nation's black soldiers, when they returned home they found discrimination, financial troubles, and the continuing threat of decline in status. One victory that was not threatened in Maryland was the retention of the franchise by black citizens. Blacks continued to vote and, in Baltimore City, actually increased their political domain through their growing population and their ability to get out the vote.

When the vote for City Council in 1919 was over, black men held two seats for the first time in Baltimore's history. William L. Fitzgerald, victor in the all-black Republican primary, defeated his white Democratic opponent by a margin of over two-to-one in the 17th Ward, taking the old seat of Harry Cummings. By 1919, the 14th Ward also had a slight black majority. Warner T. McGuinn defeated a white Republican in the primary and went on to claim an eighteen-vote victory over the Democratic incumbent, Daniel C. Joseph.⁶²

When the results of the next City Council election, in 1923, were tabulated, no blacks won seats. In 1923, councilmen were elected for the first time from the newly created districts. Baltimore, following a trend generally recommended by progressive reformers, abolished its old system of small wards, replacing those with much larger districts, each of which was to choose three councilmen. The new 4th District combined the old black wards, the 14th and the 17th, with the 4th, 13th, 15th, and 16th Wards.⁶³ Basically a Democratic gerrymander, that particular combination was designed to lump all the

Republic power into one district. Fitzgerald and McGuinn both ran for reelection but placed fourth and fifth behind two Democratic incumbents, Beverly Smith and William Towers, from the old Second Branch. The only Republican elected to the City Council did come from the 4th District. Daniel Ellison, white and Jewish, received by far the highest number of votes.⁶⁴ Since white Republican candidates won the majority vote in other contests in the 4th District, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that a number of white Republicans chose to vote for white Democrats over black Republicans.⁶⁵

In 1927, Republican mayoral candidate William Broening led a swing to the G.O.P. All three Republican candidates won in the 4th District. Ellison again gained the most votes, but two blacks, McGuinn and Walter S. Emerson finished well ahead of all three Democrats.⁶⁶ This election marked the last victory for black Republicans running for the Baltimore City Council.

This second triumvirate of black Republican councilmen consisted of two lawyers and a regular party worker. Like Cummings, Cargill and Watty, they brought with them both education and experience, and all held high positions in the city's black community.

Warner T. McGuinn grew up in Virginia, received his B.A. from Lincoln University in 1884, and studied law first at Howard University before receiving his LL.B. from Yale Law School in 1887. While president of the Kent Club at Yale, he struck up a friendship with a famed guest speaker, Mark Twain. The black press made note of this for the rest of his life. McGuinn, a half-brother of Reverend William Alexander, editor of the *Afro-American*, moved to Baltimore around 1890. He joined with Harry Cummings in a law firm and participated in local Republican Party affairs. His reward was an appointment as clerk of the Board of Liquor License Commissioners following the Republican sweep in 1895. Before his election to the City Council, he became known for his successful efforts in persuading the courts to declare unconstitutional the Baltimore segregation laws. He later became a leader in the Baltimore branch of the NAACP.⁶⁷ Clearly, McGuinn was a man who did not acquiesce to the injustices of his day.

William L. Fitzgerald came to Baltimore from Tennessee. After receiving his LL.B. from Howard Law School in 1898, he became the first black man to pass Maryland's newly instituted written bar exam. He specialized in real estate law, ran a real estate business, and consciously set out to make homes and investment properties on principal streets available to blacks. His groundwork resulted in some of the earliest purchases by blacks of homes on Madison and Druid Hill Avenues. Like McGuinn, he knew Harry Cummings and, in fact, served as treasurer of a testimonial dinner held in honor of Cummings' fiftieth birthday in 1916. Fitzgerald was the only one of these councilmen to live through the Depression. He switched his allegiance to the Democratic Party and continued his interest and activity in politics until he died in 1961.⁶⁸

Walter S. Emerson, the only native Baltimorean of the three, studied business and law in the city and became active in Republican politics. In 1892, at the age of nineteen, Emerson was elected secretary of the 7th Ward Republican Club. He was elected three times to the Republican State Central Commit-

tee. After his defeat for reelection to the City Council in 1931, he was appointed Deputy Collector of U.S. Internal Revenue.⁶⁹

The activities of McGuinn, Fitzgerald and Emerson followed the basic pattern of their prewar predecessors, but with several differences. The big battles had been fought out and decided. The black franchise was retained and no longer threatened, even by the Democratic Party. The housing segregation laws had been successfully challenged in court. Blacks could move into new areas of the city as their numbers increased. This movement took the direction of northwest from center. Baltimoreans practiced segregation in education and most places of amusement, although not in most vehicles of public transportation.⁷⁰ The black community existed rather separately from the white community. Thus the job that befell the black political representatives was that of maintenance and extension of institutions within the black community. In McGuinn's victory statement to the *Afro-American*, he said: "I shall do my best in the City Council to fulfill every pledge that has been made during the campaign, especially as regards the health and school conditions of the race."⁷¹

As McGuinn indicated, education continued to be a major concern to the black leaders. During the early part of the 1919-1923 council session, the opening of new colored schools and the continued push for a new facility for the Colored High School, begun by Harry Cummings, absorbed much of McGuinn's and Fitzgerald's energy. The City Council did continue to authorize the opening of new grammar schools generally at the behest of the black councilmen, but the new high school was not approved.

The most important development in education began with the City Council's authorization of a large-scale study of the entire school system to be undertaken by Dr. George D. Strayer of the Columbia University Teachers' College. McGuinn and Fitzgerald voted to authorize the expenditure of funds for the Strayer report as did all the other Council members present.⁷² On September 25, 1920, the Board of School Commissioners officially engaged Dr. Strayer to make his comprehensive survey and to recommend specific improvements. Strayer's recommendations came in the following year, and many were implemented with surprising speed.⁷³ One crucial change was the handing over to the School Board control of its own budget. From 1921 on, the City Council no longer participated in the authorization of new school building and similar specific decisions. This fact makes it difficult to attribute future educational gains to the work of individual councilmen. The Strayer report did recommend goals that had been pushed by the black political leaders and within a few years many of these had been achieved. These included the following: a new building for the Colored High School, renamed the Frederick Douglass High School in 1923, which opened in 1925 at Calhoun and Baker Streets; the equalization of salaries for teachers in the black and white schools; and the appointment of a black supervisor for the colored schools who took up his post in January, 1923.⁷⁴

McGuinn and Fitzgerald pushed several other innovations to benefit the black community. For example, McGuinn introduced an ordinance during the 1920-1921 session for the erection of a public comfort station near the

CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS
BALTIMORE'S PREDOMINANTLY BLACK WARDS
1890-1927

Year	Ward	Candidates	Vote	Registered voters by race		Police census of eligible voters, by race	
1890 ^a	11	* <i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	1585	White	2073	White	2499
		Joseph A. Gilliss (D)	1480	Col'd	1949	Col'd	2614
		George W. Brooks (Ind)	407				
1891 ^b	11	* <i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	1581	White	2224		
		Joseph A. Gilliss (D)	1548	Col'd	2139		
1892 ^c	11	* <i>George Craig</i> (D)	2040	White	2229	White	2344
		<i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	2035	Col'd	2320	Col'd	2804
1893 ^d	11	George Craig (D)	1324	White	2292		
		* <i>James Doyle</i> (R)	1645	Col'd	2272		
		Otis E. Janney (Pro)	117				
1894 ^e	11	William W. Dix (D)	1432	White	1914	White	2545
		* <i>James Doyle</i> (R)	1816	Col'd	2112	Col'd	2931
		Daniel Henderson (Pro)	88				
1895 ^f	11	* <i>John Marcus Cargill</i> (R)	2664	White	2142		
		Robert W. Beach (D)	1442	Col'd	2737		
		Otis E. Janney (Pro)	121				
1896 ^g	11	* <i>John Marcus Cargill</i> (R)	3039	White	2054	White	2163
		George Craig (D)	1411	Col'd	2852	Col'd	3079
		David G. Rogers (Pro)	121				
1897 ^h	11	* <i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	2675	White	1887		
		Aloysius Benzinger (D)	1358	Col'd	2759		
		Charles F. Feldhaus (Pro)	60				
1899 ⁱ	14	* <i>Hiram Watty</i> (R)	2702	White	2729	White	3046
		Andrew J. Barron (D)	1997	Col'd	2909	Col'd	3219

1901 ^j	17	* <i>Hiram Watty</i> (R)	1330	White	2043	White	2886
		Joseph Harris (D)	1124	Col'd	2507	Col'd	3268
		David D. Dickson	200				
1903 ^k	17	* <i>Hiram Watty</i> (R)	1557	White	2100	White	2862
		Daniel Conroy (D)	1418	Col'd	2476	Col'd	3307
		Caleb Blizzard (Pro)	138				
1905 ^l	17	<i>Hiram Watty</i> (R)	1224	White	2475	White	2749
		*Oregon M. Dennis (D)	1231	Col'd	2477	Col'd	3680
1907 ^m	17	* <i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	1913	White	2086	White	2635
		Oregon M. Dennis (D)	1465	Col'd	2536	Col'd	3750
1911 ⁿ	17	* <i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	2001	White	1720	White	2413
		Daniel Conroy (D)	976	Col'd	2689	Col'd	3216
1915 ^o	14	*Daniel C. Joseph (D)	2096	White	2506		
		<i>George McMechen</i> (R)	1548	Col'd	2128		
	17	* <i>Harry S. Cummings</i> (R)	1485	White	1248		
1919 ^p	14	* <i>Warner T. McGuinn</i> (R)	1822			White	3111
		Daniel D. Joseph (D)	1804			Col'd	3420
	17	*William Fitzgerald (R)	1850			White	1583
1923 ^q	4	Charles H. Carland (D)	711			Col'd	4146
		*Daniel Ellison (R)	11598	White	44242		
		*Beverly Smith (D)	10009	Col'd	13332		
		*William Towers (D)	9844				
		<i>Warner T. McGuinn</i> (R)	9620	Repub.	25203		
		<i>William Fitzgerald</i> (R)	9618	Dem.	27028		
1927 ^r	4	*Daniel Ellison (R)	13117	White	43472		
		* <i>Walter Emerson</i> (R)	9259	Col'd	12657		
		* <i>Warner T. McGuinn</i> (R)	9075				

Joseph Grinsfelder (D)	7758	Repub.	23182
Joseph Sherbow (D)	7563	Dem.	28232
Beverly Smith (D)	7275		

Notes to Chart

The names of black candidates are italicized. The victors are marked with an asterisk.

Elections to the First Branch of the Baltimore City Council held from 1890 to 1897 were held in the late fall with candidates taking office immediately. The councilmen elected in November, 1897 remained in office until May, 1899. From then until 1907, First Branch councilmen were elected every other spring for two year terms. From 1907 to the present, councilmen are elected for four year terms. In 1923, the wards were replaced by districts, each of which represented a combination of six wards.

In 1899, the City was redistricted, with the largest number of black voters going into the 14th Ward. In 1901, the wards were renumbered, and the 14th Ward became the 17th Ward.

- a *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1891), pp. 40, 42, 53.
- b *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1892), pp. 46, 52.
- c *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1893), pp. 41, 52, 71.
- d *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1894), pp. 52, 61.
- e *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1895), pp. 55, 57, 76.
- f *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1896), pp. 58, 70.
- g *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1897), pp. 65, 72, 127.
- h *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1898), pp. 54, 69.
- i *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 60, 67, 69.
- j *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1902), pp. 58, 67, 72.
- k *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 48, 50, 92.
- l *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1906), pp. 44, 58, 65.
- m *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 49, 104, 105.
- n *Sun Almanac* (Baltimore, 1912), pp. 47, 72; *Baltimore American*, May 3, 1911, p. 1.
- o *Maryland Almanac* (Baltimore, 1917), pp. 177, 257.
- p *Maryland Almanac* (Baltimore, 1921), pp. 55, 89.
- q *Maryland Almanac* (Baltimore, 1924), pp. 104, 106, 112.
- r *Maryland Almanac* (Baltimore, 1928), pp. 108, 109.

Lafayette Market.⁷⁵ Both Fitzgerald and McGuinn introduced ordinances permitting the opening of vaudeville and movie theaters along Pennsylvania Avenue and in other parts of their wards.⁷⁶ The two councilmen did have a falling out over Fitzgerald's support for a theater to be built in McGuinn's ward, which McGuinn and many nearby residents opposed. The theater was to be owned by a white man and located opposite the black Y.M.C.A. on Druid Hill Avenue, a rather elite area. Theaters then were viewed by some as disreputable. The Council passed the bill. Republican Mayor Broening vetoed it, but the Council passed it over his veto.⁷⁷

Several other recreational facilities for blacks were instituted by the city during this period: a swimming pool was constructed in Druid Hill Park and a Colored City Band was established to play concerts in black neighborhoods. Although Mayor Broening listed these among his achievements, the black councilmen clearly supported both measures.⁷⁸ Though such changes represented an acquiescence to segregation for the sake of increased resources and jobs for the black community, there was little choice at the time. Schools, recreational facilities, and cultural institutions all provided the additional benefit of employment opportunities for blacks. Walter Emerson demonstrated continuing concern about employment when he introduced a resolution during the 1927-1928 session called for the hiring of black employees and teachers at the Colored House of Reformation at Cheltenham. This resolution was adopted.⁷⁹

Medical facilities were generally inadequate in black neighborhoods. McGuinn and Fitzgerald both introduced ordinances for the establishment of clinics and specialty hospitals (e.g., ear, nose, and eye) in their districts.⁸⁰ Such ordinances always passed easily. They were considered a councilman's prerogative as were ordinances for adding home improvements like porches and garages.

By virtue of their positions as leaders in Baltimore politics, McGuinn, Fitzgerald, and Emerson received appointments to other positions on a state and national level. Emerson, at the end of his City Council tenure, was given a Republican patronage appointment of Deputy Collector of U.S. Internal Revenue.⁸¹ In 1917 Warner McGuinn was made a member of the Board of Managers of the Colored War Camp Commission Service.⁸² This group helped blacks to share in some of the benefits of military service. In 1920, McGuinn served as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. He supported General Leonard Wood, an old friend of Theodore Roosevelt's, for the nomination.⁸³ McGuinn, of course, did not change the outcome of the convention, but the fact that he attended and spoke his opinions is important.

William Fitzgerald attended the 1924 Republican National Convention, and he was appointed by Democratic Governor Albert Ritchie to the Maryland Interracial Commission when it was established in 1927.⁸⁴ From this position, to which he was reappointed several times, he was involved in the formation of recommendations in all areas of life affecting Maryland's blacks. In 1930, Fitzgerald transferred his allegiance to the Democratic Party and worked with the Works Progress Administration during the New Deal.⁸⁵

The election of 1931 marked the end of a black Republican presence on the Baltimore City Council. Although McGuinn and Emerson ran for reelection, they were defeated in a Democratic sweep of the city, which reflected the nation's move toward the Democratic Party because of President Herbert Hoover's failure to abate the Depression as well as local power struggles. Although many black voters gradually moved into the Democratic Party, their numbers were not sufficient to regain a City Council seat until the 1955 election victory of Walter Dixon, a black Democrat from the 4th District.

REFERENCES

1. See chart for the figures on the vote, voter registration, census of eligible voters, and citations.
2. See chart for the specifics of each election. All the black councilmen sat in the First Branch of the bicameral City Council. Before 1923, Baltimore's legislative body was divided into two branches. The First Branch always had one representative from each ward in the city. The Second Branch members were elected first from every two wards and later from districts that combined six or seven wards. In 1923, a revised charter abolished the bicameral body and replaced it with a one-house council. The city was divided into six districts, each of which elected three men to the new City Council. The Council president was chosen at-large.
3. Interview with Mrs. Muriel Callaman, granddaughter of John Marcus Cargill, April 6, 1977. Mrs. Callaman opened her collection of family papers to me and provided many valuable insights into her grandfather's career.
4. It should be noted that this is the correct spelling of Mr. Cummings' name. The spelling "Scythe" is wrong. Interview with Mr. Harry Cummings and Mrs. Louise Cummings Dorcas, April 7, 1977. This son and daughter of Councilman Cummings possess a remarkable collection of papers and documents from their father's career. Their help was extremely valuable to me as was the early research leg work performed by Mrs. Sarah E. Bell, a graduate student at Morgan State University.
5. Cummings family papers and interview with Mr. Cummings and Mrs. Dorcas.
6. Cargill family papers and interview with Mrs. Callaman. Also, *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 19, 1965, p. 14.
7. Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912* (Baltimore, 1969), p. 153. Interview with Mr. Cummings and Mrs. Dorcas.
8. Callcott, pp. 86-88.
9. Callcott, pp. 103-105.
10. *Sun Almanac*, 1902, p. 67.
11. Callcott, p. 109.
12. For the final vote against the amendments see: *Maryland Manual*, 1905, p. 306; *Sun Almanac*, 1910, pp. 131-156; *Sun Almanac*, 1912, p. 134.
13. Callcott, pp. 137-138.
14. *City Council Journal*, First Branch, Baltimore Maryland, 1890-1891, pp. 24-26. In future references this will be abbreviated *C. C. Jour.* It is to be assumed that this refers to the Journal of the First Branch unless otherwise stated.
15. See for example, *C. C. Jour.*, 1891-1892, p. 396.
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17. *C. C. Jour.*, 1895-96, pp. 11-13.
18. *C. C. Jour.*, 1895-96, pp. 257-258.
19. *C. C. Jour.*, 1896-97, pp. 360, 604.
20. *Baltimore Afro-American*, Oct. 15, 1965, p. 14.
21. Cargill family papers.
22. *C. C. Jour.*, 1895-96, pp. 52, 111, 195, 351, 352, 457, 488, 492, 526; 1896-96, pp. 333-334.
23. *C. C. Jour.*, 1897-99, pp. 31, 1648.
24. *C. C. Jour.*, 1897-99, pp. 71-72.
25. *C. C. Jour.*, 1897-99, pp. 54, 1648.
26. *C. C. Jour.*, 1897-99, p. 982.

27. *Ibid.*
28. *C. C. Jour.*, 1899-1900, p. 55.
29. *C. C. Jour.*, 1901-02, pp. 364, 505, 520.
30. A. Briscoe Koger, *The Maryland Negro* (Baltimore, 1958), section on education.
31. *C. C. Jour.*, 1911-12, pp. 217, 241, 285, 346, 435.
32. *C. C. Jour.*, 1907-08, pp. 1415, 1629; 1908-09, p. 283.
33. *C. C. Jour.*, 1912-13, p. 841.
34. See for example, *C. C. Jour.*, 1911-12, p. 728 and 1914-15, pp. 714, 932.
35. *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 18, 1910.
36. *C. C. Jour.*, 1910-11, pp. 210, 222, 402, 404, 406, 527.
37. *Sun*, Feb. 5, 1911.
38. Henry Jared McGuinn, "The Courts and Equality of Property Rights," in *The Quarterly Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1919 (Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tallahassee), p. 11. Four essays of McGuinn's have been collected and are bound privately under the title, *The Courts and the Changing Status of Negroes in Maryland*.
39. *C. C. Jour.*, 1910-11, pp. 712ff., 884, 930ff., 1034.
40. *C. C. Jour.*, 1913-14, p. 460; McGuinn, p. 12; Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP*, Vol. I (Baltimore, 1967), p. 184. For contemporary accounts see *Sun*, April through September, 1913.
41. Cummings family papers.
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43. See *C. C. Jour.*, 1913-14, p. 460 for the discussion in the First Branch of the law proposed in the Second Branch by Councilman Francis P. Curtis.
44. *Sun*, Nov. 9, 1913.
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46. *C. C. Jour.*, 1914-15, pp. 786, 931; *Sun*, March 30, 1915.
47. Kellogg, p. 184-186.
48. *Sun*, Dec. 5, 1917.
49. *C. C. Jour.*, 1895-96, p. 869.
50. *C. C. Jour.*, 1895-96, p. 310.
51. *C. C. Jour.*, 1916-17, pp. 450, 580.
52. *C. C. Jour.*, 1907-08, pp. 150, 151, 1757, 1758; 1908-09, p. 123; also Cummings family papers.
53. *C. C. Jour.*, 1909-10, pp. 1268, 1462, 1463, 1469.
54. *C. C. Jour.*, 1911-12, pp. 107, 193; 1912-13, pp. 839, 857, 860.
55. Callcott, pp. 94-95.
56. Cummings family papers; *Sun*, Oct. 12, 1904.
57. The Cummings family possess a copy of that speech.
58. Callcott, p. 137.
59. *C. C. Journals* index absenses.
60. Kellogg, p. 127.
61. Copies of the entire text are available among the Cummings family papers and in the *Sun*, June 27, 1916.
62. For specifics, see chart.
63. *Maryland Almanac*, 1924, p. 106.
64. For specifics, see chart.
65. See the *Sun*, May 9, 1923 for an account of the election and an indication of the general surprise at the results.
66. For specifics, see chart.
67. *Sun*, obituary, July 11, 1937; *Sun*, April 3, 1926; *Baltimore Afro-American*, Oct. 19, 1965, p. 4; *Who's Who in Colored America*, 1930-31-32 (Brooklyn, 1933), p. 287.
68. *Sun*, Dec. 28, 1951; Dec. 5-6, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, Dec. 29, 1953, p. 5; Oct. 19, 1965, p. 14; *Who's Who in Colored America*, 1927 (New York, 1927), p. 66; also some material in the Cummings family papers.
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73. Copies of the entire Strayer Report can be found in the Legislative Reference Room, City Hall, Baltimore.
74. *Report of the Board of School Commissioners to the Mayor and City Council*, years ending 1921, p. 6; 1925, p. 59; 1930, p. 174.

75. *C. C. Jour.*, 1920-21, p. 111.
76. See for example, *C. C. Jour.*, 1920-21, pp. 583, 615, 1104.
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80. See for example, *C. C. Jour.*, 1927-28, pp. 1044, 1200; 1929-30, pp. 253, 359.
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82. *Sun*, July 11, 1937, McGuinn's obituary.
83. *Sun*, July 10, 1937, McGuinn's obituary.
84. *Sun*, Dec. 28, 1951 and *Report of the Interracial Commission of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 7.
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Practicing Medicine at the Baltimore Almshouse, 1828–1850

KATHERINE A. HARVEY

THE BALTIMORE ALMSHOUSE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1773 TO CARE FOR THE poor, and especially for those poor who were incapacitated by illness, old age, physical handicap, mental deficiency, or insanity. To this end, the law provided that part of the money appropriated to maintain the poor should be used to pay a doctor for his salary and medicines.¹ That the institution fulfilled its purpose may be seen from the trustees' estimate that the almshouse population for the year ending April 30, 1826, had been made up of "one-fourth sick, . . . and nearly a fourth aged and infirm, or maimed, and incapable of labor."² Except during epidemics, when the city set up temporary hospitals to receive persons stricken by yellow fever, cholera, typhoid, or typhus, the almshouse infirmary was in fact the only refuge for those who could not afford private medical care.

Between 1822 and 1866 that refuge was provided in a large stone and brick building at Calverton, about two miles west of the city. The impressive central block, originally a private dwelling, contained the trustees' meeting room, and quarters for the overseer and his family, the resident medical students, and the apothecary. Two wings, added after purchase of the estate, contained dormitories and hospital wards, including "an infirmary for the indigent sick," a lying-in hospital, and a "lunatic hospital."³

The medical department of the almshouse was supervised by an "attending physician" appointed by the trustees of the poor. By 1835 the doctor's annual salary had risen to \$700, for the first time equalling that of the overseer.⁴ The trustees' bylaws required the physician to go out from the city at least once a day to make the rounds of the wards and advise the medical students. Until 1835 literal compliance with this bylaw was not strictly enforced. In one instance, for example, because of his illness the physician was away from the institution for a period of two weeks.⁵ The appointment for 1835 was made with the understanding that the daily visits would be carried out,⁶ and in 1837 the trustees further required:

Whenever the attending physician is unable from indisposition or any other cause, daily to attend the House, he shall furnish a substitute of equal medical reputation and experience to supply his place, and if prevented more than one day at a time, he shall inform the Board thereof through the President by letter, and stating the name of the individual he has selected.⁷

The author of several articles and books about Maryland's history, Mrs. Harvey also edited *The Lonaconing Journals* (Philadelphia, 1977).

With the attending physician acting as mentor, a group of resident students carried on the day-to-day care of the patients. The students were usually graduates of medicine, who applied for appointment to the institution "on account of the advantages which it affords for the completion of their medical education." In 1835 each of the six residents paid \$225 per annum, which covered the cost of board with the overseer's family.⁸ The trustees did not insist on the medical degree, and occasionally appointed students who were still attending the lectures at the University of Maryland medical school. However, they did specify that "No resident student shall be competent to act as Senior Student while attending the medical lectures."⁹ This was an important provision of the bylaws, because the senior student was in charge of prescribing all medicines.¹⁰ Students were expected to furnish their own transportation to the lectures, and in at least one instance were permitted to keep a horse and carriage at the almshouse, paying \$6 a month for the privilege.¹¹ In most cases resident students were appointed for a term of one year and could apply for reappointment. A third-year resident did not have to pay board.¹²

During the first ten years of the period under consideration, the trustees appointed as attending physicians middle-aged men of varied experience and education who were well established and respected in the Baltimore medical community. Thomas H. Wright (birth date not known), attending physician from 1828 to 1833, was a surgeon's mate in the War of 1812, received an honorary medical degree from the University of Maryland in 1819, and earned an M.D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at New York in 1823. He was considered "a physician of high local standing [and] an able practitioner." His published articles, based on his experiences at the almshouse, are a valuable contribution to institutional practices of his era.¹³

James H. Miller, Wright's immediate successor (1833-1837), was born in Pennsylvania in 1788 and received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1810. In 1825 he moved to Baltimore, where he became one of the founders of the Washington Medical College and professor of the practice of medicine at that institution from 1827-1832. For part of the time that he served at the almshouse, he was also professor of anatomy and physiology at the medical college.¹⁴

William W. Handy, who followed Miller and served for only one year,¹⁵ was born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1785 and received his medical degree from Maryland Medical College in 1807. Like Miller, he was one of the founders of Washington Medical College and there occupied the chair of obstetrics and the diseases of women and children (1827-1842).¹⁶

By 1838 it was obvious that one doctor, travelling to and from the almshouse on horseback or by carriage, and then visiting from 100 to 200 patients, would have little or no time for university teaching or private practice.¹⁷ It was perhaps for this reason that the trustees decided to appoint two attending physicians, who would divide equally the responsibilities and the salary—still \$700 a year. They named as "Senior Attending Physician" Samuel Annan, a Philadelphian born in 1797, who had received his medical degree at Edinburgh in 1820 and had assisted at Guy's and St. Thomas' hospitals in London before

returning to the United States. Prior to his appointment as almshouse physician, he had helped found the Washington Medical College and had been professor of anatomy and physiology there from 1827 to 1834.¹⁸

Annan was appointed "in conjunction with Doct William Power,"¹⁹ a former student who had taken his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1835. Power, twenty-five years old, had recently returned from Paris, where he had continued his medical studies.²⁰ He was the first of the almshouse students to receive an appointment as attending physician.

The architecture of the almshouse dictated the division of hospital duties: one doctor and half of the students formed a team which took care of patients in the west, or female, wing; the other, with the remainder of the students, attended to cases in the east, or male, wing. After six months on one service, the teams changed places.²¹

Under the new arrangements, there need be no more climbing from cellar to attic in one wing, and then descending to cross through the central building and repeat the whole process on the other side. Physicians treating the men would cover the second-floor hospital and surgical ward, and the basement cells which housed the "more refractory class of maniacs" and intractable inebriates. The women's doctors would visit the combined medical and surgical hospitals, a separate hospital for free black women, the lying-in ward, and a room for syphilitic patients—all on the second floor of the west wing. A "chronic hospital for aged colored women" was set up in the attic. As in the men's department, the basement contained cells for the violent insane and for alcoholics needing restraint.

By 1849 the infirmary had overflowed into two new buildings in the almshouse yard. One of these, on two floors, contained medical and surgical wards for free black males. The other, a four-story stone structure, provided more accommodation for the insane—the "new" cells, upper and lower; the children's room for newly-delivered mothers and their children, and for foundlings and nurses; and a "chronic hospital" for aged white females.²²

It should be noted that the almshouse admitted free blacks, many of whom lived in Baltimore in extreme poverty. It was taken for granted that white and colored would be kept apart, and much of the trustees' early construction program was devoted to achieving segregation, especially in the infirmary. Separate did not necessarily mean equal: in 1841, before the completion of the new building in the yard, the hospital for colored men occupied the upper floor of the former coal house.²³

The owners of slaves were not allowed to send them to the almshouse for treatment at public expense. Even an application by one of the prominent physicians of the city failed to gain consent for the admission of "a female slave . . . subject to hysterical fits."²⁴ Perhaps the trustees assumed that slaveholders would be willing to pay the \$3 weekly fee at the Baltimore Infirmary, the hospital for the university medical school, which did admit slaves.²⁵

Between April 30, 1832, and December 31, 1841, the almshouse doctors handled over 16,500 medical and surgical cases. The ailments diagnosed (more than 350) ranged alphabetically from abortion to zona (shingles), and included

most of the illnesses, injuries and imperfections of body and mind recognized by nineteenth-century medical science.²⁶ The student who wrote, on settling in at the almshouse, "I shall probably see almost every variety of disease which this climate & season present," was sure to have his expectations realized or surpassed.²⁷ Even exotic diseases turned up at the infirmary in this seaport city with its thriving Caribbean trade. In 1834, for instance, cases of elephantiasis, yaws, and leprosy were reported in the annual hospital summary.

However, there was nothing exotic about the general run of maladies, which encompassed "all the forms of inveterate disease, usually attendant on a life of intemperance and profligacy."²⁸ Prominent among these were fevers, catarrh, dysentery, pneumonia, phthisis, rheumatism, ophthalmia, skin diseases, gonorrhoea, syphilis, and drunkenness, politely termed "temulentia." Some of these diseases were considered seasonal. Dr. Annan observed that ophthalmia began to appear in the women's and children's wards early in May "when the change was making from winter to summer clothing," and continued "until finally banished by the warm weather of June."²⁹ Other diseases were not only seasonal, but also tended to originate in certain localities. Every autumn, laborers on the railroads and canals being constructed near Baltimore, and workers in the iron ore mines along the Philadelphia and Washington roads, came to the almshouse to be treated for malarial fevers.³⁰ In 1849, out of "a little upward of 2000 cases of all diseases treated," one-tenth (208) of the patients suffered from the various forms of these fevers.³¹

As if these native ailments were not enough, Asiatic cholera swept over western Europe and crossed the Atlantic in 1832. The death toll at the Baltimore almshouse was 133.³² A similar scourge claimed 86 victims in 1849.³³ In 1847 typhus was brought to Baltimore by immigrants aboard the ship *Rio Grande*.³⁴ We have no record of the mortality at the almshouse during that year, but we do know that the trustees requested an additional \$5,000 to deal with the large number of pauper immigrants.³⁵ In the winter of 1850-51, typhus, carried by a passenger on the ship *Scotia*, killed 22 almshouse inmates and six of the nurses who attended them.³⁶

Almshouse patients lacked the capacity to resist even common diseases, and required protracted treatment. Some were worn down by abuse of "ardent spirits," some by exposure to extremes of weather, some by malnutrition. Many of them came to the hospital only after they had been ill for some time and their condition was considered "desperate." Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that one attending physician commented, "In medicine, as in other things, it may happen that our success is not equal to our efforts."³⁷ The writings of the doctors themselves testify to the unflagging zeal of those efforts, as they bled, blistered, and prescribed medicines according to the generally accepted practices of their time.

Blood-letting was widely employed as a means of reducing fevers, calming a racing pulse, easing breathing, or relieving congestion.³⁸ It was accomplished in three ways: by venesection, by cupping, or by the application of leeches. Venesection, which involved opening a vein, was used for abstracting fairly large amounts of blood—up to 22 or 24 ounces in some recorded almshouse

cases.³⁹ It was the custom at the Baltimore almshouse to give each student a new lancet at the beginning of his residency, and there is ample evidence that these instruments were diligently employed in the treatment of a great variety of illnesses, either at the student's own initiative or at the direction of the attending physician.⁴⁰

If, as was often the case at the almshouse, the patient's condition was so poor that venesection was inadvisable,⁴¹ the physician resorted to cupping for drawing smaller amounts of blood to relieve local inflammation. The operator slashed the skin with a "scarificator" and then applied a heated cupping glass, which in cooling sucked out the prescribed amount of blood from the "principal seat of sensibility," i.e., that part of the body which seemed to be the center of distress. Thus cups were placed over the temples in cases of delirium tremens, over the abdomen for "bilious fever" or dysentery, over the chest for catarrh, over the stomach for gastritis, over the affected joint for rheumatism, and so on.⁴² Cupping glasses, which came in various sizes, were usually applied in groups of four to eight.⁴³ The inventory for 1838 shows that the hospital had two sets of cupping instruments.⁴⁴

Leeches were a perfectly acceptable alternative to cupping, and their bites were probably less painful than the cuts of the scarificator. Each of these little creatures could absorb about a teaspoonful of blood before becoming satiated and dropping off its host. There was, however, some difficulty in getting leeches to take hold, especially in cold weather, and in at least two instances at the almshouse, their slothfulness led to their being abandoned in favor of cups.⁴⁵ When the leeches were cooperative, they were employed to seemingly good effect. We know that they were used in the lying-in ward, and in the treatment of rheumatism and ophthalmia, and we have one account of a massive application of 40 leeches to the abdomen of a post-operative patient.⁴⁶ It is a rather interesting sidelight that imported English leeches were considered best, but the almshouse trustees permitted their use only "in what are regarded as extreme cases." Consequently, in 1838 we find Dr. Annan and his colleagues making do with the American variety "got out of a neighboring brook."⁴⁷

If blood was not to be drawn, it could at least be lured away from an inflamed and congested joint or organ by applying a blister to the skin in the neighborhood of the affected part. Blistering plasters were compounded of various irritating substances mixed with lard and resins and spread on cloth. The most common agent was the Spanish fly (cantharides), but vesicles could also be produced by mustard, turpentine, and pitch from the Norway spruce. Once formed, the blisters were opened and kept open and irritated to allow a continuous discharge of fluid. The salutary effect of this practice was thought to depend on diverting circulation from the affected organs and directing it to the blistered surface.⁴⁸

The prescription book kept for the first ten months of 1848 (see note 21) shows that the two attending physicians and the eight resident students at the almshouse ordered three applications of leeches, 13 venesections, 67 cuppings, and 220 blisterings. In addition, they wrote almost 4,300 prescriptions for medicines. An apothecary, who was a full-time member of the resident staff,

presided over an array of animal, vegetable, and mineral products which he dispensed as directed. From the plant world the 1848 prescription book calls for common materials like chamomile, peppermint, burdock, horseradish, wormwood, nightshade, goosefoot, wintergreen, snakeroot, foxglove, boneset, oak bark and galls, gentian, hops, henbane, juniper, lobelia, wild marjoram, parsley, rhubarb, bloodroot, Jimson weed, dandelion, slippery elm, valerian, and white hellebore. Many items were obtained from abroad: gum Arabic from Egypt; aloes, asafoetida, camphor, and cardamom from the East Indies; flowers of Benjamin from Sumatra; buchu from southern Africa; cascarilla from the Bahamas; copaiba, jalap, cinchona bark, and the balsams of Tolu and of Peru from South America; gamboge from Siam and Ceylon; licorice root from southern Europe; guaiacum and quassia from the West Indies; krameria from Java; manna from Sicily; myrrh from Arabia; and scammony from Syria.

Medicinal contributions from the animal world were fewer: lard and whale oil (spermaceti) for ointments; ox bile; musk; spider webs;⁴⁹ cantharides (the pulverized beetles used internally as well as in blisters); egg yolks; and cod-liver oil.

In the realm of inorganic materials, almshouse physicians relied most heavily on preparations of mercury and of antimony. The prescriptions do, however, specify many other chemical substances, among them alum, chalk, cream of tartar, copper sulphate, lunar caustic, Epsom salts, sugar of lead, arsenic, bicarbonate of soda, sulphur, salts of iron, zinc, potassium, and sodium, and prussic, hydrochloric, nitric, and sulphuric acids.

The apothecary's stock was designed to treat the whole man. From it he could prepare washes, liniments, and both caustic and soothing ointments. He could put together materials to be gargled or to be injected as enemas or douches. Liquids to be taken by mouth might take the form of infusions, mixtures, tinctures, solutions, elixirs, extracts, draughts, decoctions, or syrups. The apothecary rolled his own pills and mixed his own powders. Some of these medicines were indeed disagreeable, but the almshouse doctors made no concession to taste. Gelatin capsules had been invented, but are not once mentioned in the prescription book.

Between 1833 and 1841, the trustees spent a little over \$750 a year for "medicines."⁵⁰ This amount did not include expenditures for such pharmaceutical materials as flaxseed, hops, charcoal, red oak bark, logwood, and all of the spices which were used medicinally. Because all supplies were purchased for the establishment as a whole, and there are no separate accounts for the hospital, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine accurately the total amount spent for patient care, including diet. We know that all wines and ardent spirits were bought solely for hospital use. We can identify many of the articles "ordered by the attending physician as 'hospital stores' for use of the sick":⁵¹ wooden legs, spectacles, "gloves for maniacs," trusses, syringes, catheters, medicine mugs, cotton balls, and linen rags (for making lint). But there is no record, for example, of the amounts of food allotted to almshouse and hospital kitchens, respectively.

The attending physicians tried to keep costs down by refraining from ordering expensive drugs and confining themselves to the most necessary medicines.⁵² The trustees tightened control over the medical department by limiting the requisition power to the senior physician, and by asking him to appear at board meetings to justify his proposed spending. They also appointed a committee to look into the cost of medical supplies.⁵³ For the most part, the board seems to have been ready to allow any reasonable outlay, in 1834 even permitting the purchase of "Philosophical Apparatus to enable us to make & record meteorological observations," since these might have a bearing on the state of health at the almshouse.⁵⁴

Attempts to economize apparently did not extend to the food and drink which the doctors considered necessary to restore the health of those under their care. The 1848 prescription book shows that the almshouse physicians wrote 1,550 orders for diet, ranging from barley water and beef tea to broiled mutton, and including fish, chicken, vegetables, and a good deal of rice, corn-meal mush, and molasses. Daily allowances of six to eight ounces of wine or a bottle of porter for some debilitated patients were not uncommon. However, the maximum purchase of wine recorded in the minutes was only 93 gallons in 1840.⁵⁵ The diet of the various hospitals was "wholly at the discretion of the medical attendants," who may also have suggested the types of food to be provided for the rest of the inmates.⁵⁶ Certainly during the cholera epidemic of 1849, the regulation of diet for the entire almshouse population was put in the hands of the physicians.⁵⁷ Foods which were coarse and difficult to digest were thought to favor the development of cholera. Hence, during this emergency, boiled cabbage and soups heavy with vegetables, which had been "prominent articles at dinner," no longer appeared on the table. Working hands ate fresh meat with rice, potatoes, and bread at their main meal of the day, and bread with strong tea or coffee at breakfast and supper. The baker was ordered to add to the bread, as an aid to digestion, "a quantity of sulphate of alumina, sufficient to give to each adult, at every meal, about five grains." And as a final precaution, "every man without exception being accustomed to exhilarating [*sic*] potations out of the house was allowed each day a wineglassfull of whiskey. . . ."⁵⁸ In ordinary times ardent spirits were denied to all but the very ill.

What may have seemed an undue emphasis on medical procedures, medications, and diet, serves to point out the relatively minor roles of surgery and obstetrics at the almshouse during this period. The infirmary's large surgical ward, holding 60 to 80 beds, was devoted entirely to "the class of diseases and injuries denominated surgical; wounds, fractures, [leg] ulcers, &c."⁵⁹ Nursing in all wards was done by men and women selected from among the inmates of the institution. They were not paid, and often served reluctantly.⁶⁰ To attend to the special needs of patients in the surgical ward, the trustees provided for the employment of an experienced dresser, a hospital assistant whose duty it was to clean and dress wounds and ulcers, applying the remedies which the physicians prescribed.⁶¹ These included a variety of washes, unguents, and

poultices. Under normal circumstances, basilicon ointment with oil of turpentine was the most common prescription for both ulcers and wounds, together with Castile soap for cleansing. Poultices were made of flaxseed, carrots, hops, yeast, or chopped rye, sometimes mixed or dusted with powdered charcoal or cinchona bark. Sometimes the attendant painted a leg with iodine, or touched a sore with silver nitrate. Venereal ulcers were treated with mercurial ointments.⁶²

The surgical ward was usually full, but, as one student put it, "... the cases there are not generally of a character to be very interesting or instructing & we are glad when the attending physician thinks an amputation necessary."⁶³ As it happens, the year in which the student wrote this is the only one for which we have a listing of surgical operations at the almshouse. Between May 1, 1834, and April 30, 1835, the attending and resident staff operated on 104 of the 2,571 patients admitted to the hospital. Only seven cases involved anything as dramatic as amputation. Among the remainder, ten were for removal of hemorrhoids, and ten for circumcision. Fifteen persons were tapped for dropsy. Some small tumors and some bony excrescences were excised. There were six operations for cataract, and one for harelip.⁶⁴

In 1833 the supply of surgical instruments at the almshouse consisted of one case of amputating instruments, one case of obstetrical instruments (purchased for \$15 in February of that year), incomplete sets of tooth and eye instruments, two scarificators, and miscellaneous equipment including catheters, syringes, and a tourniquet.⁶⁵ By 1835, thanks to the expenditure of \$220 over two years, the list had grown sufficiently to make possible the operations detailed above. For example, the surgeon now had harelip forceps at his disposal.⁶⁶ The inventory of 1838 contains an interesting item: "1 set acupuncturating instruments."⁶⁷ There is, however, no record of any practice of acupuncture at the Baltimore almshouse.

Surgery was performed without benefit of general anaesthesia. Information about the use of ether and chloroform was not widely disseminated until the late 1840s, and up to that time, all that a surgeon could do was to order a "large anodyne" (usually laudanum) for his patient before operating.⁶⁸ After operating, he or the attending physician had to assure that his patient was comfortable by prescribing the necessary narcotics. Following an amputation at the almshouse in 1848, the doctor prescribed opium for a number of days to be taken "at any time when great pain or restlessness comes on." This patient, a black woman, survived, was given a "flannel cap for amputated leg," in preparation for fitting a wooden or cork substitute for the missing limb, and was discharged from the hospital two and a half months after the operation.⁶⁹

In comparison with the other departments of the hospital, the lying-in ward did little business. In this time period, most babies were born at home. During the nine and a half years for which we have statistics, fewer than 250 women were admitted to this ward, and some of this number came in after abortions or miscarriages. Only 224 infants were delivered, and 25 of these were still-born. Those women who did come to the hospital during these particular years ran a grave risk. Twenty-one of them contracted puerperal fever,

and eight died of it. A few years later, in 1844 and 1845, there were so many fatalities from this infection that the lying-in ward was closed for six months.⁷⁰

The unfortunate women who developed "puerperal mania" were consigned to the limbo of the violently insane in the basement cells, where they might remain for many months or even years.⁷¹ The "lunatic department" was an embarrassment to both medical staff and administration. In the absence of any other public facility, the insane poor were sent to the almshouse, where they constituted a body of "nearly all the varied forms of mental disease crowded in unclassified confusion."⁷² In addition, the trustees accepted non-paupers whose relatives or guardians were apparently charged on a basis of ability to pay.⁷³ Those few insane persons who behaved quietly and did not try to run away were employed on the farm or elsewhere in the establishment, or were allowed to exercise in the small yard provided for their use in 1841.⁷⁴ The others, "furious, violent and ungovernable" or constantly trying to escape, were kept locked up in their underground rooms, sometimes three or more in each eight by ten foot cubicle. The most intractible were further restrained by chains, hand and foot shackles, strait jackets, bed straps, and other devices.⁷⁵ In 1840 the 26 cells had to accommodate not only 76 deranged inmates, but also alcoholics and persons whom city and county authorities had committed as vagrants. Under these conditions it was impossible to provide the "moral treatment, and . . . intellectual discipline judiciously directed by capable and devoted attendants" thought necessary to supplement "medicinal means" in curing mental illness.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, of the roughly 350 patients reported in a seven-year period, 36 were said to have been "cured" and 70 to have been "relieved."⁷⁷

We know something of the medicinal means which the almshouse doctors employed in treating insanity. Entries in the 1848 prescription book show that they ordered cold shower baths, cups or blisters on the back of the neck, and blisters covering the whole head. The book also indicates that they prescribed purgatives, mercury, and narcotics for this class of patient, all in accordance with the best ideas of treatment at that time.⁷⁸ Naturally, they were responsible, too, for the physical well-being of their charges, and in 1848 (according to the prescription book) treated them for intestinal parasites, ophthalmia, diarrhoea, dysentery, phthisis, rheumatism, and the side effects of mercury.

The cramped quarters for the insane were no more suitable for management of the alcoholics, who made up about ten percent of the hospital cases. The aim in both prolonged intoxication and delirium tremens was to produce uninterrupted sleep, but patients on the way to becoming tranquil were too often "aroused by the noise and tumult of a maniac within hearing."⁷⁹ Opium played a prominent part in the treatment, and the determination of the proper dose was a problem which haunted the almshouse doctors after the sudden and unexpected death of some of their alcoholic patients.⁸⁰ Still, as the prescription book bears witness, in 1848 opium in some form or other was the chief agent for inducing rest. It could take two weeks and a full course of purgatives, emetics, cold showers, and opiates to cure delirium tremens. On the other hand, a run-of-the-mill drunkard might be discharged in a day or two after a

large dose of castor oil or Epsom salts and a pint of sedative tea infused from hops.

Perhaps the most interesting development in this field was the change in policy concerning the use of liquor in dealing with alcoholism. After experiments which convinced him it was safe to do so, Dr. Wright, in charge of the hospital from 1828 to 1833, excluded "spirituous drink of all kind" from his plan of treatment, finding it neither necessary nor beneficial.⁸¹ His views prevailed until 1839, when an equally dedicated physician, Alexander C. Robinson, took issue with Wright's assertion that liquor could safely be withheld, pointing out recent deaths at the almshouse apparently caused by lack of enough of the "accustomed stimulus" at least to support life. The controlled use of ardent spirits therefore once again became accepted practice in treating the results of alcohol abuse.⁸² One effect of this change was that purchases of whiskey for the infirmary rose from 35½ gallons in 1839 to 98½ gallons in 1840!⁸³ But by 1848, judging from the handful of cases for which they prescribed brandy or whiskey for delirium tremens and temulentia, almshouse physicians had returned to Wright's way of thinking.

As the preceding brief tour of the infirmary suggests, the resident students at the almshouse saw a large number of patients with a great variety of diseases. They also had the benefit of the institution's expanding medical library, where they could consult standard authorities and keep up with new developments reported in periodical literature.⁸⁴ In addition, as part of their work in the "dead house," they were helping to build up a museum of "many interesting and valuable specimens of anatomy."⁸⁵ One reason why almshouse residencies were so highly prized was that they afforded unusual opportunities for observing and participating in post-mortem examinations. Indeed, one student wrote: "Being so constantly engaged in the study of special and practical anatomy, I have not then attended to the other branches of medical science more than occasion required & under these circumstances you will not be surprised that I am anxious to prolong my stay at this place as long as I possibly can."⁸⁶ Undoubtedly he knew that once in private practice, he would seldom have a chance to perform an autopsy.⁸⁷

Almshouse students could anticipate from 50 to 100 deaths each year from the "necessarily fatal" cases alone—those admitted for confirmed tuberculosis and those classed as "dead or dying when admitted."⁸⁸ The total numbers of dead in each year between 1833 and 1842 ranged from 150 to 300.⁸⁹ Since it was the attending physician who decided whether a post-mortem examination should be conducted, we may assume that the number of such examinations approximated the number of those who died as "subject[s] of public charity in this House."⁹⁰ For some reason, political or otherwise, deaths at the almshouse were not included in the annual reports of the Baltimore Board of Health.⁹¹

One cannot fail to be impressed by the seriousness of most of the medical residents and their willingness to spend extra hours in learning from the living as well as from the dead. The student who was constantly engaged in the dis-

secting room was matched by the one who spent his spare time "wandering from bed to bed, with stethoscope in hand," studying diseases of the heart and lungs.⁹² Dr. Wright, who seemed to have a special rapport with his young associates, praised them highly for their zeal, compassion, and professional responsibility. There were inevitably a few whose conduct might raise eyebrows. In 1841 two students borrowed the institution's horse and carriage, and drove so fast that the horse was injured. In 1842 one of these same students was suspended from practice at the almshouse for four weeks "for violating the rules of the House," and another student was similarly suspended for "improper conduct." And finally, in 1848 the apothecary complained that Dr. X. had "ordered ½ drachm of opium and then burned up the prescription, so as to prevent its being entered upon the medical journal of the house."⁹³ Such incidents were rare. A much more representative situation arose when resident students at the almshouse contracted cholera in 1849, and former students volunteered to fill their places.⁹⁴

Perhaps nowhere is the dedication of the students more clearly demonstrated than in the treatment of the "necessarily fatal" cases of phthisis (tuberculosis) noted throughout the prescription book. Reluctant to give up, the medical staff bled, blistered, and cupped these patients, and plied them with anodynes, cough remedies, and tonics to the very hour of death. They ordered massage with heated whiskey, salt, and cantharides, and recommended fomentations of brandy and cloves. And they were almost lavish in their suggestions for diet—port wine, arrowroot, sago, milk, soup, broiled meat with potatoes, coffee, chocolate—anything which would tempt a flagging appetite.

It was recognized that "public receptacles of the sick," such as the almshouse, afforded their medical officers opportunities for experiment which they would not have enjoyed in private practice. For example, the first persons in Baltimore to be vaccinated against smallpox were children at the almshouse,⁹⁵ and it was publication of the results which led to the adoption of the cowpox vaccine by the rest of the Baltimore medical community. In still another instance, in 1848 when anaesthesia was a subject of "supreme interest," doctors at the almshouse ordered "chloroform to be exhibited & [patient] kept under its influence until the head can be shaved [in preparation for a blister]."⁹⁶ Furthermore, as a committee of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland commented apropos of the large number of cases of malarial fever at the almshouse, "... what a field it presents for testing the comparative value of different therapeutic agents."⁹⁷ Almshouse doctors studied the effects of galvanism, analyzed blood samples from patients with a variety of diseases, and introduced new treatments for delirium tremens, fevers, and gout. One of them expressed the humanitarianism of the age in a plea for special hospitals for the insane. Another came close to recognizing the deadly role of the surgeon who went directly from the dissecting room to the operating theater.⁹⁸

It is important to note that these physicians put in writing their ideas and discoveries and the findings of their post-mortem examinations, and thus made important contributions to the medical literature of the period. For them

it was a golden age of publishing, in which they shared their experiences with their colleagues throughout the United States and extended their preceptorial role far beyond the almshouse walls.

Entering the almshouse infirmary did not mean abandoning hope. Eighty-seven patients in every hundred could expect to survive their stay. In spite of the numbers of hopelessly ill, over an eight and a half year period ending in 1841, out of 14,802 admissions only 1,849 (12.5 percent) died while in the hospital.⁹⁹ In general, one must conclude that in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, persons who for economic reasons had to seek admission to the Baltimore almshouse hospital would receive more expert and better-informed treatment than they would get from many outside physicians. They were well fed and well housed. Except for the insane and alcoholic, they were lodged in clean, bright wards, whitewashed five or six times a year.¹⁰⁰ They were ministered to by men who refused to allow themselves to become "idle spectators of the triumph of disease."¹⁰¹ Only if they could have afforded the fees at the Baltimore Infirmary, the university hospital, would these patients have been attended to by doctors of comparable training and experience, but certainly not of greater compassion and professional zeal.

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4. Minutes of the Poor for Baltimore County and City, April 29, 1835. MS 1866, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland
5. Thomas H. Wright, "Reports of Cases treated in the Baltimore Alms-House Infirmary," *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* [hereafter cited *AJMS*] 3(1828):19.
6. Minutes, May 4, 1835.
7. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1837.
8. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1835.
9. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1834.
10. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1833. This same practice was followed at the Philadelphia Almshouse. Samuel Jackson, "Clinical Reports of Cases treated in the Infirmary of the Alms-House of the City and County of Philadelphia," *AJMS* 1(1827):96.
11. Minutes, October 28, 1835.
12. For trustees' action on student appointments, see Minutes 1833-1842, *passim*. Board was raised to \$250 on June 12, 1839, and at the same time the third-year waiver of board was abolished.
13. John R. Quinan, *Medical Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1844), p. 183; Eugene F. Cordell, *Historical Sketch of the University of Maryland School of Medicine (1807-1890)* (Baltimore, 1891), pp. 72-73; and Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 633. Douglas Carroll summarizes the Wright articles in "Contributions of Maryland Physicians to Medical Journalism in the U.S.," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 22(July 1973):45-48.
14. Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 504.
15. Minutes, May 1, 1837.
16. Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 427.
17. The patient load is taken from the physicians' annual reports of the number remaining in the infirmary at the end of each fiscal year from 1833-1841. Minutes May 6, 1833; May 5,

- 1834; May 4, 1835; May 2, 1836; May 1, 1837; May 7, 1838; May 6, 1839; January 29, 1840; January 13, 1841; January 12, 1842. Actually Wright had supervised 263 cases at one point in 1831. See his "Report to the Trustees on the State of the Medical Department of the Baltimore Alms-House Infirmary, for the year ending the 30th of April, 1831," *AJMS* 10(1832):89.
18. Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 304.
 19. The Minutes of May 7, 1838, record the appointments of Annan and Power and specify the salaries—\$350 each per annum.
 20. Quinan, *Medical Annals*, p. 147; Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 538; and obituary in *AJMS* (n.s.), 25(1853):568–570.
 21. Physicians' Prescription and Order Book, Baltimore Almshouse (1848), pp. 215, 220. MS 807 (folio), Division of Archives & Manuscripts, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. Annan's first assignment was to the women's and children's wards. Samuel Annan, "Reports of Cases treated in the Baltimore Alms-House Hospital," *AJMS* 23(1838–1839):329.
 22. Thomas H. Buckler, one of the almshouse physicians, described the hospital facilities in his *History of Epidemic Cholera... at the Baltimore Alms-House in the Summer of 1849* (Baltimore, 1851), pp. 6–9.
 23. Overseer's report, Minutes, January 13, 1841.
 24. Minutes, February 20, 1833.
 25. Cordell, *Historical Sketch*, p. 46; and William M. Baker, "Baltimore Infirmary: Reports of Surgical Cases," *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* 1(1840):187–197.
 26. Physicians' summaries of infirmary cases 1832–1842. For references to Minutes, see footnote 17.
 27. Douglas Carroll, "Medical Students 1818 and 1834," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 23 (February, 1974):40.
 28. Wright, "Report to the Trustees," p. 49.
 29. Annan, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 23:329.
 30. Thomas H. Wright, "On the Use of the Warm Bath in Season Fever," *AJMS* 6(1830):303; W. F. Anderson and Charles Frick, "Notes of Cases of Remittent Fever which occurred in the Baltimore Almshouse Infirmary," *AJMS* (n.s.), 11(1846):312–324; and Buckler, *Epidemic Cholera*, p. 10. Buckler's "Map of the Medical Topography of Baltimore, 1851" shows the mine banks and the "Region of Intermittent & Remittent Fever."
 31. "Report of Pathology and Practice of Medicine," *Transactions of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, 1856* (Baltimore, 1856):77.
 32. Minutes, May 6, 1833. *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 1, 1832, reported the number of dead as 125.
 33. Buckler, *Epidemic Cholera*, p. 17. The *Baltimore American* of August 2, 1849, and the *Sun* of August 10 reported 89 and 94 deaths, respectively.
 34. *Baltimore Sun*, May 4, 11 and 12, 1847.
 35. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1847.
 36. James Wynne, "The Typhus Fever, as it prevailed at the Baltimore Almshouse during the Winter of 1850–51, with Clinical Observations," *AJMS* (n.s.), 23(1852):422–423.
 37. Wright, "Report to the Trustees," pp. 48–49; and Jackson, "Clinical Reports," pp. 87–88.
 38. Thomas H. Wright, "Contributions to Cardiac Pathology," *AJMS* 12(1833):36; and William Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore and London, 1972), p. 45.
 39. Anderson and Frick, "Notes of Cases," pp. 315, 317.
 40. Minutes, May 6, 1833. The extent to which venesection was practiced can best be appreciated by reading the case reports of Wright and Annan published in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* between 1828 and 1841.
 41. See Wright, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 3(1828):19, and 4(1829):342.
 42. Wright, "Report of Cases," *AJMS* 4(1829):357, 8(1831):22; and "On the Use of the Warm Bath," p. 309. See also Alexander C. Robinson, "Report of Cases of Delirium Tremens, occurring in the Hospital of the Baltimore Alms House," *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* 1(1840):452–453; Annan, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 23:336; and Physicians' Prescription Book (1848), pp. 414 and 458.
 43. Physicians' Prescription Book, *passim*.
 44. Minutes, May 7, 1838.
 45. Wright, "Report of Cases," *AJMS* 4(1829):357, 359. A contemporary writer suggests that leeches may be encouraged to bite by smearing a little milk or cream on the patient's skin. Robley Dunglison, *Dictionary of Medical Science*, 5th ed. (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 364.

46. Physicians' Prescription Book, pp. 149 and 168; Annan, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 23:329; and William Power, "Ligature of the External Iliac Artery for Femoral Aneurism," *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* 3(1842):31. The use of 40 leeches broke no records; a Philadelphia doctor ordered 60 applied to the throat of a child of four suffering from croup. Samuel Jackson, "Cases of Cynanche Trachealis," *AJMS* 4(1829):361.
47. Annan, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 23:332.
48. John Eberle, *Treatise of the Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1823), 2:259-269; and Rothstein, *American Physicians*, p. 53.
49. Not mentioned in the prescription book, but discussed by Wright in "Observations on the Treatment of Delirium Tremens," *AJMS* 6(1830):19-20.
50. Minutes, December 3, 1834; December 3, 1835; December 28, 1836; May 1, 1837; December 26, 1838; January 1 and 29, 1840; January 13, 1841; and January 12, 1842.
51. Minutes, December 4, 1833.
52. Minutes, May 6, 1833.
53. Minutes, July 17, 1839; January 15, 1840; and August 26, 1840.
54. Minutes, December 3, 1834. The apparatus cost \$35.75. Weather conditions were thought to influence the production and dissemination of epidemic diseases. See Dungleison, *Dictionary*, p. 462.
55. Minutes, March 18, 1841.
56. Wright, "Reports of Cases of Erysipelas, treated at the Baltimore Alms-House Infirmary," *AJMS* 4(1829):38.
57. *Baltimore Sun*, July 17, 1849.
58. Buckler, *Epidemic Cholera*, p. 25. For almshouse diet under ordinary conditions, see Douglas Carroll, "A Botanist's Visit to Baltimore in 1835," *Maryland State Medical Journal* 23(April, 1974):54.
59. Wright, "Report to Trustees," p. 61.
60. Wynne, "Typhus Fever," p. 424.
61. The dresser who served under Wright in 1827 had formerly been employed at the Philadelphia almshouse. Wright, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 3(1828):285. Wright also refers to dressers in his "Report to the Trustees," p. 50.
62. Prescription book, *passim*. Given time enough, unless gangrene set in, most ulcers were expected to yield to treatment. Faced with an outbreak of gangrene in 1831, the almshouse physicians experimented with many other local applications. Wright, "Report to Trustees," pp. 53, 67-68.
63. Carroll, "Medical Students," p. 41.
64. Minutes, May 4, 1835.
65. *Ibid.*, February 6 and May 6, 1833.
66. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1835. For purchases of surgical instruments, see Minutes, December 3, 1834, and December 30, 1835. Further purchases made in 1836 and 1839 amounted to \$140. Minutes, May 1, 1837, and January 1, 1840.
67. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1838.
68. William M. Baker, "Baltimore Infirmary: Reports of Surgical Cases," *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* 1(1840):187.
69. Prescription Book, *passim*, July 8-October 30, 1848. Leah Church was admitted with an ulcer on July 8, was operated upon August 19, and was discharged "cured" on October 30, 1848.
70. See note 17, and Buckler, *Epidemic Cholera*, p. 11.
71. The three cases reported in the summaries (Minutes, May 7, 1838; January 29, 1840; and January 13, 1841) were all marked "cured," but a report prepared in 1840 shows that one of the inmates whose insanity was "puerperal" had been incarcerated for six months, another for 21 months, and a third for 28 months. Alexander C. Robinson, "Report of the Lunatic Department of the Baltimore Alms House," *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* 2(1841):34.
72. Robinson, "Report of the Lunatic Department," p. 33. In 1840 the trustees acknowledged their inability to provide "any curative treatment" for the insane poor, and asked for legislative relief. Minutes, January 29, 1840.
73. Minutes, February 19, 1834, and April 29, 1835.
74. Overseer's report, Minutes, January 13, 1841.
75. Robinson, "Report of the Lunatic Department," p. 33. The overseer's year-end inventories included in the minutes list other methods of restraint, including "gloves for maniacs," muffs, wrist bands, handcuffs, and a tranquilizing chair.

76. Robinson, "Report of the Lunatic Department," p. 41.
77. Summaries of cases 1832-1839.
78. Prescription Book, *passim*. See also John Eberle, *Treatise on the Practice of Medicine*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1838), 2:164-172, for a discussion of the treatment of mental illness.
79. Robinson, "Delirium Tremens," p. 461.
80. Wright, "Delirium Tremens," pp. 21-24. The abuse of opium itself was becoming a common problem, particularly among "women of ill fame." Robinson, "Delirium Tremens," p. 460.
81. Wright, "Delirium Tremens," p. 32.
82. Robinson, "Delirium Tremens," p. 460.
83. Minutes, January 1, 1840, and March 18, 1841.
84. Rough catalogs of the library's contents will be found in the Minutes which contain the physicians' reports (see note 17). Between 1833 and 1842 the trustees spent almost as much for medical books as for surgical instruments. See Minutes cited in note 67, as well as the Minutes for December 26, 1838; January 29, 1840; March 18, 1841; and January 12, 1842.
85. Physicians' report, Minutes, May 5, 1834. Contents of the museum are listed in minutes of May 2, 1836; May 1, 1837; and May 7, 1838.
86. Carroll, "Medical Students," p. 42.
87. Annan, "Reports of Cases," *AJMS* 24(1839):332. Annan decried the educational system which made it possible for a young man to obtain a medical degree "by merely reading in an office, and attending two or three courses of lectures, of four months' duration."
88. Wright, "Report to Trustees," p. 49. In 1835 the latter category was dropped from the summaries, but it is obvious from the prescription book that in 1848 moribund patients were still being sent to the infirmary. As early as 1836, Dr. Miller had recommended that private physicians not send "dead or dying" persons to the almshouse unless they provided statements of the treatment they had been given, and would certify that such patients would benefit from the move. Minutes, May 2, 1836.
89. From summaries. See note 17.
90. Minutes, February 28, 1838.
91. Levin S. Joynes, "Statistics of the Mortality of Baltimore . . . from 1836 to 1849 (inclusive)," *AJMS* (n.s.), 20(1850):310.
92. Samuel D. Gross, *Lives of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1861), p. 816.
93. Wright, "Report to Trustees," p. 48; Minutes, October 20, 1841; and February 9 and 23, 1842; and Prescription Book, p. 72.
94. Buckler, *Epidemic Cholera*, p. 22.
95. By Dr. James Smith in 1801. Baltimore. *Telegraph and Daily Advertiser*, December 3, 1801; and James Smith, "History of the Introduction of Vaccination in the State of Maryland," *Vaccine Inquirer*, No. 1, (1822):16-45.
96. Prescription Book, p. 103. Anaesthesia was a prime topic of discussion at the American Medical Association meeting in Baltimore in 1848. Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 114.
97. *Transactions of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, 1856*, p. 76.
98. James H. Miller, "Reports of Cases treated in the Baltimore Alms-House Infirmary," *AJMS* 14(1834):321-328; Charles Frick, "Of the Relative Proportions of the different Organic and Inorganic Elements of the Blood, in different Diseases," *AJMS* (n.s.), 15(1848):23-37; Wright, "Delirium Tremens," pp. 17-33; Wright, "Season Fever," pp. 303-311; T. H. Buckler, "On the Use of the Phosphate of Ammonia as a new remedy for Gout and Rheumatism," *AJMS* (n.s.), 11(1846):108-123; Robinson, "Report of the Lunatic Department," pp. 32-48; and Power, "Femoral Aneurism," pp. 28-37, esp. p. 36.
99. See summaries of cases, excluding the incomplete returns for fiscal year 1832-1833.
100. Wright, "Report to Trustees," p. 61. However, there were signs of deterioration as the buildings aged. The men's basement cells were described in 1850 as being kept "in the most uncleanly condition," and a visiting physician, helping out during a typhus epidemic, found himself "so completely overcome by the offensive effluvia as to feel faint and giddy." Wynne, "Typhus Fever," p. 423.
101. Wright, "Report of Cases," *AJMS* 5(1830):339.

Liberal Education in the Gilded Age: Baltimore and the Creation of the Manual Training School

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

ON MARCH 3, 1884 THE BALTIMORE MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL OPENED ITS doors on the second floor of a building already leased by the School Commissioners on Courtland Street between Lexington and Saratoga. It was the first secondary technical or industrial school in the country which was entirely supported by public funds, and one of the pioneers of a movement to make education relevant in an era of technological change.

Educators in Baltimore, as throughout the nation, felt the pressure of rapid social and economic change in post-war America. Old standards seemed less certain as urban, industrial America challenged the rural, individualistic values of an earlier era. Americans traditionally looked to the schools to transmit culture and democracy. As in the past, the school system responded to the challenge of the new era, but the form of that response was the subject of a lengthy debate between those who supported classical education and the proponents of practical studies. For ten years the Baltimore City School Commissioners discussed the introduction of manual training into the public school system. Their deliberations often reflected politics and the clash of personalities, yet Baltimore's experience was representative of public education's response to urban industrialism throughout the country.

The proponents of manual education traced its beginnings in the United States from the display of the Moscow Imperial Technical School at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. Methods of tool instruction as a basis for the understanding of technology had been introduced into the Moscow school in 1868. From there the use of tool instruction spread to the school of architecture at the University of Illinois, the Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken, New Jersey, and the Washington University Polytechnic School in St. Louis. But the Centennial popularized the idea of generalized manual training schools as opposed to technical colleges or trade schools in the United States. Professional schools of applied science and technology were not new, and had already gained acceptance. Trade schools promoted by industry as an alternative to apprenticeship were in a developmental stage. Yet manual training schools, although related to them, were quite different. Educators desired to train the hand in the use of the tools of science and indus-

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try as the mind was trained in the tools of language and mathematics. This would broaden "the general education of the scholar, with reference to the fuller and more symmetrical development of all his faculties and powers, and to the promotion of his success in whatever sphere of labor it shall subsequently be determined he is to enter."¹

Supporters of manual education wanted it introduced on a par with English, mathematics, and languages into all levels of the primary schools. In actual practice, it was begun in secondary schools and its influence expanded as it succeeded. The movement met with considerable opposition and was accused of being everything from undemocratic to communistic to unnecessary. Many opponents feared basic courses would be neglected while schools produced skilled automatons who could not think. But by the end of the decade of the 1880s most urban school systems had at least one manual high school and were introducing manual courses into lower grades. In the interim definitions of manual education were developed which were acceptable to conservative and reform-minded Americans alike. A pioneer in the movement, Baltimore's Manual Training School served as a model for others.

Baltimore in the late 1870s experienced a period of economic expansion which ended the war-induced recession of the 1860s. The city nearly doubled its population between 1870 and 1880 and realized a six percent annual growth rate in industry. Adding to their pre-war roles as economic links between north and south, Baltimore businessmen expanded the western rail system to increase the grain trade. At the same time Baltimore became a leader in America's commerce with Europe. Immigration rose, and with it came tensions between native and immigrant, laborer and employer. In 1877, strikes and riots ravaged the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. The American worker, no longer an independent craftsman, sought the protection of unions. The press blamed the European immigrants for driving Americans from the skilled crafts. Baltimore employers, while not supporting unionism, agreed on the undesirability of a largely foreign work force. The ideal solution was the creation of a native born, trained labor pool whose pride in craft would prevent unionization. Industrialists saw such a pool as essential to future growth.²

Historically, crafts were learned through the apprenticeship system. By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, apprenticeship no longer sufficed to provide skilled craftsmen. The magnitude and rapidity of the changing nature of industry had made many trades obsolete. Unions attempted to restrict entrance into others. Also many young people remained in school for a longer period than in the past. Educators in Baltimore and across the country increased the number of years required for a primary education. If Baltimoreans desired a young, educated, and skilled labor pool they would have to turn to the school system.

In the 1870s and 1880s Baltimore's schools were controlled by the Democratic Party machine of I. Freeman Rasin. Maintaining power by dispensing civic contracts and civil service jobs to supporters, the machine financed campaigns by exacting tribute from its beneficiaries. During most of the period the mayor of Baltimore was Ferdinand Latrobe. The office was limited to two

year terms and a mayor could not immediately succeed himself. Attempts by both Republican and Independent Democratic reformers to defeat him or other machine candidates were continually unsuccessful. A perennial campaign issue was the divorce of the civil service from politics. Among those positions subject to political control were seats on the Board of School Commissioners. Each of the city's twenty wards had a representative on the Board, nominated by that ward's councilman and elected by the City Council as a whole. The school board's members were often machine politicians; much of its high turnover in the 1870s and 1880s occurred as they resigned to move upward to the City Council.

All professional employees of the school system were "elected" by the School Commissioners. The superintendent and assistant superintendent served four year terms, while teachers had their contracts reviewed annually. Tenure did not exist and no one was safe from political pressure. Reformers urged professional examinations and tenure, as well as altering the methods of purchasing equipment; they gave low priority to changes in curricula. Nevertheless, until 1900 the Board of School Commissioners remained a political body.³

Accompanying the graft and favoritism associated with urban machines went low taxes on property and industry. Any change in the school system which would raise taxes was vetoed. When the press promoted the popular idea of free text books, for example, the School Commissioners refused to yield. It is therefore surprising to find them promoting a costly experiment in manual education in the 1880s. It is equally surprising to find the school superintendent, a man known for his support of educational reforms such as tenure, merit examinations and competitive bidding as well as longer school terms and compulsory attendance, objecting strenuously to manual education. The issue here was not reform versus reaction, but a disagreement among essentially conservative men over what constituted the best form of education.

In 1870 Baltimore had three public high schools: Western Female, Eastern Female, and City College, the latter an all male institution featuring a classical curriculum. City College had recently dropped a fifth year, and added several business courses, but the school mainly emphasized the study of classical languages as a preparation for the learned professions. Its enrollment was small, restricted by examination, and traditionally elite. Such was its reputation that the recently founded Johns Hopkins University matriculated students from City alone without entrance examination. City did not and could not serve the needs of all who desired an education beyond grammar school and did not have the means to attend private academies. The need for an alternative was particularly acute among those who did not wish to pursue the classics.⁴

Baltimore had entered a scientific and technological age, yet there was no recognition of this change in the school system. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Alexander McFadden Newell, desired not only changes in curricula but in educational philosophy. A former professor of natural sciences at City, President of the State Normal School (now Towson State University),

and Secretary of the State Board of Education, he saw the mission of the schools as preparing all students for their roles in society. Through the *Maryland School Journal*, which he founded and edited from 1875 to 1880, Newell ardently supported the introduction of scientific, industrial and technical courses into the school systems of the state. He became in fact the apostle of practical education for the masses. As state superintendent, however, he had little power over the county superintendents, and none of them opposed Newell's proposals more than the Baltimore City superintendent, Henry Elliot Shepherd.⁵

Throughout his term in office, Shepherd was the leading defender of classical education with its emphasis on the training of the mind and its belief in the education of an intellectual elite. A North Carolinian, Shepherd came to Baltimore in 1868 as professor of literature and history at City College. A scholar by inclination, he followed the formation of the Johns Hopkins University with interest, and in January, 1874 applied for the Professorship of English Language and Literature. Young and ambitious, he had recently completed a *History of the English Language*, which received considerable acclaim when published in 1875. He continued to pursue the Hopkins post even after his unsought appointment to the four year term of Superintendent of Education for Baltimore City. Writing to Daniel Coit Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins, soon after his appointment, Shepherd commented: "In my new position . . . I hope to accomplish something for the good of the Johns Hopkins University."⁶ This was to be an attempt to elevate the educational standards, first of City College, and then of the entire system.

One of his first moves in that direction was to reinstate the fifth year at City, which he claimed would rank its graduates with Ivy League juniors. Another was to introduce an English or modern language curriculum to parallel the classical curriculum. Shepherd's actions, however, met with much political opposition when he attempted to elevate faculty standards through merit examinations and tenure. The School Commissioners had been satisfied with a system of annual election of teachers by which they could control advancement and removal. At odds with the school board, Shepherd continued to fight for professional examinations and tenure. Subject to increasing frustration and "wearied out with a state of subjection to political vicissitudes and caprices"⁷ he persisted in seeking a college appointment. His resignation as superintendent in 1882 was over the issue of graft and salaries, but his break with the School Commissioners had been developing for a considerable period.⁸

Manual training certainly did not fit into Shepherd's plan for elevating the standards of the school system. He believed technical courses were outside the scope of public education. They belonged in technical schools and had nothing whatever to do with intellectual learning. Manual education represented much of what Shepherd opposed in the materialistic attitudes of the age. As the School Commissioners and Superintendent Newell pressed the issue, Shepherd responded by defining his educational philosophy. The ensuing discussion expanded beyond particular courses of study to become a debate on the role of education in society.⁹

Alexander Newell began that debate in 1877 when he discussed the "Lessons of the Centennial" in the *Maryland School Journal*. He defined the mission of the school as "preparing the young for usefulness." Since few pursued the learned professions, and many participated in commerce and industry, "not only the interests of business, trade, commerce and the Mechanic Arts, but the more important and more vital interests of society and the State itself, demand that our system of public education be supplemented by a system of industrial and technical schools."¹⁰ This was the major theme of Baltimore's supporters of manual training.

Newell elaborated the theme before the National Education Association's annual convention in Louisville, Kentucky in August, 1877. In his inaugural address as president of the association he condemned American public schools for failing to produce better workers, thinkers and citizens. Pointing to the recent railroad riots and the growth of unions, he inquired "are our public schools doing all that we have a right to demand of them, to prepare the young people who have to live by the labor of their hands to become intelligent, moral and industrious citizens?" Noting that most children did not complete their education through high school, and that many did not attend schools at all, he rejected the panacea of compulsory attendance laws. Children would come to school, and remain there longer only if they were taught interesting and relevant courses. The curricula should be overhauled so that students would be prepared to advance not only to the next grade, but to step out into the world. Composition, drawing, literature and simple arithmetic ought to be stressed above grammar, spelling by rote, and theoretical courses. New courses in political economy and morals, introduced into elementary school, would form better citizens. Most importantly, courses in industrial education, beneficial to the majority of students, must be placed in the curricula on an equal basis with traditional studies. Ignorant workers were poor craftsmen and poor citizens. For the future stability and prosperity of the nation it was imperative that schools assume responsibility in an area where parental guidance and apprenticeship were failing. If education in the past was an alternative to apprenticeship, in the future it had to become a substitute. The state must assume the responsibility to educate the masses for the good of society. By introducing manual courses the individual as well as the masses would be served, the state rendered stable, and the schools would adapt to present needs in their historic mission to create better citizens.¹¹

Coming at a time when the Baltimore schools were under intensive internal study, Newell's address suggested a remedy for poor attendance and a high drop out rate. The *Baltimore American*, the leading anti-machine paper, endorsed manual education, noting that girls already benefitted from sewing courses in elementary school. Manual education would promote attendance, aid discipline, and provide a means by which youth could learn the dignity of labor.¹² Most reaction in the press, however, was far from favorable. The *Sun*, organ of the Democratic machine, called the introduction of trades into the school system paternalistic and "foreign to the genius of our institutions."¹³

The editors of the *Evening Bulletin* went further. Alluding darkly to the Paris commune, they suggested "the man who has a right to his trade from the State, has a right also to call upon the State to give him tools and materials for his trade, and to see that he has wages,—in short, rank communism." Summoning the individualistic tradition, the *Bulletin* condemned state interference in the lives of citizens as well as all forms of collectivism. The schools, in taking over parental responsibility encouraged dependence on the state; in promoting manual training society was underwriting its own destruction.¹⁴

The claim that advocates of industrial education were also advocates of communism or socialism (used interchangeably in the press) related to its European origins. Swiss educator Robert Seidel saw industrialization leading inevitably to socialism. Manual training was a means by which the state would adjust to the new order and end the class struggle in a classless society. Many European and a few American intellectuals advocated socialism as the only logical economic system for a democracy. To American businessmen and politicians such talk of social and economic change meant anarchy. They feared well educated workmen would unionize, and to them unions were but one step removed from the Paris commune. Thus, educators in America who supported manual education emphasized the American traditions of individual opportunity and social stability. They accused the existing school system of being undemocratic by creating unequal opportunities in secondary education. They argued that America was moving toward the type of class system which fomented revolution. Such an eventuality could be avoided by a combination of manual and academic courses which would promote the widest possible future choices for the greatest number of citizens.¹⁵

Along with the theme of democracy went the argument for social usefulness. Newell believed that only the introduction of industrial education could preserve equality and the American way of life. The present system of education discriminated in favor of those destined for college. By not serving the needs of the majority destined for labor it stunted their futures. He charged unionism with destroying the apprenticeship system, and this decreasing private means of acquiring technical skills was not offset by a corresponding increase in public means. Manual public education would fill the gap and promote equality. Moreover, by educating the whole child the school could also shape his activities "wisely," protect him from poverty, and inculcate in him the love of hard work. This would reduce crime, increase the wealth of the citizenry and decrease the numbers of foreign workmen who filled industrial needs in the absence of trained Americans. Manual training would, in short, cure most social ills.¹⁶

By 1878 some members of the Board of School Commissioners probably inclined toward Newell's position. But Superintendent Shepherd saw in the support for manual education among professional educators a dangerous misconception of the mission of the school. In the pages of the *Maryland School Journal* and in the Board of School Commissioner's *Reports* he outlined his position on industrial training. The true goal of education was the transmis-

sion of culture, defined as that knowledge which frees the mind of man from the mundane. The mission of the teacher was the perfection of the intellectual being. The "fundamental truth that education deals *directly* with minds and only *indirectly* with temporal vocations or callings, and that its objective point is pure culture, has become almost a tradition of a long gone age." The more education was subordinated to mere utility, the greater would be the loss to society, for the mind would be made subservient to the dictates of physical well being. The substitution of technical proficiency for understanding undermined the moral fiber of society: "the sympathetic alliance of materialism in science, and sensualism in philosophy involves subordination of the noblest capacities of the human intellect to the attainment of mere utility as its end and ideal." Already materialism had sapped the moral fiber of a generation and was destroying the school system. "Coincident with the rise of an inflated currency, extravagance in social life, profusion and wanton expenditure in municipal government, arises another phase of this inflation, the irrational attempt to accomplish the impossible . . ." Only a return to basics could stem the tide, and in the primary schools and girls high schools Shepherd succeeded in reducing the number of subjects taught.¹⁷

Apparently Shepherd and the advocates of manual training reached a stalemate. With the absence of concrete evidence one can only speculate on the extent of Shepherd's support among the School Commissioners. He was re-elected to another four year term in 1881, indicating majority approval of his policies. Subsequent events suggest that majority was a slender one. The School Commissioners were politicians first, and in the past had rejected any changes that would entail increased expenditures. They appeared to support Shepherd more out of a desire to maintain a tight budget than to endorse the concept of an educated elite. Newell and his followers took their program to the forum of public opinion.

Believing that the graduates of classical courses were overcrowding the professions, Newell in "The Beginnings of Industrial Education" painted a dark picture of poverty, widening social gaps and an emerging class system based on the scorning of labor. He did not argue that academic high schools were undemocratic, but that manual training was equally democratic, increasing children's prospects for future success. Arguments supporting academic education were used to support manual education. The public was informed that manual training was essential for the good of society. Perley R. Lovejoy, President of the Maryland State Teachers Association, urged teachers to discuss the need for change in educational policy. He accused the existing system of encouraging class consciousness, idleness and disdain for honest labor. By the end of the 1870s newspapers and professional journals were urging the schools to prepare future farmers and mechanics as well as teachers, lawyers, clergymen and doctors. State superintendent Newell disclosed to legislators that his office received letters and petitions favoring manual training. Parents and businessmen subjected the Board of School Commissioners to increasing public pressure. If changes could not be accomplished via the superintendent's office they would have to come from the politicians.¹⁸

Such an appeal to politicians must have struck Shepherd as a stab in the back. He was having increasing difficulties with the school board over the issues of tenure and graft. At the same time he noted a decline in the enrollment of the classical program at City College which threatened its existence. He felt the need to defend the curriculum on the basis of its utility rather than its conformity to the true ends of education.¹⁹ By the beginning of the 1880s Shepherd had obviously had enough political interference. In a letter to Daniel C. Gilman discussing a possible position at Columbia he remarked "My present surroundings are becoming very distasteful to me . . ." and expressed a desire to return to pure scholarship.²⁰

In his last *Report* Shepherd delivered a bitter jeremiad on the trend toward utilitarianism and materialism which not even the universities resisted. Already present in England and on the Continent, he feared this trend was irresistible in America where the pressures of growth and development were greater. Since the war there had been a popularization and idolization of science which led even colleges to subvert the goal of culture to that of expediency. This trend had to be reversed, he argued, if education was to return to the ideal of knowledge for its own sake. Emphasis on the classical languages and literature, and refusal to allow specialization before the completion of college were the only ways to counteract the movement toward narrowness of mind. The morality and virtue of the nation were linked to the educational system. Materialism as the goal of education would create a materialistic nation, one in which culture and virtue would be subverted to expediency. Shepherd argued that for educators to allow the subordination of culture to expediency would be to deny responsibility for all but the immediate future.²¹

This was Shepherd's last public statement on the goals of the school system. On September 27, 1882, shortly before the opening of the fall term, he resigned over the issue of forced contributions to the Democratic machine. In his farewell to Baltimore teachers, reported in the *American*, he traced his attempt to elevate the moral and academic standards of the schools, and his efforts to free the system from individual and factional influence. Shepherd's open opposition to political control of the schools, particularly over merit examinations and tenure, and his outspoken belief that the mission of the schools was to educate the elite rather than the masses, had aroused enmity. Although he knew many considered his actions and public statements inexpedient, he defended them on the grounds of moral principle. Editorializing, the *American* called Shepherd's resignation a sacrifice to the city machine, and noted that the Board would now elect a superintendent who would not oppose their wishes.²²

The major issues in the end remained teacher tenure and civil service reform. But manual training had become the pet project of some Board members. A change in their attitude toward the mission of the schools was reflected in their choice of Shepherd's successor. Henry A. Wise had been Assistant Superintendent, in charge of all elementary schools. He was believed to be amenable to the "growing conviction among all classes that the education of to-day should be thoroughly practical, preparing those who receive it for the

varied positions which they may afterwards occupy in the trades or professions."²³ He would also undoubtedly agree with the majority of the Board. If Wise did not initially favor manual training, he quickly became a convert.

In his first *Report* as superintendent in 1882, Wise expressed his commitment to mass education. Seeing the decade as one of productive industry, increasing mechanization and rapid vocational change, he urged training the mind for a versatile role. Universal education protected both society and property, and all means should be used to educate the masses, including manual training.²⁴

On April 23, 1883 Joshua Plaskitt, influential Democratic politician and long a member of the School Commissioners, introduced a resolution favoring the founding of a manual training school. He reported that "all held up their hands in holy horror."²⁵ Yet differences were resolved in secret session and on May 1 members voted to investigate the creation of a secondary school devoted to manual education.²⁶ With the passage of the resolution, the lines of support blurred. Were the proponents of manual training simply waiting to get Shepherd out of the way before acting? Had Newell's campaign for public support resulted in pressure on the School Commissioners? Did they favor industrial education because they believed it would support the existing social system? Or did they truly believe that they were in the vanguard of educational reform? None of these questions was debated publicly and private records have vanished. Once the Plaskitt resolution passed the Board not even the inquisitive *American* could discover a dissenting voice.²⁷ Board and superintendent presented a solid front.

During May and June Plaskitt's committee and members of the superintendent's office visited various technical institutions. Their report to the School Commissioners was enthusiastic. What impressed them was that most educators felt manual education was necessary, even though they differed on the proper methods. The committee affirmed that "a knowledge of some form of industrial labor is as necessary as a knowledge of books, and as the state and city acknowledge their obligation to teach children to read and write they can not deny their obligation to teach them to work . . ." Schools best served the community by educating the many rather than the few and by making educational choices as wide as possible. The growing prosperity of Baltimore created a need for skilled workers which now was filled by foreigners. Americans had to reform their attitudes concerning the dignity and social value of labor and Baltimore could lead this reformation. The proposed school linked labor theory and practice, though no general trades would be taught. Experimental and voluntary, the new school could invigorate the city's entire system.²⁸

The Board adopted the resolution creating the Baltimore Manual Training School on June 19, 1883. Now the City Council had to be approached for enabling legislation and funds. Less readily convinced of the value of manual education, they delayed legislation until October, which prevented the opening of the school in the fall. They also postponed appropriating funds. Meanwhile, navy commander Richard Grady, newly appointed head of Manual Training

School, went to St. Louis to observe the manual school at Washington University. The report he presented to the School Commissioners in January 1884 could not be found, but editorial comments indicate the St. Louis school was the model for that in Baltimore. As in St. Louis heavy emphasis would be placed on tool work. Opponents of manual education revived charges that Baltimoreans would be subsidizing the first step toward a government workshop. Despite Superintendent Wise's assurance that the curricula balanced manual and mental training, the *American* withdrew its support. The editors feared the school would "educate a boy's hands to the detriment of his mind. Mere manual skill without a trained intellect may fit him for good mechanical work, and for that only."²⁹ The *Day*, opposed to all extensions of secondary education, urged an improved elementary system with emphasis placed on good citizenship.³⁰ As the debate over the expenditure of tax money continued in the press, the City Council delayed appropriations. Without funds the school could not open in January, and in fact the Council did not appropriate money so contracts could be let until February. Delay may have been necessary, even wise, but it is probable that the Council was testing the extent of public support for the manual training school before committing themselves. In January the machine paper, the *Sun*, entered the controversy in support of the new school, printing letters from teachers on the high drop-out rate, and discussing the accomplishments of private technical institutions.³¹

Also supporting the new school was Hopkins president Gilman. Although long a proponent of manual and technical education he remained aloof from the decade-long debate over manual training in Baltimore. Once the School Commissioners approved the concept, however, Gilman took a public stand. The Hopkins had early initiated a series of public lectures to acquaint the community with the University and the latest techniques in science and education. There was also a weekend institute for Baltimore teachers, eventually expanded into the University's night school. The institute established close cooperation between Gilman and school board president John Thomas Morris, and the two became personal friends. No doubt Gilman was informed of the progress of the Plaskitt resolutions within the Board. Along with all concerned citizens, he knew of the Council's delay in appropriations. Gilman was in a position to apply additional public pressure to speed the Council's decision. It cannot have been coincidence that he invited Calvin Woodward to Baltimore early in 1884 to give an address on the progress of manual training. This address was scheduled for February 4.³² The day preceding the City Council finally approved Manual Training School's appropriation.

Short speeches by Morris and Gilman introduced Woodward's address in crowded Hopkins Hall. Gilman confined his remarks to Baltimore's need for skilled artisans. Morris also emphasized the industrial needs of the city, but noted that students at the new school would be able to make sounder judgments on careers, whether in mechanics or in higher education. This position was reiterated by Woodward. Graduates of manual schools, where a balance was created between the study of abstract ideas and the use of tools, would have "an increasing interest in manufacturing pursuits, [be] more intelligent

mechanics, more successful manufacturers, better lawyers, more skilled physicians and more useful citizens." Manual training was not succumbing to mere materialism; it would open the way to success and "success does not imply wealth but it does imply competence." Emphasis on competence would elevate manual education beyond the mere use of tools. It would solve present labor problems and train more students in more fields, but it would also stimulate curiosity and inventive genius. All students at St. Louis studied science and pure mathematics, and their introduction into the manufacture and use of tools allowed them to apply what they learned. No assumption was made on the future of any student so that his choices would be as wide as possible. This was the true meaning of liberal education, the combination of the abstract and the practical to stimulate the intellectual curiosity of the pupil.³³

Designed to accommodate 25 boys in a three year program, the Manual Training School in Baltimore proved to be a successful and popular experiment. Superintendent Wise in his 1884 *Report* predicted an increase in school enrollment and a spur to Baltimore's industrial growth resulting from the school. He hoped also that it would inspire the endowment of a polytechnic college like M.I.T. to add to the educational advantages of Baltimore.³⁴ Actually, graduates of the Manual Training School often went to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and the navy supplied the school with principals and faculty members. Graduates of the institution also studied at the Hopkins. As a preparation for higher education as well as for a career the institution proved its worth.³⁵

By the end of 1887 Manual Training School became the model for other schools in public systems throughout the country. It received enthusiastic support from the press and from its students, and there was no doubt that it stood in the vanguard of the movement. In Baltimore the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the Merchant Tailor's Association opened specialized trade schools, and the Industrial Education Association promoted others. The mayor himself placed the future of the city in the hands of manual education. In such an atmosphere the experiment of 1884 expanded in scope and content.³⁶

Educators like Woodward and Walker urged the introduction of manual training into the lowest grades. They believed that manual dexterity would aid the students' physical growth and quicken their mental ability to grasp abstract ideas. In Baltimore Superintendent Wise supported expanded manual training but counselled caution. His criteria for expansion of courses were student enthusiasm and social usefulness. Experiments introducing sewing first in high schools and later in grade schools set a precedent. "Though this kind of instruction may not have been within the original scope of our system of education, yet there is no reason why it should not be included if it can be made useful to the children."³⁷

Like the sewing experiment, manual training was first expanded in the secondary schools. Superintendent Wise proposed a high school for girls who did not intend to teach. It would emphasize cooking and domestic economy.

This proposal received Board support, but instead of a separate school, Eastern Female High School became the site of a manual workshop. In 1888 Board member John Foley introduced a resolution extending manual education into the primary grades. He received support from John T. Ford, new principal of the Manual Training School. The curricula included elementary tool use, construction with paper and sticks, and domestic economy. The program was designed to promote attendance and enthusiasm as well as discipline. As part of the expanded curricula, fifth graders learned elementary carpentry. As the decade of the 1880s ended the black community received support for their plans for a Colored Manual Training School.³⁸

State-wide, the system of manual training was promoted by Baltimore's State Senator John B. Wentz, former school board member, and State Superintendent Newell. Wentz introduced a bill creating a state commission to study manual education. Reactions to the proposal from educators and legislators were mixed. Some argued since "you can not make a carpenter or a blacksmith out of a boy in the public schools . . . it can not be done thoroughly, it should not be done at all . . ." ³⁹ A measure of the success of the movement, however, was evidenced at the Maryland State Teachers Association meeting in 1888. Most of the participants, whether opposed to the extension of manual training or not, admitted the success of the Baltimore experiment. The issue was not whether the public schools should teach industrial arts but could a county system afford to financially. Superintendents counselled caution, feeling that manual education would be of limited value outside major cities. Most agreed, however, that if made broadly educational, and not viewed as an instant cure for all the problems of the schools, manual training was indeed beneficial. At the superintendents' meeting in 1889, for example, Henry A. Wise discussed not the need for manual education, but the exact definition of its scope.⁴⁰

Baltimoreans accepted this new approach to education as part of the progress of the post-war period. Manual training enabled the individual to better cope with industrialism and at the same time opened secondary education to those who did not desire to pursue the classics. By offering a greater variety of courses related to contemporary experience the schools met the needs of mass education. Senator Wentz felt the new education "set the artisan upon the throne."⁴¹

The Manual Training School, however, did not serve to educate the masses. Graduating classes remained small, and in 1894 its name was changed to Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, reflecting its role as a college preparatory school for engineers. Its rival, City College, retained its classical curricula, but added courses in business and higher mathematics. Both schools reflected the desires of the urban middle class. Both provided a liberal education for the professional men of the future. Poly's increased popularity simply reflected the belief of the late nineteenth century that the future lay with scientists and engineers. A new path of upward mobility was created, but the goal of mass education expressed by Alexander Newell in 1877 was not reached. The Manual

Training School did not create a large pool of skilled labor, nor did it appear to effect the growth of unions. Rather, it reflected a change in educational values in keeping with an increasingly urbanized, industrialized Baltimore.

REFERENCES

1. Francis A. Walker, *Discussions in Education* (New York, 1899), p. 127. Both Walker and Calvin M. Woodward, *Manual Training School* (Boston, 1887) discuss the history, aims and achievements of the manual training movement in the United States. Discussion of the relationship of the movement to American educational concepts are found in Lawrence Cremin, *Transformation of the School* (New York, 1961), and Rush Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* (New York, 1962). Arthur M. Schlesinger, in *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933) details the impact of urbanization on American life and values.
2. Baltimore population and industrial statistics can be found in Edward Spencer, ed., *An Account of the Municipal Celebration of the One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1881). Baltimore had established the first trans-Atlantic shipping line trading with Germany after the war, and the value of foreign trade rose 14.5 percent annually from 1870 to 1880. In the same period property values rose 60 percent. Politics are discussed by Henry E. Shepherd, ed., *History of Baltimore Maryland* (Baltimore, 1898), with a natural bias against the Democratic machine. There are few modern works which deal with the history of Baltimore. One of the best is the social history by Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900* (Baltimore, 1941).
3. The annual *Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, 1876-1889* (hereinafter referred to as *Report*); the manuscript Board of School Commissioners Minutes, courtesy of E. Robert Umphries of the office of the Baltimore City Superintendent of Education (hereinafter referred to as Minutes); and Vernon S. Vavrina, *History of Public Education in the City of Baltimore, 1829-1956* (Washington, 1958) give a general view of the educational system, its problems, and areas of controversy. The Board, however, retired to "secret" session whenever faced with major dissension, and minutes of those sessions were not kept. Unfortunately, no private papers of board members are available, and there are few papers available even for leading political figures of the period.
4. A general history of City College can be found in Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894). In 1878 the Hopkins began to admit City graduates without examination; see John Thomas Morris to Daniel Coit Gilman, November 9, 1878, Gilman Papers, Johns Hopkins University Archives (hereinafter referred to as Gilman Papers).
5. Woodward, *Manual Training School*, levels the accusation at the entire American school system, and promotes a new professionalism based on industrialism rather than on the classics. The Board of School Commissioners *Report*, 1884 printed a public accusation that education was impractical, therefore useless. Alexander Newell in an editorial in the *Maryland School Journal* (hereinafter referred to as *M.S.J.*), May, 1875 argued that schools must provide training which the student fails to get at home.
6. Henry E. Shepherd to Daniel C. Gilman, June 22, 1875, Gilman Papers, The file of correspondence between Shepherd, Gilman, and members of the Hopkins Board of Trustees runs from 1874 into the twentieth century and reveals Shepherd's continual desire for a collegiate position.
7. Henry E. Shepherd to Daniel C. Gilman, December 15, 1875, November 18, 1878, Gilman Papers.
8. *Baltimore American*, September 27, 30, 1882.
9. Shepherd attacked "the exaggerated importance assigned to certain branches of knowledge, on account of their real or supposed professional or practical utility," in *Report*, 1876, p. 8.
10. *M.S.J.*, February, 1877, p. 654.
11. "Education and Labor," *M.S.J.*, September, 1877, pp. 1-16.
12. *Baltimore American*, November 6, 1877.
13. *Baltimore Sun* as quoted in *M.S.J.*, October, 1877, p. 86.
14. *Baltimore Evening Bulletin* as quoted in *M.S.J.*, October, 1877, pp. 86-87.
15. Robert Seidel, *Industrial Instruction* (Boston, 1887), sees the need to educate the citizen for the benefit of society and "the future of the state, as well as in pedagogy, belongs to labor" (p. 11). John A. Garraty, in *The New Commonwealth* (New York, 1968), pp. 313-321 discusses American fear of "communism," which many interpreted as any criticism of the

- existing social order. Woodward, *Manual Training School*, believed industrial education would prevent class struggle and revolution. Few, if any, of those who supported manual training appear to have been sympathetic to unionism, and they positively rejected socialism.
16. "Industrial Schools," *M.S.J.*, November, 1877, pp. 114ff.
 17. *Report*, 1878, p. 39; *Report*, 1879, p. 30; "Modern Education, Its Dangers and Its Requirements," *M.S.J.*, October, 1878.
 18. "Beginnings of Industrial Education," *M.S.J.*, September, 1879, pp. 1ff. See also "Needed Reforms," by S. S. Thompson, *M.S.J.*, July, 1879, p. 369. Lovejoy's talk, "Industrial Education," is recorded in *M.S.J.*, October, 1879, pp. 1ff. See also *Annual Report of the State Board of Education*, 1879, pp. liv, xxx.
 19. *Report*, 1880. Not only did the superintendent comment on City, its principal, William Elliott, Jr., noted that the graduates of City were among the leading professionals in Baltimore and that the school was a positive power for good in the city.
 20. Henry E. Shepherd to Daniel C. Gilman, September 1, 1881, Gilman Papers.
 21. *Report*, 1881, pp. 33-47.
 22. *Baltimore American*, September 20, 27, 1882.
 23. *Baltimore Day*, October 11, 1882. Wise, nephew of Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, had served as assistant superintendent from 1876. He was elected by one vote during a secret session of the Board. *Baltimore Sun*, October 4, 1882.
 24. *Report*, 1882, pp. 37-42.
 25. Plaskitt Collection, MS 663, vol. I, p. 4, Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter referred to as Plaskitt Collection). There are two volumes of newspaper clippings related to the Baltimore schools from 1887-1889. Most lack name of paper and date.
 26. Board of School Commissioners, Minutes, May 1, 1883.
 27. The *Baltimore American* on May 30, 1883 indicated a division of the Board but did not elaborate. By the next meeting, June 19, all problems had been resolved. The May 30th issue did not indicate who was in the opposition or why.
 28. Board of School Commissioners, Minutes, June 19, 1883. The resolution also urged an expansion of girls manual training.
 29. *Baltimore American*, January 14, 1884. The editors suggested that since most manual training schools were supported by wealthy patrons, supporters should turn to the leading citizens of Baltimore rather than the taxpayer.
 30. *Baltimore Day*, January 21, 1884.
 31. *Baltimore Sun*, January 14, 15, 1884. The *Sun* particularly praised the Maryland Institute for the Mechanic Arts. Alexander M. Newell was a member of its Board, and several of its faculty were organizers, along with members of the Hopkins faculty, of the Industrial Education Association of Baltimore.
 32. For Gilman's position on manual training see "Manual Training As a Part of a Liberal Education," undated galley proof, Gilman Papers.
 33. The Woodward address was reported verbatim in the *Baltimore Sun*, February 5, 1884.
 34. *Report*, 1884, p. 58.
 35. *Baltimore Evening Sun*, August 28, 1950; *Baltimore Sunday Sun*, March 28, 1954 in Vertical File, Enoch Pratt Free Library. Clipping titled "Educating the Hands," Plaskitt Collection, I, p. 3, lists the 25 graduates of 1887 and their positions: 1 school teacher, 4 engineers, 1 carpenter, 2 pattern makers, 1 draughtsman, 1 farmer, 1 architect, 6 machinists, 1 student at the Hopkins, 3 in business, 1 car builder. The *Baltimore Sun* (undated clipping, *loc cit.*) noted "It is furnishing young men who have the confidence of the community. The boys who have left this school have gone out into various positions, mostly mechanical, and are doing very satisfactory work." A check of the 1888 graduating class against the 1890 and 1900 Baltimore City Directories reveals most graduates in business or the professions, albeit connected with engineering. Of 23 graduates, 17 appeared in the 1890 Directory: 1 artist, 1 cigarmaker, 4 teachers, 3 machinists, 5 clerks, 1 piano maker, 1 patternmaker, 1 draftsman. Only 13 appear in 1900, and most had advanced: 2 teachers, 2 manufacturers, 1 manager, 1 bookkeeper, 1 engineer. The remaining 6 were in the same field as in 1890.
 36. Plaskitt Collection, I.
 37. *Report*, 1883, p. xxx.
 38. The resolution on creating a manual training school for girls was adopted by the Board of School Commissioners in 1885, Minutes, January 6, 1885, and received editorial support from the *Baltimore Sun* at the time and again in June, 1888 (see Plaskitt Collection, I). The

- Foley resolution can be found in the Plaskitt Collection, I, and John T. Ford's comments on it in *Report*, 1888, and in a clipping from the *News*, Plaskitt Collection, I, p. 2. Clippings on the Colored Manual Training School are dated November 27, December 11, 1888, *loc cit.*
39. *Baltimore American*, July 18, 1888.
 40. The *Baltimore American* on July 18, 1888, and the *Baltimore Sun* on July 17, 1888 report on the debates of the Maryland State Teachers Association. The report on the March, 1889 superintendents meeting is contained in clippings in the Plaskitt Collection, I.
 41. Senator John B. Wentz at the commencement of Manual Training School June 25, 1888, Plaskitt Collection, I.

Historical Aspects of Lake Roland

JOHN W. McGRAIN

AT ONE TIME LAKE ROLAND WAS KNOWN AS SWANN LAKE IN HONOR OF MAYOR Thomas Swann who began the construction of a water supply dam at the Relay House on the Northern Central Railroad.¹ The name Roland stems from Roland Run, a stream mentioned as long ago as 1694, when Roland or Rowland Thornberry had a tract surveyed called "Selsed."²

In building the artificial lake to serve as Baltimore's main reservoir, the Mayor and City Council had to acquire the land and buildings of two concerns, the Bellona Gunpowder Mill and a textile works called the Eagle Factory.

Baltimore's population depended on a privately-owned water company from 1804 until 1854, when the city bought the entire holdings of the Baltimore Water Company.³ The utility company had begun with dams on Jones Falls, in the vicinity of what became Preston Street, at a time when the town had scarcely grown out as far as Centre Street. As demand for water increased, the company moved farther upstream and purchased a number of existing mills to gain control of the water rights that came with the properties. Some of the mills continued to grind grain for the water company's benefit or they were leased to tenant operators. The Mount Royal Mill dam became a reservoir as did the Rock Mill dam and pool just downstream of Mount Vernon Mills. In April 1853, the private company acquired land near the present Lake Roland from the Bellona Gunpowder Company of Maryland, possibly hoping to beat the city to the next site available for development. The city council had been deliberating the municipalization of the water system for some time.⁴

Louis F. Gorr reported that the city fathers chose to depend on Jones Falls as a water source against the advice of such prominent engineers as Montgomery C. Meigs and Myndert Van Schaick, who were building water systems incorporating stone aqueducts for Washington, D.C., and New York City, respectively. Other local engineers urged the city to bypass Jones Falls and to dam either the Patapsco or Gunpowder Falls. But as things turned out, the city took the easiest solution, purchased the private water company, and went ahead with the Lake Roland plan. The city hired James Slade of Hartford, Connecticut, who made one of the proposals and who believed in the project.⁵

Gorr outlined the history of Baltimore's search for a pure and copious water supply and noted that both the private water company and the city government repeatedly settled for stop-gap measures and short-term solutions until they finally resolved to use the Great Gunpowder Falls as the chief resource. The system built on Lake Roland was a vast improvement over a net-

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FIGURE 1.

Lake Roland Dam, June 30, 1907.

—Barker Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library

work based on old Jones Falls mill ponds, but was by no means a long-range answer to the problems that plagued a city growing at a phenomenal rate.

Engineer Slade had a detailed plan ready to implement, whereas the proponents of the Gunpowder plan had only a map proposing an “air-line tunnel” that would run from Cromwell Bridge Road to Herring Run. This map was published in the *American* of September 25, 1854. Acting under a council ordinance of July 29 of that year, the city acquired a deed for the assets of the Water Company on October 10. Baltimore was no longer able to consider alternatives.

Actual construction began in 1858, and Gorr describes the project as based on seven components: Lake Roland; Lake Roland Dam; the conduit from Lake Roland to Hampden Reservoir; Hampden Reservoir; the pipe line from Hampden to Mount Royal Reservoir; Mount Royal Reservoir; and the network of distribution mains from each reservoir.⁶

The dam was to have been built of earth and wooden cribs, but the decision was made for an “indestructible” dam, and the fates have now spared that boastful structure for some 120 years. The core of the dam was built of heavy rubble work, ground up from “the rough gigantic stone of the neighboring hillsides.” The outer facing was of roughly cut stone or rock ashlar work. A clear waterway 125 feet wide provided the overflow at the top of the dam. Wing walls on each side rose 6 feet above the crest and the wings were entirely



FIGURE 2.

Valve House of 1861 at Cross Keys on Falls Road,
part of the original Lake Roland system (1978 photo).

enclosed in heavy earth embankments. The height of the dam was 40 feet from base to crest, and 46 feet to the tops of the wing walls. The rear wall of the dam was perpendicular, and the spillway surfaces were slanted. From the rear of the dam to the toe of its base, the stone mass was 60 feet thick. Below the crest of the dam were the gate chambers and waste flume; the chambers were lined with fine masonry of Texas limestone. At overflow conditions, the water surface stood 225 feet above mean tide at Baltimore.⁷

The flow control system was described in 1862 by engineer Charles P. Manning:

The gate chambers consist of two distinct apartments, the floors of which are at the respective heights of 201 and 210 feet above tide—or respectively 24 and 15 feet below the crest of the dam, and the usual surface of the lake. The lower chamber is provided with gates which regulate the discharge of water through the waste flume, and by means of which the lake can be drained to the bottom. The higher chamber is provided with gates by which the flow of water into the conduit is regulated; and another gate for occasional use, when a connection between the waste and conduit chambers may be needed. The gate chambers are enclosed by a substantial stone house, upon the floor of which are placed the screw stands of the several gates. All the masonry of the dam was carefully laid in full beds of fresh hydraulic cement mortar, and where necessary, thoroughly grouted with the same material.⁸

The firm of J. B. & T. F. Connolly built the stone gate house and A. & W. Denmead and Sons "executed the iron work, and fitted up the gates of the several gate chambers, and cast the curved and branch pipes of the pipe line." The Denmead company operated the famous Monumental Iron Works at the corner of Monument Street and Guilford Avenue, where they had been making locomotives and boilers since 1847. The Connolly company advertised in directories of the period as marble cutters, "opposite the jail," on East Madison Street. The gate house was completed in October, 1861, three months after the water began to spill over the crest.⁹

In developing the system, some 50 acres of land were excavated and "grubbed" (i.e., cleared of stumps) to enlarge the natural capacity of the ravine and headwaters to 500 million gallons with a surface area variously measured at 70 and 116 acres. The difficulties of building turned out to be greater than anticipated in the 1853 proposal:

Slade had said in 1853 that with only slight excavation, the lake could be well suited as a storage reservoir. The surrounding land, he wrote, had little value for cultivation, so natural run-off would supply the lake with a never ending supply of fresh water. There is nothing to suggest that Slade considered the problem of siltation and soil erosions, factors which later condemned the lake.¹⁰

As might be expected, the project, with its vastly improved dam and excavated lake bottom, cost more than anticipated, but the city got a better product for its investment.

Colonel J. Thomas Scharf told essentially the same story—which he probably lifted from a water department history of 1863—but he also named a number of local personalities involved in the project:

Baltimore City . . . in 1857 . . . purchased the water rights to the head of the lake . . . with the land required for the lake, dam, and conduit, for \$289,000 . . . survey made during the summer and autumn of 1857 by Mr. Wampler, under the general direction of Mr. Slade.

. . . construction began in 1858 under the supervision of Charles P. Manning, by the erection of a dam across Jones' Falls, at a narrow place near the Northern Central Railroad Station, eight miles from the city, and the excavation of a natural basin above it. The dam and lake were both so far completed as to be available for use in 1860, and entirely completed in 1861, and the conduit extending from the gate chamber of the dam to Hampden reservoir was finished by the 1st of January, 1860, twenty months from the time of its commencement. The contractors of the lake were Messrs. Crowley, Hoblitzell & Co.; of the dam, Messrs. Hoblitzell, Crowley & Co. . . . The cost of the lake was \$112,752.55; of the dam, \$152,190.65.

. . . The process of delivering and laying the pipes was performed by mechanics and laborers employed by the day . . . Part of the western sector of the city was supplied from the new source as early as the 22d of February, 1861.¹¹

The system was supplying the whole city with water by 1862, but hardly two years later, it was generally recognized that the supply was not only insuf-

ficient but also contaminated. Gorr's study noted that erosion was already at work:

The slopes around Lake Roland drained into it. Siltation was a problem acknowledged but not contended with. Water officials felt that waste materials and silt could settle to the bottom of the lake. Remaining solids could settle in the reservoirs, each of which was fitted with an endless belt of copper mesh at the effluents. The mesh, however, was only an eighth of an inch, hardly adequate to capture small particles. Throughout the 1860's typhoid outbreaks occurred with some regularity, and many citizens who could afford to do so dug their own private wells. . . .¹²

By 1865, the City was planning to tap the Gunpowder, but a few more stop-gap measures related to Lake Roland were yet to come, including a new Rogers Reservoir at Druid Hill Park, the new earth-fill dam that forms Druid Lake, and a temporary pumping system at Meredith's Ford.

Meredith's Ford was the old crossing place of Dulaney Valley Turnpike, some 4,400 feet downstream of the three-span Matthews Bridge that was removed in April 1978. An 1873 lithograph by A. Hoen and Company shows the stone building put up as the "Gunpowder Temporary Supply" at the old ford, and water supply reports of the time indicate that it was a new building rather than an adaptation of Fitzhugh's Distillery or any of the mills that had operated at that location. Scharf's 1881 county history describes this forerunner of the Loch Raven system:

[In 1872]. . . two Worthington pumps were erected at Meredith's Ford on the Gunpowder, for the purpose of replenishing Lake Roland in time of need. Each of these pumps has a capacity of 5,000,000 gallons, and forces the water from the Gunpowder through a thirty-six inch pipe for three and a half miles, discharging it into a basin on Roland Run, two miles from the lake. This temporary supply has been in use since July, 1874, and has rendered service of the most important character.¹³

The Mayor and City Council acquired rights to lay a pipe not exceeding 36 inches through the lands of John G. Cockey, Dr. John G. Morris, and the Rev. William M. Heilig at Lutherville in 1873. The route traveled below Spring Avenue part of the way. Hopkins' 1877 atlas contains an inset map of Lutherville which shows the "City Basin" just west of the Northern Central tracks along the center line of Spring Avenue, if extended. This "plan for the temporary supply by which Lake Roland is fed from the Gunpowder River" was credited to Henry Tyson at the time of his death in 1877.¹⁴

However, the idea for an over-the-ridge water supply may actually belong to James Slade rather than to Tyson, because Slade had made the following statement in a letter to Mayor Swann on June 8, 1857:

By examining the plan made by Captain Chiffelle, Mr. Sickles, or by myself, it will be seen that hereafter, whenever the Gunpowder is required, it will be the shortest route to bring it in by following up Peterson's run with a conduit and tunnel to strike the most easterly branch of Jones Falls. The whole distance

across there for the *conduit & tunnel* would be about one half as great as the tunnel proposed by Mr. Sickles, and no doubt would be the cheapest and best route for bringing the Gunpowder to the City. . . .¹⁵

The temporary system was designed for use in emergencies because it would be costly to burn coal to run the compound engines and duplex pumps. The report for 1878 showed that the system had been used but once that year and sent 49.3 million gallons to Lutherville. A cupola and ventilators were installed at the pumping station because, in the words of the water engineer, "the boiler room has heretofore been too hot for human sufferance"—the county papers had counted eight boilers in all. In 1879, some 187 million gallons was pumped to Lake Roland, and in 1880 the system probably saved the city from a disastrous shortage; the 175-horse power pumps ran from June 19 to November 16, delivering more than twice the volume of Lake Roland; the equipment even exceeded the per diem flow rate contracted for by the Worthington Pump Company. The intake at Meredith's Ford worked from a make-shift dam; pure water for the boilers was collected in Peterson's Run. No mention of emergency pumping appeared in the 1882 report, and by 1884, the works were closed and manned by a single watchman. In 1888, some of the underground pipe, a total of 507 sections covering a mile and 800 feet, was dug up for reuse. The engine house was still shown in Bromley's 1915 atlas.¹⁶

Shortness of water may have been a partial blessing. In an article entitled "Flood and Storm," the *Baltimore American* of October 6, 1877, reported that during the summer the water had been several feet below the dam, and that if the Lake had been full, a flood equal to that of 1868 would have swept the downtown:

Even as it was, the lake was filled to overflowing at 6 o'clock in the evening, when fortunately, the rain stopped and the wind changed to the northwest. When it began raining on Thursday morning, the water in the lake was twenty inches below the breast of the dam. At four o'clock the water was more than three feet deep. . . . A quantity of debris lining the shore was washed into the lake. The city property in that location sustained no damage.

A few months after the flood, the *Sun* reported:

R. K. Martin, chief engineer, and James Curran, water engineer, made a formal inspection of the line of water conduit from Lake Roland to Hampden Reservoir, which at present furnishes the entire supply of the city. The conduit is built of brick, 6 feet 4 inches in diameter, and about four miles long. It was found to be in as perfect condition as when completed 17 years ago.¹⁷

Some other aspects of the lake's history were mentioned in the same paper in 1877:

Baltimore County Items—A brook trout 14 inches long and weighing 14½ ounces was caught last Thursday in Lake Roland. The *Union* says Lake Roland is a receptacle of filth flowing from a slaughter-house and some sinks in Towsontown and adds that "this accounts for the fact that Towsontowners never drink any water when they go to the city."¹⁸

The annual water department reports catalog many periods of days and weeks when the water was clouded or turbid from rain-borne particles. A scum was reported on the surface in 1874; the material defied analysis and later vanished without replication.

Silt accumulation was a topic for concern in reports as early as 1873 when the water engineer noted:

The dam and property, generally, is in good condition, excepting that all important consideration, cleaning out the lake to its original capacity.¹⁹

In 1874, a decision was made to start:

The Water Board's directions to commence operations in cleaning the Lake out as soon as circumstances will permit, will be carried out.²⁰

By 1877, some progress had been made and the first of many soggy statistics was recorded: over two seasons, a contractor had removed 90,725¼ cubic yards by dredge. During low water periods, some 5,051 cubic yards had been collected by "horse and cart."²¹

A major contract was let to dredge sediment and 87,576 cubic yards was removed in 1879 to bring the total contracted quantity to 279,814 cubic yards. The following year, another 20,210 cubic yards was removed, slightly exceeding the contracted quantity of 300,000 cubic yards. The same year, 8,716 cubic yards was removed from a year-old sand trap on Towsontown Branch. In 1884, some 14,130 cart loads of sediment were hauled out followed by 3,638 cart loads in 1885. In 1900, another 416,000 cubic yards was collected. In 1902, the quantity of 4,500 cubic yards was excavated between the rail crossing and the sand trap. By 1912, when the lake was nearing obsolescence, the water was too muddy to use on 27 days and was below the dam for 169 days. No water at all was used from September 7 until November 28 "during the prevalence of typhoid fever in Towson."²²

A great number of physical improvements took place during the useful life of the reservoir. A gate house and gate-house-keeper's cottage were completed in October of 1861. The entire area was surrounded by a wood paneled fence that same year. The banks were rip-rapped in 1862 and again in 1879 and 1902. The water engineer in his annual report covering 1862 noted that at Swann Lake:

A road has been made around the hill near the Relay House, which enables the visitors to procure a view of the lake from that eminence. I have planted a great number of trees on the banks and also around the carriage drives.²³

The enbankments near the gate house were sodded and a boat house erected. The bridge downstream of the spillway was an ornate, cast-iron through-truss manufactured by the Bollman company of Canton. A scow "for lake purposes" was constructed in 1878. Two years later the iron bridge was repainted. Two hay barracks were put up in 1885. The grounds included a number of arable fields and the crops were sufficient to feed the work horses there and at other water supply stations.²⁴



FIGURE 3.

Fountain and Watchman's House upstream of the dam, May 29, 1904.

—Barker Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library

One proposed innovation of 1876 was announced in a city paper:

A permanent telegraph line to the Lake Roland Water Works to enable the city water engineer to regulate the supply at a moment's notice is in contemplation.²⁵

As to the name of the Lake, it was both Lake Roland and Jones Falls Lake in the planning stages and only later renamed for Mayor Swann; the *Baltimore County Advocate* of May 3, 1862, reported that the gate at Lake Roland had been rechiseled to read "Swan Lake"—and the account spelled it with one "N." This was about two decades before the Russian ballet of the same name appeared. The 1871 annual water report called it Lake Roland and six years later the Hopkins atlas of Baltimore County showed "Roland Lake." J. T. Scharf explained "Swann Lake" but had forgotten that the reservoir started out as Lake Roland. However, the wording, "Lake Roland 1861" was never removed from the marble valve house.²⁶

The city's combined Loch Raven-Lake Roland water system was impressive enough to rate a picture story in *Harper's Weekly* in 1881 and also in a *Baltimore American* Sunday edition of 1892. The Druid Lake earth dam was indeed an engineering landmark of its time. Both of these articles included line drawings of Lake Roland dam.²⁷



FIGURE 4.

Bollman-built through-truss bridge over Jones Falls
downstream of spillway, June 30, 1904.

—Barker Collection, Enoch Pratt Free Library

A new and larger dam was completed at Loch Raven in 1914 and service at Lake Roland was terminated on November 19, 1915, but the lake was called back into use on December 2 when a leak was discovered in the 84-inch Lock Joint Pipe Line at Harford Avenue. That was the last time that Lake Roland functioned. In 1916, some parcels of lakeside land were sold to the L'Hirondelle Club. The County Division of the water department was abolished and the water engineer recommended holding on to the lake as an emergency back-up service. In 1918, there was a suggestion to employ the water for some kind of mill or industry, but the lake of 1858 was left in the care of a groundskeeper. Eventually it came under management of the City Department of Recreation and Parks. The old installation was too small to provide much help and its elevation was too low to feed the new Montebello filtration plant by gravity flow.²⁸

In 1937, there was a proposal to develop the watershed property as a park, Leakin Park, to be named for a former mayor, but that name was instead applied to another park in west Baltimore. The name Robert E. Lee Park was announced in 1944 when the city received an \$80,000 bequest from Mrs. Elizabeth Garrett White to memorialize the Confederate general.²⁹

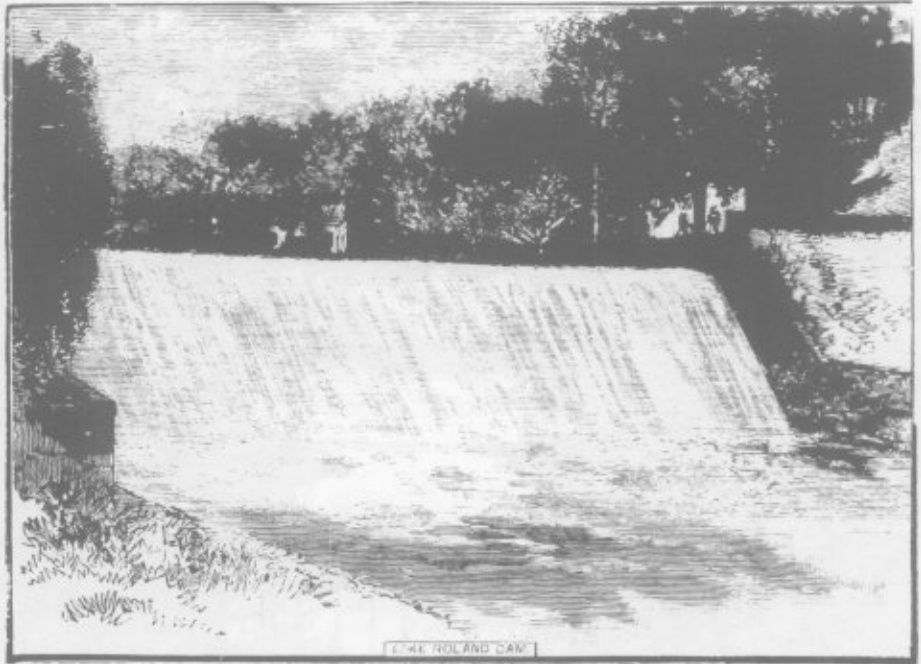


FIGURE 5.

Lake Roland Dam from an 1881 woodcut in *Harper's Weekly*.

—Enoch Pratt Free Library

During the second World War, the iron Bollman bridge below the dam was sold for scrap. In 1946, the reservoir had shrunk to 60 percent of its original volume, and in 1952, it was proposed to cut a notch in the dam to permanently lower the water level by one foot in hopes of draining the shallow flats where mosquitoes bred. The 25-foot excavation made in 1858 had been reduced to a 15-foot depth. An aerial photo of the period showed mud flats building up and a peninsula developing where Towson Run discharged.³⁰ Between 1953 and 1955, an interceptor sewer line was laid along the lake bed. This sewer served Timonium and Lutherville and approximately 60,000 cubic yards of silt was removed from a channel dredged for its installation; the spoil was added to "Area B" where dredged matter from excavations of the 1890s had been deposited. These mounds of silt are now clothed in vegetation.³¹

A new study performed by Whitman, Requardt and Associates in 1974 reported that since the laying of the sewer line, considerable siltation had occurred as a result of building the Baltimore Beltway (I-695) and the Jones Falls Expressway. Both of these projects of the late '50s and early '60s occurred before either the state or the county had silt control ordinances, and later construction of the interchange between I-83 and I-695 produced further erosion and more silt for Lake Roland in spite of such laws. Some of the silt resulted from the mushroom growth of Towson State University and its neigh-



FIGURE 6.

Lake Roland Dam and 1861 Valve House in 1978.

boring hospitals; the remainder came from the residential subdivisions in Green Spring Valley.

Siltation would have been a serious problem even without residential and highway development. The Whitman Requardt report estimated the annual rate from 1897 to 1953 to be 16,000 cubic yards and from 1953 to 1973 to be 21,000 cubic yards. The capacity of the lake was estimated at 180 million gallons in 1974. Whereas the lake was 60 percent water in 1946, it was 60 percent silt by 1974. This measured about 1,300,000 cubic yards. Whitman Requardt blamed agriculture as much as construction, stating:

Paradoxically, urban development has not radically changed the rate of siltation. Tilling land for agriculture creates almost as much erosion as urban development. However, the nature of the deposits have changed. Agricultural and natural eroded materials tend to be very fine, whereas sediments from developing areas are coarser. The coarser particles settle more quickly and clog the upper reaches of the lake.³²

THE DISPLACED INDUSTRIES AT LAKE ROLAND

Bellona Gunpowder Mill

One of the sites that the city bought for the Lake Roland project was the Bellona Gunpowder Mill, which had been operating on the west bank of the

falls for about 56 years. It was not listed in the 1798 tax list, but the plant was fully operational by at least 1801, when the first of several explosions was reported in the Baltimore papers.³³ The Bellona works, named for the goddess of war, was founded by a group of city investors, including various Leverings and James Beatty.

The location was the confluence of the north, west, and south branches of Jones Falls. A race and a mill house 30x40 feet were mentioned in the account of Bellona's first explosion when 300 pounds of unfinished powder went up. In 1803, the investors acquired title to a number of other tracts, including the Young gristmill.³⁴ The 1804 Baltimore County assessment book charged Nathan Levering with the powder mill, then valued at 600 pounds sterling. By 1810, Maryland was producing one-fifth of the powder used in the nation and was giving serious competition to the du Pont family.³⁵

Bellona Avenue was once called Powder Mill Road, and James Beatty's daughter, Bellona, was supposedly so named because she had been born on the day of the Battle of Waterloo—how the Beatty's knew of that far away conflict in Belgium is difficult to say. The powder company received a corporate charter in 1814—no manufacturing concerns had received state charters until 1808. In 1817, an explosion rocked downtown Baltimore and took five lives; and three more lives were lost on August 29, 1820.³⁶

The 1820 census of manufacturers listed Bellona with \$35,000 capital, 23 hands, and consumption of 192,000 pounds of saltpetre, 21,000 pounds of sulphur, and 28,000 pounds of charcoal in raw materials; output was \$36,000 in 8000 quarter-casks selling at \$4.50. The works consisted of one mill of 36 stampers, another with six pulverizing sheds; granary; drying house; and packing shed.

Bellona enjoyed an advantage that would now be considered illegal, if we are to believe the complaint made on the same 1820 Manufacturers' Census report by the president of the rival Aetna Powder Works, who claimed that the Navy's purchasing agent was a part owner of Bellona and made no purchases at Aetna.³⁷

On Wednesday, November 23, 1846, "James Beatty's powder mill, six miles out on Falls Road" blew up, "completely destroying that building and killing five men." An estimated two tons of powder had destroyed the graining mill and two other structures, each seventy yards apart.

The residence of the superintendent, a building situated about 100 yards from the mill, is completely shattered, the wall being cracked and the window and door frames driven in. The dwelling of Capt. Purviance, was also considerably injured, and some of the glass broken in the dwelling of Samuel Barnes, Esq., situated a mile and a half from the mill.³⁸

The sound was heard in downtown Baltimore. Casualties were James Bush, Francis Woodworth, William Branden, "a German named Kanoof, and Nelson Wingate, a colored man."

An explosion in the graining mill, a building that had been lately put up at a cost of \$100,000, killed John Lyons and William Eaton in 1848. The works

were then producing 50 kegs of grained powder per day.³⁹ Sidney's map of 1850 showed the main works, plus another "Part of Bellona Works" that stood in the valley of Towson Run west of present Charles Street—actually the former Bowen gristmill acquired by the company in 1833. In 1853, some of the original property was sold to the Baltimore Water Company for possible reservoir use.

A *Sun* reporter was shown through the works in 1855 by plant manager William C. Virgin. The company was growing willow trees on the 60-acre tract to produce wood for charcoal, and saltpetre was brought from the East Indies. The powder was ground under cast-iron rolling wheels. The "war in the East," presumably the Crimean campaign, had driven up the cost of raw materials.⁴⁰

After giving up the Jones Falls location, production continued at the smaller mill on Towson Run, alias Powder Mill Run, until 1868, when Charles Beatty sold the grounds to Franklin F. Pope. A ruined dam abutment and a mill race can be found there in 1979. The 1877 atlas still showed the original site as "Bellona Gunpowder Co. of Md., George B. Cole, Prest." The company had also acquired the former Aetna plant on Gwynns Falls, renamed it "Battleworks" and operated it until 1882.

What has not been demonstrated historically is the reason why Maryland gunpowder producers, who were in the early 19th Century manufacturing one-fifth of the national output, steadily lost ground to the du Pont company on the Brandywine River in Delaware. Although E. I. du Pont had an excellent background in the chemistry of the times and was able to duplicate the precise production techniques of the French national powder works at Essone, he still considered Bellona and its president James Beatty as serious rivals. Du Pont noted Bellona's explosion of early October 1817, in a letter to William Cornell and remarked that the disaster "put out of the market one of our largest competitors." But Beatty got back into production, and du Pont wrote to John A. Forsyth & Company on November 26, 1827, boasting that he had sold a considerable quantity of product in Baltimore, "where our powder obtained a decided preference at the very door of Beatty's Factory." Only three years later, Bellona was still a force to be reckoned with, and du Pont wrote to the firm of Bradford and Cooch on April 2, 1831, "Nevertheless we should not like to give up the Baltimore market on account of the competition of Mr. Beaty [sic]."⁴¹

Eagle Mill

The other property that the City purchased to carry out its reservoir plan was the Eagle Mill, where there was already a small pond in existence at the time of the 1857 purchase. This pond was due east of the Relay House as shown in the Towson Plat Books. The Eagle Mill itself was powered by that pond and lay somewhere downstream, the next industry below the powder works. Eagle Mill was in its turn the successor of a grist mill built about 1814 by Jesse Tyson. After Tyson's death, the works had been changed to cotton manufacturing. Eagle Mill was sold in 1829 by the Merchants Bank to Robert S. Hollins and the deed mentioned a mill race or "canal." Hollins became insolvent and the mill was again offered for sale. It was mentioned as "Peden's Fac-

tory" in a description of a major flood in June, 1837, and its location was given as a half mile upstream of Washington Factory on Jones Falls. Three years later, the Union Bank sued David Peden, and the property was advertised for another auction. The public sale notice described the mill as located on Jones Falls, 80 yards from the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad; the building was 64x47½ feet and was three stories tall; it had a basement and two floors in the attic. A 16-foot fall of water powered 1,300 cotton spindles. The basement also contained a gristmill equipped with two pair of 6-foot burr stones and a bolting machine. And the property included a village of 14 "family dwellings."⁴²

Working from the data available—that Peden's or Eagle Mill/Eagle Factory was a half mile upstream of Washington Factory (now the Leonard Jedd nut and bolt plant at Mount Washington)—Eagle Factory would have to have been somewhere along Falls Road, directly on the east bank of Jones Falls. The exact location is uncertain, although accumulated clues point to the area downstream of the site chosen for Lake Roland dam. No known map shows Eagle Factory. It is possible that Lakeside Drive is in some part the filled-in mill race of the Eagle Mill. Two plats made in 1857 prove that this mill was downstream of the city's projected dam; one of the plats shows the "race formerly used by the Eagle Works." An 1853 railroad survey shows a village called Millville between Washington Factory and Rockland.⁴³

The Eagle Mill Property, 32 acres "adjoining the village of Washingtonville," was advertised by the Water Board as surplus property in 1863. The advertisement does not specifically state that an intact mill came with the tract. In 1864, the Mayor and City Council sold a 32½ acre parcel to Dr. William H. Keener, an incorporator of the Bare Hills Mining Company, and the deed shows that the land was west of Falls Road, beginning 67 feet south of the 6-Mile Stone and bounded on the west by the railroad line. The city allowed Dr. Keener only the surplus water from the reservoir operation. This parcel is the most likely site for the Eagle Mill building itself. The deeds make no mention of Eagle Mill Pond, which had probably ceased to exist.⁴⁴

RAILS AND ACCOMMODATIONS AT LAKE ROLAND

The Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad reached the future lake district in 1831, with its first public trip via horse car to the Relay House on July 4. The first generation of bridges included one near Beatty's Powder Works that was 70 feet long, built of Susquehanna white pine, and designed by Colonel Stephen A. Long. The Relay House was the junction for the Green Spring Valley Branch and was preparing to receive the traveling public in the summer of 1831:

At the junction of this road, a public house is about to be established, under the charge of Mr. Thomas, at present of "the Globe Inn" of this city. The building is partly up, and refreshments are already provided for the visitors.⁴⁵

The Baltimore and Susquehanna eventually became the Northern Central. While its corporate history is interesting, it is not entirely related to Lake Roland. However, a short distance up the line from the Relay House, the company suffered one of the worst American train wrecks of the period when on July 4, 1854, the 23rd anniversary of passenger service, some 35 persons were killed on their way to Rider's Grove.⁴⁶

As early as 1857, a railroad was planned to run from the Relay House to the county seat following the valley of Towson Run. The roadbed was finally graded in the early 1870s, but no rails were laid because of financial problems. However, a stretch of roadbed and its dry-wall supporting masonry survives in a ravine south of Rolandvue Avenue. The investors owned little more than the roadbed, four thousand cross ties, some drawing instruments, and office furniture when the company assets were sold at public auction.⁴⁷

The first bridges were eventually replaced by spans of iron as demonstrated by the events following secession of the southern states that precipitated the Civil War. In April, 1861, on the evening following the riot between the Baltimore mob and the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, the Mayor of Baltimore and Governor Hicks gave orders to cut Baltimore off from the Unionist States, and an extra issue of the *Baltimore County American* announced:

Civil War is in our midst! . . . On the N.C.R.R. the bridges over Western Run and Beaver Dams, near Cockeysville, and several bridges near the city, including the iron bridge at the Relay House, have been destroyed, to prevent the transportation of government troops from the North.⁴⁸

The party which carried out this operation at Relay House was described in another paper as cheering and shouting as they marched from burning the bridge at Melvale Station. About sunup of April 20, they reached the lake. The group "entered heartily into the work," unscrewed the steel girders, turned the bridge on its side, and threw it into the water.⁴⁹

The Union troops had to rebuild all the bridges, and at various times during the war, the Relay House and surroundings were occupied by components of the 1st, 12th, 87th, and 104th Pennsylvania Infantries.

Later in the war, when General Jubal A. Early's forces were ranging over Maryland, the *Sun* of July 11, 1864, reported that on the previous day, some of Colonel Harry Gilmor's Confederate raiders had advanced from Union Bridge "and during the day reached Relay House of the Northern Central Railroad." After the Confederates burned the rebuilt bridges at Cockeysville, rail service was provided only as far as Relay House.

The Northern Central in 1864 made an agreement with Charles A. Buchanan, owner of the Relay House hotel, to allow him to leave his structures in a state of encroachment on railroad property. The deed granted unto Buchanan the right

until further notice to continue in its present position the Portico recently erected by him in connection with the hotel owned by him at the Relay House

in Baltimore County aforesaid on the line of the Railway of said party of the first part and also the garden fence or enclosure of the garden connected with and pertaining to said Hotel, as the same has been recently extended by him, said Portico and fence being an encroachment upon the right of way⁵⁰

This building was destroyed in 1869:

. . . the Relay House, on the Northern Central Railroad, 9 miles from Baltimore, took fire on the evening of the 23d and was entirely consumed, together with all its contents. It was occupied by Roebuck Russell, who kept a tavern in it. The fire was supposed to [have been] accidental. The property belonged to Chas. A. Buchanan, Esq. Mr. Russell lost about \$1,500 upon the furniture upon which there is no insurance.⁵¹

The 1876 report of the Northern Central Railway Company recorded that "A new station house was provided at Green Spring Junction by the purchase and remodeling of a hotel property in a convenient location. This stop was called Green Spring Junction in the 1877 atlas by G. M. Hopkins, but it came to be called Hollins Station for Robert S. Hollins, who was secretary of the railway corporation in 1877 and apparently the same Hollins who had owned Eagle Mill. This second relay house/Hollins Station was a two-story frame building in Italianate design. A photo made in the 1880s as well as a line drawing published in the *Baltimore American* shows this flat-roofed, bracketed, Victorian station in the triangle between the diverging rail lines."⁵²

The 1918 tax ledgers of Baltimore County usually give dimensions of buildings, but at Hollins Station, the book for District 9 listed only a lot of 0.353 acre, frame station and house (\$1904), "water tank at Hollins" (\$272), and "Signal Tower at Hollins" (\$400). There was also a 0.338-acre lot at Sorrento without any structures listed.⁵³

The junction was the site of a post office that had a variety of names, and postal records show the following sequence of offices:

Buchanan post office was established on December 20, 1854, and department records show that it replaced Washingtonville in 1845. Charles A. Buchanan, owner of the relay house and much other lakeside property, was postmaster of Buckingham from April 8, 1840, to February 3, 1842. In 1862 the county paper reported:

Buchanan P.O. discontinued; was at the junction of Northern Central and Western Maryland Railroads, on the shores of Lake Roland.⁵⁴

Apparently the Buchanan post office deprived the populous center of Mount Washington of a post office, for that office was established or reestablished in December of 1854.

A post office called Lake Roland was established April 16, 1872, and by some clerical error in postal records, it was discontinued before it began: the terminal year was given as 1871. Lake Roland office was revived in February of 1876 and operated for twenty years until its discontinuance on January 17, 1896.⁵⁵

Station and post offices were busy places thronged with commuters at one time, but business dropped off and, in 1926, the station was closed. The building burned in February 1933 and the *Evening Sun* blamed the conflagration on tramps who had been camping inside. Hollins had been the scene of a tragedy in 1895, when Thomas H. Matthews, a retired miller and president of an insurance company, stepped into the path of a locomotive while crossing the tracks.⁵⁶

Both the 1898 and 1915 issues of G. W. Bromley's county atlas show a subdivision called Sorrento on the west side of the lake, south of the west-going branch of Jones Falls. There was also a frame structure, the Sorrento depot. The proposed street pattern was never completed and the entire tract is now part of the park property. The 1915 atlas also showed rail stations called Brightside and Lake on the east bank.

Recreational uses of the reservoir area have not always been appreciated. A local paper of 1886 mentioned an atrocity of the times:

Baseball is being played every Sunday near Hollins Station, N.C.R.R., to the great annoyance of those who live nearby and who like a quiet Sabbath.⁵⁷

Lake Roland almost became the site of a streetcar museum. A collection of old "light rail vehicles" had been donated to the Maryland Historical Society in 1954 and was long stored in a sanitation garage. In August, 1962, this collection was moved to outdoor storage on tracks at the lake, but before a museum could be built, barbaric children smashed the car windows and attempted arson on the benches. Considerable protest arose from local property owners about these derelict trams, and in 1967 the cars were rescued by the founders of the Falls Road trolley car museum.⁵⁸

PHYSICAL SURVIVALS AT LAKE ROLAND

Various newspaper items over the years suggest that remains of the Bellona Powder Mill survive on the shore, whereas other accounts suggest that there are submerged buildings. Maps of the period provide conflicting indications. Judging from the proposed over-flow lines in a plat of 1857, the largest Bellona structure would have been left above water and two small buildings shown directly along the mill race would most likely have been flooded. However, the 1852 plan by Thomas P. Chiffelle, City Surveyor, shows the Bellona buildings at such a distance from the two railway branches that all the structures along the race in the valley north of the former Green Spring Valley Branch and south of Jones Falls would have been inundated. James Slade's 1853 map of the entire region seems to show extensive buildings doomed to be flooded. Hugh Warden's lime kiln, shown on an 1857 plat, should also lie under water in the west arm of the lake.⁵⁹

The *Baltimore County Advocate* in 1864 reported that the Bellona Powder works magazine had been turned into a home and noted that the "works [were] demolished to make way for Swan Lake . . ." The next year, the *Maryland Journal* reported:

FIRE.—The old stone magazine at the terminus of Charles street extended on the property of Joseph Reynolds, Esq., took fire on Friday morning last, and was entirely consumed. It was occupied by an Irish family; nearly all the furniture was destroyed. The building was formerly used as a magazine for the storing of powder by the Messrs. Beatty, whose mills were situated near the Relay House, and the site of which is now covered by the waters of Lake Swann.⁶⁰

The 1877 Hopkins atlas showed some land in the hands of the company west of the lake, and the 1876 Tax Ledger of District 9 listed Bellona with:

Tract of Land on Green Spring Branch of NCRR and the Falls Road	
154 Acres @ \$70	\$8400
Improvements	
1 Frame Dwelling and out House	400
1 Double Frame Dwelling	200 (Burned)
1 Old Powder House	100. ⁶

C. C. Hall's history of Baltimore attempted to equate Bellona with a powder mill proposed by the Council of Safety in 1776. That mill was supposedly built by Samuel Purviance, but no deed or known official records reveal its location. The Hall history noted the ruin of a magazine that could at that time (1911) be detected on the west bank of the lake (possibly the "old powder house" of the 1876 tax records).⁶²

Edward Fontaine, a Ruxton resident, wrote a letter printed in Carroll Dulaney's column in the Baltimore *News-Post*, suggesting that there were un-submerged remains in the 1930s:

... the powder factory that still shows its foundations on the south bank of Lake Roland. There are two stone foundations barely showing above the honeysuckle, about 60 feet from the now-disused Valley Railroad. . . . The Rehen family lived on the knoll just back of this isolated spot, and there is a very ancient graveyard there, but all buildings have gone.⁶³

In 1976, John Winterbottom and William Hollifield of the Baltimore County Historical Society went to the west bank of the lake to look for a cemetery that had been reported to exist by various sources. Mrs. Arthur U. Hooper, who had an International Style house built on adjoining property at the end of Hollins Lane, showed them where to look; they found a fragment of a tombstone and discovered other burials that were marked by un-inscribed fieldstones. They also saw some foundations, and Mrs. Hooper told them that at low water, there are foundations that can be seen in the reservoir itself.

The sort of objects to be found at a powder mill would have been wooden water wheels (six or seven counted here in 1855), shafts, axles, squirrel-cage gears of wooden spokes, and wooden stamping devices, and cast-iron rollers for grinding powder in cast-iron pans. A powder works would have several widely spaced preparation buildings and some unmechanized storage sheds. Presumably, the iron items could have been used at the other sites or sold for scrap.

The casual visitor of the present cannot help but notice a few of the industrial archaeology items. In 1977, there was a considerable quantity of iron rail still in place on the Valley Branch west of the former Hollins Station; pieces of braided signal wire still connect the individual lengths of rail. There also survive the bases of two signal towers with mounting bolts still intact. Two railroad culverts built of limestone are found just west of Hollins. Also west of Hollins and within sight of the main line bridge is a pair of bridge abutments, apparently rendered obsolete by a parallel track built on an earth fill; one of these abutments, possibly dating from the Baltimore and Susquehanna valley route of 1832, has toppled over and fallen intact as a single slab; the other abutment still stands. Many of the railroad ties survive even where the rails have been removed.

Two cast-concrete whistle posts survive, one near Hollins, the other near the West Branch of Jones Falls crossing. The westernmost post is marked "1" and "7." A large plate-girder bridge over the west branch of the falls is intact. Standing on granite piers or abutments, it provides a foot path over the surviving ties.

The new access-road bridge in the park downstream of the dam is built on the piers of the original Bollman truss that was scrapped during the 1941-1945 war effort.

The remains so often mentioned by neighbors of the park may well deserve some serious excavation. But then there is the report of the Chinese Labor Camp recently "discovered" somewhere along the west arm of the lake.

These "Chinese" supposedly built the railroad line, but in view of the fact that rails first reached Relay House in 1831 and that the major upgrading of the Valley Branch took place in 1859, the dates are very early times at which to expect any quantity of Chinese immigrants. Peter A. Jay sneered at the notion in a *Sun* commentary of 1977 entitled "The Ornithologists and the Ooze," a column inspired by the controversy over dredging or not dredging the lake:

The anti-dredgers, in their search for ammunition for their argument, even tried a little pop archaeology: "Stone foundations said to be the remains of a campsite for Chinese laborers who helped construct the Northern Central R.R. would be engulfed" by spoil from the dredging, they declared ominously in a position paper.⁶⁴

The shadowy proof for the Chinese connection was supposed to lie in the Peale Museum, but the assistant curator of that storehouse of fact and curiosia assured the author that the evidence was purely mythical and not to be found on the premises.⁶⁵

At any rate, the City of Baltimore in early 1978 decided that excavation of the ooze was too expensive to undertake, and Lake Roland may eventually become a pond and then a meadow, and at last, walking on the water will present no difficulty in places where the hiker would have gone to the newly "grubbed" bottom in 1861. Who knows? Some future Mayor with a bent for bread and circuses could stage a performance of the one-N *Swan Lake* on the solidified silt of the two-N Swann Lake, an appropriate combination of sentiment and sediment.

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Alternative Professions for Goucher College Graduates, 1892-1910

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HISTORIANS AND FEMINISTS ARE CURRENTLY TAKING A HARD, AND CRITICAL, look at single-sex education. Special criticism is leveled at women's colleges of the late nineteenth century. Critics contend that segregated education did, and still can, perpetuate the notion that women were inherently different, and that it kept women from developing their full potential.¹ Women's colleges as they developed in the late nineteenth century are seen as the worst offenders since this new level of education should have trained women for new careers, and yet most graduates chose traditional occupations, especially teaching and social work. Historian Jill Conway argues that college women's choice of these women's professions is proof of the colleges' failure. Had college education been successful, graduates would not have chosen careers that perpetuated women's service role. In a review of women's educational history Conway concludes that the:

development of the women's professions should thus be interpreted as a conservative trend by which the potential for change inherent in changed educational experience was still-born and women's intellectual energies were channeled into perpetuating women's service role in society rather than into independent and self-justifying intellectual endeavor.²

The basis for criticizing women's colleges stems from the educational philosophy of their administrators. Women's college administrators, especially those of the eastern schools, modeled their curricula after those of the leading men's colleges. They offered young women the same rigorous intellectual training that their brothers received. At the same time the administrators were firm in their belief in the limits of the "woman's sphere" in which women had to use their education. Administrators provided rigorous intellectual training, expecting their students to continue in traditional womanly occupations. Critics argue it was contradictory to give students the same intellectual training as men while expecting women to return to traditional occupations. This was true, but the effect of this contradiction on the graduates is more important and could have had an unexpected effect on them. The contradictory aspect of their education could be seen as a failure if they returned to house-keeping frustrated by an inability to use their education as men used theirs or if they rejected the constant reminder that they be womanly and tried to be-

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come lawyers or bankers. Neither of these was the case. Instead the graduates searched for ways both to use their intellectual training and to be womanly by pursuing acceptable work.

It is disappointing to some studying women's history to find that not all women were feminists striking out against social restrictions. Many women, including college women, believed that they had qualities making them different from men. They believed in their intellectual competence, but they wanted to use it in ways that were womanly. They searched for work that accommodated both and found teaching and social work filled their needs.

The greatest problem with analyses such as Conway's is that they relegate college women to the role of passive victims. Conway's critique blames the colleges implying that women graduates were unwillingly channeled into various occupations. A more valid analysis of women's colleges takes into consideration the students as thinking individuals who consciously chose the occupations they pursued. There is indeed, as Conway suggests, a direct correlation between women's colleges and the development of teaching and social work as professions dominated by women. It is less clear that women graduates were unwillingly forced into teaching and social work. I contend that college women chose teaching and social work as fields which they could develop into alternative professions. Their education did point them toward occupations in which they could serve others, but women graduates were also attracted to teaching and social work because these were developing as professions in which they could justify their intellectual endeavor.

The educational experiences of college women at the time of the development of teaching and social work as professions demonstrates this contention. This article focuses upon the graduates of Goucher College from 1892 until 1910, and briefly considers the opportunities that incipient professions offered to them.

A study of the women who graduated from Goucher College between 1892 and 1910 illustrates how women prepared to use their education in womanly ways. Goucher's alumnae directory, published in 1929 records the first nineteen classes' post-graduate activities for nineteen to thirty-seven years after graduation.³ A statistical survey of these activities revealed that 72.1 percent of all graduates worked sometime after graduation. Of all the positions held 510 or 60.7 percent were in teaching and 120 or 14.2 percent were in social work.⁴ The obvious explanation for these figures is that women were barred from the prestigious professions. A more provocative theory is that these alternative professions actually offered more to women in terms of advancement, responsibility, and recognition. This will be explored through the educational experience of Goucher women.

Organized by the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Church, Goucher College opened in 1888 as the Woman's College of Baltimore City, but was renamed Goucher College in 1910 in recognition of its first president John Franklin Goucher.⁵ Rev. Goucher played a key role in formulating the aims of the college, and his educational philosophy dominated the first two decades of the school's operation. Rev. Goucher believed that education was useless

unless one helped others. He told his students that the aim of education was not to fill one's mind with facts but to develop character and coordinate the functions of the mind, body, and soul for the service of others.⁶ By the turn of the twentieth century, the educated individual could no longer, in good conscience, keep his knowledge and skills to himself. According to Goucher, knowledge unapplied was sequestered power and paralyzing. Opportunity was obligation. Vision was commission.⁷

While inspiring his students to use their education, Goucher implored them to do so in womanly ways. Uppermost in Goucher's mind was his notion of "physical and psychical" differences between men and women.⁸ He believed these differences to be so fundamental that to ignore them "would contradict the historic and scientific necessities of the development of the race."⁹

Goucher students agreed with an education that trained womanly women to be useful. The 1906 class president summed it up saying that if college had trained and developed in her and her classmates the highest qualities of womanhood common to their fellow women, then it had accomplished its mission. Their highest aim was to find their place and to do the work given them effectively and truly. As women they would live woman-like.¹⁰

The Goucher students in the years 1892 until 1910 were quite conscious of their image as women. The student newspaper editorials often spoke of the college woman's image. The early students worried about their predecessors' images as somber, dowdy, and unlovely. They urged their classmates to be tactful, gracious women in order to overcome the negative college woman stereotype.¹¹ At the same time they began to worry about the college woman's image as frivolous. They became as sensitive to the criticism that college women were only interested in teas, parties, and appearances, as they were to the charge that college women were "crystallized intelligence" with no heart and no womanliness.¹² Considering this self-doubt about their proper image it is apparent why graduates did not flock to work that was not traditionally done by women.

At the same time the students also believed in Dr. Goucher's charge to put their education to use helping others. Students editorialized in their newspaper about the purpose of their education. In 1894 one student wrote that the purpose of a college education was not to gain knowledge for oneself but to learn how to make use of the knowledge for others.¹³ Fourteen years later the students' attitudes had not changed. A student then wrote she could not answer the question "has college been worthwhile" until twenty or thirty years after graduation when the question would be more accurately "have we made it worthwhile to others?"¹⁴ Students were to cultivate the habit of helping others while in college, admonished another one. At the end of the day, she wrote, each student should be able to know "that she has *meant something* in the lives of the people about her; that she has helped a little here, filled a vacancy there; . . . After all, that is the only satisfactory life . . . that [which] can be called upon and found ready to help and capable of helping[.]"¹⁴

Marriage and motherhood, of course, were the most womanly opportunities to serve others. While most Goucher graduates eventually did marry,

many first looked to the new, exciting, and remunerative ways to serve others in the social reform movements.¹⁶ New opportunities for women and men, especially optimistic college graduates, appeared in the social reform movements that burgeoned at the turn of the century. Students eager to use their education flocked to the charity organization societies, public health crusades, and even to the schools in hopes of bettering society.

The Goucher professors encouraged students to use their education specifically in social reform work. Both Lilian Welsh and Thaddeus Thomas urged Goucher women to help better society but in different ways. Welsh pointed to teaching as a career because it was being redefined in terms of social service. Thomas, on the other hand, introduced his students to new career opportunities in social work.

Dr. Lilian Welsh was the director of Goucher's physical education department. Along with physical exercises, Welsh taught preventive medicine through laboratory courses on physiology and anatomy, and lectures on personal and public hygiene.¹⁷ It was not sufficient, however, for students to be healthy and learn good habits of personal hygiene. Welsh insisted the students use this knowledge to deal with health problems in a modern community. Herself a dedicated and enthusiastic social reformer, Welsh inspired similar qualities in her students. According to one of her students, "No one could go out of that course [hygiene] as it [was] presented by Dr. Welsh without a deepened sense of personal responsibility for civic sanitation and generally improved physical conditions."¹⁸

While inspiring her students to action in social movements Welsh believed that teaching offered the greatest social opportunity for her students to use their education. The key to reform was education, and teaching was a doubly good way for women to enter reform because it was an acceptable occupation. Many educators like Welsh believed that teachers had the potential to improve society more than other reformers because teachers were in a position to mold the next generation. Reformers tried to improve existing conditions; teachers trained the next generation to prevent these conditions.¹⁹ As Welsh stated at the end of her career: "I often think that no greater opportunities for social service exist than those to be found by teachers in great high schools for girls."²⁰ Here Goucher women could use their education to train the next generation of women in the ways of social service.

Many students were swayed by Lilian Welsh. One student believed many had entered Goucher to prepare for "some occupation—preferably teaching." But by the time they graduated they wanted "a career with service of the community as its chief motive" and chose teaching because they saw it "as one of the most valuable forms of social service."²¹

Lilian Welsh's colleague Thaddeus Thomas expanded on the social principles underlying Welsh's courses in public health. Thomas taught sociology and economics from 1894 through 1910, and thereby reached nearly every graduate in this study. Throughout the period his courses dealt with methods of reforming society. Topics ranged from labor, monopolies, and care of dependent classes to social settlements, consumers' leagues, and the employment of

women in industry and the professions.²² These courses were not taught by Thomas on the level of academic abstraction but with an almost missionary zeal, since he believed that women had a "natural capacity for dealing with the child, the immigrant, and the pauper."²³ And college women were the best prepared for social reform since they added a heightened social conscience to this natural capacity. Thomas' belief in women's role in social work was apparently contagious. A former student remembered that "[t]he students who could testify to the eye-opening and will-stirring effects of [Thomas'] courses are legion."²⁴

Thomas' students were obviously inspired by his courses and sought ways to put their education to use. While in school the students formed a variety of clubs which brought them into contact with individuals applying the social theories they had studied with Thomas. Not surprisingly, the three organizations that the students had most contact with while in school were examples of the types most worked in after graduation. These were the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, the College Settlements Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association.²⁵

One of the first organizations that students formed, in 1892, was the Social Science Club. Its aim was to prepare women for their role in social movements. The students believed that because women served as leaders of many philanthropic, literary and religious organizations, college women should prepare themselves for their future leadership responsibilities. The Social Science Club would prepare students by familiarizing them with the social and economic issues with which these organizations dealt. To this end, the club sponsored lectures by leaders from various fields of work.²⁶ Especially well represented were leaders in the charity organization societies. Lecturers from the Baltimore Society, Mary Richmond and Jeffrey Brackett, not only spoke on the methods and aims of charity work but enlisted the students' aid as well. They hoped that as women graduates returned to their homes they would take with them "a contagious enthusiasm for the principles and practices of the 'New Charity.'"²⁷ Goucher's urban location allowed the students to practice the New Charity while still at school. In 1893 Goucher students began volunteering for the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, and 23 years later the agency's annual report noted that each year the number of Goucher student workers increased.²⁸ The students worked for the agency as friendly visitors and club leaders. They also held bazaars to raise money for the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore.²⁹ Charity work was only one aspect of professional social work to interest Goucher undergraduates. The topic of the third Social Science Club lecture in 1893 dealt with women in college settlements, and the students formed a chapter of the College Settlements Association in the following year. Forming a CSA chapter indicated more than a passing interest because to become one students needed to raise \$100. a year for dues. Goucher students maintained their commitment to settlement work by raising money for the chapter dues each year through 1910.

Some Goucher women wanted a more active role in settlement work. Paying dues and sending delegates to CSA annual meetings was not enough. Their

first inclination was to open a college settlement house in Baltimore like those in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The students secured a house in 1895 but not the funds for a headworker's salary, so the Goucher settlement did not open.³⁰ Unable to open their own settlement, Goucher students turned to Baltimore's first settlement, the Lawrence Memorial. It was not a college settlement, but the Lawrence Memorial needed assistance, and the Goucher students readily joined the work. Each year until 1909 Goucher women ran classes and clubs for girls and served on the board of directors at the settlement.³¹ Here they received a thorough introduction to the daily operations of settlement work.

The third and most popular type of social work pursued by Goucher women was through the Young Women's Christian Association. This work differed in theory from either charity or settlement work, but like the other two it offered acceptable ways for college women to put their education to use.

Goucher students formed their YWCA chapter in 1894, and it became one of the largest organizations in the school. Each Fall the YWCA held a membership drive to recruit new members. The goal was to have the entire student body join, and the results were good. In 1906 Goucher's 250 member chapter was the largest in Maryland or Pennsylvania.³²

Membership in the YWCA involved a larger commitment than paying dues, and many students continued their commitment after graduation. The purpose of the student YWCAs was to foster Christian fellowship on campus, and the main activities were sponsoring Bible and mission study classes, vesper services, and weekly prayer meetings.³³ All these extracurricular activities were student-initiated and student-run and required a great deal of time. Students even spent part of their summer vacations attending YWCA conferences in order to learn how to teach Bible and mission study classes and manage a student group as organizationally sophisticated as the campus YWCA.

Campus YWCA work was done entirely by students so that Goucher women could not continue this work after graduation. However, it was an easy step from campus to professional, city YWCAs; a step that 44 Goucher women took.³⁴ Some students even found time to work in the Baltimore YWCA as well as the campus group. Here they came into contact with women making a career out of work that began as a college club.

There were many occupations which offered opportunities for Goucher women to use their education to serve others, but teaching and social work added extra incentives. These were occupations which women were already attempting to raise to the level of professions. The legal and medical professions offered opportunities for service, but teaching and social work were dominated by women. After four years in a sympathetic, all-women environment, it is understandable that students preferred careers that continued this environment.

Not only were teaching and social work dominated by women, but women held high level positions, as well. There was no woman of Jane Addams' stature in the legal profession, for example. By the same token the YWCA was entirely run by women. From the highest paid general secretary down to the club leaders, all were women. Teaching, as well, appeared to offer new professional

opportunities to women. Since the mid-nineteenth century women had predominated in low-paying, low-status classroom teaching positions. But this situation was changing at the turn of the century. Women classroom teachers formed a union in 1899 that eleven years later had enough strength to elect the first woman president of the previously male-dominated National Educational Association. On the local level, classroom teachers were earning pay raises and some autonomy over their work. In short, in the early years of the twentieth century the future looked bright for women in teaching.³⁵

In retrospect it may be clear why teaching and social work did not attain fully professional status, but this was not evident to women graduates at the turn of the century.³⁶ Historians like Jill Conway can, in 1974, look back and see that the advances women made in teaching and social work were small. To the women, like the Goucher graduates, making these advances the possibilities for women to raise these occupations to full professional status looked good.

This discussion of Goucher students through their classes and clubs has illustrated their role in career choice. Their words and actions are those of confident, enthusiastic, and idealistic women eager to change society. They joined other women, many of whom were also college graduates, in fields which offered the most opportunity for advancement while using their education. Educators and social workers actively recruited women workers. What are seen in the 1970s as women's professions, or semi-professions, were seen at the turn of the century as the vanguard of social and professional development.

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21. Letter from an unnamed alumna, quoted in Thomas, *Social Services*, pp. 3-4.
22. For a complete listing of the topics taught in sociology and economics classes see the Goucher College *Annual Program* for the years 1894-1910. A complete set is held by the Goucher College Archives.
23. Thomas, *Social Services*, p. 2.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
25. Requardt, "Alternative Professions," p. 180.
26. "Our Youngest Society," *Kalends* 2(June 1892):82; "Social Science Club," *Donnybrook Fair*, 1895 (Baltimore, 1894), p. 74. *Donnybrook Fair* was the student yearbook.
27. Charity Organization Society of Baltimore City, *Twelfth Annual Report* (Baltimore, 1893), p. 12.
28. *Ibid.*, Dr. J. W. Magruder to Thaddeus P. Thomas, quoted in Thomas, *Social Services*, p. 5.
29. Mary McClintock, "A Girl's Life and Work at the Woman's College of Baltimore," in *Women's Colleges and College Life in America and Great Britain*, Metropolitan Handy Series, vol. 4, no. 11 (London and New York, 1898), p. 49; "Glitner Fair," *Kalends* 17(December 1905):87; "Announcements," *Kalends* 19(November 1907):37-38; Federated Charities, *Annual Report*, 1906-8. A friendly visitor was a charity work volunteer who regularly visited a few families in order to establish a permanent relationship based on friendship. Friendly visiting did not mean preaching but "intimate and continuous knowledge of and sympathy with a poor family's joys, sorrows, opinions, feelings, and entire outlook upon life." Mary Richmond, *Friendly Visiting among the Poor: A Handbook for Charity Workers* (New York, 1899), p. 180.
30. "College Settlement," *Donnybrook Fair*, 1895, p. 76.
31. Margaret Woods Lawrence, *Reminiscences of the Life and Work of Edward A. Lawrence, Jr.* (New York, 1909), p. 509. *Donnybrook Fair*, 1897-1909.
32. Young Women's Christian Associations of Pennsylvania and Maryland, *Annual Report* (Scranton, Pa., 1906), p. 17. Details of the Goucher YWCA activities come from the *Kalends* for the years 1894 through 1910.
33. The student YWCAs had an evangelical tone to their work. The Bible Study classes were more than literary and historical studies of the Bible; they were devotional study groups. The mission study classes acquainted students with the areas, at home and abroad, that needed Christian workers.
34. The professional or city YWCAs differed somewhat from the student YWCAs. Both groups shared the goal of performing Christian service and advancing the physical, social, intellectual, and spiritual interests of young women. Their methods, however, differed. The professional YWCAs consisted of middle- and upper-class women organized to help working girls and women in the cities. The student groups, on the other hand, consisted of college women helping fellow women students. See Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work among Young Women, 1866-1916: A History of Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States of America* (New York, 1916); and Mary S. Sims, *The Natural History of a Social Institution—The Young Women's Christian Association* (New York, 1935).
35. Tyack, *One Best System*, pp. 255-68.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 182; Abraham Flexner, *Is Social Work a Profession?* Studies in Social Work, no. 4 (New York, [1915?]); Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). The attempts to make teaching and social work professional are discussed in Requardt, "Alternative Professions," pp. 115-68.

Death and Class in Baltimore: The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1800

DOUGLAS F. STICKLE

IN A LETTER TO DR. BENJAMIN RUSH OF PHILADELPHIA IN SEPTEMBER 1800, Thomas Jefferson wrote:

When great evils happen, I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolations to us, and Providence has in fact so established the order of things, as that most evils are means of producing some good. The yellow fever will discourage the growth of great cities in our nation, & I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man. True, they nourish some of the elegant arts, but the useful ones can thrive elsewhere, and less perfection in the others, with more health, virtue & freedom, would be my choice.¹

Yellow fever, though certainly not new to the Americas, had been particularly devastating to American seaports during the 1790s. Baltimore was no exception; in fact, even as Jefferson penned these words, the city was once again in the midst of a summer's-end struggle with the disease which for the fourth year in a row was to ravage the city. The suspension of trade at the height of the trading season, and the evacuation from the city for the two month duration of the epidemic of almost all the inhabitants who could afford to leave brought an economic disaster to the city from which it would require many months to recover. And these considerations are pale before the drama of human suffering entailing hundreds of fever deaths. With its ability to bring the city to a grinding halt within days, yellow fever was clearly a major obstacle to the otherwise meteoric growth of Baltimore, but certainly not the only problem with which the city had to contend. The increasing ranks of permanent poor and ensuing class distinctions and conflicts were other aspects of major urban status which were new to the port on the Patapsco River.

The yellow fever epidemic of 1800 evoked some of these problems. The epidemic victimized the poor and large numbers of the destitute overwhelmed the city's existing charities; yet civic leaders were unwilling to assume more than a temporary public responsibility towards their recurring plight. Moreover, when the lower class accused members of the Board of Health of profiting from their role in the epidemic crisis, inter-class hostility was fully revealed. Indeed, close examination of the yellow fever epidemic of 1800 yields some uncommon insights into the social, political and economic structure of Baltimore in 1800.

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The yellow fever epidemic of 1800 lasted approximately sixty-five days, from August 22 to October 24. The best descriptive and statistical record of the epidemic comes from the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, a daily paper which continued to print throughout the ordeal. The first of many communications from the Baltimore Board of Health to the *Federal Gazette* appeared on August 22:

On Fell's Point we find an inflammatory bilious fever now exists—it first made its appearance along the water next to the cove, between the inspection house and the causeway and progressing gradually up Bond and Fleet streets, and thence spread in various directions into other adjacent streets.²

According to the first health statistics published only two days before, there were already fifteen dead, with 112 persons sick, and twelve others “supposed dangerous.” It is not surprising that no mention of the disease was made until it was so obviously well progressed. Newspaper editors such as Yundt and Brown of the *Federal Gazette* were well aware that even the rumor of disease would cause a mass exodus from the city and the institution of rigid quarantines and even blockades against the city by neighboring towns.³ It was a basic fact of eighteenth century life that, given the state of medical science, flight from the afflicted area was the most healthful, and also the most common, response to such tidings. The news was indeed dreadful, and its impact was such that knowledge of the presence of the disease was not made public until it could no longer be concealed. Scores of businesses announced their relocation or removal from the city in the next few days. (Many times during the epidemic warnings were printed in the *Federal Gazette* telling those who had left the city to not yet return.) Even the editor of the *Baltimore American*, (Baltimore's only other paper, and oriented much more heavily to national politics than to local news), later closed his presses, though not without full explanation:

Some who are personally unacquainted with me may say that I have determined on this suspension thro' FEAR: but this is not the case—to be sure, life to a republican Printer . . . is as desirable as to any other member of society, and he feels an equal anxiety to preserve it! . . . certainly life to me is worth more than usual efforts for its preservation—therefore I think with a little alteration from Butler, that

He who PRINTS and runs away
May live to PRINT another day!
But he who by the fever's slain,
Alas! he'll never PRINT again!⁴

The Board of Health published official death statistics daily between the dates of August 20 and October 24, signed by the Board's Secretary Joseph Townsend who, according to later reports, was one of only two members of the seven-member Board who remained in the city. These were presented in two different formats: one listed the number of interments in the city's sixteen cemeteries (see Figure 1); the other listed the number of deaths by region of the city (Fell's Point, Old Town, West Side and the Hospital) (see Figure 2).⁵ The

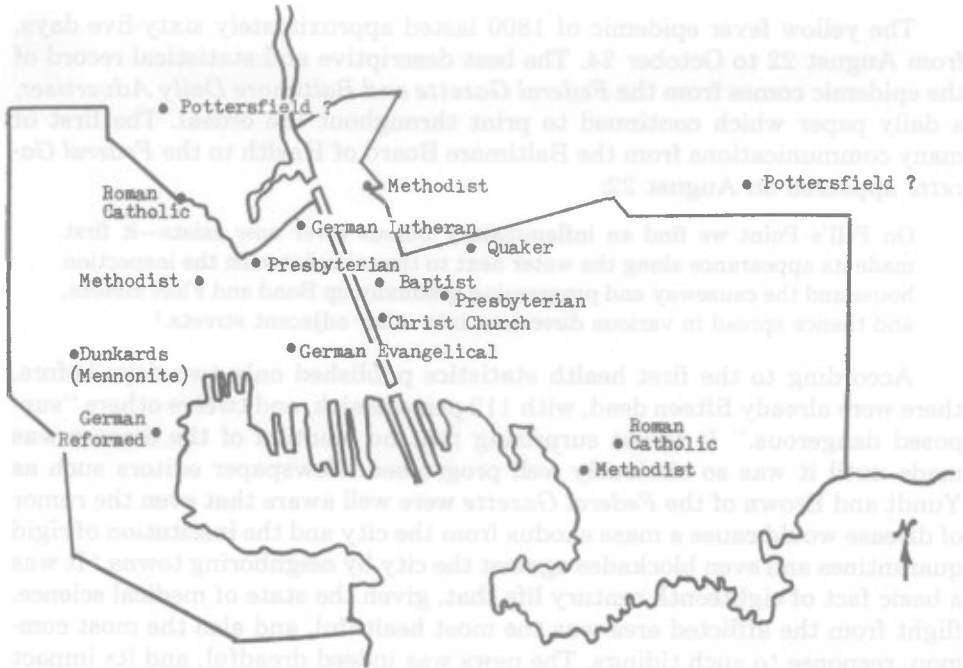


FIGURE 1.

Baltimore Cemeteries, 1800 (from Warner & Hanna Engraving, "Improved Plan of City of Baltimore", 1804)

official statistics totalled 1,197 fever deaths which, given Baltimore's 26,514 residents, represented a relatively large 4.5 percent of the population.⁶

The summations of these statistics in Tables 1 and 2 make evident which parts of the city were hardest hit by the epidemic. Not surprisingly, the distinctively poor parts of the city suffered the greatest loss of life. Class distinctions in Baltimore in 1800 had not only solidified, but had also established themselves in geographic patterns separating entire neighborhoods. Just as in such major northern ports as Philadelphia, New York and Boston, Baltimore's wealthier residents became less numerous as one proceeded outward from the center of the city.⁷ Merchants and government-professionals dominated the downtown region of the city (wards 3, 4 and 5). Artisans and laborers were more prevalent in the city's less central areas, which included Old Town, east of the city's downtown region across Jones' Falls. Maritime workers, (lowest in class order), were concentrated in the dock and shipping centers such as Fell's Point, a notoriously poor part of the city.⁸ The fever deaths closely follow this socioeconomic spatial pattern. Deaths in Fell's Point account for 46.6 percent of the deaths in the area tabulation, and the east side (combining Fell's Point with Old Town) records over 50 percent.⁹ In the cemetery tabulation, the east side interments account for a very large 78.3 percent of the numbers buried, and the Pottersfields—burial grounds provided explicitly for the poor—account for 52.7 percent of all burials.¹⁰

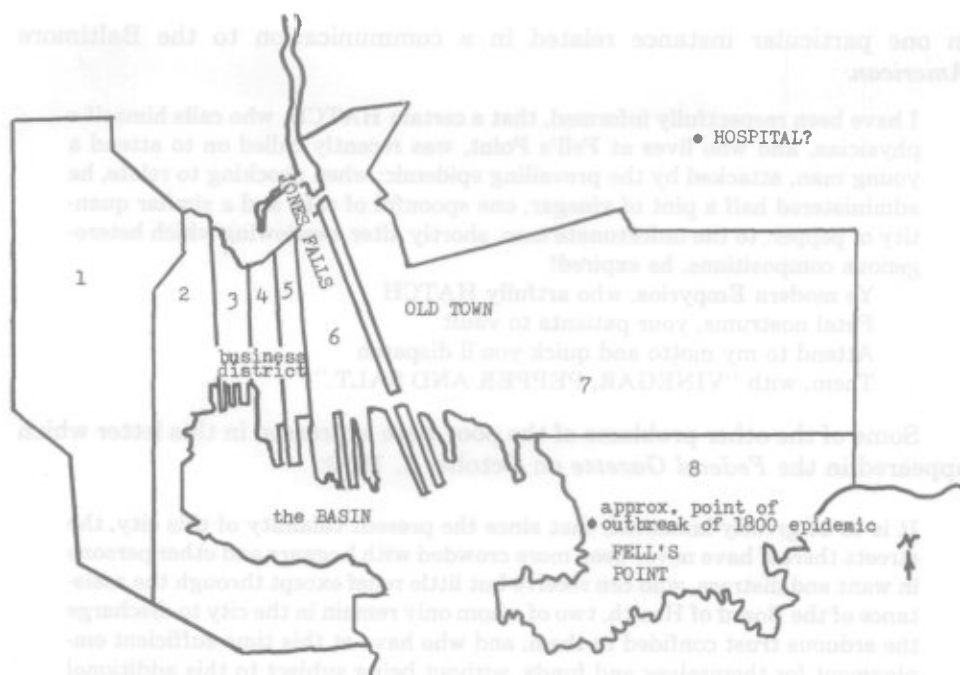


FIGURE 2.
Baltimore in 1800—Wards and Points of Interest

The concentration of the fever in Fell's Point was neither new nor different in 1800 from previous experiences. Fell's Point was commonly the focal point of Baltimore's epidemics: the fever nearly always began there, and was principally confined there "except under the influence of unusually strong winds," and the poor and the sick were the few that remained there.¹¹

With its "foul cove" and marshes, Fell's Point harbored prime conditions for the breeding of *aedes aegypti*, a mosquito species which provided the necessary vector for the transmission of the yellow fever virus. Imported from Africa to the Americas in the seventeenth century, both the *aedes aegypti* species and the yellow fever virus were endemic to Baltimore by 1800. By late summer, the level of Baltimore's outdoor activity and the period of the mosquito life cycle combined to make conditions quite favorable for the propagation of the disease to epidemic proportions. Once this happened, it was unlikely that the majority of the city's forty-seven doctors (giving an approximate doctor to population ratio of 1 to 553) would remain in the city to render even their small assistance, for no useful remedies were available, and the cycle of the disease was hardly understood by even the most sophisticated physicians of the eighteenth century. To overcome the difficulty of obtaining the services of a doctor numerous pieces of advice—such as those signed by "Philanthropist"—were printed in the *Federal Gazette*, in addition to the many advertisements for panacean potions.¹² Even if one were treated by a physician, the results were hardly predictable, and possibly even disastrous, as evidenced

in one particular instance related in a communication to the *Baltimore American*:

I have been respectfully informed, that a certain HATCH, who calls himself a physician, and who lives at Fell's Point, was recently called on to attend a young man, attacked by the prevailing epidemic; when shocking to relate, he administered half a pint of vinegar, one spoonful of salt, and a similar quantity of pepper, to the unfortunate man, shortly after swallowing which heterogeneous compositions, he expired!

Ye modern Empyrios, who artfully HATCH
 Fatal nostrums, your patients to vault
 Attend to my motto and quick you'll dispatch
 Them, with "VINEGAR, PEPPER AND SALT."¹³

Some of the other problems of the poor were expressed in this letter which appeared in the *Federal Gazette* on October 1, 1800:

It is to be greatly lamented, that since the present calamity of this city, the streets thereof have never been more crowded with beggars and other persons in want and distress, who can receive but little relief except through the assistance of the Board of Health, two of whom only remain in the city to discharge the arduous trust confided to them, and who have at this time sufficient employment for themselves and funds, without being subject to this additional burthen.—And as it appears that many of the aforesaid persons are proper objects for the alms-house, but who are deprived of the means of admittance, by the desertion of all the trustees of that institution from the city—and as it has several times happened that some of the above description, thro' intemperance and other circumstances have perished in the streets and other places—Query does not this subject demand that some measure be immediately adopted by the said trustees, or in case of their continued neglect by the Mayor and the remaining inhabitants of the city (although it should not be properly legal), to afford relief and admit into the said institution every person, who with propriety comes under this jurisdiction.¹⁴

Not the least of the problems cited above was the apparent fact that only two members of the Board of Health remained in the city, for the signature of a member of the Board, as well as that of a doctor, was required on a special application for admission to the hospital. Successful application would have therefore been a formidable task during most of the epidemic, because of the lack of both doctors and members of the Board of Health. It is not surprising that the majority of the Board members left the city, because the official stated duties of their office were solely preventive—aimed only at keeping the yellow fever out of Baltimore—and no provisions or requirements were made for those times of crisis when the yellow fever gained epidemic strength.¹⁵

Public action was not nonexistent, however. On September 2 it was announced that an encampment north of the hospital was being built for those "poor well persons as inhabit dangerous situations and have not the means of providing retreats for themselves." On September 10 an appeal "to local farmers" for food for the needy was printed in the *Federal Gazette* which con-

tinued throughout the epidemic and for some time thereafter, and in response to which many donations were received and acknowledged. A similar procedure was followed in procuring funds for the orphanage established at the African Academy in early October. By the close of the epidemic, there were twenty-three children in the orphanage, thirteen boys and ten girls.¹⁶

On October 27 the end of the siege of sickness—probably due to the first frost and the consequent reduced activity of the mosquitos—was joyfully proclaimed:

The subscribers embrace with pleasure this opportunity to congratulate their fellow citizens on the happy change which hath taken place, in the restoration of this lately afflicted city to as great a degree of health as generally prevails at this season.¹⁷

Mayor James Calhoun addressed the public in the *Federal Gazette* on October 29, happy for the return of health, and sorrowed by the loss of life:

On so auspicious occasion as the restoration of health in our afflicted city—the return of our citizens to their lately deserted homes—and the revival of business in our streets where the hum of industry was so long hushed in midnight silence—the heart feels unusual emotions, and leaps in gratitude to a merciful God for preserving our lives from the destructive fever, for staying the ravages of death, and bringing us together again, to embrace our relatives, felicitate our friends, and squeeze the outstretching hand of a congratulating acquaintance. But, says some disconsolate mourner, were a short absence from our friends and occupations the only misfortune, our sorrow would be turned into joy—how many of us have parted to meet in this transitory life no more! Certainly too many have cause to mourn, but those whom they lament, fell perhaps in the cause of humanity, in the relief of distress—then heaven has rewarded them and will comfort the mourner. Let us be thankful that so many still live.

The fever has been a sore and heavy calamity on the city, and the country has had its share in the inconvenience, and distress incident to a suspension of trade and intercourse; but although the loss must be heavy on our fellow citizens generally, yet an abundant crop and a brisk trade, will, we hope, greatly alleviate both merchant, mechanic and farmer, and restore them to that height of prosperity they last year enjoyed.¹⁸

Two weeks later, Mayor Calhoun summed up the public measures taken during the epidemic:

Be the origin of this disorder what it may, it became very mortal at Fell's Point about the middle of August, and excited a general alarm amongst the inhabitants, insomuch as to induce most of those who had the means of providing retreats in the country, to remove from that part of the city, and the merchants generally to suspend all intercourse therewith, which at once put a stop to the employment of the mechanics and laborers, and left all those, who had not other resources, exposed to the contagion, and without the means of procuring the necessaries of life. Humanity, therefore, required that public measures be taken for their safety and support: accordingly a camp was formed north of the hospital and nearly sixty huts or buildings of plank

erected, where the poor from the parts of the city most affected were invited, and provisions distributed to them; and also measures taken to render assistance to such indigent persons as could not leave their own homes.

At first the public support was confined to the poor of Fell's Point, that being the only quarter which then required it; but unfortunately the fever began to extend to other parts of the city, and before the middle of September had made such progress to the west of Jones Falls, that the inhabitants fled from thence also; and the same cause which affected the poor at the Point, operated on those in other parts of the city, and made it necessary to provide for them also—I therefore went into the different wards, and prevailed upon such gentlemen in each, as would undertake the task, (and in whom I could confide), to go through their respective wards, and find out such objects as required public support, and requested the commissioners of health to superintend the distribution of provisions to those people, through the committee formed from the different wards, by which means two to three thousand souls have been supported in the camp, and in different parts of the city; many of whom would, most probably, have actually suffered for want of the common necessaries of life, if not thus supplied—and although the return of business will give employment to numbers, and thereby take them from the poor list, yet there will remain but too many, who, from the loss of parents, or usual support, will require public aid through the winter . . .

The hospital was commenced on an extensive plan, about one third of which has been completed, and has cost the city nearly \$3000, exclusive of the grant from the general assembly; it afforded accomodation, during our late calamity, for 130 persons at a time, that could not have been provided for without such a building.

The Board of Health have had an arduous task through this afflictive scene; and to them the city of Baltimore is greatly indebted for their extraordinary exertions, especially to Mr. Adam Fonerden, and Mr. Joseph Townsend, who at the hazard of their lives remained at their post, and attended to make provision for the sick and the indigent, when deserted by most of their neighbors.¹⁹

The Mayor's message was followed by one from a "Joint Committee of both Branches of City Council," further praising the works of Adam Fonerden and Joseph Townsend:

Your committee further report, that the Board of Health, during this time of trial and distress, were zealously active in the discharge of their dangerous duties, and (as your committee believe) in many instances, efficient assistance: But your committee would be wanting to themselves, to the city council, and to their constituents, were they not particularly to represent the usefulness and unwearied diligence of Adam Fonerden and Joseph Townsend, two of the members of that board, in this service of more than common humanity. To the blessings of those who were ready to perish, will be added the praises of all those who shall know their care of the fatherless and the widow, and of those who had none to help them, and finally, that reward which the world cannot give!²⁰

The economic impact on the city lasted on into 1801. Aside from the suspension of trade and the widespread unemployment during the epidemic pe-

riod of September and October, there were many households in which deaths meant lost livelihoods, and in these instances conditions became more acute over the course of the winter. Unusually large numbers required public aid through the winter, and the city's existing procedures for poor relief were strained enormously. In a special ordinance "to mitigate the distress occasioned by the late prevailing Fever," Mayor James Calhoun and the City Council appointed, in November, persons in each ward whose duties were:

... to inspect into the conditions of the poor therein, and grant recommendations or orders (carefully guarding against imposition) to such of them as they shall discover to be really in want and have not the means of subsisting themselves, to receive such articles or supplies as shall be provided at the public expense.²¹

Even as late as February, a supplement to the ordinance was passed which gave authorization to "draw on the register of the city for a further sum of money; not exceeding one-thousand dollars."²²

To at least one Baltimorean, this system was clearly inadequate. In one of a series of heated letters from a certain "Humanitas," which appeared in the *Federal Gazette* during November and December, he stated:

We have seen that the various opinions which have been conceived with respect to the yellow fever, remain uncertain; and that the measures, which have been adopted to prevent its introduction and propagation among us, have proved ineffectual.

We know that many took sick, languished and died, without the comforts or even necessities of life. We have then to regret, that the system upon which we have heretofore acted, has been inadequate and imperfect.²³

In his own words, "Humanitas" wrote to "arouse you from that delusive inactivity, or rather criminal stupidity, which has, perhaps, been the most fatal source of all our calamities."²⁴ Later revealed to be Dr. James Smith (of whom it is otherwise known only that he lived on Lemmons alley in Fell's Point), "Humanitas" emphasized repeatedly that what was needed was a reorganization of the Board of Health. Basically, he suggested that the administrators be separated from the workers, and that the finances be derived from an entertainment tax levied on the billiard halls.²⁵ But he also specifically and violently denounced the credit given to Messrs. Fonerden and Townsend for their acts in the late epidemic, especially related to his suspicion that they had in some way profited from their endeavors:

My intercourse with the sick was constant... (but)... I never yet saw, or knew one of these men to shew his face where the sufferings of the afflicted required his assistance; nor, that possessed the courage to expose his own safety, (even when his duty called them) to visit any unhealthy part of the city.

When it was believed abroad that these gentlemen were daily visiting the poor and afflicted, we know that they kept themselves at home, and out of danger. When it was supposed that they were diligent and unwearied in their disinterested labors, that humanity and benevolence attended their hourly ex-

cursions, we know that most of their philanthropy centered on their own persons; and that to be well paid for a little trouble, or to grow rich, (upon the distress of others), was thought *no sin*. We know that the widow and fatherless looked for help but all their blessings were not recorded to the credit of men such as these . . .

They will, I hope, excuse my surprise, to hear the dissertation of all the commissioners, (except two), complimented as "efficient assistance to the sick," and called "an active discharge of their dangerous duties;" and I think it not a little extraordinary, indeed, that no encomiums can sufficiently idolize "the more than common humanity" of these two gentlemen, who neither left the city nor "their post," but possessed the astonishing bravery, "at the hazard of their lives," to sign orders of admission into the hospital! And, strange to tell, had the charity to receive generous donations from others!²⁶

Dr. Smith elaborated on these accusations in a later letter:

I have always conceived, and have, indeed, been confirmed in my belief, by one of their own Board, that both those gentlemen are entitled to, and receive the sum of two dollars per diem, for their services; and, if I am not mistaken, Friend Joseph Townsend receives a compensation of one hundred dollars per annum, for his extra humanity and attention.²⁷

In other letters, Dr. Smith referred to the Board members as "men inadequate to the task; men who yet arrogantly wish to retain it; without information, without talents, ignorant, illiberal, insincere." He asked for new members of "zeal and integrity." The issue prompted Alexander Martin, editor of the *Baltimore American*, to comment:

The article over the signature of "Humanitas", copied from the excaptain's paper into this *American*, I hope will receive the most marked and pointed attention from every citizen of Baltimore. It embraces an object of perhaps more local importance to this city, than any subject that for a long time has engaged public disquisition. If the preservation of the health of the city, is subject to human controul, let no stone be left unturned to accomplish so desirable an end. The object of "Humanitas" is to effect the establishment of a New Board of Health; to be composed of men of science and humanity, of men whose leisure and researches may enable them ultimately to explore the hidden causes of diseases and to effect their removal; of men who will discharge their duties with faithfulness and humanity, and not, by their ignorant and imperious manners disgust one part of the board that they may reserve unmerited praise, and all the pecuniary benefits to the other part! He wishes the appointment of men who will do goodness for goodness' sake, and not again commit the good sense of the corporation, in appointing a man on a committee to draft a fullsome resolution of thanks for his own and other's well paid services!²⁸

Dr. Smith went so far as to make an open request to Joseph Townsend to see the records of the transactions of the Board of Health, in a letter which appeared in the *American*:

I have . . . taken the liberty (and hope you will not think it improper) to request your permission to have free access to the proceedings of our late board of health; that I may avoid disagreeable mistakes, as well as with respect to calculation of expence, as to the efficacy of the means pursued.²⁹

Townsend's reply appeared in the same issue of the *American*:

Thine of yesterday I received, and observed the request therein contained, which is not in my power to grant without violating the trust confided in me by the board. At their next meeting I shall lay the matter before them and be subject to their direction respecting it.³⁰

Aside from the information provided by Dr. Smith, there exists only tentative evidence which might incriminate Townsend regarding his dealings associated with the Board of Health. It was reported that Mayor Calhoun had appropriated an extra \$784 in order to provide added fire protection for the city during the epidemic, and it is possible that these monies found their way to Townsend, whom the 1800 *City Directory* lists as President of the Baltimore Equitable Society, which insured houses against loss by fire.³¹ The eventual result of Dr. Smith's request to examine the Board's transactional records has been lost to history; most likely it was abandoned in favor of the greater controversy opened with the appearance of this letter to the *Federal Gazette* on January 20, 1801:

To the Citizens of Baltimore: The following is respectfully submitted.

Polly Elliot, a little girl who came from the Eastern shore, and was about 10 or 12 years old, lived with Henry Purcell, near to the lower end of Southstreet; but early in September this neighborhood having become sickly, Purcell resolved to leave town and remove his family into the country, which he immediately accomplished, leaving this child friendless and unhoused to shift for itself. She had been unwell for a day or two, and was very sick on the morning Purcell and his family left the city. She was however turned into the streets, and was seen staggering about for some time, until Mr. James Young, grocer, was apprized of her situation and took her into his storehouse. Mr. William McCormick, stonecutter, now offered his assistance and made application to Joseph Townsend, health commissioner, for her admission to the hospital. But this was refused, because there was no certificate produced from a physician, declaring her to be, positively, ill of the yellow fever. Several hours were spent in vain, by this gentleman, in search of a doctor to give the certificate Mr. Townsend required—at length disappointed and unable to procure one, he determined to take the child herself, up to the health office; and see, whether her entreaties, added to his own, could not procure her admission and obtain that relief, without which it was conceived, she must soon perish. Fortunately, on their way thither, they found Dr. Moores, who freely gave her the certificate they had been so long in search of. McCormick proceeded with the child, and carried her into Mr. Townsend's house. An order of admission was now signed, without hesitation; and the child was directed to go from thence to the hospital. Having performed a humane part, and conceiving he had done as much as was his duty, or in his power, Mr. McCormick now re-

sonably expected, that he might leave the child and that she might be provided for. He was however soon undeceived, and ordered to take the child with him again unless he (Mr. McCormick) would carry her to the hospital, and at his own expence too. Remonstrances were used, but to no purpose, "common" fellow feeling could no longer bear with such indifference to the sufferings of a child, in a condition like the present—McCormick generously offered to pay one-half the expence, if a stage could be procured to carry her the small distance she had to go; but the "more than commonly humane" commissioner refused to give one cent, for that purpose. Any further intreaty now seemed unnecessary; and, at length, exasperated at such inhuman conduct, Mr. McCormick repeated, that the child was in no other way related to him than as an orphan; who was destitute and whom he had taken out of the street—He also informed Joseph Townsend, that he should consider him, as the public officer appointed and paid to provide for such objects as these; and telling him, that he conceived his duty would oblige him, to take care of the child, made an attempt to leave them; and quit a contest, so hurtful to his feelings and so barbarous in its nature. But Joseph Townsend followed him to the door; and taking the child by the shoulders put her, again, into the street!! To leave such an orphan in the street, without a shade to shelter, or a human being to protect—to refuse the petition of a destitute child of misery, was not in the power, of such a man as the friend, who had brought her thus far. In pity he returned to provide for and protect her. In compassion he hush'd her cries and encouraged her, to look up to him for assistance; when the fatherless could find no father! Mr. McCormick, again, endeavoured to hire a stage, but could not procure one which would carry a sick person. The distance, to the hospital, was nearly a mile; but the child said she "would try to walk it now, since he would not leave her!" There was no time to be lost; and no other alternative, than to help her perform a journey on foot, that, had she been well, would have been a laborious one, on an afternoon, as warm as the one, on which, this child walked up to the hospital—Thro' the kind assistance of Mr. William McCormick and Mr. William Boyce, who gave her drink, and refreshed her, by resting her at intervals, she was at length enabled to reach an asylum for her afflictions; where she died a few days afterwards.

The circumstances, above related, with respect to Polly Elliot's situation, and Joseph Townsend's conduct on the occasion: we know to be well founded, and, if called upon, will prove them to be true.

William McCormick, William Boyce, James Young³²

The above letter, so inflammatory in nature (but probably a good example of some of the problems the poor must have faced), precipitated an exhaustive series of letters to the *Federal Gazette*, in which almost every facet of the account was hotly contested, including the name, age and relative health of the girl involved.³³ Growing ever more complicated, the issue raged daily in the *Federal Gazette* for over a week until editors Yundt and Brown simply refused to print anymore concerning the matter.³⁴

The real issue at hand must have centered on conflicts much deeper than the specifics of the Polly Elliott incident so hotly debated, because they were of so little importance in and of themselves. Actually, the conflict represents only the surface of a much more basic and underlying conflict, one of class *vs.*

class. Defended by an impressive array of individuals including John Hillen and Jesse Hollingsworth, both members of the City Council and fellow Quakers of Townsend, Joseph Townsend represented the city's merchant elite, which had virtually institutionalized its superior position in the political structure of 1800 Baltimore, and of whom the lower classes were wary for good reason. Certainly, the downtown merchants' section of the city was decidedly overrepresented in city government, and qualifications for city office were blatantly restrictive along class lines.³⁶ In attacking Townsend, Dr. Smith articulated the lower class's sentiments, for they were usually silent and for the most part illiterate. Not since the controversial annexation of Fell's Point five years before that had been accompanied by the incorporation of the city and the establishment of a charter of government which gave the merchant factions virtual control of city affairs, had anti-elite sentiment been given such open expression. And, though it will never be known to what extent the many allegations against Townsend were true, the whole affair undoubtedly proved to be an embarrassment to Mayor James Calhoun and the City Council. Whereas Joseph Townsend was Secretary of the Board of Health in 1800, he was not even reappointed to the Board in 1801.³⁶

A wider result of Dr. Smith's letters was a movement to establish a city dispensary. This was announced by "To the Benevolent" on January 7, 1801:

In every populous town there will be found a considerable number of persons, whose straitened circumstances, unequal to the expence of medical aid, render them slow in seeking it, even when essentially necessary, many of whom are not the objects of the charity of either an almshouse or a hospital. . . (Because of this) society has lost many valuable members, whose continued existence might have rescued them from their obscurity, raised them above want, and eminently contributed to the public weal. . . We have fire companies, we have insurance companies, and we have banking companies; but no company could equal the extensive or essential benefits desirable from a *health company*.³⁷

Subscriptions were sold for five dollars, with the understanding that each subscriber would be permitted to refer two patients. The significance of this movement is that it represented yet another attempt of private groups to solve large public problems, problems which were not taken up by the municipality in its official capacity. Within months of its opening in 1801—along with a subsidiary dispensary on Fell's Point "for the greater convenience of the poor of the 8th ward"—the dispensary was criticized on the basis that those most in needs of its services were unable to pay the subscription fee, or to locate subscribers who could refer them.

Clearly, by 1800 the growth of a group of permanent poor in Baltimore seriously strained the existing system for relief of poverty and unemployment which the yellow fever epidemic compounded so heavily. And, too, this condition was surely apparent to Baltimore's civic leaders. Whether for philosophical reasons, or because of the large ingestions of funds which a public policy would require, Baltimore's political and economic leaders were as yet unwill-

ing to establish active governmental institutions to provide for these problems.

APPENDIX A

TABLE I
Interments by Cemetery, August 20–October 14, 1800

<i>West Side of Jones Falls</i>	<i>Interments</i>	<i>Percent</i>
St. Paul's	34	3.1
Methodist	56	5.2
Roman Catholic	1	0.1
Presbyterian	25	2.3
German Lutheran	36	3.3
German Reformed	20	1.9
German Evangelical	10	0.9
Dunkards	9	0.8
Pottersfield	44	4.1
Total	235	21.7
<i>East Side of Jones Falls</i>		
Christ Church	62	5.7
Presbyterian	47	4.3
Methodist	64	5.9
Roman Catholic	113	10.5
Friends	22	2.0
Baptist	12	1.1
Pottersfield	526	48.7
Total	846	78.3
Grand Total	1,081	

TABLE II
Deaths by Region

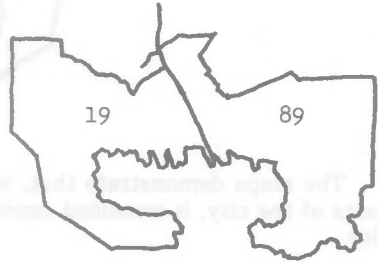
<i>Region of City</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Fell's Point	419	46.6
Hospital	147	16.3
Old Town	41	4.5
West Side	258	28.7
Other	35	3.9
Total	900	

APPENDIX B

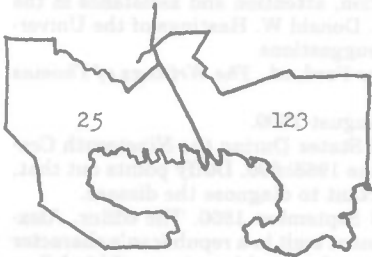
These maps show, for the approximate nine week duration of the epidemic, the number of interments each week for the east and west sides:



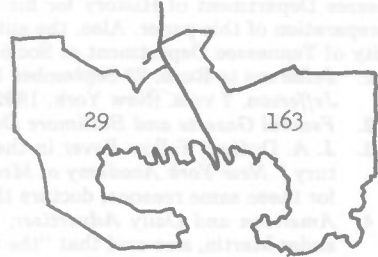
WEEK 1



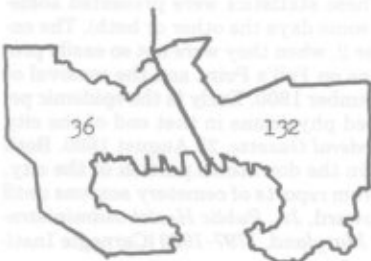
WEEK 2



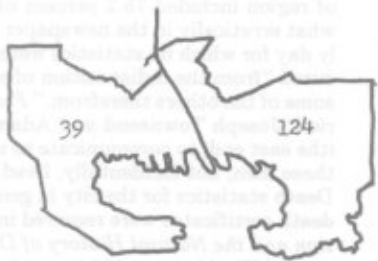
WEEK 3



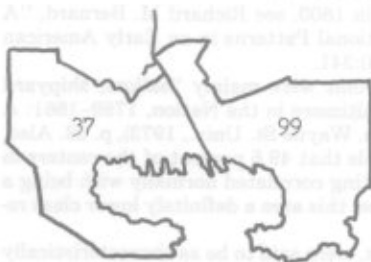
WEEK 4



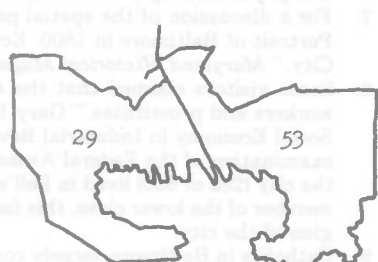
WEEK 5



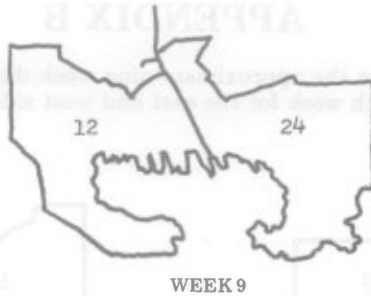
WEEK 6



WEEK 7



WEEK 8



The maps demonstrate that, while the disease did in fact propagate itself to all parts of the city, it remained concentrated in the east side, the poorer section of the city.

REFERENCES

The author wishes to especially thank Dr. William Bruce Wheeler of the University of Tennessee Department of History for his most valuable direction, attention and assistance in the preparation of this paper. Also, the author would thank Dr. Donald W. Hastings of the University of Tennessee Department of Sociology for his helpful suggestions.

1. Jefferson to Rush, 23 September 1800, in Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 7 vols. (New York, 1892-1899) VII:458-459.
2. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 22 August 1800.
3. J. A. Duffy, "Yellow Fever in the Continental United States During the Nineteenth Century," *New York Academy of Medicine Bulletin* 44(June 1968):690. Duffy points out that, for these same reasons, doctors themselves were reluctant to diagnose the disease.
4. *American and Daily Advertiser*, (Baltimore, Md.), 18 September 1800. The editor, Alexander Martin, also said that "the first and most prominent trait in a republican's character is sympathy for the sufferings, and the regard for the safety and happiness of his fellow men."
5. The tabulation by site of interment included 90.3 percent of the total deaths. The tabulation of region included 75.2 percent of the total deaths. These statistics were presented somewhat erratically in the newspaper (some days one list, some days the other or both). The only day for which no statistics were given was September 2, when they were not so easily procured "from the indisposition of some of the Physicians on Fell's Point and the removal of some of the others therefrom." *Federal Gazette*, 2 September 1800. Early in the epidemic period, Joseph Townsend and Adam Fonerden "requested physicians in that end of the city (the east end) to communicate to us by messenger." *Federal Gazette*, 25 August 1800. Both these men, not incidentally, lived west of Jones Falls in the downtown portion of the city. Death statistics for the city in general were compiled from reports of cemetery sextons until death certificates were required in 1875. William T. Howard, Jr., *Public Health Administration and the Natural History of Disease in Baltimore, Maryland, 1797-1920* (Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1924), p. 18.
6. The total number of deaths was listed as 1197 in the *Federal Gazette* On October 29, 1800. The population figure of 26,514 is taken from the 1800 census.
7. For a discussion of the spatial pattern of Baltimore in 1800, see Richard M. Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore in 1800: Economic and Occupational Patterns in an Early American City," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69(Winter 1974):341.
8. Some visitors claimed that the residents of Fell's Point were mainly "sailors, shipyard workers and prostitutes." Gary Lawson Browne, "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution," (Ph.D. diss. Wayne St. Univ., 1973), p. 23. Also, examination of the Federal Assessment of 1798 reveals that 49.6 percent of the renters in the city (285 of 633) lived in Fell's Point. Whereas renting correlated normally with being a member of the lower class, this fact is sufficient to label this area a definitely lower class region of the city.
9. Catholics in Baltimore, largely confined to Fell's Point, were said to be as characteristically poor as were the Presbyterians rich. Thomas G. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, (Baltimore:

Turnbull Bros., 1874), pp. 69, 288–289. The east side Catholic cemetery listed 10.2 percent of the cemetery tabulation of deaths. Weekly death tolls by region are given in the Appendix.

10. "In many ancient cities," according to *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, "the fields from which potters derived clay for their vessels are at the edge of occupied areas. It was natural that the poor should be buried at such places." *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "pottersfield". The pottersfields in Baltimore were established between 1792 and 1800. A special commission (which included Joseph Townsend) addressed the city in 1792:

Whereas it has hitherto been a practice amongst the poorer class of people, and people of color, to BURY their deceased relations and acquaintances, in several of the streets and Allies of this town—the Special Commissioners of the town aforesaid, having reflected on the circumstance, consider it a practice indecent and highly injurious to the said streets and allies so interred on, and believe it necessary to give this public notice, requesting the inhabitants of said Town and Point to prevent, as much as possible, the like custom in future, as it is evident that most, or all of the corpse(s), so interred, must be removed when the said streets and allies come to be regulated.

A much more humanitarian suggestion was put forth in a reply from "A Friend to Decency and Humanity":

It appears that the town of Baltimore contains by computation, near 20,000 inhabitants, numbers of whom are members of no religious denomination, and but in low circumstances, which prevent their deceased being admitted in the burying grounds of the several different religious societies; and as they are refused the privilege of interring on private property, are obliged to have recourse to the public highways, for that purpose. It is cause of public admiration, that so populous a place as Baltimore, and the well-known generous and humane disposition of its inhabitants, should not be provided with what is termed a Pottersfield; . . . would it not . . . effectually remedy the inconvenience complained of by the Special Commissioners?

From the *Baltimore Daily Repository*, cited in "The Potters Fields, Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 12(1917):187.

11. Howard, *Public Health in Baltimore*, p. 212. Also, see Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 394. Baltimore suffered yellow fever epidemics in 1794, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1802, 1819, and 1821. Howard, *Public Health in Baltimore*, p. 86.
12. One piece of advice stated, "We earnestly recommend to all concerned, cautiously to avoid all exciting causes, among which are, intemperance in drink and diet, catching cold in thin clothing, night air or rain, and violent exercise and labor under a hot sun." *Federal Gazette*, 22 September 1800. One interesting potion which was advertised was the "Vinegar of the Four Thieves". Its formula, as the story went, was obtained from four miraculously healthy thieves in exchange for their lives when they had been caught looting during the Plague in Europe.
13. *American*, 6 September 1800. The mortality rate for yellow fever is approximately fifty percent, such that for every death there was perhaps one more sick and recovered.
14. *Federal Gazette*, 1 October 1800.
15. The 1799 *City Directory* includes "an Extract from an Ordinance to Preserve the Health of the City," passed February 27, 1799, in which a Board was established "whose duty it shall be to watch over the health of the city, to aid and assist the health officer for the time being, and to carry into effect the provisions of this ordinance." Probably prompted by the 1798 epidemic, the provisions were to police the city for cleanliness, and to inspect and quarantine ships when necessary. Blake suggests that in American cities, health boards were established simply as a type of sound investment by the merchants (usually through a city government which represented their interests), because the cost of maintaining a health board was far less than the losses incurred in an epidemic. J. B. Blake, "Yellow Fever in Eighteenth Century American Cities," *New York Academy of Medicine Bulletin* 44(June 1968):698.
16. *Federal Gazette*, 20 November 1800. Of four names traceable with fair certainty in the Baltimore *City Directory*, three were from the east side of the city.
17. *Ibid.*, 27 October 1800.
18. *Ibid.*, 29 October 1800.
19. *Ibid.*, 12 November 1800. The hospital was founded by private charity in 1794, and taken over by the city with state authorization in 1797; it had 130 beds by 1800. Browne,

- "Baltimore in the Nation," p. 35. The mention of the hospital "commenced" probably refers to an expansion undertaken sometime previous to the epidemic.
20. Ibid.
 21. Shipton and Mooney, eds., "National Index of American Imprints Through 1800," *The Short Title Evans* (U.S.: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Pub., 1969) 36881.
 22. Ibid.
 23. *Federal Gazette*, 13 November 1800.
 24. Ibid., 5 December 1800.
 25. Dr. Smith's plans for a new board of health appeared in a letter to the *Federal Gazette* on December 10, 1800.
 26. *Federal Gazette*, 23 November 1800 and 5 December 1800.
 27. *American*, 24 December 1800.
 28. Ibid., 13 December 1800.
 29. Ibid., 25 December 1800.
 30. Ibid.
 31. Mayor Calhoun reported the extra appropriation in his address in the *Federal Gazette* on November 5, 1800.
 32. *Federal Gazette*, 20 January 1800. McCormick and Boyce stated that they had proceeded "to help her perform a journey on foot;" most likely this means that they stood a more than safe distance away and "shooed" her along—taking no chances of contracting the disease themselves. Polly Elliot was subsequently referred to as Polly Elliott and Mary Elliott; "Polly" was probably a nickname. She was probably an immigrant, and perhaps a graduate of the Charity School of the Female Humane Association, which provided for girls 7–14 years of age taken from situations of "immediate danger of being very greatly injured (by continuing with their parents), by reason of the bad example set before them," or girls who were orphans or who were otherwise unprovided for. Part of the plan of the Charity School is given below:

The scholars shall be taught reading, writing, cyphering, needle-work, and every other kind of work the trustees shall think prosper—the time to be appropriated to each branch to be regulated by the trustees.

That the children shall, when they have received sufficient instruction; and are capable of domestic employments, be placed by the trustees (their parents consenting), with well disposed persons, to such trades or employments as their capacities are found fit for, until they arrive at such an age as may be thought proper to trust them to act for themselves—those receiving them to obligate themselves to find them in decent clothing, and a new suit at their dismissal.
 - Shipton and Mooney, *The Short Title Evans*, 36884. 33. (See p. 29a)
 33. Polly's symptoms were described as pain in the head and back, and fever with heightened pulse; after five days she had a chill, with hemorrhage from the teeth and gums, followed by death within hours. There was considerable controversy as to whether she had yellow fever when she first entered the hospital. One physician, however, wrote to the *American* saying, "What medical gentleman is there in existence, that ever witnessed or attended patients in the yellow fever, would require more accurate symptoms, to establish and characterize the disease, than this case." Yet it is interesting that the jaundiced appearance usually apparent in yellow fever victims is not mentioned in these accounts. There exists the possibility that she died from leptospirosis, a bacterial disease often mistaken for yellow fever but causing jaundice in only thirty-three percent of the cases. Leptospirosis, associated with animal urine, may be contracted by direct or indirect exposure to contaminated water. A. B. Kaufmann, *The Biology of Parasitic Spirochetes*, (New York: Academic Press, 1976), reviewed in "Veterinary Health Notes," (Center for Disease Control and U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare), May 1977.
 34. Yundt and Brown declared:

The contest between Dr. Smith and others, having become extremely lengthy and personal, and no prospect of an end being put to disputes so uninteresting to a great portion of their readers and irksome to the editors, they are under the necessity of assuming what they conceive to be a justifiable control over their own press, by requesting the parties to choose some other vehicle for the dissemination of their pieces, as their *Gazette* will in future be closed against them.
 - Federal Gazette*, 31 January 1801.
 35. Qualifications included that the wealth of members of the First Branch of City Council be "rated on the assessor's books at one-thousand dollars," and that members of the Second

Branch of City Council be "rated on the assessor's books at two-thousand dollars." *Baltimore City Directory*, 1800. The representation in city government of the merchants' downtown wards, (represented equally with other wards, yet distinctly smaller in both geographic and population size), "leaves little doubt as to who ran Baltimore in 1800." Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore," p. 360.

36. Incidents surrounding the incorporation of the city are discussed in William Bruce Wheeler, "The Baltimore Jeffersonians, 1788-1800: A Profile of Intra-Factional Conflict," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66(Summer 1971):160.
37. *Federal Gazette*, 7 January 1801.

BOOK REVIEWS

Christopher Weeks. *The Building of Westminster in Maryland: A Socio-architectural Account of Westminster's First 250 Years, Including an Illustrated Inventory of Over 200 Historic Structures*. (Annapolis, Maryland: published for the City of Westminster by Fishergate Publishing Company, 1978. Photographs, illustrations, maps, index. Pp. vi, 202. \$4.95.)

Certainly one of the most exciting developments in historiography over the past decade has been the revival of the writing of solid—even brilliant—local history. The Chamber of Commerce booster and the well-meaning amateur are still with us, to be sure, but more and more historian/preservationists are moving into the territory. The county courthouses, the local historical societies, and the thousands of depositories in church rectories, business offices, and township halls are almost teeming with graduate students and young professionals. And, for better or for worse, much of this activity is financed by agencies of the federal government. In the case of Christopher Weeks' *The Building of Westminster in Maryland*, any fair-minded reader will agree that it has been public money well spent.

Weeks, an architectural historian trained at the University of Virginia, came to his position with the City of Westminster two years ago, after apprenticeships with the Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission and with The National Trust in England. His new assignment turned out to be an eighteen-month survey of the basic historic sites remaining in the 215-year-old Carroll County seat. This handsomely-produced 9 x 12 paperback grew out of his relatively brief but concentrated survey. The success of the project may be reflected in the fact that Weeks is now a researcher, writer, and editor with the Maryland Historical Trust. He has further similar projects on the drawing board.

"I must stress," Weeks alerts us in the preface, "that the book is in no way intended to be a comprehensive 'History of Westminster'." It is a "socio-architectural account" of William Winchester's town, founded by the Baltimore merchant and land speculator in 1764 in the midst of Pennsylvania German settlers on the old border between Baltimore and Frederick counties. A history of the town has yet to be published, but Weeks' generously illustrated "account" is a pleasure to look at and a pleasure to read.

The volume is divided into two separate sections, a narrative and an inventory, both generously illustrated with 412 current and nineteenth-century photographs, maps, and drawings. The inventory is the direct product of Weeks' professional assignment. The much longer first section is a lively chronicle of the building of Westminster as a reflection of the tastes and demands of that city's businessmen, farmers, politicians, and social leaders over the years. It is a tribute to the author that he had the nerve to make the leap from building to builder. He invokes his authority in the preface: "Alberti said that architecture without politics is meaningless."

This narrative, "The People and the Buildings," is, indeed, an imaginative impression of who built Westminster and why. Weeks' account moves rapidly up through the decades in ten rather brief but aptly illustrated chapters. He makes it clear that the

socio-architectural history of small-town America is essentially a history of the tastes and ambitions of its solid and prosperous entrepreneurs. In Westminster the "people" were the Albaughs, Babylons, Billingsleas, Longwells, Mathaises, Orndorffs, Reeses, Reifsniders, Shellmans, Smiths, Wamplers, Wantzs, Yinglings—and, of course, the Shrivvers. Their buildings, both commercial and domestic, largely survive in their infinite variety, most solid and satisfied but occasionally flamboyant. Weeks makes a point that "Part I is merely one person's interpretation . . . of the various events and people (the ambitious politician, the adventurous land-speculator, and the conservative banker and farmer) that have made the physical and social fabric of Westminster what it is today." Much of his analysis is indebted to the pioneering work of Henry Glassie, and the model for his general format is *The Building of Biloxi* by Anthony Oliver James.

Three Interludes, which Weeks justifies as "scene-setters," provide color and continuity at points within the chronological narrative. They are illustrated popular essays on Westminster as an early nineteenth-century country seat, Westminster and the Civil War, and "The Greatest Celebration," Westminster life during its gaudy Gilded Age. Part I ends with a sober set of appendices accounting for the churches, the schools, and the mayors over the years.

The Inventory of Historic Structures, Part II of the volume, is a listing, with a photograph and a brief description, of 206 historically significant buildings. The survey, supervised by the Maryland Historical Trust, was conducted between September, 1976, and January, 1978. The resulting inventory is admittedly incomplete and "represents one person's selection of structures that would give the historic flavor of the city in 1978." The general guide for his selection was the detailed map of the city published in the *Illustrated Atlas of Carroll County, Maryland*, by Lake, Griffing and Stevenson of Philadelphia in 1877. Weeks originally intended to inventory all the structures shown on the map that are extant in one form or another. However, there are omissions, particularly on old Pennsylvania Avenue, and quite a few buildings are included of considerably more recent vintage than 1877. Weeks frankly says that "some such deviations were intentional to tidy loose ends or provide perspective." Time, one would guess, was also a factor.

The Inventory is arranged into ten historical sections corresponding to the growth of the city as "towns" were added and annexations accumulated. An Inventory Listing and a keyed color map supplement the main Description of the Structures. The necessarily small individual photographs in this section were taken by the author, as were the present-day photographs throughout the book.

Special mention must be made of the fine workmanship of the design, layout, and typography provided by the Fishergate Publishing Company of Annapolis. The book is a bargain and is already into its second printing.

Western Maryland College

KEITH N. RICHWINE

The Ukrainians of Maryland. By Stephen Basarab, Paul Fenchak, Wolodymyr C. Sushko and others. (Baltimore: Ukrainian Education Association of Maryland, Inc., 1977, Pp. xiv, 519. \$6.95.)

The Ukrainians of Maryland is a penetrating study of one of the numerous Slavic peoples living in Maryland. The authors have made a valuable contribution in researching and documenting the history of this Slavic American group. A concerted effort by the writers reveals the trends in Ukrainian immigration that began on a large scale in the late 1800s and received sizeable impetus by the refugees who came after World War II. Difficulties and frustrations encountered by Ukrainians in Europe are ex-

plained by the writers who have presented a source of history not often developed by western-oriented writers.

An examination of this volume with its over 263 photos, maps, charts, and documents will convince the reader of its valuable historical contents. In fourteen chapters the authors' spades have struck deep in unearthing a multi-faceted collection of valuable materials for understanding not only Ukrainians but for comprehending both American and European experiences of other Slavic groups as well.

In their research the authors traversed the various corners of the state of Maryland—from Ukrainian-owned farms on the Eastern Shore to the industrial environs of Baltimore and the Maryland residential suburbs of Washington, D.C., and to the coal fields of western Maryland.

A lengthy chapter entitled "Religion" by Stephen Basarab analyzes how Ukrainian communities in Baltimore, Chesapeake City, and Whaleysville used their churches as fonts of growth. The development of the Ukrainian Byzantine Catholic Church in America, often misunderstood by Roman Catholics and other Christians, is traced in Maryland by examining the role played by St. Mary's Seminary. Thus the first Roman Catholic Seminary in America, located in the first Catholic diocese of Baltimore, was integrally involved in preparing priests for the Ukrainian Eastern rite.

The growth of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Maryland is presented in studies of the two parishes located in Baltimore and Whaleysville. A timely observation is that the first celebrant of the Greek Orthodox liturgy in the United States was a Ukrainian, Rev. Ahapius Honcharenko, who conducted the initial liturgy in 1865 in New York City.

In a chapter "Ukrainian Activities on the Maryland Scene; Interaction with Other Areas and Groups" Paul Fenchak studies the importance of Baltimore as a port of immigration, the roles of Maryland's coal and steel industries as they affected not only immigration to Maryland but also implications germane to the Crimean War and to the building of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, and other topics such as Ukrainian interaction with Blacks and American Indians. Another chapter by Mr. Fenchak does much to clarify the frequently misused term "Russian" Jew. "Ukrainians and Jews in Europe and in Maryland" clarifies points of nomenclature for Byelorussians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and other groups also. Hence, the many owners of clothing industry sweatshops in Baltimore prove not to have been Russians, but instead Jews from Byelorussia, Ukraine, Lithuania, etc.

Wolodymyr C. Sushko traces Ukrainian endeavors to perpetuate their heritage in a chapter, "Ukrainian Heritage Schools," which institutions have operated in Chesapeake City, Curtis Bay, Baltimore, and the suburbs of Washington.

"Ukrainian Arts and Artists" is a 30-page chapter written by Wasyl Paliyczuk of Western Maryland College. A kaleidoscopic view of the book sees other chapters discussing "Slavic Studies in Maryland," "Geography of Ukrainian Population in Maryland," "Student Life," "Foods," and "Easter Eggs." The final chapter, "Contributions to Maryland," envelops Military, Sports, Literature, Politics and Government, Music, Professions, Business, Industry, and Organizations.

The student of Marylandia, Ucrainica, and Americana has a bibliography of ten pages to lead to further research with notes at the end of most chapters also bolstering research. There is an index of ten pages.

Scholar and layman alike will find this manuscript penetrating and rewarding for it reaches into the multiplicity of human endeavors of everyday life in Maryland. The book is dedicated to Prof. Wasyl Halich who in 1937 published the standard work, *Ukrainians in the United States. The Ukrainians of Maryland* was published with fi-

nancial assistance from the Maryland Bicentennial Commission. The book can be purchased from the Ukrainian Education Association of Maryland, Inc., 518 S. Wolfe Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21231.

Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation

PETER JOHN CRITIKOS

Emancipation and Equal Rights: Politics and Constitutionalism in the Civil War Era.

By Herman Belz. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978, Pp. x, 171. \$10.95 cloth and \$3.95 paper.)

Few people would disagree that the decision to end slavery in the United States was one of the most momentous policies ever implemented by the federal government. Hammered out against a background of civil war, the origins and evolution of that policy make a dramatic story that every American should find fascinating. Less obviously dramatic, though perhaps even more momentous in the long run, was a second decision made necessary by the first: the decision regarding what the future status of black people would be in the United States. In this short, useful book Herman Belz, who is Professor of History at the University of Maryland College Park, offers a fine overview of these two logically intertwined decisions.

Belz's treatment of the emancipation decision follows the best current scholarship on that issue. He argues persuasively that emancipation was integrally involved in the Republican party's conception of the nature of the American Union. In doing so Belz summarizes deftly the often dense arguments of nineteenth-century theorists and presents an especially effective discussion of the critical issues involved in the key Confiscation Act of 1862.

In treating the second decision, which established civil equality as the legal status of America's freed slaves, Belz takes a position somewhat different from many other current scholars. He does not really disagree with them over what happened, nor ultimately over why it happened. But instead of trying to understand why American policymakers in the 1860s did not go as far as they might have gone in the direction they chose—which has been the dominant issue of recent Reconstruction scholarship—Belz reminds readers that it is just as important to remember why they chose that direction over others in the first place and why they went as far as they did. In the end this becomes a question of context, and Belz argues that in the context of their times, the Radical Republicans opted for a genuinely radical course. The readers of this journal, who are familiar with the history of a state that experimented with a much less radical course in its notorious apprenticeship laws, will no doubt find Belz's point of view refreshing and convincing.

Emancipation and Equal Rights: Politics and Constitutionalism in the Civil War Era, which is part of the Norton Essays in American History series, is designed primarily for undergraduate readers. General readers will also find it helpful and appropriate. It is the best brief synopsis of these difficult questions that I have seen.

University of Maryland Baltimore County

JAMES C. MOHR

The Knights of Labor in the South. By Melton Alonza McLaurin. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978. Pp. 232. \$16.95).

Terence V. Powderly: Middle Class Reformer. By Vincent J. Falzone. (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978. Pp. 282. \$9.75).

In the next to last decade of the nineteenth century, the Knights of Labor promoted its ideology as a viable alternative to Gilded Age acquisitiveness. Through 1886, the Order expanded and dominated the vocal protest against laissez-faire industrial

capitalism. Including industrial and rural wage-earners, small merchants, disaffected professionals, farmers, women and blacks, the Knights of Labor adopted an American reform tradition dating back to the Revolution, pitting those who produce against those who do not. This broad "producing classes" mentality overwhelmed the more narrowly defined working-class consciousness of the American Federation of Labor until strikes, boycotts, and labor violence convinced the majority of wage-earners that their interests were significantly different from (if not opposed to) the farmers, merchants and professionals who helped shape the Knights' policies.

Nowhere were the contradictions inherent in the producing classes mentality so clearly evident as in the burgeoning New South. As Melton McLaurin describes the Southern Knights' cooperation with the Farmers' Alliance: "Because the Alliance primarily represented landowners and employers of labor and the Knights represented agricultural laborers, especially blacks, who were employed by the farmers who made up the Alliance membership, a natural antagonism existed between the two groups" (p. 177). McLaurin compares the Knights' difficulties in the South with their Northern counterparts and finds the Southern Order's problems mirrored, with intensity, national contradictions. The Knights' policy of opposing strikes while supporting wage-earners who desperately wanted to improve their conditions; of proposing cooperatives and never financially aiding them; of debunking politics while winning local contests and then failing to equitably divide the spoils; all of these reversed a promising growth in the Southern Order in a relatively short time. McLaurin adds that the Southern leaders were primarily small businessmen who supported programs such as arbitration and education "more tenaciously than the rank and file . . . because the programs offered, in theory, solutions to the leadership's concerns, one of the most important of which was the retention of their proprietary status" (p. 153). This was not the stuff of which labor movements are made.

The Southern Knights, McLaurin states, also had its unique problems which added to the Order's contradictions. Building a movement geared to urban wage-earners in a predominately rural area and an intense race hatred divided the Southern proletariat more drastically than Northern workers. The lack of experienced leaders and previous wage-earner organizations made recruitment and maintenance more difficult. Perceptively comparing the Southern and Northern Knights and Southern labor. Filling a gap in our history, he has produced a highly readable account of the Knights' "remarkable willingness . . . to take action against negative aspects of a new and popular industrial society" (p. 190). Although the volume would benefit from greater attention to local movements and from more detail than he provided in the 200 pages, *The Knights of Labor in the South* is an excellent introduction that should stimulate more research. The nineteenth century worker in the South, long pictured as docile, is now more clearly comparable to his Northern counterpart.

If the contradictions of the Knights were perhaps best typified in the South, it was Terence Powderly who embodied the Order's inability to provide a lasting framework for worker discontent. A reform minded and often unemployed young machinist, Powderly gravitated toward labor at the same time he was embracing temperance and local government reform. With personal magnetism and political acumen, he emerged as mayor of an expanding industrial city and the anti-industrial leader of the nation's largest labor organization. As a labor leader, he promoted a self-help philosophy and welcomed all producers at a time when class-conscious workers flocked to the Knights hoping to receive better wages and working conditions.

Vincent Falzone's study of the Knights' leader, however, fails to capture this remarkable man. The subtitle, *Middle Class Reformer*, is unclear in light of Powderly's early career as a machinist. Although he became a lawyer and a government official in

his later life, Powderly's working-class origins account for little in Falzone's analysis. The author would have done well to explore the reasons for Powderly's reformism in juxtaposition to his class background. Indeed, Falzone makes no effort to modify the judgement of Powderly given by Norman Ware in the 1920s and more recently reiterated by Gerald Grob who argued that the Grand Master Workman was simply an overly cautious reformer. Recent studies in labor history, especially those by Alan Dawley and Herbert Gutman, should have warned him against such an uncritical acceptance of past interpretations. Instead, the details of Powderly's career as mayor, labor leader, and government official are dryly recounted without imagination. Although Falzone has explored an impressive bulk of research material for his study, a more insightful portrait of the man and his most amazing career will still be awaited.

The Knights of Labor in particular, and the 1880s in general, are still proving to be immensely rich, if intricate, research topics for historians with new ideas and new approaches. As we celebrate the centennial of the first Knights of Labor General Assembly, these two works will hopefully further encourage interest in the Knights and their epoch.

McKeldin Library, University of Maryland

KENNETH FONES-WOLF

Circular Letters of Congressmen to Their Constituents, 1789-1829. Edited by Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (3 vols.; Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978. Pp. lxiii, 1635. \$75.00)

These three volumes will probably remain a standard reference work for future scholars. Students are indebted to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission for sustaining this project, and though Noble Cunningham was chiefly responsible for the work, his acknowledgments make it clear that the project was enthusiastically supported by a national network of archivists, librarians and scholars.

The 269 circular letters contained here were written by Congressmen to their constituents during the formative period of our constitutional order. Southern and western representatives mainly wrote such letters, though a few are from the north. Only one Maryland representative, John Crompton Weems is included here. Dependent upon what was available, the editor does not pretend to offer a definitive collection of such letters.

The subject matter of these letters pertain mainly to the proceedings of Congress and other topics of national scope. Each letter was originally printed and folded in envelope size to be mailed under the Congressman's franking privilege. Some were addressed to specific individuals; others to "the Citizens of" such and such a county, state of . . . ; and at least one contains the instruction, . . . let this pass from hand to hand." However, the mailings were necessarily selective and were usually addressed to justices of the peace, militia officers, and other public officials. The partisanship of the various authors is patently obvious, for the letters served, ultimately, as political rather than newsy vehicles. But this should not obscure their value as an important source for the new nation's foreign affairs during the 1790s and early 1800s, and for its domestic events—especially its economic affairs, Indian relations and public land policies—after 1815.

The chronological arrangement of the letters by Congress from the first through the twentieth make it easy for the reader to follow these themes. Notes accompany nearly every letter which clarify obscure references, and the format of the entire collection is standardized and modernized. Finally, a "Directory of Congressmen" whose letters are included in the collection, together with a very good index, make these volumes eminently usable.

University of Maryland Baltimore County

GARY L. BROWNE

BOOK NOTE

The occasion of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Elkridge Fox Hunting Club has been commemorated by the publication of *A History of the Elkridge Fox Hunting Club, The Elkridge Hounds, The Elkridge-Harford Hunt Club, 1878-1978*, compiled by J. Riemann McIntosh. Mr. McIntosh has taken his information from many sources, so much so that it seems unlikely that any incident has been overlooked. The Elkridge Fox Hunting Club was founded in 1878, although there is some possibility that a connection with the Baltimore Hunt Club of 1793 exists. The author has taken salient points and has enlarged upon them, making a comprehensive story of the century of hunting. Names of those taking part are sprinkled throughout and any Marylander will be nostalgic as each name is mentioned. The appendix lists officers and masters for the century. (Mr. McIntosh has many other papers still unused, particularly concerning the early years, and it is to be hoped that these will see publication soon.) Limited to 400 copies, illustrated, available from the author, Monkton or the Maryland Historical Society, \$10.50. [P. W. Filby]

NEWS AND NOTICES

What is the source for the following statement in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882) II, p. 790: 'In May, 1765, a bateau loaded with iron was successfully navigated from the Hampton Furnace on Pipe Creek to the Mouth of the Monocacy River, in Frederick County.'?

I am collecting material on Hampton Furnace and would be interested to hear from others possessing information.

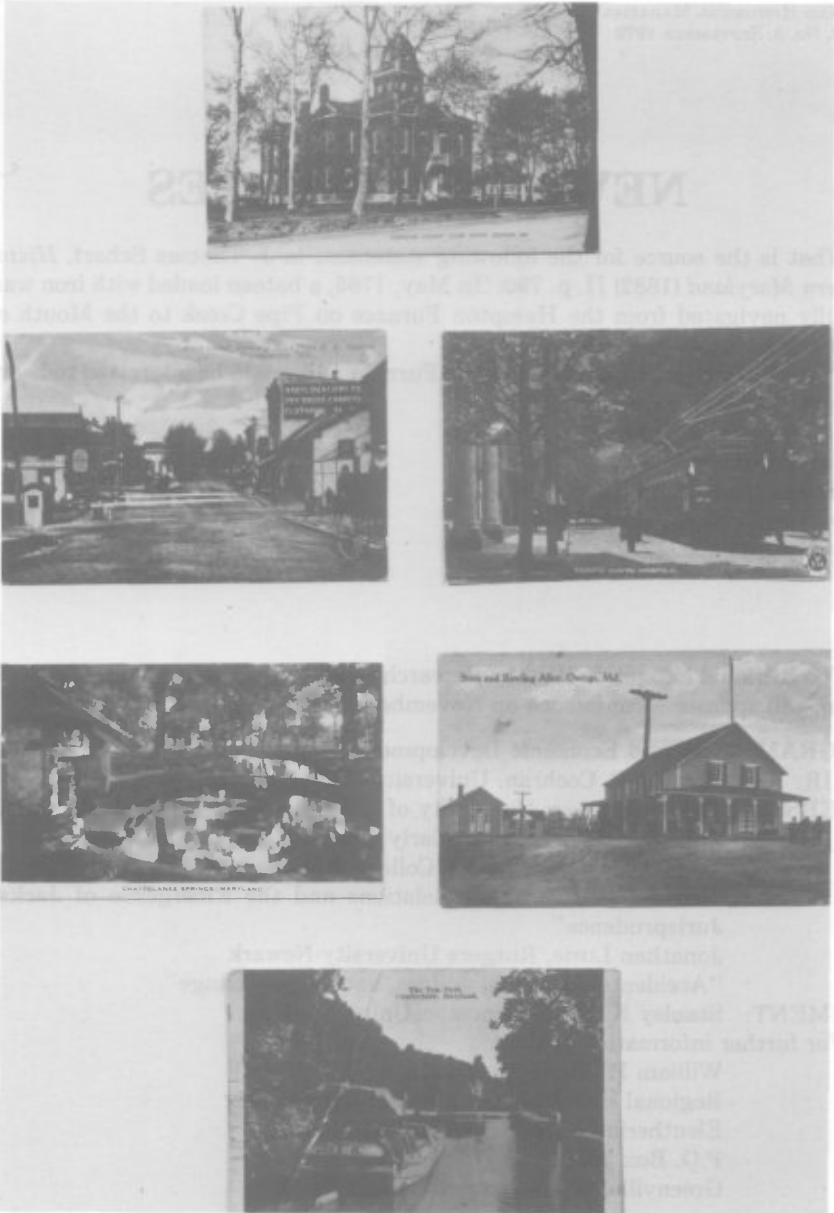
Basil L. Crapster
Department of History
Gettysburg College
Gettysburg, Penna. 17325

The Regional Economic History Research Center, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will sponsor a conference on November 2, 1979 at 2:15 p.m.

- PROGRAM: Law and Economic Development
CHAIR: Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania & REHRC
PAPERS: Tony A. Freyer, University of Arkansas at Little Rock & REHRC
"Reality and Illusion in Early American Law and Business"
Donald M. Roper, SUNY College at New Paltz
"Government-Business Relations and the Emergence of Jacksonian Jurisprudence"
Jonathan Lurie, Rutgers University-Newark
"Accidents, Lawyers, Judges, and Legal Change"
COMMENT: Stanley N. Katz, Princeton University

For further information contact:

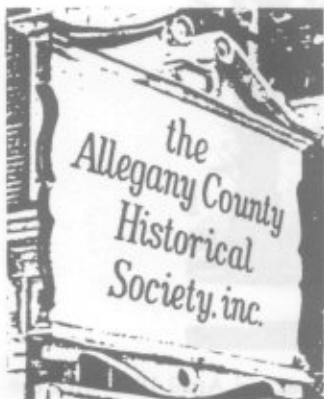
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COUNTIES IN POSTCARDS

Scenic postcards have been popular collector's items since they were first made. Today they are also valued as historical documents and tools to interpret the past. The early twentieth century cards shown here are a selection from the 2,000 cards in the Prints & Photographs Department of the Maryland Historical Society. Other counties will be represented in future issues. *Top:* Caroline County Court House, Denton. *2nd row:* Carroll County, Main Street Looking West from R.R. Station, Westminster; Anne Arundel County, Tourists Leaving Annapolis. *3rd row:* Baltimore County, Chattolane Springs; Calvert County, Store and Bowling Alley, Owings. *Bottom:* Allegany County, Tow Path, Cumberland.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HAPPENINGS



Allegany: Open Sundays only from May until November, History House as 218 Washington Street, Cumberland is the focal point of Allegany County Historical Society's activities, which recently included cataloging prints & paintings plus a comprehensive inventory of the entire collection culminating an intensive two-year restoration effort. A part-time staff member obtained through Frostburg State College's internship program for history majors assisted in preparing new exhibits. The Society's Director/Curator Joan Baldwin devised a popular "Traveling Trunk" exhibit especially for pre-school and elementary students. ACHS participated in several exhibits: "Quilts Past & Present" at Frostburg State College Gallery, "Showcase for the Arts" at Allegany Community College, and the 11th Annual Heritage Days, the official county festival held in June. Members enjoyed programs such as "The Daily Life of a Victorian Woman" and "The Mining Industry-Past, Present & Future." Activities for 1979 will be finalized with the annual membership dinner on October 21 at the Cumberland Country Club and a Christmas Party at History House on December 8.



Anne Arundel: Federal, county & private funds have been instrumental in the current restoration phase of AAHS's Benson-Hammond House in Linthicum Heights. A recent acquisition, the last will & testament dated 1823 of Richard Benson, thought to be the builder of the northern Anne Arundel landmark, has created much interest among the society's growing membership. Last spring, more than 300 visitors toured the house with its special quilt display as part of the Linthicum Woman's Club's house tour. Prof. James C. Bradford, USNA History Dept., spoke about historic preservation before 120 members during the 17th annual dinner meeting in Glen Burnie. The society's most successful venture, the Browse & Buy Shop, Jones Station Road & Old Annapolis Blvd., continues to feature pickers' checks, antiques and consignment items. A result of volunteer effort & dedication, the shop is open mid-April to October, Tuesday thru Saturday, 10-3 p.m.

HEADQUARTERS BUILDING



Baltimore County: BCHS celebrated its 20th anniversary in April 1979 with the publication of a special newsletter. Highlights included notes about the museum now housed in the original almshouse built in 1872 at 9811 Van Buren Lane, Cockeysville. History trails published four times annually since 1966 has featured such diverse subjects as foxhunting in Baltimore County, the history of Hannah More Academy & early days of the telephone in Maryland. Past & present issues at 40¢ per copy are available from Mrs. E. R. Haile, librarian. The society's 1970 publication about its Historical Roadside Markers set an example for others in the state. A long-time dream, the BCHS Farm Museum, was finally recognized with the acquisition of a large garage in 1978. It provided a revolving exhibition area for specialized artifacts. Space is still needed for large items such as carriages, sleds, wagons etc. New acquisitions especially an early forge & a wood-working bench are being sought by the farm museum committee. More recently, BCHS's schedule has included a tour of the Granite-Harrisonville area and of private gardens plus a program about Old Catonsville. The newsletter is currently featuring a series of "small community articles." The society maintains a listing of publications for sale available from P.O. Box 81, Cockeysville, MD 21030.

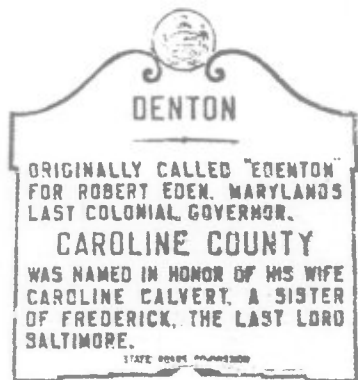
Calvert: In 1970, when CCHS conceived the idea of establishing a marine museum at Solomons, it was just the beginning of its preservation efforts. From a single-room 20' x 40' display to a 2-story, 120 room building situated on four acres, the Calvert Marine Museum is a significant Maryland tourist attraction. Twelve years of local effort spearheaded again by CCHS resulted in the acquisition of the Drum Point lighthouse, a screw-pile, cottage type structure now completely restored, furnished and open to the public at the marine museum complex. Landscaping was recently completed by the Calvert Garden Club. Not content with this spectacular achievement, the Society immediately began a campaign to save the old railway station at Chesapeake Beach.

Through a \$1 a year for 99 years lease agreement, CCHS has done it again and with county government assistance will create a railway museum in the 1897 station stand-



ing at the end of the Washington-Chesapeake Beach line. Author Ames Williams spoke to the CCHS membership about his publication, "The Chesapeake Beach Railway." Another recent project, a 25-year history of CCHS is available from its attractive headquarters in the Calvert County Library, Prince Frederick 20678.

Caroline: Reconstructing its log cabin (circa 1820), which was moved from Marydel to Caroline County H.S.'s headquarters in Greensboro is a continuous project. Through MHS, the Society was the recipient of three truckloads of Maryland furniture (1790-1830) on loan for its headquarters building, which is open by appointment. Work has recently been completed on a survey of Southern furniture in Caroline Co., in conjunction with the Decorative Arts Museum, Winston Salem, N.C. Research assistant Jane Smith of the museum staff, spoke during the society's annual meeting held in April at the Caroline Country Club. Society representative John Boulais spoke on 18th-century American furniture at Chesapeake College's Decorative Arts Forum. Originally a Bicentennial project, an excellent historical map & tourist guide sponsored by CCHS & the Caroline County Commissioners is available at 50¢ each. Caroline County Courthouse, Denton, Md.



Caroline County Courthouse, Denton, Md.



Carroll: This year marks the 40th anniversary of the Carroll County H.S. known for its two magnificent properties on Westminster's Main Street. The Shellman House has a unique rural free delivery exhibit with a charming 19th century garden & gazebo maintained by the county garden club. The Kimmey House contains the society's office & souvenir shop plus an outstanding doll collection. Recent special projects include a co-operative agreement for the sharing of human & reference resources between the Library Board of Trustees & the society, which resulted in the publication of "Index to 1850 Census of Carroll County." A ten-week newspaper series of mini-articles about prominent people relating to county history was featured. The society participated in Western Maryland College's Historic Preservation Week-end with workshop topics ranging from architectural restoration to farm preservation. Bus tours to Easton & Philadelphia, needlework classes, an evening of Keysville History, and special county genealogical data contributed to the membership's banner year.



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1979-1980 Annual Giving Campaign



Once a year, the Society asks its members and friends to support its programs and services by making a special contribution. This year's goal is \$100,000 in individual contributions. The campaign will begin on October 1st.



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