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V33 BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF BALTIMORE CITY DRAWN AND LITHOGRAPHED BY E. SACHSE & CO-PUBLISHED BY E. SACHSE & CO-SUN IRON BUILDING BALTIMORE MD. ENTERED . . . 1858 BY E. SACHSE & CO. . . MD. ** Lithograph, printed in colors. 58.9 × 100 cm. MdBE, MdBPM, CCr, Merrick, VBHo.

Federal Hill is in the foreground of this bird's eye view of Baltimore as seen from the south. The group of buildings near the left margin is Camden Station and its train sheds. To the left of the basin is Light Street and going off diagonally in the upper left is Pennsylvania Avenue. Intersecting the view in the center is Jones Falls with its numerous bridges connecting east and west Baltimore. Just left of the Falls, then the source of the city's water supply, is Mount Royal Reservoir at the northern limits of the city. The wide street to the right is Broadway terminating at Fells Point, at one time the center of a large shipbuilding industry. About halfway up Broadway is Washington Medical College, later known as Church Home and Hospital. Across from it is the Maryland Hospital on the site of the present Johns Hopkins Hospital.

From the collection of Robert G. Merrick, Sr., reproduced by permission.

Essays from the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project: An Introduction

THOMAS M. JACKLIN

OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES OR SO, HISTORIANS HAVE MOVED AWAY from the traditional treatment of American history as a pageant of heroic leaders, great deeds, diplomatic intrigues, and battlefield glory. In place of that familiar chronicle, undeniably dramatic but quite removed from the lives of most people, there has emerged a heightened appreciation for the distinctly social aspects of human experience over time, a change in scholarly sensibilities reflected in recent work on such topics as the role of ethnicity, the history of the family, the impact of industrialization on small communities, to mention but a spare sampling. Indeed, explorations of these and other matters related to the lives of ordinary people has precipitated a whole new approach to the study of the American past.¹

In gatherings dating back to 1976, several historians—most of them teachers at local colleges and universities, all of them committed to this new kind of history—met with community leaders to consider appropriate ways in which professional historians might contribute their expertise to what looked like a growing, popular interest in the history of Baltimore and its neighborhoods. These deliberations resulted in a venture called the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP) and, eventually, in this volume of essays.

Save for the concluding, bibliographical review by Richard J. Cox, the narratives presented herewith originated in reports intended to provide background and thematic unity for BNHP's *Baltimore Voices*, the documentary drama based upon the tape-recorded memoirs of hundreds of long-time city residents.² Of the six historians who participated in the project by studying an equal number of locales within the city, three of them decided to revise their working papers for presentation on the pages to follow.

The findings of all six scholars, however, shaped not only *Voices*, but also a variety of other programs and activities aimed at engaging the public in the pursuit and enjoyment of local history. Such projects within the project, as it were, ranged from community workshops and seminars to filmstrips, a traveling museum, and publications of several kinds.³ This collection of essays pulls together some of the themes and emphases that animated the whole endeavor from the beginning.

Thomas M. Jacklin is an Assistant Professor of History at the College of Liberal Arts, University of Baltimore. From 1977 to 1980, he was a researcher and editor for the neighborhood project.

D. Randall Beirne leads off with an analysis of the remarkable stability that characterized certain kinds of urban communities. He shows how Hampden-Woodberry began as a collection of mill towns, villages of textile workers set down amidst an expanding city. Mill-owning families such as the Hoopers lived alongside their employees from the 1850s until well into the twentieth century, when a gradual but steady decline in the industry prompted many of them to move away. While they resided there, however, they opened dispensaries, built libraries, supported the churches, organized mutual benefit societies, and in general took a paternal interest in the welfare of their workers. Among those who toiled, whole families might work at the mills: father as a mechanic, a carpenter, or an overseer; mother and children operating the machines that once made two-thirds of the sail cloth manufactured in the United States. Sturdy yet inexpensive housing, company-built and company-financed, compensated a little for the low wages, but not enough—not enough, that is, according to those residents who belonged to Textile Workers Union #977, a group that challenged the two-dollar a day wages paid by the mills on the eve of World War I. Save for a remnant or two, the mills are gone now, but Hampden-Woodberry endures, a closely-knit community of skilled workers descended in many cases from rural Marylanders and Virginians who came there more than a century ago.⁴

W. Theodore Dürr, who directed the neighborhood project, also picks up on the theme of work—hard work at factories and shipyards—as he tells the story of the Germans, Irish, Russians, Jews, Blacks, and others in South Baltimore. Many of these people were among the 600,000 immigrants who stepped off transatlantic ships at Locust Point, Baltimore's own Ellis Island, between 1870 and 1900. Some kept traveling westward while others stayed and found jobs packing spices at McCormick, forming cans at Federal Tin, or welding steel for the vessels built at Bethlehem Shipbuilding. Work was important, but getting on in life could also depend upon an education. On that premise, the principal of Francis Scott Key Elementary School turned the classroom into a place where the sons and daughters of some South Baltimore families could master the three-R's and learn a trade at the same time, the better to realize what many took to be the promise of American life. Meanwhile, that same promise slipped further and further away from those who lived in another part of South Baltimore, Sharp-Leadenhall, where a free Black population had a history stretching back to the eighteenth century. Isolated from the rest of the city by railroad yards, these families struggled against one barrier after another until the 1970s, when the threat of a freeway (as yet unbuilt) forced out some 3,000 people. Slumlord and roadlord alike, in fact, tried to carve up South Baltimore, but local organizations, Dürr argues, started to fight back—and win.

Fighting back was something the residents of Old West Baltimore learned early on, as Roderick Ryon's essay clearly demonstrates. Shoved out of their homes by industrial and commercial expansion in the center of the city, black people moved into the alley homes and apartments that had been jerry-built out of large rowhouses. After getting there, they then had to confront the results of Jim Crow legislation, restrictive housing codes, and, of course, simple but costly neglect. All this meant overcrowding, menial jobs with little or no chance for advancement,

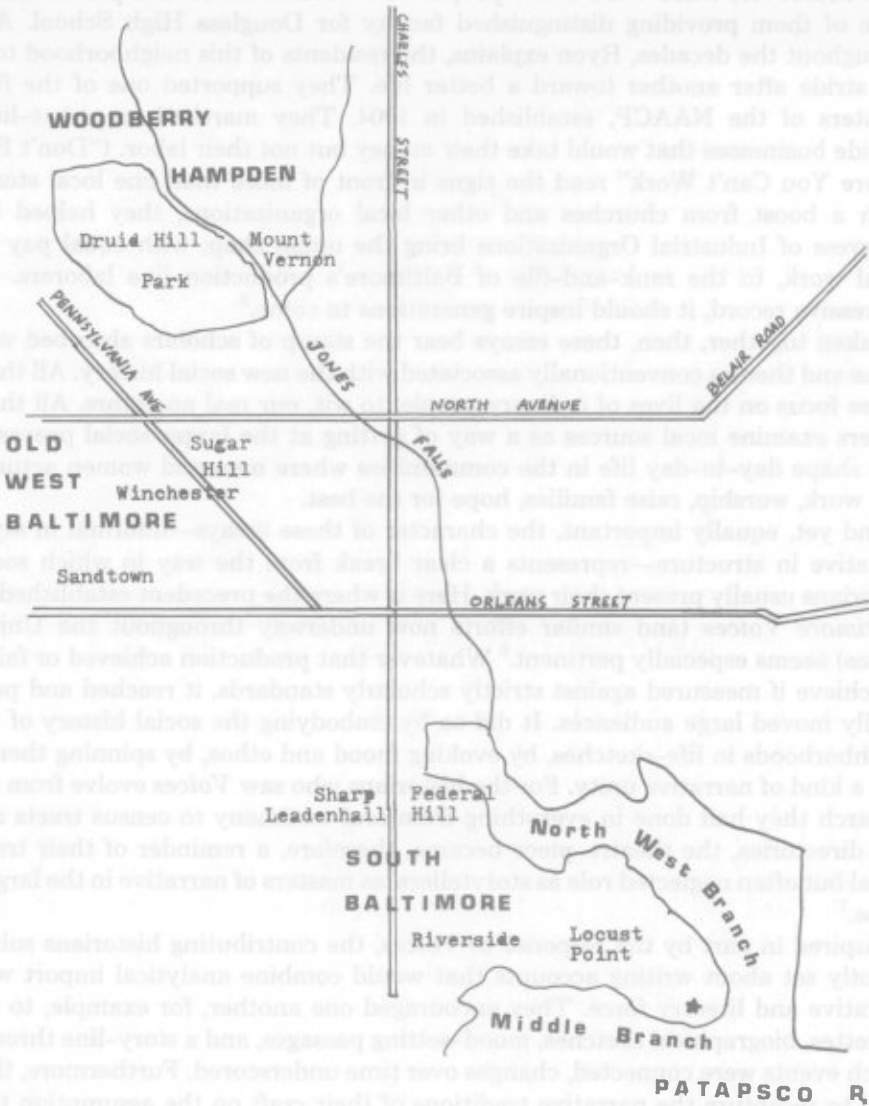


FIGURE 1.
Map of Central Baltimore showing the three communities highlighted in this issue:
Hampden-Woodberry, Old West Baltimore, and South Baltimore.

and a struggle for survival generally, but survive they did. Each member of a household, for instance, might hold down combinations of part-time and full-time jobs. Moreover, there were a few people who became successful professionals, some of them providing distinguished faculty for Douglass High School. And throughout the decades, Ryon explains, the residents of this neighborhood took one stride after another toward a better life. They supported one of the first chapters of the NAACP, established in 1904. They marched in picket-lines outside businesses that would take their money but not their labor. ("Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" read the signs in front of more than one local store.) With a boost from churches and other local organizations, they helped the Congress of Industrial Organizations bring the union shop, with equal pay for equal work, to the rank-and-file of Baltimore's production-line laborers. An impressive record, it should inspire generations to come.⁵

Taken together, then, these essays bear the stamp of scholars absorbed with issues and themes conventionally associated with the new social history. All three pieces focus on the lives of ordinary people, to wit, our real ancestors. All three writers examine local sources as a way of getting at the larger social processes that shape day-to-day life in the communities where men and women actually live, work, worship, raise families, hope for the best.

And yet, equally important, the character of these essays—informal in style, narrative in structure—represents a clear break from the way in which social historians usually present their work. Here is where the precedent established by *Baltimore Voices* (and similar efforts now underway throughout the United States) seems especially pertinent.⁶ Whatever that production achieved or failed to achieve if measured against strictly scholarly standards, it reached and powerfully moved large audiences. It did so by embodying the social history of the neighborhoods in life-sketches, by evoking mood and ethos, by spinning themes into a kind of narrative unity. For the historians who saw *Voices* evolve from the research they had done in everything from oral testimony to census tracts and city directories, the theatre-piece became, therefore, a reminder of their traditional but often neglected role as storytellers, as masters of narrative in the largest sense.⁷

Inspired in part by the response to *Voices*, the contributing historians subsequently set about writing accounts that would combine analytical import with narrative and literary force. They encouraged one another, for example, to use vignettes, biographical sketches, mood-setting passages, and a story-line through which events were connected, changes over time underscored. Furthermore, they tried to recapture the narrative traditions of their craft on the assumption that such a goal could enhance, not undercut, the historiographical significance of the essays offered here. The extent to which they accomplished those ends will be for others to judge. Finally, in keeping with the spirit of the enterprise, the authors were asked to delete the customary apparatus of footnotes in favor of brief statements on the range of sources they had investigated.

At all events, readers who wish to know more about topics and themes on the history of the neighborhoods and other aspects of Baltimore's past will find Richard J. Cox's bibliographical review invaluable. Moreover, his comprehensive treatment of the historical literature on the city confirms the general revival of

interest in local history that made the neighborhood project possible in the first place.

Is there a lesson in all this? Well, yes, albeit a simple one: Baltimore is an exciting place to be undertaking what some of us regard with reverence as the greatest intellectual adventure of all—the challenge of understanding our past and, accordingly, ourselves.

REFERENCES

1. Portions of this essay first appeared in a brochure entitled "Baltimore Voices." I wish to thank the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project for permission to use revised versions of those passages here. For further reflections on the shape of American social history, old and new, I recommend Lawrence Stone, "History and the Social Sciences in the Twentieth Century," in Charles F. Delzell, ed., *The Future of History: Essays in the Vanderbilt University Centennial Symposium* (Nashville, 1977), pp. 3-42, and Lawrence Veysey, "The 'New' Social History in the Context of American Historical Writing," *Reviews in American History* 7 (March 1979): 1-12.
2. Retitled "The Great American Neighborhood Road Show" when adapted for television by the Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting.
3. Grants from the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, the Maryland Committee for the Humanities, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, supplemented by contributions from local businesses, supported much of the work outlined here. Additional funding came from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act through the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources. For more on the development of the neighborhood project and the theatre piece, see W. Theodore Dürr and Thomas M. Jacklin, et al., eds., *Baltimore People, Baltimore Places* (Baltimore, 1980), pp. 4-6.
4. In an earlier essay, Beirne provides extensive statistical evidence of the crucial connection he sees between patterns of work and residence; see his "Residential Stability Among Urban Workers: Industrial Linkage in Hampden-Woodberry, Baltimore, 1880-1930," in Robert D. Mitchell and Edward K. Muller, eds., *Geographical Perspectives on Maryland's Past*, Occasional Papers in Geography, No. 4 (College Park, 1979), pp. 168-87. Moreover, his emphasis on the stability of communities in an urban setting marked, above all, by change became one of the conceptual cornerstones of BNHP.
5. Ryon's recognition of the ways in which people from Old West Baltimore were involved in and affected by movements and issues that reached far beyond any one neighborhood constitutes, I think, an effective response to some criticisms recently leveled at the parochialism of some local history. On this very serious matter, see David A. Gerber, "Local and Community History: Some Cautionary Remarks on an Idea Whose Time Has Returned," *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 7-30.
6. Space does not permit even a partial listing of these other projects here, but interested readers should peruse recent issues of *The Public Historian*, *History News*, and *Humanities* (newsletter published by the National Endowment for the Humanities) for more information. For some provocative commentary on this kind of endeavor, see Ronald J. Grele, "Whose Public? Whose History? What is the Goal of a Public Historian?" *The Public Historian* 3 (Winter 1981): 40-48.
7. Historians are now thinking very seriously about this matter of narrative as a form of analysis. My brief discussion, in fact, scarcely touches even the surface. See, for example, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Crisis of Our Culture and the Teaching of History," *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 99-101, but *passim*, and James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," *American Historical Review* 84 (December 1979): 1317-22.

Hampden-Woodberry: The Mill Village in an Urban Setting

D. RANDALL BEIRNE

AHUNDRED YEARS AGO THE VALLEY OF THE JONES FALLS JUST NORTH OF THE old city line hummed with the sounds of activity. The textile mills, the foundry, and the construction of new houses produced lively background noises which were stilled by the large bell in the tower of Meadow Mill sounding the noon lunch break. The valley echoed from the sounds of clanging lunch pails and the voices of small children carrying the noon meal to their families in the mills. In 1880 the people of Hampden and Woodberry could boast that they lived in the most active and fastest growing community in the state.¹

Today, the sounds from the valley are different. The roar of thousands of cars and trucks speeding along an elevated Jones Falls Expressway that bisects Hampden-Woodberry predominate. Below the expressway other sounds of activity rise. Mammoth trucks and myriad cars and motorcycles navigate the narrow streets leading to the former mill properties now occupied by Pepsi Cola, Londontown, Life-Like Products and other firms. This massive change over the last hundred years in the external appearance and activities of the community suggests that Hampden-Woodberry is no longer a nineteenth-century mill town.

This external view of Hampden-Woodberry is, however, deceiving. Underneath the wrappings of a modern, industrial urban center, lies a homogeneous town of mostly working-class residents. With its own shops, service centers, churches and recreational activities, the area maintains a character of its own. In spite of the physical, economic and social changes that have taken place in other Baltimore communities over the last one hundred years, Hampden-Woodberry still exudes much of the atmosphere of the nineteenth-century mill village.

Geographical and social isolation have helped to preserve the homogeneity and identity of the community. To the west lies the great expanse of Druid Hill Park which, like a frontier, has separated Hampden-Woodberry from a hundred years of social change along Park Heights Avenue and Reisterstown Road. To the east lies Wyman Park and Johns Hopkins University, another geographical protective barrier that has clearly defined the eastern limits of the community for most of this century.

The boundaries to the north and south, however, are more economic than geographic. To the north lies affluent Roland Park with its spacious and expensive houses. For most residents of Hampden-Woodberry the economic jump into Roland Park has been too large to leap. Instead, border communities in Medfield,

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and along South Roland Avenue and Wyman Park have merged to form solid middle-class neighborhoods.

To the south lies Remington, a neighborhood that in the late nineteenth century was both a residential suburb of Baltimore and a working-class community. Remington is physically isolated from Hampden by Wyman Park and Stoney Run. Remington has passed through a series of social changes. Today it is a working-class community with several ethnic and racial groups, and it forms the only natural avenue of movement into Hampden-Woodberry.

Within these rough boundaries is the community called Hampden by most outsiders. To natives, however, there is a distinct social breakdown into the neighborhoods of Hampden, Stone Hill, and Woodberry. Most natives consider Woodberry to be west of Jones Falls, while Hampden is east of the Falls along the ridge and north of 33rd Street. Stone Hill is a Hampden neighborhood that was formerly part of the Mount Vernon Mills and now consists of 46 stone houses located in the southeast corner of the community. Because of the strong homogeneity of all these neighborhoods as well as a common history, the overall community will be referred to as Hampden-Woodberry.

Settlement along the Jones Falls prior to 1800 was sparse and mostly concentrated near the flour mills on the Jones Falls. As early as 1870, as many as 12 mills were located along this stream within four miles of Baltimore. Several, such as Charles T. Ellicott's Old Whitehall Mill, Hugh Jenkins' Laurel Mill and Elisha Tyson's Woodberry Flour Mill were located along the Falls in what is now Woodberry. As the Jones Falls flowed between Rockland and the harbor, it dropped 259 feet as it passed from the Piedmont into the Coastal Plain. The current in the two-mile stretch through what is today Hampden-Woodberry was particularly strong for turning the mill wheels and encouraged growth of other forms of water-powered mills in that region.

Rapid residential development along Jones Falls outside Baltimore City actually began in 1839 when David Carroll and Horatio Gambrill purchased the Whitehall property and built the Whitehall Cotton Factory. With five looms they began the manufacture of cotton duck (canvas) for sails. Three years later, they purchased property in Woodberry and built the Woodberry factory. At this same time clusters of stone, workers' houses sprang up adjacent to the mills. These mill hamlets later grew into villages—villages that by the end of the century merged into the urban community of Hampden-Woodberry.

The Baltimore region, particularly the Jones Falls Valley, grew to become the dominant duck producing area of the country. By the turn-of-the-century, prior to the conversion of the flour mills to textiles, nearly all cotton duck in the United States had been manufactured by the Passaic and Phoenix Mills in New Jersey. The lower price of the Hampden-Woodberry product not only drove New Jersey out of the market but also undercut the prices of the products from the looms of Russia and England. Although the duck market was reduced somewhat by the shortage of raw cotton towards the end of the Civil War, by 1870 the market had recovered and large quantities of duck were being exported through the port of Baltimore to the British colonies and South America as well as to markets in England. The duck industry was so prosperous that, by some estimates, when the

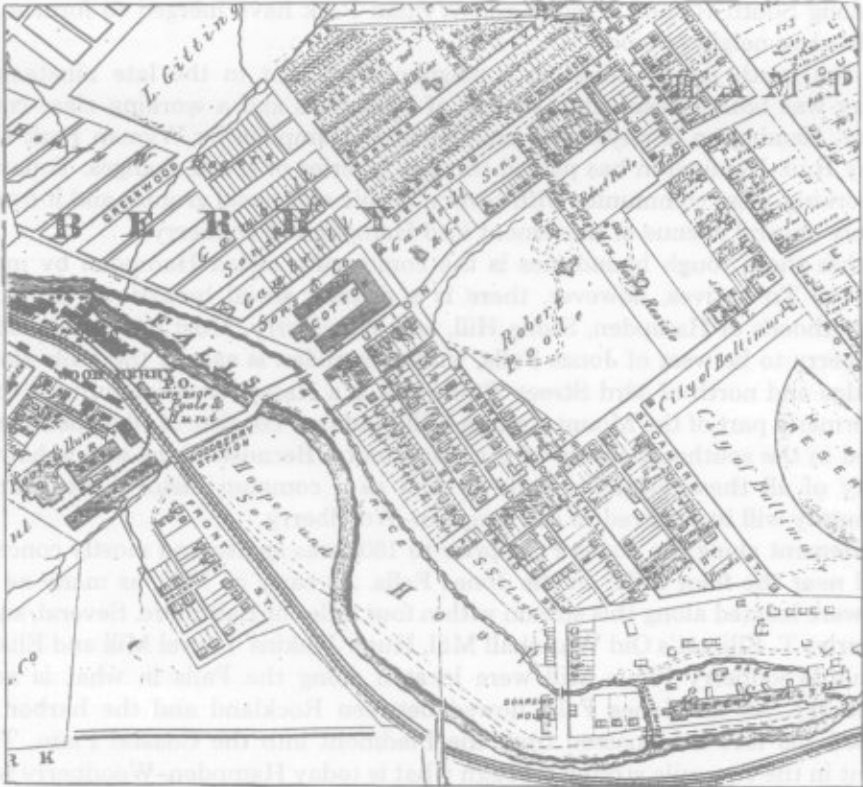


FIGURE 1.

Hampden and Woodberry, 1877.

From: G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County, 1877*

world's commerce was carried in sailing ships, it could be said that two-thirds of the sail cloth used in the United States was made at Woodberry.

The major reason that Baltimore could produce duck for a lower price was the lower cost of labor. Baltimore was close to the South where wages were lower than in the North. In addition, within the textile industry, the family was considered the basic unit of production. This basic tradition of family work, each member fulfilling an economic role, carried over from the American farm culture. Usually the household consisted of a husband, wife, their children, and perhaps unattached relatives. Until 1900, proportionally twice as many children were employed in Maryland textile mills than were in the northern mills.

In the early mills along the Jones Falls, a shaft geared to a large water wheel that was turned by water from the stream directed through a mill race delivered power into the mill. This shaft was connected to a series of line shafts from which leather belts running on wooden pulleys transmitted power to machines. These machines actually performed the work of spinning, carding and weaving while labor force filled and emptied them at regular intervals.

In 1846, when steam power was introduced into the mills, the importance of machines made the skill of machinists important. It was shortly after this, in 1853,

that the Poole and Hunt Foundry and Machine Works moved into Woodberry. This firm manufactured steam engines, boilers and double turbine water-wheels as well as every variety of textile mill machinery. Later, they produced the great iron columns in the dome of the National Capitol as well as large naval guns.

The introduction of the new energy source of steam required the use of coal. Hampden and Woodberry were to benefit from this new source because of their close proximity to the Northern Central Railroad, a direct link to sources of cheap coal in Pennsylvania. The combination of the Northern Central Railroad, the Poole and Hunt Foundry and Machine Works, and the many textile mills, was to form the economic base of the community for the next 100 years.

Prior to the 1850s the community consisted of mill hamlets in the valley of the Jones Falls and estates on the ridges overlooking the valley. Much of the land on the ridges, east of Jones Falls, belonged to the estate of General Henry Mankin. This property roughly consisted of the area between 41st and 32nd Streets on the north and south respectively, Wyman Park to the east and Falls Road to the west. In 1856 General Mankin sold about 450 acres to the Hampden Association, a real estate development corporation. In 1857, J. Morris Wampler prepared a property survey that laid out streets and divided the land into 150 lots.

General Mankin was active in the development of the Falls Turnpike (now Falls Road) and in 1865 became president of the road company. The turnpike from Baltimore had been chartered in 1805 and followed an old Indian trail east of the Jones Falls that passed through the property later owned by him. The turnpike was used extensively by wagons from the grist mills along the Jones Falls and from the quarries in Bare Hills. General Mankin was active in coordinating the efforts of the Mount Vernon Mills and the local hamlets to keep the road in repair. A few houses had been built along this thoroughfare and General Mankin named one of these hamlets of houses Hampden in honor of John Hampden, a patriotic Englishman who opposed the levy of taxes imposed by King Charles I. About the same time that Hampden emerged, Martin Kelly, a local developer, built a group of rowhouses along what is now Hickory and 38th Street and named it Kellyville. Residential Hampden was beginning to take shape.

After the Civil War, the cotton duck industry increased in the valleys and several new mills and mill villages emerged. In 1866 Horatio Gambrell built a large duck mill on Union Avenue and named it Druid Mill. Several years earlier, the Whitehall Mill had burned to the ground and in its place was erected the new Clipper Mill. In 1873 Mount Vernon Mill No. 1, located at the sharp bend on Falls Road, was destroyed by fire and a new mill was built to replace it. In 1877 William E. Hooper erected Meadow Mill, now the home of Londontown Products, near the railroad in Woodberry. Finally, in 1881, an addition was made to Mount Vernon Mill No. 2 that would increase employment to 1,600 people.

As people poured in to work in these new mills, hamlets of workers' homes emerged. Textile employment alone between 1870 and 1880 jumped from 616 to 2,931. In 1880 three out of every four families had one member working in the mills.

At that time the area of what is now modern Hampden and Woodberry consisted of eight villages. The oldest, Mount Vernon, had developed before the

1850s and by 1880 consisted of “Stone Hill” and “Brick Hill” and some brick rowhouses on Chestnut Avenue. The total population for the village was 525.

The pre-1850 village of Woodberry was west of Jones Falls and included a number of stone houses along Clipper Road dating back to the 1840s as well as some new brick houses overlooking the Meadow Mill and known also as “Brick Hill.” The population of this village in 1880 was 989.

Around the New Clipper and Druid Mills emerged three mill communities—Druidville with a population of 795, Sweetaire with a population of 911, and Clipper, which included Hooper’s Hotel, with a population of 549. Some of the houses here were of stone and dated back to the pre-Civil War period. Each of these hamlets, however, considered itself a separate village.

Hampdentown (Hampden) on the top of the ridge west of Jones Falls had grown to a large village of 2,462 by 1880. During the next decade, much new building took place. As Hampden spread out from its core at Falls Road and what is now 37th Street, new villages emerged to the north and south. Northwest of Union Avenue, the village of Hampden in Woodberry with a population of 350 in 1880 merged with the old village of Hampden between 38th and 41st Streets. To the south, on the ridge that overlooks the Mount Vernon Mills near 33rd Street, developed the community called Hampden Heights.

In 1888, Baltimore City incorporated the large mill town of Hampden-Woodberry, along with its many villages. As the town became a Baltimore community, each village developed into a neighborhood. In spite of the electric street car lines that linked the community to the city after 1890, Hampden-Woodberry never developed into a true urban suburb. Most of the residents worked within the community well into the 1920s. The mill payrolls ensured that the community retained its identity as a large, self-sustaining mill town in an urban setting.

One of the major characteristics of Hampden-Woodberry was that the local mills and foundry remained in the hands of local families well into the twentieth



FIGURE 2.

Clipper Mill—built 1863 after fire destroyed Whitehall Mill located at same spot.

century. The roots of each family went back to the early nineteenth century when the first generation started from meager surroundings to establish their businesses. Each generation that followed felt some responsibility for the business and up through the first decade of the twentieth century some responsibility for the community.

For at least three generations the mill owners and managers lived comfortably in spacious houses within the community. Some of these houses still stand, witness to the successful years of the cotton duck industry. Some bring to mind names like Carroll, Gambrill, Poole, Hooper and Timanus, a close-knit economic and political oligarchy who married among themselves and wielded power within Baltimore far beyond the boundaries of Hampden-Woodberry.

David Carroll and his son, Albert, fathered the Mount Vernon Mills No. 1 and 2, and lived in two spacious houses on the ridge northwest of the mills (now Florence Crittenton Home and the Society Prevention Cruelty Animals). In 1878 David Carroll built an "elegant and beautiful Gothic Church" on the corner of what is now 33rd and Chestnut Streets and donated it to the Methodist Episcopal Church. His eldest son, the Rev. D. H. Carroll, was a Methodist minister while his daughter married J. T. Timanus, a member of the mill-owning Timanus family that in 1904 produced a mayor of Baltimore City. David Carroll's background was a strong influence on the banning of bars and saloons within several miles of the community. His obituary stressed his defense of mill workers from the "temptations and evils incident to the industrial classes."

The Hooper family with six generations in the textile industry and five of these in Woodberry probably influenced the community over a longer period than any other family. Some members lived in a mansion on Woodberry Avenue while others lived outside the community. The first William started the business in Baltimore in the early 1800s and his son, William E., was the dynamic force that moved the business to Woodberry. By 1866, he had acquired from the Carrolls and Gambrills all the mills in Hampden-Woodberry except the two Mount



FIGURE 3.

Mill-owned worker's house—"Stone Hill," Mount Vernon Mills.

Vernon Mills. He had seven children, one of whom, James E., married Robert Poole's daughter, Sarah, while another, Alcaeus, became mayor of Baltimore in 1895.

James E. brought paternalism to its height as he watched over his mill workers like a shepherd over his flock. Under his leadership, the company expanded into the Parkdale area of Woodberry and built the Hooperwood Mill in 1904.

The next three generations of Hoopers were associated with residents of Hampden-Woodberry and continued the tradition into the twentieth century. Robert P., son of James E., established his own textile firm in Philadelphia and then later bought the Woodberry plants from his brother. His son, James E., ran the Woodberry plant for over 40 years. Robert, known to the mill workers as "Old R. P.," was like a major general as he made his annual inspection of the mills. Several of Hampden's living residents recall the excitement that ensued when it was announced that "Old R. P." was going to make his annual visit. This was the only time in the year when mops and brooms were plentiful. Although he completed his inspections and found the mills always spotless, he was shrewd enough to know that the mill wasn't normally kept that way. Always playing the role of general, he ran the mills, as well as his mill-employed son and grandsons, with an extremely firm hand until he died in his eighties.

Another entrepreneur who helped build the Hampden-Woodberry community was Robert Poole. A machinist by profession, he constructed in Woodberry one of the best foundry and machine shops in the nation. His residence, Maple Hill, the present site of Robert Poole School, stood on the crest of a hill overlooking the Jones Falls Valley. Always identifying with the locale, he gave much of his wealth back to the community in the form of buildings. His family maintained their roots there also as his daughter married James E. Hooper while his son-in-law, Robert P. Simpson, became director of the Poole Company and president of the Bank of Hampden.

Other distinguished Baltimore families owned interests in the mills and many,



FIGURE 4.
The William E. Hooper Mill in Woodberry.

like the sons of Horatio Gambrill, continued to live in Hampden and run their fathers' mills. Others, such as the descendants of Hugh Jenkins and his son-in-law, Col. William Kennedy, lived outside the community but maintained vested interests in the Mount Vernon Mills. Kennedy became president of the firm while David Carroll was the manager. For almost a century Kennedy's descendants with names such as Boone, Cromwell, and Jenkins were active in that firm. This continuity of ownership and interest in the industries of Hampden-Woodberry was unusual by American standards and may help to explain the continuity of values and traditions that persist there to this day.

These owners and managers of the mills embodied nineteenth-century paternalism. Each company perceived itself as a large family and the workers within it as its children. Because each mill's own management and organization was structured along family and kinship lines, it was only natural for them to employ entire families where possible. Family hiring was advantageous since recruitment was simplified and control of the work force much easier.

An example of this family control was illustrated in 1906. Fifty bobbin boys walked out of the Meadow Mill in an attempt to get a higher wage. This act did not appeal to their fathers who depended on their sons' income. The strike ended when one father spanked his son in public and sent him back to work.

This paternalism was particularly evident during the period when James E. Hooper and Albert H. Carroll were running their respective mills. At Carroll's funeral in 1882, the factory and church bells tolled while "the hilltops and roadsides were thronged with men, women, and children, as the cortege passed." In 1908 when Hooper was dying in Rehobeth, Delaware, he is supposed to have said "my last earthly wish will be gratified when my workers come down to see me."

Paternalism and the family concept was linked closely with company housing for workers. Company housing became a major part of the textile mill system of maintaining an acquiescent work force and as compensation for low wages. The mill owners, like heads of all families, took over the burden of supplying shelter for their workers. In the nineteenth century, the Hoopers built Hooper's Hotel, sometimes called "The Boarding House," located northwest of Clipper Mill. It accommodated 250 young girls who worked in the mills and offered them free piano lessons and concerts. These young ladies were apparently well chaperoned in parlors furnished by the hotel for receiving visitors.

The owners in Hampden not only encouraged some workers to live in mill housing at rents as low as 75 cents a week but also encouraged many others to save their money to buy a house. The owners in 1865 formed the First Building Association. Within five years over 100 residents had bought their own houses. The Provident Saving Bank and the Bank of Hampden opened in 1866 and 1910 respectively with the management of both in the hands of the mill owners. This close relationship allowed many mill workers during the 1880s to pay as little as \$125 for an entire house. Even as late as the 1920s, a house could be purchased for as little as \$1,650. Paternalism by the mill owners appears to have been effective in improving the family atmosphere. As late as 1921, a newspaper reported that there was about the whole place a homelike feeling with everybody speaking to everybody else. For almost a century the community was to remain

within the grasp of these powerful, at times benevolent, often authoritarian but always paternalistic mill owners.

Most of the people of both Hampden and Woodberry are many generations American with their roots going back to the nation's early years. Over 95 percent of the residents 100 years ago were native born. Most of them were born on farms in Baltimore, Howard, and Carroll Counties, and later migrated to the mills along the Patapsco, Gwynns Falls and Jones Falls. Many again migrated into Hampden and Woodberry from mill villages near Ellicott City and Laurel, Maryland.

Periodically Virginians have come to work in the mills. In 1880, over 15 percent of the workers in the Mount Vernon Mills were born in Virginia. During both World Wars recruiters went south to find workers. Exact figures are not available but the William E. Hooper Company estimates they brought in at least 100 families during World War II from Virginia and North Carolina. Most integrated easily into the community but a few were seen as "hillbillies" in spite of having worked at low wages in southern mills. Among the jokes told about these few was the one that they made so much money in Woodberry that they had to take a week off to spend it. Some of these returned to their homes in the South after each war, while others waited many years until retirement from the mills.

Child labor was one of the mainstays of the industry until 1900 when the Child Labor Laws were enforced. In 1880, over one in four workers in the Mount Vernon Mills was under 15 years of age. After 1900, the practice didn't stop but children under sixteen were required to obtain a permit and could work on specific jobs for specific hours. As late as the 1920s Winnie Lytle worked as a bobbin boy at age 12, while Richard Meads, at age 14, had a job in the Meadow Mill at "carrying off"—the removal of full spools of yarn from the machine by wagon. Among the women, Hester Worden remembers having to obtain a permit to work as a "tube winder" at age 16.

Working hours in the textile mills were long and for children very fatiguing. In the late nineteenth century the work was 12 hours a day from 6 in the morning to 6 at night. By the First World War, the work week had dropped to 54 hours. By the 1940s, the 40-hour week came in, and most worked 8 hour shifts from 7 until 3:30 or 3:30 until midnight.

Because textile wages were low, the family had to work as a unit to meet basic economic needs. The average wage of \$16 a week for the Woodberry Mills in the 1920s totals to about \$800 a year, which was below the \$900 minimum level for the United States at that time. For this reason, most of the male heads of household did not work in the cloth-producing part of the mill but instead worked as carpenters and mechanics in maintenance sections where the pay was higher. Many others even found this pay low and found employment outside the mill. In 1923 the Mount Vernon Woodberry Mills employed 470 men and 463 women, but almost a third of these men were employed on outside work repairing the 280 company houses and other company property.

Prior to the introduction of social security, older workers found that they could not afford to retire. In 1925 almost half of the employees of the Mount Vernon Woodberry Company were over forty. The company's pension list of 27 aged employees gave the average length of service as 49 years with the longest service being 69 years. Margie Fletcher recounts how her mother worked in the mill from

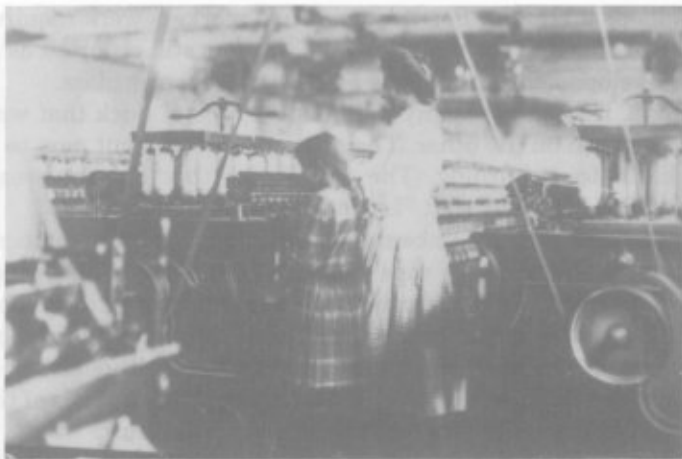


FIGURE 5.
Typical view of mill interior, with machines.
(From the Edward L. Bafford Collection at UMBC.)

the time she was seven until she was in her sixties. When social security finally arrived, it came as a blessing to those who had spent as much as 60 years in the mills and were receiving pensions of only \$8 per month.

In spite of long hours on their feet, textile mill hands did not have to endure the assembly-line manner of repeated operations found in other industries. In weaving, spinning, carding and warping, individual workers controlled the machines they were operating. Their pace was determined by the number of machines they had to tend and not by the speed of the machines. If looms were running well, weavers could afford to walk around and chat with each other. This flexibility in work routines encouraged sociability and made jobs more pleasurable. One worker who left William E. Hooper Company to work for higher wages at the G. M. Chevrolet plant found the pace there too demanding and returned to work in Woodberry.

If the "boss" or foreman in the mill was good-natured, the relaxed work pace allowed the younger members to participate in some interesting activities. Hilda Meads remembers that sometimes in the winter when her machines were running well and she had an hour or so before she had to "doff them off"—remove full spool and replace with empty—she was allowed to slip out and go sledding behind the mill. Another worker remembers skinny-dipping in Jones Falls during work hours and being caught by the police. Hester Worden remembers how the young female tube winders in the Mount Vernon Mill played pranks on the older women workers and how their boss always stood up for them before the outraged victims.

The physical working conditions had certain drawbacks. In the picking and carding rooms the air was often thick with "flyings" that made breathing difficult and some workers developed constant coughs. Fenton Hoshall recalls watching the cotton fly off the women mill hands as they returned home from work. He remembers also the kind of cotton that the William E. Hooper Company used. Grown around Biloxi, Mississippi, a lot of red clay had become mixed with it and when the bales were opened and thrown into the hoppers a red dust arose and

coated the walls of the room. For this operation workers were required to wear masks. In spite of these safety requirements, workers still reported as late as the 1940s having developed chronic coughs and excessive weight loss.

The William E. Hooper Company mill made a type of duck that was asbestos on one side and cotton on the other. The asbestos side was put next to the rollers to keep the cloth from burning. The two looms that did the weaving were affectionately called "Big Liz" and "Little Mary."

Sometimes the dust became unbearable, especially when sweepings were put into machines to make a cheap rope called "shoddy" or a cheap padding for insulation. When armfuls of these sweepings were thrown into the hoppers, too often old snuff cans were mixed in the pile. These cans would bang about in the machinery, cause sparks and eventually ignite a fire. Although the operators could usually put out the fires themselves, the clean-up afterwards of the stinking wet dust and dirt in the tanks was unpleasant to say the least.

In general, the mills were a flexible source of income to the extended family and employment often varied with the personal and economic condition of the family at specific times. Family tradition as well as family connections played a role in attracting some sons and daughters to follow their parents into working for the mills. For many of the young, the pressure from peers to drop out of school and go to work nearby their homes was extremely tempting. For a large segment of the working population of Hampden-Woodberry, the mills became a way of life, at times difficult and unpleasant but at other times rewarding due to the sociability and interdependence required by the type of work.

As America entered the twentieth century, the rate of economic, social and political change in the large cities such as Baltimore increased rapidly. Baltimore hummed with activity as her industries grew in scale and thousands of east and south Europeans poured in to fill the expanding industrial labor force. The community of Hampden-Woodberry witnessed a slow passing of some of the old order and a partial invasion of the new. While change was rapid and direct in other parts of Baltimore, it was slow and selective in Hampden-Woodberry.

The textile economy of Hampden-Woodberry changed slowly while the paternalistic social structure and the community leadership by the mill owners began a rapid decline. With the death of James E. Hooper in 1908, and David Carroll in 1912, the last of the strong, paternalistic, local mill-owners, Hampden-Woodberry lost two men who possessed what the Hampden-Woodberry *Times* called "a tradition of concern."

From that time onwards, fewer and fewer owners resided in the community and fewer and fewer of them took an interest in the community as a whole. Most were caught up in the managerial revolution taking place throughout the nation whereby companies were run by professional managers and the owners consisted of multiple stockholders who cared only about profit margins. In 1899 New York investment interests became involved with all the local textile companies as well as others outside Baltimore in a consolidation of all cotton duck manufacturers. This consolidation involved seven companies and 14 mills and lasted until 1915. In that year the William E. Hooper and Sons Company withdrew from the group, sold some of its older mills, and built a new mill in Woodberry. This company, unlike the others, continued to be owned and managed by one family.

During this period of change throughout the United States, when the corpo-

rations consolidated and grew, the labor movement was gathering new strength. The union movement was growing in Baltimore and by the turn of the century most Baltimore industrial firms were feeling the pressure from workers' organizations for social change.

The relations between labor and management in Hampden-Woodberry, if compared to those other communities in Baltimore and other cities in the United States, were relatively passive. The paternalistic practices of the textile industry there apparently kept labor unrest to a minimum. The first strike in over 50 years of operation occurred in February, 1906, when 35 girls who had no union and no recognized leader walked out of the Meadow Mill of the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Cotton Duck Company. Shortly afterwards 50 bobbin boys followed suit by demanding more than the \$14 a month they were receiving. The strike was settled by granting the girls a \$2 per month wage increase while the boys were forced by their irritated fathers to go back to work without any pay increase.

During World War I, several factors combined to increase labor unrest in the community. The demand for labor strengthened the worker's bargaining power, while the enlarged profits of the local mills diminished the resistance of employers to increases in pay. By 1916 the Textile Workers Union No. 977 had over 1,000 members among the workers of the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Company and it soon began bargaining with the management. A strike was averted for several months until July 26, 1917, when 1,600 of the 2,200 workers walked out, claiming that the \$2 per day minimum wage was not enough. The national union of which No. 977 was a branch refused to sanction the strike because demands were considered unreasonable. The company agreed to grant a 10 percent bonus to last until the end of the war. Although most employees wanted a 15 percent bonus, they eventually agreed to the 10 percent bonus and returned to their machines.

Other strikes took place during this war period. In October, 1916, over 500 workers of the Robert Poole Engineering Company in Woodberry walked out because of dissatisfaction with the distribution of bonuses. The company was a major producer of ammunition and large artillery pieces for the Army. After an appeal for patriotism, a settlement was made and the workers returned to work.

In March, 1918, over 1,500 textile workers at the Mount Vernon-Woodberry firm again walked out. This time the issue was the demand for the closed shop. Two weeks later the strike was called off when management accepted all demands except the 100 percent closed shop. Employees were influenced into returning when addressed by General Robert McWade of the War Department, who, according to the *Sun*, urged them to return for patriotic reasons.

Although the textile industry in Hampden-Woodberry made great profits during World War I, industrial demobilization followed and the two local firms, Hooper and Mount-Vernon Woodberry, along with most other American textile firms, began to experience a gradual decline. The industry nationally had too many competing firms and too much capacity. The pressure of supply on a demand that was not insatiable exerted a depressing effect on prices. Southern competition, antiquated machinery, inefficiency and high labor costs were all factors in the decline.

In the community of Hampden-Woodberry firms curtailed production, tapered

their labor forces and cut wages. Immediately after the Armistice in 1919, the Mount Vernon Company reduced wages 17.5 percent and more later until a total cut of 34 percent was reached. The management stated that wages would be increased when business justified it.

A major crisis occurred at the Mount Vernon Mills in April, 1923, when the management announced an increase from 48 to 54 hours a week with only a 7.5 percent increase in wages. Workers reacted with a demand to retain the 48-hour week with an increase of 25 percent. When the company refused this request, over 800 workers struck.

After six weeks Mayor Jackson of Baltimore City stepped in and set up a conference to try to bring the opponents together to end the strike. Howard Baetjer, President of the Mount Vernon Mills Corporation, declined the invitation on grounds that the men and women on strike were a minority.

Although neither side would change their position, the mill continued to operate. Little by little, workers from the community began to straggle back. By August, the union finally ruled that those wishing to do so could return to their old jobs. The pressures of unemployment within the community finally forced the union to give in. The strike produced the beginning of the decline of the close relationship between the mill owners and the community. The owners wanted revenge and they obtained it by forcing strike leaders to vacate company housing. A sense of apathy soon developed among many of those that remained. Visitors to the community at that time reported that throughout the mill community bitterness, near poverty, and in some cases despair prevailed. Soon afterwards, in 1925, one of the mills, Clipper Mill, was sold and its cotton manufacturing machinery sent to Alabama. The decline of the textile industry in the community had begun.

A discussion of labor relations in the community cannot be undertaken without mentioning the activities of the William E. Hooper Company and its ability to avert strikes. Since the firm had been owned by one family for five generations, the family identity may have had some influence on workers' loyalty. The company had never been influenced to any degree by outside unions and had formed their own Parkdale Employees Association. Another reason for averting strikes was the high pay. At Hoopers, wages were as good as or better than at their competitors.

Fenton Hoshall, who worked for the company for five years during the 1930s, paints another picture of labor relations at Hooper's. The Parkdale Association, according to him, took \$5.20 a year for dues and then returned \$5.00 at Christmas to buy a turkey. The union apparently took orders from the Hoopers and was ineffective in raising wages. When workers wanted a raise, they would get the union to invite the President, James E. Hooper, and his vice president to a conference. These two officers would arrive with all their account books. In Hoshall's words, "They kept telling you how much money they lost last year and the year before. They certainly must have had a pile of it when they started because ever since we knew Hooper he was losing money."

Hoshall felt that unions just take a worker's money. The local union at Hoopers didn't cost workers anything and any outside unions, he felt, probably couldn't have done any better. According to him, there was apparently so little interest in

an outside union that the mill hands never even bothered to have an election.

The influence of the mills on the community as a whole began to wane as the inhabitants sought work in other fields. This shifting to other occupations was delayed by the Great Depression and the Second World War, but speeded up afterward. By the time of the demise of the textile industry in 1972 in Hampden-Woodberry, most members of the community were in other occupations.

As the mills began to wane in importance and the city spread out beyond the boundaries of Hampden-Woodberry, the community found itself centrally located as a labor pool for servicing the suburban neighborhoods. Learning a skill and working with tools offered a much brighter future for the average Hampden youth than spending his life in a textile mill. The growth of the Northern Central Railroad and Baltimore's transit system opened new doors for employment, especially for the skills of machinists and mechanics.

After 1900, the demand for housing and the availability of loans for down payments encouraged the growth of the construction industry in Hampden and the employment of many of its youth. By the late 1920s over one-third of the male labor force was associated with the construction trades, while less than half of this number were still working for the mills.

Many of the builders themselves were residents of the community. James Litzinger recounts the story of his father who built over 500 houses in Hampden during this period. After working in the cotton mills where he met his wife who had migrated to Hampden-Woodberry from West Virginia to work in the mills herself, James' father departed from the textile occupation and entered the plastering business.

The Baltimore fire created the need to rebuild houses and plasterers were kept busy. In 1907 the senior Litzinger shifted into the home-building business and concentrated on rowhouses. His ambition, according to James, was to build, "a good home cheap enough for the poor people to own." Any profit he had in the business he would put up as security for people that couldn't make the down payment—"start them off like a rent".

The building business became a family enterprise. The senior Litzinger brought all four of his sons into the business with him and taught other neighborhood boys the skills of the building trade. The work load was organized so that the oldest son, Charles, supervised the overall work while the second son concentrated on paper hanging and the third on plastering.

Most of the houses in Hampden were constructed between 1907 and 1930. During this period the firm built 40 houses near Keswick and 36th Street, 25 houses near Keswick and 33rd Street, 36 houses in the 2900 block of Keswick and 56 houses on 38th Street.

The business of construction and its related skills has continued to be important to the residents of Hampden-Woodberry. A recent study of city directories reveals large numbers of men employed as carpenters, roofers, plumbers, plasterers, house painters, brick layers and electricians. Many of them work for small local companies that still maintain their headquarters in the local area.

Some of the other older occupations continued to persist in the community well into the 1920s. The railroad employees still clustered together in one neighborhood along Keswick Road south of 33rd Street. Like firemen and

policemen, these workers were constantly on call and the Northern Central Railroad insisted that they live close enough to be reached in an emergency.

As the 1930s approached, still other opportunities for employment opened up. Small companies like Noxall and Schenuit offered new diversified jobs for the local labor force.

After the turn of the century, most large American cities felt the surge of immigrants coming from south and east Europe. The port of Baltimore was a major thoroughfare for immigrants entering the United States and a sizeable number remained in the city. Between 1900 and 1920, a small number of these new arrivals found their way into the community of Hampden-Woodberry.

The growth of the service sector in the community during this period encouraged the growth of the small business. Two of the ethnic groups, Jews and Greeks, both of which had a long history of small business experience, moved into the community to fill this need. By 1929, almost two-thirds of the local entrepreneurs were Jewish and one-fifth Greek. Since that time, most of the businesses have remained in the hands of these two ethnic groups. A few of these stores and restaurants have become quite well known throughout the city and have attracted a large clientele from outside the community.

Evidence of the reaction to these new arrivals in the early 1900s by the natives of Hampden-Woodberry is sketchy. Anti-Greek or Jewish activities in the eyes of these ethnic minorities are considered the acts of a few and not an overall community reaction. Lula Cavacos, who arrived from Greece in 1920, tells of the "Woodberry Gang" who broke windows in their store. According to Lula, "Drunks would come into the store and raise their voices". She remembers also how her husband was barred from membership in the Masons because he had angered the neighborhood over a edifice he had constructed. He went to court over the issue and won, which angered his neighbors even more.

Any feelings against the Greeks in the community ended with World War II. Lula headed the Greek War Relief in Baltimore and most of the Hampden community contributed generously to the Greek cause. Lula's husband was finally accepted into the Masons. Today the Cavacos family is treated with high esteem.

At the turn of the century the inhabitants of Hampden-Woodberry shared a religiously-oriented, family-centered, rural American culture. Most of these people had come from rural Maryland after 1870 and had been thrust into the urban, industrial society. The Baptist and Methodist churches became the dominant denominations, and after the 1880s their influence in the community increased. The peak of this influence was probably in the 1920s, when the community could claim to have more churches per acre than any other section of Baltimore.

The Methodist Church was the most active in the area. In 1883 four of Hampden's nine churches were Methodist, while today, eight of the sixteen belong to that same denomination. Reasons for this strength stem from the rural roots of the inhabitants, but the additional support furnished this denomination by the mill owners cannot be overlooked. The Pooles, Hoopers and Carrolls all contributed heavily to the growth of the Methodist church in the community.

The Woodberry Methodist Church, like many other nineteenth century churches, met educational as well as religious needs. By 1880, Woodberry Meth-

odist and its satellite, Clipper Church, had a school with an enrollment of over 1,066 students and 84 teachers. The Sunday School offered both morning and afternoon sessions. Space, however, was still at a premium. Sometimes 105 children and 12 teachers were crowded into one small room.

Hampden-Woodberry first felt the impact of what historians call "the new revivalism" in 1913 when the Hampden Methodist Church founded the Emmanuel Bible Class. This class grew rapidly until it claimed to be the largest adult Bible class in the world. The high point of its life was probably in 1916 when the class went to hear Billy Sunday, the nationally-known evangelist. On that occasion, over 1,200 members of the class marched behind their minister and their 32-piece Emmanuel Band; in front of this was an enormous American flag, spread out across the street and carried by scores of Bible Class members.

Fundamentalism—a religious movement which affected people throughout America—hit Hampden like thunder in 1920 as the Hampden Baptist Church took a lead in "igniting fires of revival". In three consecutive years, over 400 new members joined, the Sunday School doubled, and church contributions multiplied four times. Prior to one of the meetings in 1921, over 500 people paraded through the streets of Hampden behind the church band. At special services the aisles and galleries of the church were overflowing and people were turned away. The 70-voice revival chorus led "in the singing of God's praises and lost people found the Lord".

The personal force behind the large enrollments in the Methodist Churches in Hampden-Woodberry during much of this period was Archie Ford. A leader of the Emmanuel Bible Class for 33 years, Ford was "recognized as a great spiritual leader by the ministerium of Hampden as well as the Maryland Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church." According to some residents, his missionary zeal was so charismatic that those who remember him speak of him in terms such as having the "patience of Job" or "lived in the manner of Jesus". Ford was so persuasive in convincing people to attend church that he would direct people of any faith to the location of their church and then would contact the minister of that church and advise him of the prospective member. He was never too busy to answer a call from anyone in distress. In the words of his pastor, "I have never met a man, either minister or layman, who I believe lives closer to the heart of Christ than Archie Ford".

The changes that came about in the 1920s might have established a new direction with greater self-determination for the community of Hampden-Woodberry. This was not the case, however, because the Depression struck savagely at this community where employment was concentrated in skills most vulnerable to economic slow-downs. Instead of making a clean break from the paternalism and dependence on the mills, the local inhabitants now found themselves dependent upon the state and federal welfare systems. Depending on charity was a blow to people's pride.

Hampden-Woodberry was one of the areas of Baltimore communities hardest hit in the crash of 1929. Some industries closed down completely, while others cut back production leaving large numbers of local citizens out of work. In 1940, when the Great Depression ended, over 12 percent of the local work force was either unemployed or on public emergency work. This figure was considerably

better than in previous years, but still higher than similar areas of Baltimore City.

The burden of survival rested with family and friends, who tried to save the unemployed from having to apply for charity of any kind. This weighed especially heavily with those of old American stock, as found in Hampden-Woodberry, who never asked for charity before. After the breadwinner lost his job and had exhausted his savings, he borrowed from his friends and relatives, sought credit from local stores and landlords, and, finally, as a last resort, asked for charity. Unfortunately, in Hampden-Woodberry too many breadwinners were in the same occupation and help from relatives and other families became difficult.

The hardest hit were mill families because in some cases the mills reduced operations to only three days per week. A weekly wage of \$25 was reduced to only \$11 or \$12. Welfare, when it became a Federal policy, amounted to \$19 a week. Apparently, people who worked at all had difficulty receiving any welfare. Many mill workers fell into this category.

Margie Fletcher describes how she raised several children and tried to survive on her husband's pay of \$12 a week. "You couldn't buy a job." According to Margie, "people had to obtain water at the store and carry it home. Children were filled up on beans and potatoes. They didn't have steaks and chops in those days. Children seldom received extras like sweets and soft drinks, and they didn't get the right kind of clothes and shoes. Periodically, a quarter-ton of coal was delivered for heat and cooking but it was never enough. Life was hard."

Different people in the community were affected in different ways. Lula Cavacos, who managed a store, remembers that all the banks closed and everybody was affected. According to her, "Baltimore was nothing. A lot of people came and wanted help and we said we can't—we were in debt ourselves. We held our property by the skin of our teeth. . . ."

Hilda Meads worked in a cotton mill. Her wages were cut to \$6 a week. The mill cut costs by increasing work and reducing employment. Fifteen people in one room working ten frames each would be cut to thirteen people working twelve frames each.

In 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt established the NRA with the minimum wage and the 40 hour week. Some of the local residents working for the Hooper Mills at that time remember the firm complying with the new law. The mills ran five and a half days a week at the heart of the Depression, allowing people to take home pay equal to half of their pay during good times. What is historically important to remember is that these Hampden-Woodberry mills struggled through the Depression and did not close down, while many other mills in other parts of the country went out of business.

The construction industry in Hampden was probably hurt even more than the textile industry, which may explain why the community suffered more than most other Baltimore areas. One of three men in the community in 1929 worked in some form of trade associated with construction. Most carpenters and other related tradesmen rapidly joined the unemployed after the banks closed and new construction in Baltimore ceased. Builders like the Litzingers were economically wiped out. Many of those who were suddenly unemployed and had financed their homes through the Litzinger Company now found they could not meet their

payments. As a result, most of the Litzinger property went to banks and building associations as security for mortgages that could not be paid. By 1938 much of Hampden-Woodberry's real estate remained in the hands of those banks and building associations.

In spite of these hardships, the community survived. Acceptance of welfare, however, had undercut the ethos of this family-oriented community. Although the approach of World War II with its lucrative war contracts to the local industries brought economic relief, the scars of the Depression have remained ever since. Confidence in family support and in the paternalism of the local employers as a means of economic security had been shattered.

The war made a major economic impact on Hampden-Woodberry. As the United States began to arm itself and its allies after 1939, orders for war materials revived the local industries. By 1940, an extremely heavy volume of business came to the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills, in the form of orders for almost one and a half million packs and parachutes and a million tents.

The wave of patriotism and Americanism that swept over the community after World War I returned. The community can be proud of its contribution to the war effort—not only in its dedication to hard work in the local war industries but also in the great sacrifices of its youth who fought in the war.

As the young men of the community either entered the services or moved to more lucrative jobs, an acute labor shortage developed in the textile mills. By 1942, the Mount Vernon Mills were operating three shifts a day and for seven days a week. At the Hooper Mills, according to a manager, "It was a struggle to keep enough employees to keep up production. The shipyards in Baltimore were paying higher wages and a number of the local males found work there."

Immediate solutions were to employ more women, more elderly and to begin the recruitment of local blacks for the first time. Hooper Mills sent agents into southern towns to advertise for and recruit labor. Some of the residents of today remember that the Hooper Company brought these "hillbillies" in by the busload from places in Virginia and West Virginia. Many of these had worked in textile mills before, and, therefore, knew all about the work.

A discussion of Hampden-Woodberry in World War II cannot be complete without some reference to the numbers of young men who served in the armed services and who gave their lives. Official statistics are not available to compare communities, but unofficial reports suggest that the Hampden community contributed more than her share to the fighting forces. Two of the young men who participated in the war, Carl Sheridan and Milton Ricketts, gave their lives and won the nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor.

World War II was almost an anti-climax for the local textile industry. Production was cut as the war ended and a five-year lull followed until the Korean War. This was the final effort and then everything was downhill. The synthetics evolution hit the community hard. Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills were better prepared than Hooper's because they had begun synthetics in 1948 and had bought a number of southern mills. Hooper was almost bankrupt, and in 1961 the firm sold much of its property and machinery to Mount Vernon. Mount Vernon closed out its last two remaining mills in 1972, moving all Hampden operations to South Carolina. Today, W. E. Hooper still exists at its Parkdale Plant but makes

cotton products on a very small scale. Today, Rockland Industries occupies some parts of the Mount Vernon Mills and employs about 38 people in synthetics. The token work-force in textiles is a far cry from the war years of three decades ago when thousands toiled over the looms.

During the last three decades American cities have passed through a period of extreme social and economic change. The flight to the suburbs by a large segment of the white population has disrupted the social and economic structure of many of Baltimore's old neighborhoods. The community of Hampden-Woodberry, on the other hand, has survived much of this social revolution by its geographical isolation and its selectivity in its choices for change. By clinging to some of the traditions of the nineteenth century mill village, the community has resisted changes that might easily have destroyed it.

The community, however, has not been untouched by the impact since 1950 of the changing Baltimore society around it. An awareness exists today that much social and economic change is inevitable. The major problem faced by the community is how to retain identity in the ever changing, turbulent, urban world. To survive as a community within this social and economic dilemma, the people of Hampden and Woodberry have chosen to preserve certain aspects of their past.

One of these links with the past is the strong sense of Americanism that swept through the community in the early 1920s. The importance of parades and identity with American nationalistic ideals are still major ingredients of today's community spirit. The Hampden posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are some of Baltimore's most active sponsors of parades and other activities that honor America's military heritage. Thirty-sixth Street probably hosts more parades per year than any other section of Baltimore.

Hampden-Woodberry's social life has been built not only around the many churches but also around numerous social clubs. Many of these clubs date back to the early textile days and have retained a strong hold on the community. Few towns and cities in America today can boast that they have a Tecumseh Tribe of the Improved Order of the Red Men similar to the very active one in Hampden. Many of the community's 55 other social clubs have distinctive names such as Barn Burners, Pocahontas and Eastern Star Electra.

This exceptional social club activity may stem from the rural roots of the community with its strong Anglo-Saxon ethnic homogeneity. Perhaps these clubs were encouraged by the paternalistic mill owners as a substitute for strong local trade union activity. Whatever the reasons, these social institutions are links with the past and have helped to strengthen community identity.

Another heritage from the mill days is the emphasis on home-ownership. In 1960, three out of four families owned the houses they lived in. Today, the figure is a little less but the community is still one of the most stable in the entire city.

The impact of change that has taken place in the community since the 1950s is quite visible. No greater change has occurred than in the structure of the local labor force. In 1925, almost the entire work force in the local industries came from local white residents. Today black workers dominate the labor forces of Londontown, Pepsi Cola and others although they still do not reside within the community.

A sizeable number of inhabitants still work in the local plants, but many more

work elsewhere. Many of the men today have the same skills and occupations as their fathers and grandfathers but with better incomes. Most are able to drive to their place of work in other sections of Baltimore.

Another visible change has taken place along the main shopping district of 36th Street. The advent of mass automobile ownership and the opening of nearby shopping centers has hurt local trade. Some of the old favorites such as the New System Bakery and Cavacos Drug Store still operate, but other former quality services have given way to cheap, tacky-looking ones. A generation of Baltimoreans grew up on the Saturday double features at the Hampden and Ideal Theatres. The shabby substitutes for these once colorful theatres reveal the impact of television and the social changes that it has brought.

Education in Hampden-Woodberry has changed. More of the young today are completing high school than ever before. The lure of the mills and the peer pressure to quit school and work is not as strong as it was in former years. Jobs for the young are not as easy to find; jobs today require more education.

The arrival of Blacks at Robert Poole Junior High became a major crisis during the 1960s and early 1970s. Few "outsiders" had ever attended this school before. The school had more or less been the private domain of the community. Since then, most citizens have recognized that the city around them is changing rapidly and that the effects of some of these changes on Hampden are inevitable.

Hampden-Woodberry, once a Republican stronghold, exerted considerable political influence in Baltimore at the turn of the century. Today, local political power appears to have almost vanished. No resident of Hampden sits on the City Council. It seems almost lost in the political power struggles between the Black wards to its west and the more affluent White wards to its north and east.

Things have changed from the days when Hampden was at its peak of political power. At one time, two of its sons were Republican Mayors of Baltimore. Alcaeus Hooper, the first Republican Mayor in 1895 and son of the founder of the Hooper Mills, was a strong force for reform in city politics. He defeated the Gorman-Rasin machine and brought about reforms in the School Board, Health Department and other city agencies. The second Republican Mayor, E. Clay Timanus, had been President of the City Council. He became mayor after the Great Fire of 1904.

The community began to shift to the Democratic Party during the 1920s. How much the influx of staunchly Democratic Southern whites into the community altered the balance is not known. What is known is that Hampden became the battleground in the struggle for Democratic political power between "Boss" Curran and "Boss" Pollack. This struggle between these bosses and their machines lasted well into the 1940s. Part of the struggle resulted from the gerry-mandering that created the new 4th District to include Hampden-Woodberry and the newly settled Jewish suburbs to the northwest.

Several local Hampden politicians came to minor prominence in the city during this period. One of these who stands out was Frank C. Robey, who rose from a weaver in the Hooper Mills to a 36-year position as Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the city. Robey personifies Hampden politicians of the period because he was forced to walk carefully the political tightrope between the Pollack and Curran Machines.

In 1946, the Hampden-Woodberry Democratic Organization was established

to oppose "Boss" Pollack. In the words of Paul Nevin, one of the more recent political leaders, "The Hampden-Woodberry sector has been nothing but a doormat for the rest of the 4th District."

Whether this challenge to the machine was the beginning of Hampden's political downfall is not clear. In any case, Hampden-Woodberry has become almost a political pawn in the hands of various outside city political factions. In the 1960s, the community was split into three parts so that three different City Councilmen represented a part of the community. By this division the very base for any political unity was destroyed.

In spite of all these challenges to Hampden-Woodberry's unity, the community as a whole persists. Journalists have commented, scholars have argued but no one seems to have come forth with a plausible answer for Hampden's solidarity.

Certainly geographic isolation and cultural homogeneity have played a major part. Much of the mill village still persists. Perhaps the answer to cultural persistence lies with the one hundred years as a textile mill town. Perhaps the artificiality of the original mill hamlets themselves with their strong family and mill orientation established the very roots to which the present community can cling.

The problem in Hampden-Woodberry today is one of identity. How much longer can a village survive in the turbulent urban world? Twentieth-century economic and social changes take over every day life. Are the nineteenth-century village roots strong enough to survive and hold the community intact?

Today, great trailer trucks loaded with cases of Pepsi Cola and cartons of London Fog overcoats squeeze through the narrow streets where once small children carried the hot noon meal to their families in the mill. The gray stone Druid Mill, (its textile innards gutted for the manufacture of styrofoam picnic buckets) gazes down on all the activity along Union Avenue. The great bell tower of Meadow Mill, now emblazoned with a large L for Londontown, overlooks all this activity and appears to be saying with a smile, "Twentieth Century, you may have taken over but you can never conceal those of us whose roots are anchored in the nineteenth century textile industry."

REFERENCES

1. The major sources for this paper were the U.S. Manuscript Census for the community and the Baltimore City Directories for the periods 1870 to 1930. Over 1174 people were traced for a fifty year period after 1880. In addition almost fifty members of the community were interviewed. Most of these had worked in the mills at one time or another. Much information was obtained also from the Baltimore City and County newspapers of the period. Important industrial figures were obtained from the Wm. E. Hooper Company and from the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of the State of Maryland*. Of special importance was the 1924 social study of the community, *The Cotton Mill Workers on Jones Falls* by Elizabeth Otey. The Hopkins Atlas of 1877, the Thompson Atlas of 1889, and the Sanborn Atlases of 1905 and 1914 were important sources for determining property locations and specific holdings.

People of the Peninsula

W. THEODORE DÜRR

BALTIMORE CITY IS ON THE PATAPSCO RIVER WHERE THAT BODY OF WATER meets the Chesapeake Bay. The River's mouth divides into three branches, and between the northern and middle branches is a large peninsula with Fort McHenry at the eastern tip. The fort was constructed by the citizens of Baltimore in 1776 to defend their town against the British. Two hundred years later, the fort's existence helped inhabitants defend the Peninsula against their own government, but that is a story to be told later.

This chronicle is about the last 100 years of life on the Peninsula. It is divided into three periods: 1880-1925, 1926-1950, and 1951-1980. While known to most of the outside world as South Baltimore, the Peninsula is known by those who live there as four distinct neighborhoods. We will begin with a look at these areas in the mid-point of our history, 1930, by taking a walk with a resident we will call Victor Angelo¹, born in 1900.

One bright April morning Victor, who lived on Decatur Street in Locust Point, or "the Point" as locals called it, walked down to the shore just west of the fort and across the inner harbor from Fells Point. The buildings over there looked much like those behind him on the Point. Houses, canneries, shops, and docks revealed a bustle of activity. A glance down at the water revealed slicks of oil, dead fish, some citrus peels, and the mud carp, frequently caught and eaten by those who lived along the shore.

Victor remembered facts and stories his mother told him. While the first to arrive were English and German, the Irish, Slovaks, Jews, Russians, Poles, and Italians came in successive waves from the 1840s onward. Baltimore's main point of entry was at Locust Point. Some got off ships and right onto Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B. & O.) trains heading west. One young immigrant married her husband right on the pier, their honeymoon spent on the train which took them back to his farm in Minnesota. Others walked to their new destination: Westminster or Annapolis in Maryland; Carlisle, York, or Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Some remained on the Peninsula.

There was plenty for them to do, to see, to hear, and to enjoy. Most of the Locust Point streets, like the one named after Stephen Decatur, were named after heroes of the War of 1812. Victor walked up his cobblestone street (many were dirt), past rows of clean, white wooden steps. A gas lamp was still burning at the corner where he turned to take an alley shortcut toward Federal Hill, and he walked past rows of outhouses. One of them, its door ajar, had not been limed and its odor mingled with the delicious smell of freshly baked bread from an open

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hearth. Looking upward, he counted 29 geese flying in a single line but curving like a whip to the north and east. Victor reached the waterfront again, and it was alive with the sounds of hammers, saws, and steam engines. Three B. & O. locomotives spewed huge clouds of smoke and steam into the sun's rays as they maneuvered freight cars around the yards.

As Victor approached Federal Hill, a high precipice overlooking the harbor, named in honor of the city's ratification of the U. S. Constitution in 1789, he remembered that it used to be the site of Porter's Observatory, a 150-foot high tower from which clipper ships would first be spotted, sailing up the Bay. The top of the hill was now a park where families picnicked by day and sometimes slept during the hot, muggy nights of July and August. Looking west, he could see Camden Station, the B. & O.'s terminal. Between it and the harbor, on Sharp and Leadenhall Streets, and on Honey Alley and Welcome Alley was the oldest black neighborhood in the city. Many families had been there since Revolutionary times. Some Irish and Jews also lived here but the better off, of whatever nationality or race, were moving west and north. Some of the city's worst slums were the Sharp-Leadenhall neighborhood. Others were across the harbor behind the morgue and the power plant. When strong northwest winds were blowing, its coal-fired smoke might get in your eyes if you lived in Locust point; if the wind was out of the northeast and you lived in Sharp-Leadenhall you might get a cinder in your eye.

Victor walked southward from the hill by the Hughes Street Works and the Buck Glass Company. At this company was formed a union shop in 1920, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. Victor then stopped at the Cross Street Market to buy a warm bun at Muhly's booth. He was now in the heart of South Baltimore. He cast a furtive glance up Chicken Alley and, sure enough, a pile of fresh chicken heads was quickly covered by a swarm of flies. By now the sun was high and Victor turned left on South Charles Street and left again to walk by the factories—Federal Tin and National Enamel. Working inside wasn't so bad now, but in July the temperature within them climbed to over 100° almost every day. He knew summer storms would be welcomed as the workers on their way home traded mud for dust and humidity for heat.

Victor now approached the end of Light Street and the Peninsula's south shore. Here was Frog Island, a haven for children, cat-'o-nine-tails, and the little frogs or "peepers" they called them. Their mating calls sang you to sleep at night if you lived in that part of South Baltimore.

Victor remembered what it was like to grow up on the Peninsula in this century's first decades. Sports and outdoor life were important. The organized sports were soccer and baseball but the younger boys and girls played caddy with a broomstick, redline, and they jumped rope. They also liked to hang around candy stores. For seven cents they could buy two-cent coddies and a soda. One day a member of Victor's crowd came by, looking rich. "Just rolled a drunk," he bragged, "got seventy dollars." Victor remembers they didn't much enjoy spending that money, and afterward, that boy was always on the outside.

One who knew what it was like to be on the inside was Victor's friend, Harry. Harry was one of three Jews in a class of sixteen at old School #70. Sometimes Harry would go to church with Gentiles on Sunday and on Saturday Christian

boys would go to synagogue with him. One day his friends came and said, "We know there are a lot of people who don't like Jews. If anybody starts anything, you stand up for yourself and we'll be with you, but, if you don't stand up for yourself, we ain't going to stand up for you." The very next day in the schoolyard someone called Harry a "damned Jew." Harry hit him, something he'd been wanting to do a long time. Harry's friends formed a circle and wouldn't let anybody else in while he taught the namecaller a lesson. Seven of that group went on to Baltimore City College and they looked out for one another time and again. Victor thought, "If only different people around the world could get along the way we got along with Harry . . ."

Returning inland, Victor walked past St. Mary Star of the Sea church which overshadowed the area known as Riverside. Her tall spire had a light atop which could be seen by sailors coming up the bay. This light was the only nationally-registered lighthouse supported by a church in the country. Across the street was Riverside Park. Standing on its hill Victor could see the rail lines which connected Port Covington and Camden, and which crossed the Peninsula below Riverside to separate Locust Point from South Baltimore. Victor walked down Fort Avenue toward home. Fort was the main road down the center of the Peninsula. Near Victor's house was the new Francis Scott Key School #76. The old one burned in 1919 and the new was built on filled land, replacing one of the many swamps. The swamp had been called the Devil's Bucket. Old timers said that a headless horseman, wearing a Union army uniform from the Civil War, used to gallop across the swamp, head held under his arm. He hadn't been sighted lately; Victor thought, "maybe its habitat has been destroyed."

1880-1925

Victor's mother had come to Baltimore in 1890, among the earlier Italians. She was part of a migratory wave from Europe which had begun 50 years earlier. Between 1870 and 1900 over 600,000 Germans, Irish, Italians, Poles, Russians, and other East Europeans poured into Baltimore at Locust Point. The North German Lloyd Line, operating out of Bremerhaven, brought immigrants over on vessels named the *Braunschweig*, the *Leipzig*, the *Berlin*, the *Baltimore*, the *Bremen*, the *Nurnberg*, and the *Ohio*. The line had arrangements with the B. & O. Railroad whereby passengers could disembark, proceed to the railroad terminal at Locust Point, and board a train for the mid-West.

What was it like to arrive as a new immigrant in a strange country? Jacob Edelman, from Russia, remembered. Jacob came aboard the S.S. *Main* of the North German Lloyd line in the winter of 1913. Sewn inside his undershirt were fifty rubles (about \$25) which the United States required for entrance. To contain his documents he also had a burlap bag issued by the line. The crossing took 18 days. The passengers among his second-class quarters formed a literary society which held long discussions. In the evenings they sang and danced. On 2 February the ship landed at Locust Point. At the pier his foreign-ness was impressed upon him by a wooden fence which separated the immigrants from a crowd of Americans on the other side who came to greet the newcomers. One person at a time entered through a gate to the other side. Medical examiners checked each passenger for evidence of trachoma. Jacob was met by two sisters. On the

following Monday he was in school. Subsequently, he became a lawyer and helped in the Immigrants Protective Association (later to be called the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society). One time Jacob gave a speech and his closing words were echoed time and again in oral histories made by immigrants: "When I go to the HIAS birthday party at the Jewish Community Center . . . there will be no immigrant there, no once confused newcomer, more grateful than I to the United States . . ."

The aspirations of just about all who came were summed up one day by some second-generation immigrant women in Locust Point: "After all," one of them said, "you came over to this country to improve your lot." Victor Angelo noticed another thing about those who came: "I grew up amongst the Russians, the Jewish peoples, the Italian people, the Irish people too, and I'd say it was more like a family." They had something in common, he felt. They came for a better life. They were better off than their parents and they tried to see to it that their children were better off than they. Keeping busy, they worked and shopped together. In their churches, and to some extent in their schools, they maintained a separateness; but not in their neighborhoods, their jobs, their politics.

Work was everywhere; shipbuilding was natural to the Peninsula. During the nineteenth century over one hundred shipbuilding firms existed along the Peninsula's northern bank. Many clipper ships, and later steam ships, were built here. One visionary tried to combine the advantages of both, but alas, his ship would not sail. The year was 1890.

Howard Cassard was a wealthy Baltimorean who made a fortune in lard. He was approached by Robert M. Treger, a designer, who convinced Cassard that he could build a ship which would be to the steamboat era what the Baltimore Clipper had been to the sailing age. The Treger vessel would cross the Atlantic in half the time a crossing then took. The economic advantages would be enormous. Treger received Cassard's backing, and Treger, no naval architect himself, convinced the Federal Hill firm of H. Ashton Ramsey to build it. The Ramsey firm, with the exception of a few riveters, had never before even repaired a ship.

The *Howard Cassard*, as the vessel was to be called, was 222 feet long and only 18 feet wide. Treger knew that this "oversized canoe" would require a lot of ballast. Her cast iron keel alone weighed 34 tons and she was able to carry 80,000 pounds of machinery and 100 tons of coal. She was designed to carry passengers and fitted with Pullman-type berths.

On 6 November, 1890, the *Howard Cassard* was to be launched. George Kelly, an expert at launches, had been asked to supervise it but declined. Treger undertook the matter himself and, with 5,000 spectators lining the shore, his daughter, Alice Treger, broke the bottle of champagne across the bow and that was the last thing that worked. The tripping blocks were hammered away, but the *Cassard* stood unmoved. A tug tried to pull her but the tow line parted. Now the launch was rescheduled for the next day. The tug *Britannia* got her to move toward the water, but as soon as she was launched she listed to starboard; this caused her load of coal to shift, increasing the list. Next her mast struck the tug *Baltimore*, taking away its smokestack and flagstaff. The *Howard Cassard* floated into the Baltimore basin with an extreme list and sailing her was

unthinkable. A short time later a trial run was scheduled, this time with a number of invited guests. The ship left the pier uneventfully but travelled only a short distance when the list occurred again. The passengers demanded to be let off at the next available pier and thus ended the cruises of the *S. S. Howard Cassard*, the hopes of designer Treger, and the dreams of Howard Cassard.

Another nautical phenomenon was a more successful venture, but an idea ahead of its time. In 1897 Simon Lake, inspired by Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*, designed and built a cigar-shaped submarine 36 feet long and 9 feet wide. It had a 30-horsepower internal combustion engine which could propel it at 5 miles an hour for 10 hours. Air for the crew came from a rubber hose attached to a 20-foot long pipe. Named the *Argonaut*, the ship had four glass portholes, a "sea closet" from which a crew member could retrieve items off the bay, carpeted floors, and electric lighting. The *Sun* reporter who covered the story was told by the editor: "If Lake succeeds, he's worth a column. If not, write an obituary." There was only one problem: the reporter went with Lake on his first voyage. Afterwards the ship made a number of cruises, eventually creeping all the way to New York. It outlasted a Navy sub launched one week earlier. The Navy ship never functioned properly. It was named *Plunger*.

The sea provided many jobs for the people of the Peninsula, but most of them serviced, or built, the ships rather than sailing them. At the same time, these local people were affected by national trends and events. For instance, the national pattern of merger and consolidation can be seen by looking at the shipbuilding history. The Bethlehem Steel shipbuilding lineage begins with William Skinner, a native of Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore where he learned shipbuilding as applied to brigs, barks, and schooners. Around 1820 he came to Maryland's big city and worked in yards at Fells Point. By 1827 he started his own yard at the foot of Federal Hill and Henry Street. The Skinner yard prospered, especially under the founder's sons, and by 1854 it included a steam-powered marine railway, 550 feet long with a 250-foot cradle, capable of handling 800 ton ships. This was located in a new yard opened where Cross Street came down to the harbor in Locust Point. The company proceeded to build and repair many ships.

In 1888 another firm, the Baltimore Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, built the *Petrel* which was launched for the U. S. Navy; it was the first steel ship to be built on the shores of the Patapsco. This ship was part of Admiral Dewey's squadron at the Battle of Manila Bay in the Spanish-American War. The company also built the Standard Oil tanker, *Maverick*, which was the first bulk oil tanker built in America and launched in 1890. In 1905 the Skinner firm purchased this firm with its yard, known as the Columbian Iron Works. Then, in 1915, just before the great shipbuilding bonanza prompted by World War I, the Skinner firm went into receivership and was reorganized as the Baltimore Dry Docks and Shipbuilding Company. These properties were purchased in 1921 by a group from Cincinnati which had bought the Maryland Steel Company at Sparrows Point in 1916. Now one large corporation controlled the major shipbuilding facilities of the inner and outer harbor and would proceed to integrate new and repair work under one management. At the Baltimore Yard, as the yard on the Peninsula was known, Bethlehem controlled 150 acres and had 101,500

square feet of indoor fabricating, pipe, machine, and electric rigging shops. The highway south of Cross Street was closed off to establish room and security control for an area that would produce substantial defense-related shipping for the U. S. Navy.

Many other businesses grew on the Peninsula. One important firm was founded by Bernard M. Mangels and John H. Herold, the latter living on South Ann Street in South Baltimore when the business started up in 1893. The firm had two locations until 1918 when it moved to Key Highway where it remains. Manufacturing syrup and laundry products, Mangels-Herold has employed 100 or more people throughout most of its history.

A larger firm, known locally as "Matthai's" but known to outsiders as the National Enameling and Stamping Company (NESCO), was established by William H. Matthai and his son-in-law, J. E. Ingram, in 1870. By 1880 its plant in South Baltimore occupied 11 acres of floor space. In 1899 control shifted to the hands of Chicago interests as part of an 11-firm merger, but the Matthai family maintained a large influence. Between eight and nine hundred laborers, almost all of whom lived nearby, produced all kinds of kitchen and household wares in this, the largest plant of its kind in the country.

Smaller businesses dotted the Peninsula and served the thousands who lived there. In 1898 Bertha Fangmann and her husband opened a shop on Cross Street where they sold toys, games, fireworks, novelties, and penny candy. In 1908 they moved around the corner to Light Street where the store remained until Mrs. Fangmann's death in 1949. An even more famous landmark to South Baltimore was the Cross Street Market, opened in 1846. The Middelkamp family owned a soup herb stall there, so called because they sold turnips, parsley, tomatoes, celery, thyme, carrots, and other vegetables used in making soup which was a staple to many families of limited income. The market was open on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. This meant that the Middelkamps would pick vegetables on Mondays and Thursdays, leave their 5-acre farm near the 4500 block of Belair Road at 5 a.m., and arrive at the market one-and-a-half hours later. In these early years the market had several open-air stalls which were surrounded by saloons, shoe stores, dry goods stores, and other commercial establishments on Cross Street between Light and Charles Streets.

In 1888 there were nine schools on the Peninsula. Three of the public schools were for black children in the environs of Sharp-Leadenhall and Camden, one was an English-German school at Charles and Ostend Streets, three were parochial schools (one a black school at St. Monica's), and the other two were School #10 in South Baltimore and School #76 in Locust Point.

Population on the Point was crowded into small houses surrounded by fertilizer factories, railroad lines, swamps, dumps, waste land, canning factories, and heavy industry. Locust Point's reputation was tough. If you were growing up, there were lots of fights. Even the teachers were not immune. One resident remembers the day a public school teacher slapped his face. He banged her back and, real fast, she put him up against a desk. Later that week he refused to let a neighborhood boy ride his bicycle. The boy beat him up so badly he stayed home for two weeks. In parochial school discipline was administered by a ruler and the brothers would whack you up one side and down the other, if you didn't listen. Children often

quit school in the fourth or fifth grade and went to work. The public school at Locust Point bore a proud name, called the Francis Scott Key School. Unlike the name, the school and its environs were very humble. In 1902 Miss Persis K. Miller found a small building in miserable condition when, at her request, she was transferred from the office of director of practice teaching to become the principal of this school.

Inside Persis found a lot of problems as well. Sickly children, sub-normal youth and those with severe behavior problems were all grouped in classes together. In 1914 Dr. Adolf Meyer, Professor of Psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, persuaded Persis Miller and Henry Phipps to support a study headed by C. Macfie Campbell. The extensive study sought to "estimate each child from the point of view of his adaption to his environment and of his promise of adult efficiency." Out of 1,389 families in the school district, the surveyors obtained data on 1,146 involving detailed observation of 1,281 children. Of these, 166 between the ages of nine and fourteen were considered to be so retarded that Simon Binet intelligence tests were ordered along with in-depth studies of their



FIGURE 1.
Persis K. Miller, Age 60
Principal Francis Scott Key School #76

total environment. Much data was amassed and interviewers, with community support, tried to describe something about the parents and the home condition of each child. In the report's appendix, findings about each individual are specified in terms like: "Mother, immoral, syphilitic; sister, truant; uncle and aunts defective; mother epileptic, of low mentality; mother alcoholic; mother deserted by father . . ." Twenty-two of the children were unable to read, write, or run errands. Dr. Campbell concluded they would never be self supporting and were "liable to recruit the ranks of vagrants, alcoholics, and delinquents. There was only one ray of hope: their future depended entirely upon the attitude of the community and the school."

But to Persis Miller the situation was far from hopeless. She decided to revise the entire school program which meant regrouping the students according to their abilities and tendencies. She formed three special groups. Group One, called *Opportunity Classes*, was comprised of these "sub-normal children interested and gifted in a certain type of handiwork." A special teacher was hired to train the other teachers of these children. The second group was called *Occupational Classes* and was composed of children who were "mischievous" and "disinterested." Vocational skills were emphasized among these. The third group of classes was called *Open Air* and was for children suspected to have tuberculosis or other illnesses. These classes were outside in fall, winter, and spring, protected only by a roof partition. The children received a special lunch, warm clothing for winter, and were given daily exercises. None of the three groups of classes was regarded as a disgrace; indeed, many normal students longed to be in them.

The school PTA supported the programs and at one meeting a Locust Point mother said to the principal, "But what do you do with the rest of our children?" The principal replied, "We prepare them for high school." The mother responded, "And why do you do that when they are not going there?" This conversation generated a special meeting at which Persis Miller presided. She later described what happened:

The Principal first asked, "If the school could do what you wanted to have done with your children, do you know what you would choose?" In a flash came the answer, "Yes, we'd have them trained to earn their living easier than we have."

Miller: "How would you go about it?"

PTA: "Teach them skilled trades."

Miller: "Any particular ones in mind?"

PTA: "Yes, first machinist. Then electrical trades, automobile trades, wood trades, and sheetmetal trades."

"*Vocational training,*" thought the principal as she wrote a list on the blackboard. "And is there anything further you have in mind besides preparing children to earn their living?"

Yes. Train children at school so as to keep them off the street corners. There is where the trouble begins. Miss Iglehart has started some real games, baseball and hockey. The children are crazy about them. Naturally, for we are all keen about sports. They would like a place where we can get together for singing and plays. Dancing also."

"*Recreation*," murmured the principal as she wrote on the blackboard. "We like the open-air class." "*Health*," said the principal. "Keep our school bank." "*Thrift*," said the principal. The outline was completed.

While Miller now had a program, an interested PTA, and an improved faculty, she was still severely handicapped because of the miserable building. In 1919 when Esther Loring Richards conducted a further study at the school, she remarked that three enforced school holidays of from two to eight weeks "conspired to make her work more difficult." The first was caused by an epidemic of influenza, the second the freezing and bursting of the school pipes, and the third the burning of the school itself. Never was a fire better timed.

The community was ready for a new start. We have just heard from some of the community mothers. We know that high school attendance was the exception. At the time of the fire there were 50 children in the kindergarten (with one teacher and one aid), 40 pupils in the sixth, 16 in the seventh, and only 9 in the eighth grade.

The Locust Point Social Settlement, a work supported by people who lived at places like Bolton Hill, also noticed the problem and tried to help through its social activities for the children. Their report of 1914 noted that "a gradual and rather subtle change is discernible . . . the idea that perhaps, after all, it is not particularly desirable to 'get a job' at the earliest moment the law permits; that possibly the prolongation of school life and the postponement of entrance into industry mean a distinct economic advantage in later years." The facts of the 1919 enrollment cited above seem to suggest that the Settlement's words were mostly wishful thinking. The ethic of the Settlement had to fly in the face of economic realities, parental hardships, and younger sisters and brothers coming along. Later in the report a reflection about the girls' work described the neighborhood norm:

"Most of the members of the Settlement Camp Fire Girls group attained their fourteenth birthday this fall, and in consequence nearly half the club left school and began factory work which, under present conditions, seems almost inevitable for Locust Point girls."

Still, the wish was there. The seed needed a lot of nourishment—and the environment had to be made suitable for growth. Persis K. Miller knew this. Fired by her enthusiasm, her understanding, and the new circumstances, she hurried to P. O. Claxton, Commissioner of Education of the Department of the Interior, and received his support for a study which would give her ammunition in an appropriation fight for the kind of new school she wanted. The study recounted all the familiar conditions and then listed recommendations: shops; drafting classes; new physical science, mathematics, recreation, and homemaking classes. Thirty-two classrooms plus a gym, auditorium, showers and locker rooms, a swimming pool, and three shops were recommended.

Her fight to get her kind of school was hard, but she won strong allies. Marie Bauernschmidt, wife of a Highlandtown beer baron, was then secretary of the School Board, and with her help the School #76 advocates maneuvered the city fathers into a position where they would be damned if they didn't and, they felt, broke if they did. A crucial meeting took place in the board room of the United States Fidelity & Guarantee Company. Judge Carroll Bond presided and a friend

and prominent broker thought he was coming to the rescue of Miller and Bauernschmidt when he proposed a special fund drive to cover the extra expense. Bauernschmidt interrupted, "Your proposition does honor to your heart, Robert Ramsey, but none to your head." Marie went on to show that if a group of employers planned and financed the education of working-class children, they might be accused, because public money was involved, of conflict of interest. Undoubtedly, Marie Bauernschmidt was thinking fast, just a little bit faster than the businessmen. She knew that drives took time, sometimes had limited results, and that the principle here was one of public responsibility. She reminded the men present that they could help her cut corners at City Hall in which she understood they had "both experience and success." With the exception of the pool, the school was constructed as recommended in 1921.

The school prospered. It started evening classes for youths who worked by day and received the cooperation of area industrialists. The students started a paper, *The Pointer*, which featured many activities held by this community-oriented school. In the evening men and women would use the gym, others would listen to concerts over a radio in the auditorium. By 1937 a dispensary was added and the public library moved to occupy a new wing at the school. The school won many awards in city-wide contests involving both academic and athletic skill. An example of community support is an ad by Martin's Checker Cab Company in the 1931 issue of *The Pointer*. It states, "We will gladly call for any sick or injured child from School No. 76 and take him to his home—FREE."

In 1930 Persis Miller and Dr. Meyer, the psychiatry professor, decided to find out what had happened in the lives of those 166 children found to be so defective in 1914. They were amazed. One hundred had become self-supporting. Of the remainder, only eight of the boys had serious court records, and only five of the girls went "badly astray." Out of the original 1914 count, twenty-two had been described as "definitely without hope." Of these, twelve had made it; eight self-supporting and four of the girls "well married."

What had happened? How had the community and the school responded so successfully? One clue comes from the ideals of community and school personified in one person who became indispensable to the young lives charged to her. When Persis Miller looked for help, she turned to a faculty member of fifteen years, Hannah Dorritee. Miss Hannah, as she was known, later in life confessed to one regret. "I never minded not being married . . . but I minded awfully not having children." She once complained about this to an aunt, also an educator. Her aunt was "quite put-out" and said that expression of the maternal instinct did not require children. Thus, years later, when Miss Hannah was asked by Genevieve Parkhurst how she worked so successfully with these children, many of whom spent their entire school lives in her class, she responded: "You may think it sounds silly—but love alone did the work—the love of God and the love of man."

Hannah Dorritee told of the proudest day of her life. Every Friday the classes at Francis Scott Key School assembled and each class participated in the program, but her children were unable to take part. Then one day she sprang a surprise, telling Principal Miller that her class wanted a place on the program. "She looked at me like I had gone quite mad," Miss Hannah remembered. When their turn came the class stood together and recited the 103rd Psalm. Later when

the teachers crowded around and asked how she did it, she told them that time and again she talked to the class about God, about love, about how punishment came because your own naughty ways found you out; she got through to the children her message of care, the meaning of a clearly superior life, and a force from which they could draw strength.

The strong Protestant influence on public schools in the nineteenth century was still felt by these children through Hannah, a Presbyterian, even though it was now the early twentieth century. Yet, the influence was not sectarian but spiritual; not divisive but developmental. The influence was natural to the belief in God and country which led to an optimism expressed by civic and spiritual leaders alike. Cardinal Gibbons said it well around the turn of the century: "Next to love of God should be the love of country. Let us glory in the title of American Citizen. It matters not whether this is the land of our birth or adoption. It is the land of our destiny."

The Cardinal was not unknown to the Catholics of Locust Point. He was their first pastor. Born in America but raised in Ireland, he was assigned to minister on behalf of the Irish who constituted the first wave of immigrants to settle on the Point. In the early 1850s they started a Sunday School in a private home. Then a room in the vacant St. Charles Hotel was found and priests from St. Joseph's officiated at the first mass. A modest building, the Chapel of St. Lawrence O'Toole, was started in 1855 but not completed until 1859, probably because of a shortage of funds. In 1862 the Bishop informed members of the parish, now named Our Lady of Good Counsel, that James Gibbons would be its first pastor. A young man, he also served at St. Bridget across the harbor. Every Sunday he would leave his residence at St. Bridget's, row across to Locust Point, would walk about a mile to the chapel, hear confessions, preach, administer the sacraments, and visit the sick. He would then row back across the basin to Canton in time for a High Mass at St. Bridget.

By the end of the Civil War the Irish had expanded up the Peninsula toward Federal Hill and their new pastor, Peter McCoy, had to be shared with the fledgling congregation, St. Mary Star of the Sea, on the hill known as Riverside. McCoy remained but a short time and was replaced by Father John J. Hagan at the orders of James Gibbons, who had recently become Bishop of the archdiocese.

Gibbons and Hagan had a big problem. The membership of Our Lady of Good Counsel was predominately Irish and proud of it. Large numbers of German Catholics were now settling on the Point. At the corner of the streets now called Beacon and Decatur, the Protestants had a German *Evangeleich* (church). Locust Point residents always called it the "German Church" and by the 1870s it operated a settlement house which provided food, shelter and helpful friends for new arrivals. Its services were conducted in German. German Catholics, faced with a parish church which was to them alien in language and strange in liturgy, either stayed away or went to the church on Beacon Street. Thus, to Gibbons and Hagan fell the obvious duty to convince the Irish to be truly *catholic*, and to convince the Germans that to be Roman Catholic was to be *truly catholic*.

The struggles to adapt, and be adopted, would not cease. While German Catholics responded to the congregation's attempt to reach them, another wave of immigrants started coming in the first decade of this century. These were

Poles: more fiercely nationalistic, more devoutly Roman Catholic. Many of them took the ferry to Fells Point where they attended Holy Rosary, a Polish parish. To accommodate them, a Polish priest regularly came over to Our Lady of Good Counsel, as the Locust Point congregation was now called. Still, two generations later, many Polish-Americans attended Holy Rosary and sent their children to its school.

The Lutherans had to contend with the gap between first- and second-generation Americans as they were affected by acculturation. In 1893, the Pastor of St. Stephen's Evangelical Lutheran Church encouraged the introduction of English into some regular services. He said he was concerned about the youth, though many elders on his council and even some youth strongly opposed the change. Several families withdrew, probably moving their membership to Salem Lutheran. Progress was slow and painful. Not until 1899 could services be held in English and then only every other Sunday in the evening. Salem Lutheran started bilingual services in 1906.

By the time of World War I, over twenty congregations covered the Peninsula. Four were Lutheran, reflecting the strong German influence throughout South Baltimore, and five were Methodist, reflecting the working class nature of that evangelical American denomination.

St. Monica's mission illustrates the life of black people on the Peninsula during the years before and after 1900. Originally located at 114 West Hill Street between Hanover and Sharp Streets, the congregation was a mission of the St. Francis Xavier parish, the first black Catholic church in the United States. St. Monica's constructed a small red brick Gothic style building with a tower and one bell. Eighty-seven baptisms occurred in the church's first year, 1883. Eighty-four of these were infants and of these, twenty-six (or one-third) died before the age of four. Eleven died of smallpox. The marriage records of St. Monica's reveal that of seventy-six married over the first ten-year period (1883-1893), twenty did not name their father, suggesting that many married during this time were born as slaves. About the same number were married in the next ten-year period, but only half as many failed to list their father.

A study by Andrew Billings, M.D., in 1890 revealed that housing density was extremely high in the area and housing conditions were very poor. The report identifies two adjoining areas in which blacks lived. One comprised 26 acres with a population of 4,461 (2,342 "colored" and 2,119 white). The average density was 171.58 persons per acre. Billings indicated that the inhabitants were mostly poor Jews, Italians, and Negroes living in dilapidated houses where the ground was low, the drainage bad, and sanitary conditions worse. This was bounded by Barre, Hanover, Henrietta and Howard Streets. The other area, bounded by Pratt, Howard, Henrietta, Hanover, Hamburg, Eutaw, West, Warner, and Montgomery Streets contained 47 acres with 1,934 blacks and 1,865 whites with a density of 81 persons per acre.

The oldest black congregation in the area, the Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal, was organized in 1804 as a mission of the Lovely Lane Methodist Church, mother church of Methodism in America. By 1897, this congregation moved to West Baltimore, an area to which many more prosperous colored people moved from South Baltimore during the latter half of the century.

The Presbyterians started a church in 1856, known as South Presbyterian Church. The congregation changed its name to Light Street in 1871. Diagonally across the street the Lutherans founded Christ Church in 1887. This congregation became a fine example of the institutional church in South Baltimore, conducting a host of parish and community-oriented activities to the present day.

The families which supported the churches of the peninsula comprised 39,000 souls in 1890. One-sixth of these were black, while the remaining 33,000 stretched out over and down the Peninsula to Locust Point. The total number of dwellings was 4,222 with an average density of 3.45 housing units to the acre together containing 20.6 people and averaging six people in each small house.

Baltimore, along with Philadelphia, has long prided itself as a city with a high proportion of homeowners. By 1912 the average brick row house with white marble steps was selling for \$1,250 to \$2,000, subject to a redeemable ground rent which usually meant an annual payment of \$100 to \$120. With a cash payment of \$800, the buyer would often pay for his home over eight to ten years. Typical of the finance associations was Riverside Federal, incorporated in 1887 by John P. Galving and Peter McMahon. The officers met at various locations for 17 years but by 1914 established a permanent office at 132 E. Fort Ave.

The number of residents on the Peninsula grew steadily throughout the early twentieth century and probably peaked around 1920 when the population reached 75,614. By 1930 the total had declined by 15,574. The declines were most extreme at the two ends of the Peninsula. At the Locust Point end a loss of 3,335 occurred because of industrial expansion which took away many homes. The community library, built in 1910 from the Andrew Carnegie fund and once near the residential center, was at its edge by 1930, a lonely sentinel between the neighborhoods and the steel yards. At the other end of the Peninsula in the Sharp-Leadenhall area, the population declined by 6,393. Jews, Italians and Blacks were vacating this area, pulled for different reasons, but all pushed by the deterioration of housing accompanied by the coming of some of Baltimore's earliest slumlords.

Planning in American cities was small time and sporadic at the turn of the century. Baltimore City owes much to the Olmstead Plan of 1904, but the Peninsula owes very little. John Hoffman, Democrat, Locust Point businessman, member of the City Council, and unofficial "mayor" of South Baltimore (i.e. the Peninsula), pointed out that the plan gave preference to the city's newly annexed suburban areas. For instance, Walbrook, on the western edge of the city, would get sewers, while South Baltimore (low and marshy at that) still contended with septic tanks. Not one street on the Peninsula was smooth paved. No wonder in 1906 South Baltimore voted overwhelmingly against the second bond issue for the Olmstead Plan.

Hoffman organized the businessmen of Locust Point and South Baltimore and persuaded the Municipal Art Society to direct Baltimore architect William N. Ellicott to draft a development plan for the Peninsula. It called for construction of Key Highway from the inner harbor to Locust Point to serve commercial traffic; the smooth paving of all commercial and residential streets; rebuilding of the Cross Street market and improved rapid transit connections with other parts of the city. The plan also called for elevated grade crossings where the B. & O. tracks crossed streets, frequently delaying traffic. In August the City Council

approved all recommendations except the last, and these were implemented over the next four years. Yet Hoffman did not remain in his own neighborhood. He moved to Forest Park, a suburb adjoining Walbrook.

The next "mayor" of South Baltimore was Charles H. Heintzeman. He owned a cleaning and dyeing business and in the mid-twenties became president of the local businessmen's association. His political base was the Log Cabin Republican Club. Heintzeman was first elected to the City Council in 1901. In 1911 he ran for mayor of Baltimore, and at some rallies he spoke to his audiences in German, praising the Fatherland. Heintzeman lost the election, but South Baltimore's 23rd and 24th (usually Democratic) wards were loyal to their native son.

1926-1950

During the 1920s business in South Baltimore was good. The Buck Glass Company had recognized a second union, the Flint Glass Association, and, in 1925, employed 60 people. Prosperity continued and by 1937 employment had risen to 125 in spite of the company switching from hand to machine production. Also in 1937 there was no age limit on new employees; no time clock, although men worked on shift work; the company gave sick pay which was 100 percent of salary to family men, 50 percent to single men; it carried a \$2,000 insurance policy on each employee, and paid liberal Christmas bonuses.

Throughout the Depression, Locust Point citizens fared well and suffered little of the unemployment felt elsewhere in the city and nation; this was because of the heavy industrial concentration.

One large concern was Proctor & Gamble which, by 1930, employed 220 people and occupied 15 buildings on seven-and-a-half acres in Locust Point. The company guaranteed annual employment at the rate of 48 weeks per year. At the time of one of its expansions some in the neighborhood complained, but Persis Miller stood in the doorway of her school and stated that the community had to learn to live with industry. While the school provided education, she pointed out, it would be of little good if work were not available for her graduates.

What was it like to work in a South Baltimore factory? Several retirees remember well.

Nicholas Lombardi started work in the summer of 1928. He was still in school but was old enough to get a summer job and one day went with a group of friends who heard that Federal Tin was hiring. That day the manager came outside and gazed at the group from a step and, pointing, said he would take "you, you, you." Lombardi was one of the "you's." He did not let on that he only wanted to work for the summer. As it happened, by fall his father lost his job when the construction company he worked for went out of business, and so Nicholas, the oldest child, stayed on. At the Federal Tin plant the working conditions were relatively clean and noise free, but the pay, based on piece work, was low. Nicholas Lombardi worked for Federal Tin for 16 years. How did he like it? What kept him there so long?

Federal Tin made cans for cigarette companies and for hair pomade. Lombardi's job was to put the breast of the can onto the neck. He was paid 20 cents for 1,000 cans. In a good week he averaged 18,000 to 20,000 cans per day, making \$18 to

\$20 in a five-and-a-half-day week. If cans (sometimes several hundred in a run) came through which were deficient and discarded Nicholas was not paid. This placed considerable pressure on each worker to do his or her job well so that the others would not lose out. Nicholas had one of the better paying jobs. When a minimum wage was enacted as part of the National Recovery Administration (NRA) during the Great Depression, management moved Nicholas into jobs which ran more slowly so that his weekly take-home pay would be about equal to everyone else's.

Nicholas and seven or eight others started meeting in a storefront on Pratt Street to form a union. Nicholas became a mainstay of the group, but he was not outspoken at their meetings. The men quickly discovered that the company placed spies in their midst because the more outspoken men were laid off. At one point Nicholas said, "We'll keep on meeting, we will (be) getting stronger and stronger and this way we'll beat the company," but it got harder and harder to get people out to the meetings. More people were fired and finally, says Nicholas, "I was chicken like the other ones and I didn't go back and they finally folded up."

Nicholas liked his boss, Mr. Chick. He finally left in 1942 because Mr. Chick, perhaps tired of complaints about low pay, told him he could make more money in war-related work. He did not leave sooner, he says, because he lacked enough confidence in himself. Mr. Chick encouraged him and said, "Anytime you want a job, come back here and I will give it to you." That did it. Nicholas remembers, "I went home for lunch and never came back." He summed up his feelings about the company: "The other bosses were Simon Legrees. . . I'm sure that whoever had the stock in that company made good money from the people working for them because they paid nothing at all."

Lombardi also remembered that there were many accidents and they sometimes called Federal Tin the "butcher shop." Working around metal all the time, Lombardi says, resulted in "an awful lot of cuts, bad ones, small ones, and large ones." Some needed stitches and some lost parts of their hands. People of the Peninsula have always lived close to the dangers of work.

Josephine Purdy remembered what it was like to work at Matthai (NESCO), which, in 1932, produced tinware. She made big graters in the plant which was five stories high. She made some wonderful friends. She was mouthy, tough, but the boss knew he could depend on her. "You had to stand on your own two feet," Purdy said, "or else you got knocked around." Her boss was tough, but she loved it! "I liked the people around me," she said. . . "everybody I knew and everybody was funny and laughing and telling jokes and stuff like that. You worked like the devil and sang at the top of your voice." Other women who lived right in South Baltimore went in and cooked meals for lunch. The factory was like a big family. Yet, hands were sometimes cut off, fingers cut off and thumbs. "Nobody felt sorry for you if you had ten or fifteen stitches in your hand that day," said Josephine. "(You) go upstairs and get fixed up and come back and go to work."

Some could not go right back to work. Mary Doyle lost three fingers when a press "double wrapped" on her. She'll never forget the day they took her bandage off and she looked at her fingerless hand. Was there any compensation? No.

Could she sue the company? Well, no. Her mother worked there. Her two sisters and her grandfather worked there too and, anyway, it cost money to sue. She went back to work.

Women like Josephine and Mary had a lot of work to do outside of the factory. They raised children, cooked, washed, sewed, nursed, and tended gardens. Many also took in boarders for whom they were obligated to work, mend, and cook. Tessie Dermont talked about her life in the thirties: "It was rush, rush, rush, rush." Tessie and her husband kept two boarders at their house on Clement Street. Each boarder paid \$10 a week. This helped the Dermonts meet their mortgage payments. In the morning Tessie would make the lunches and then walk to her job at C & M Hosiery where she pressed hose and made about \$15 a week on piece work; her husband made between \$30 and \$40. Tessie was warned when she started that to get her job she should appear to be single as the factory manager in South Baltimore did not like to hire married women. After work she would go to the store to buy some food for supper. She did not have a refrigerator or a washing machine. After supper (which her husband, unlike many others, sometimes helped prepare), she had to keep up with washing, ironing, sewing, and housework. "In the summer you would sweat at work and sweat at home. It was a big thing to get dressed up, visit a neighbor or walk to the hill, hope for a breeze, and enjoy the magnificent view of the city," said Tessie.

In the summer, sweat was a way of life. South Baltimore had its share of tailor shops—sweat shops they were called. When you walked in the door you saw a large wooden floor filled with tables and sewing machines connected to women. There was no insulation and wires hung everywhere. Extending from them were cords that tied machines and women together like a giant spider web. If the place caught fire you were stuck. No fire escapes, no fire extinguishers, only one stairway. No fans, no cooling, and a pittance for pay. You got out by having a baby. You took a little time off, until grandmother came, and then you went back to work.

By 1939 South Baltimore, Federal Hill, and Locust Point felt the economic effects of the industrial build up for World War II. The area's local paper, the *Enterprise*, reported in January, 1940, that South and Southwest Baltimore led all other communities in the increase of employment payrolls. During 1939 the average weekly payroll rose from \$13.50 to \$25.94. Local merchants reported the best Christmas season for business since the 1920s. Bethlehem Steel reported a large backlog of orders. Both it and the Maryland Drydock Company were working full time.

By 1942 labor was scarce. But another problem aggravated the worker shortage, especially at the Bethlehem yards on Key Highway. Discrimination existed against blacks and women. The War Manpower Commission (WMC) noted that Bethlehem Steel was hiring men from outside the area when workers were available nearby. The Baltimore Industrial Union Council called for an end to discrimination against blacks and its spokesman called on the union to "take the lead." At the same time, the WMC invoked sanctions against Bethlehem Steel to force it to employ women. Meanwhile, the union encouraged its men to help recruit women and to bring women workers to union meetings. Early in 1945 Mrs. Emma Londray of the Key Yard Electric Department was elected as the

first woman delegate sent by the yard's Local #24 to represent it in the Baltimore Industrial Union Council.

Another concern of the union's was yard accidents which, according to the U. S. Department of Labor were two-and-a-half times the national average. Maryland's compensation laws were attacked as weak and the union stated that state enforcement practices were practically non-existent. Feelings reached a peak in July and August, 1952, when three workers died from accidents at Bethlehem Steel's Key Highway Shipyard. On 21 August the workers on the second shift walked off the job to attend a memorial service conducted by South Baltimore clergy on Federal Hill overlooking the yard. After the service the mourners returned to their homes rather than to work.

Some workers at the memorial service, who lived in two Catholic parishes, had an equidistant walk to their homes. But here the similarity ends. The members of St. Monica's, living behind the harbor, belonged to a church in its declining years. The sanctuary was between a railroad siding and a chemical plant. Furthermore, St. Monica's school was 12 blocks away. In 1935, just after the school had been improved at a cost of \$9,000, its four rooms were ruined by a fire. Even during the war years the congregation had to carry a \$15,000 mortgage and in 1946, after its school heating system was condemned by the Fire Department, Father Casserly, Superior General of the Josephite Fathers who administered the school, stated, "I found it in deplorable condition and am frank to say that it is the worst along our whole line which includes over 70 schools."

A look at the congregation's rolls reveals that its members were moving to West Baltimore, long the site of black migration from this part of town. In 1959 the church closed its doors and the church and school property were sold.

Still the remnants of a community survived. Octavious Chisholm remembers what it was like when he came to Baltimore in 1955. Black businesses were all around. There was a carry-out food store and at Linhall and Hamburg Streets was a restaurant which sold fried chicken, potato pie and chittlings. On Hamburg Street were two cleaners and three barber shops. There was a movie for black people and next door was Dr. Braxton's, a black doctor's office with lovely furnishings. A lot of old people, many crippled, from North and South Carolina were helped by Dr. Braxton. Ernad, a white man, ran a drug store. He did black people many favors and got their medicine for them.

There were things to do. People were busy and there were two bars where friends could meet after work. Chisholm himself had four jobs. He had one of the barber shops, busy mostly on Saturday. During the weekdays he started up a refrigerator service, and this led to moving and hauling, and this led to collecting antiques and things people didn't want, "junk" Octavious called it. So he opened a junk store which exists to this day.

Meanwhile, a lot was going on in the city which would affect this black community. The city began to buy up whole rows of homes for, it was rumored, a highway. People left in droves. By 1979 Chisholm expressed his feelings: "Now it's a ghost town, all you hear is the trucks going out of the city by day and coming home at night."

The story of the Riverside area, where St. Mary's Star of the Sea sits atop a hill, is far different. Between 1895 and 1928 this congregation had one of Balti-

more's most famous pastors, the Right Reverend Monsignor John T. Whelan, who was another unofficial "mayor of South Baltimore." A quick wit, he was one time attacked by an old Irish lady for decorating the ceiling of the church with too much gold. The Monsignor replied, "Yes, Maggie, but none of it's yours." Between 1914 and 1921 Whelan built a 17-room school, hall, gymnasium, convent and rectory. He counseled the members of his congregation to buy their own homes and they took his advice. The pastor was staunchly against Prohibition, but he was not against chasing the men of his Holy Name Society out of neighborhood saloons on Saturday nights. By Riverside Park, the church, with its 150-foot high spire, remains strong to this day. Whelan formed a sodality which met on Wednesday evenings. Often, as many as two hundred neighborhood people would attend. The Monsignor talked about current events and politics, as well as parish concerns. During the mid-twenties he predicted the coming of Prohibition, which he was against. It would come, he said, not only because of the Temperance Movement, but also because of the excesses of the saloon keepers and some of their customers. Whelan was seen by the community as a wise man, loved and respected.

One of Whelan's staunch members was Gilbert A. Dailey, born in 1881 on South Hanover Street, the son of Irish immigrants. He went to school at St. Mary's Star of the Sea and Loyola College. His first brush with politics was as an election runner. By 1910 he had become absolute boss of the 23rd Ward and was President of the Stonewall Democratic Club. In 1911 Dailey ran into a little trouble when Tom McNulty ran for sheriff against what was by then called the Dailey machine, and the precinct tally showed no votes for McNulty. Later, 24 precinct voters swore before a Grand Jury that they had voted for McNulty. Then, in 1934, 25 more Democrats voted Democratic than there were voters. Such were the problems of a political boss. What the average voters remembered best were the good times: annual balls, gala political events. But one person who lived in those days felt differently: "Them days politics was a big fat party all the time with a whole lot of bull, promising you this and promising you that. Politics, hon . . . How do you fight the system? You don't fight the system, not a poor person."

Gilbert Dailey moved away in 1943. He stated that only a few of the "old families" remained in the vicinity of Federal Hill, his home. Business has been expanding in the area, he stated, "That's why I'm going after so many years." Unstated by Dailey was the fact that Negroes, congestion, and deteriorating housing had moved up Hughes and Montgomery Streets west of Light Street and on to Light Street itself. Many felt that Federal Hill was next. Given the economics, the spirit of the times, such movements, such conclusions, were inevitable.

Back in 1931 we find the seeds of decay. That year the city enacted a city-wide Zoning Ordinance. In the time-honored tradition of Baltimore City plans, the Peninsula got short shrift. All of the Peninsula (except immediate areas around Federal Hill and Riverside Park) was zoned either industrial or second commercial. The former permitted practically anything, and the latter permitted a residential density of 80 units per acre, twice the historic building density of South Baltimore. This time an added handicap was the psychology of planning



FIGURE 2.
Cross Street Market, 1940.

which gripped the minds of planners and politicians: what was urban was apt to be dilapidated and impoverished while what was suburban was likely to be new and substantial.

The community-minded people knew that the city's system of public works and responsibilities was not working for South Baltimore. At the beginning of a new year, 1940, the *Enterprise* summed it up: "While other sections of the city have received generous appropriations for . . . necessary improvements, South Baltimore has been treated as a step-child with the result that much money is lost to the community . . ." One of the concerned "step-children" was Martin H. Rogers, manager of the McHenry Theatre and new president of the South Baltimore Improvement Association. Back in April, 1939, he had called a meeting where everyone could come and say, "What's Wrong with South Baltimore." The *Enterprise*, in its editorial, suggested that some politicians were not helping and called on South Baltimoreans to vote for the kind of councilman who was "most sincere in his promises to really represent South Baltimore, and does not represent the person who is sponsoring him for election." Municipal elections used to be held in the spring. The 9 April 1939 issue of the *Enterprise* ran an ad containing the platform of one of the candidates, Philip R. DeGristine. It provides a summary of South Baltimore concerns at that time:

- remodel Cross Street Market
- add a year of college work at Southern High
- more Health Clinics for prevention of TB and VD
- make factories comply with smoke nuisance ordinance
- eliminate traffic congestion on High Street between Pratt and Key Highway
- prohibit parking of railroad cars on Key Highway
- swimming pool in Carroll Park
- paving the remaining cobblestone streets
- Leakin fund to be used for a waterfront park in South Baltimore

An example of how South Baltimore tried, but failed again, is in the story of its quest for a public park. Spring Gardens and Swann Park, once lovely recreation areas on the south side of the Peninsula, had been ruined by industry and pollution. However, a large legacy was left to the city for development of a new park. The City Council would choose the site. Every neighborhood thought that "it should be the one." The people from the Sixth District, the Peninsula, hoped that the park, to be named Leakin Park after the benefactor, would be located at nearby Cherry Hill. On 5 February, 1940, they had their day. A large delegation, accompanied by bugle and drum corps and a band, went to City Hall. The Locust Point Our Lady of Good Counsel Church bugle and drum corps first went to the mayor's office and played several numbers. They then proceeded to the Council Chambers and repeated the performance. Following the fanfare, South Baltimorean Frank J. Busch, who had been on the Council for 20 years and, as the oldest member was its dean, addressed the house, which was packed with South Baltimore supporters. He began:

"As you love the Lord, do it for old Frank Busch. Set tight, boys, and pass this Cherry Hill ordinance.

"I am getting old. It may be that I will grace this Council Chamber only a short time longer. Perhaps I will like to set on the hillside in the new Leakin Park and watch the steamers coming and leaving the middle branch of the harbor in my old days.

"For God's sake, boys, don't forsake me. I have been regular all my life and I have never failed to support legislation intended for the best interests of the people of the city of Baltimore during my whole tenure of office."

The question was called for, the vote was taken. South Baltimore won: 11 for, 8 against. The visitors cheered. The bands played. The victory was short. Several days later the Council discovered that one year earlier it had resolved not to place any new parks in areas unless they were suggested in the Olmstead Plan. The park was finally placed west of Walbrook in a location where it was used more by people from Baltimore County than Baltimore City. City plans and suburban mentalities defeated the residents of an old Baltimore community once again.

1951-1980

Like people from most working-class neighborhoods across the country, people of the Peninsula had to fend for themselves. Their politics were often fractionated and, even when united, their politicians carried little clout at the City Council or at the state capital in Annapolis. Their major industries were either controlled by people who lived out of the area, as in the case of the B. & O. Railroad, or by people who lived out of the state, as in the case of Bethlehem Steel and Proctor & Gamble. No local people were members of the city's financial establishment. The few who achieved such elite status moved out of the area as in the case of the NESCO industrialist, Matthai, who also became a founder of United States Fidelity and Guarantee Company. When Theodore McKeldin, an old South Baltimore Boy, became mayor (and later governor), he had long since moved out of South Baltimore. In short, it was a place you came from; not a place you came to.

It is possible that realization of this gave those who elected to stay a fierce loyalty. Others felt trapped and still others were apathetic. Yet, over a twenty-year period a new quality emerged which cannot be defined in one word. The quality involved the evolution of a certain toughness, a certain sophistication and a collective determination. How this developed and what it means to the Peninsula is the theme of what follows. Some background which describes the highly varied residential patterns of the Peninsula is good material with which to start.

Three areas, diagrammed below, were selected and their occupancy over 50 years was researched. For South Baltimore, we selected the block bounded by Barney Street, Light Street, Heath Street, and Patapsco with the narrow Marshall Street running through the center.

Because we looked at addresses on both sides of each street we sampled, the result is larger than a single block. The following sketches define each area:

By looking at who lived at each address over a fifty-year period, we discovered certain characteristics about stability in this neighborhood. We began with 1928.² The first thing we discovered was that we could only complete 40 years for the Sharp-Leadenhall area because so-called urban renewal and "its road" had wiped out part of our Sharp-Leadenhall block. Nevertheless, we feel that the absence of 1977 data does not substantially alter our findings.

The same name should appear two or more times to show any length of tenure. Results showed that 63.6 percent of the residences in South Baltimore contained the same family for two or more periods (approximately 20 years). The same period of time for Locust Point shows 83.2 percent of the families living at the same address, and for Sharp-Leadenhall the percentage was 22.7. In South Baltimore 11 of the families had been at the same location for 50 years. At Locust Point 23 families were in the same house for 50 years. At Sharp-Leadenhall 4 families were in the same house for 40 years.

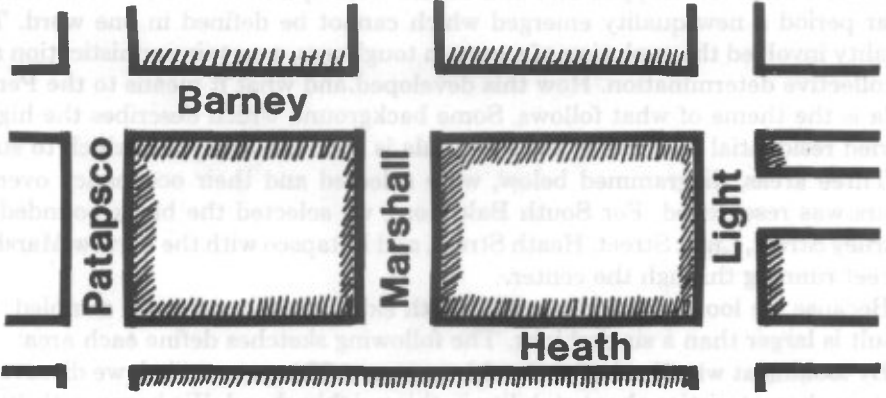
The other side of residency is vacancy. This can apply to addresses which are listed as residential or commercial. When we look at this in the same way, we discover that 5 percent of the addresses listed no inhabitants over two or more periods (approximately 20 years) in South Baltimore. The corresponding vacancy rate for Locust Point was 1.5 percent; for Sharp-Leadenhall it was 31 percent. In Sharp-Leadenhall 17 of the same locations were vacant for all four periods. Locust Point and South Baltimore had none which were vacant over two periods.

A look at census reports reveals that inhabitants of these three neighborhoods achieved essentially the same education, and most of them were blue-collar workers. Yet the residency variations are dramatic. Why does housing quality and residency permanence decline as one walks from the eastern to the western end of the Peninsula?

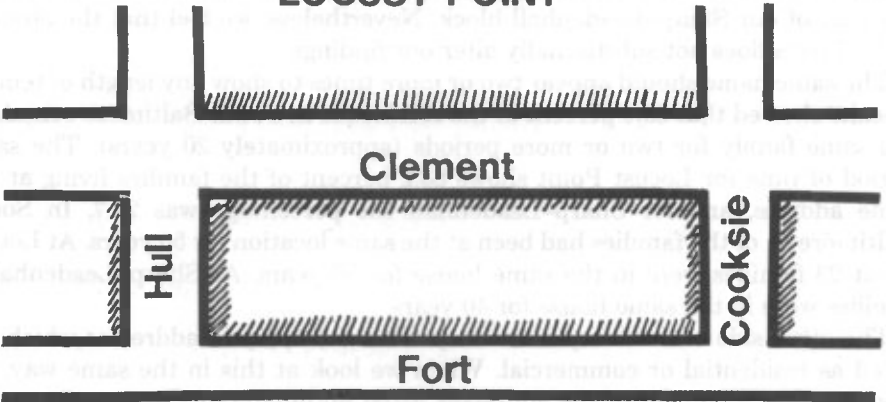
A look at the west end, the Sharp-Leadenhall area, reveals that by 1950 erosion of the neighborhood was a process 100 years old. Beginning in the 1860s more prosperous black people moved out of the area to West Baltimore. One of the earliest out migrations of an inner city congregation, following after its membership, occurred when the black members of the Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896 moved their congregation to West Baltimore.

Fifty years later, in 1946, the South Baltimore Improvement Association called for slum clearance in the neighborhood, but instead, Baltimore's decision makers

SOUTH BALTIMORE



LOCUST POINT



SHARP-LEADENHALL

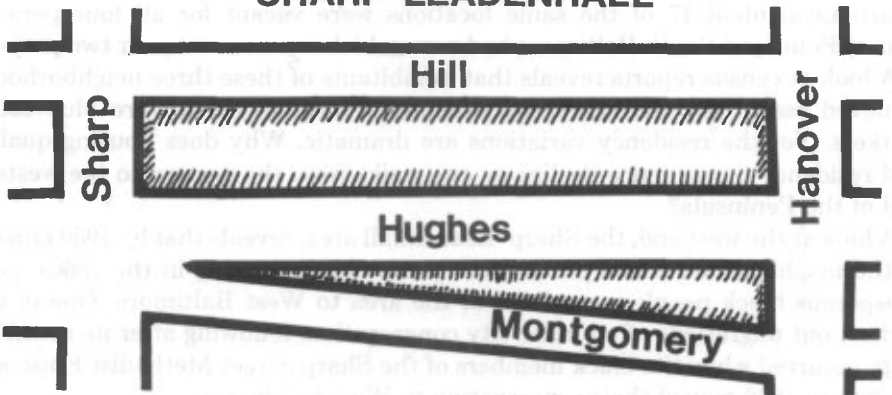


FIGURE 3. South Baltimore Total addresses: 172 (157 residential, 15 commercial or institutional)
 FIGURE 4. Locust Point Total addresses: 128 (119 residential, 9 commercial or institutional)
 FIGURE 5. Sharp-Leadenhall Total addresses: 150 (110 residential, 40 commercial or institutional)



FIGURE 6.
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad yards, Locust Point Terminal.

decided to invest their initial federal urban renewal money in an old office and warehouse complex in the Central business district which became the Charles Center. In 1956 the city's first colored school, established by and for blacks, was forced to close because of expansion of the B. & O. Railroad. But by the 1960s large scale housing displacement was under way, in the name of urban renewal and in the name of Interstate 95. Many of the houses were vacant and owned by the city because of property tax defaults.

Bernice Daniels of the 900 block South Hanover Street represented the fifth generation of her family to live in the neighborhood. She recently stated, "At one time about 100 of my relatives lived here. Now it's only me and four of my children."

What happened is reflected in the words of Octavious Chisholm, who said, "South Baltimore, around Sharp-Leadenhall, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Baltimore, went down so fast because the houses were milked to death. They take a house and cut it up, put three families where you shouldn't have but one family in there . . . each with two or three kids, and people would ride by and say, 'Look at that. Look at that. Slum house.'" By 1978, this was a ghost town for black people. The city had built a beautiful playground, but there were no children. "There's nobody to play in it; see, there's nobody down here," said Chisholm.

Every story has two sides. True enough, slumlords took advantage of poor people, of the city, and the neighborhood, but the attitudes of those they preyed upon helped make the exploitation possible. One black homeowner from Sharp-Leadenhall commented about many of his neighbors. "They never put their mind and shoulders to a responsible idea," he said. "If they had done so, I believe that they would own their own property, (but)...I don't think they really wanted to own homes." Furthermore, many who moved out, senior citizens, went to better abodes. Their houses in Sharp-Leadenhall had no furnaces and were heated by

wood stoves or unvented space heaters. The heaters would sit on bricks over a wooden floor. Sometimes sparks would fly out and the house would burn.

By 1974 more than 3,000 residents moved out and 300 houses were razed. Of those remaining, a South Baltimore housing survey in 1978 concluded that 76 percent of the families rented for up to \$100 per month, 54 percent had lived in the area for 30 or more years, and all but one family wanted to stay in their neighborhood.

The fifties and sixties, decades when the federal government expanded upon urban renewal in all the nation's cities, were times of severe loss in all parts of the Peninsula except Locust Point. Five of South Baltimore's movie theatres (six at their peak in the twenties) closed. The McHenry managed to survive until 1971 when it, too, closed. Churches lost members in droves. Five Methodist congregations, under immense pressure from the Conference, all in aged and deteriorating buildings, merged in 1966 to form the Good Shepherd congregation with a total membership of 547. Ten years later less than half that number still belonged. The schools, once the pride of the community, saw scores on national tests administered to their students annually drop lower and lower.

Labor relations and city taxes added to the depressed feeling during this time. Workers at Bethlehem Steel sustained the longest strike in their history, 22 weeks, in 1960. This was preceded by a five-week strike at Maryland Drydock in 1958. Meanwhile, the city, feeling the decline of its tax base as its middle class moved to county suburbs, imposed an inventory tax on industry in 1955. The same year NESCO closed its doors, throwing 350 people out of work. In 1957 the Linen Thread Company, a dependable employer located at Johnson and Barney Streets since 1905, ended its Baltimore operations. From then on its nets would be produced at its Alabama plant.

Inhabitants of the Peninsula were powerless to combat this economic decline, but they thought they might do something about two other enemies of neighborhood stability. These were the slumlords and the roadlords. The slumlords were easier to define (although they sometimes hid behind small real estate fronts and post office boxes); they were the absentee owners of buildings who offered tenants high rents, low maintenance, tight contracts, and leaky roofs. The roadlords were less visible. They were the "powers," combinations of federal, state, and city officialdom, who bought up huge swaths of land which cut into or cut off neighborhoods from their natural patterns of sheltering, shopping, and schooling. They were usually represented, when infrequent meetings with neighborhood people occurred, by lower echelon types with their maps, diagrams, and reports. They convinced no one. It was a game: The neighborhood people would voice their protests. The map and chart people would listen with glazed faces. Supposedly, they would take the community message back to the roadlords. But more houses would be brought up and knocked down by the city. The neighborhood people would then file suit in court.

Clearly, the situation called for grass roots organization. By the early seventies most older urban neighborhoods with an ounce of reserve energy left had come together. South Baltimore was among the last to organize. In South Baltimore, as in other communities, many of the clergy helped get the organization underway.

Along with civic-minded leaders like Mary North, Francis Garland, Ray and Adeline Allen, and Mary and Ab Logan, they brought people together around issues which were basic to the order, economy, education, housing, and overall well-being of its area. Two years of work preceded formal organization. The people of the Peninsula formed the Congress of Peninsula Organizations (COPO) on 1 May 1976, when 250 people from 36 groups met at Southern High School.

One of the groups was TUG, the Tenants' Union Group, organized earlier in November, 1970, when some tenants tried to get one landlord to repair some of his apartments. The group looked up some facts about the landlord and discerned that he could well afford to fix up the buildings. The tenants tried talking to the owner and failed, so, united, they took him to court under the city's rent escrow law and won.

Typical of the tricks slumlords played on renters were the activities reported about the Security Realty Company. "I hadn't lived there a week," said one tenant, "til the twelve year old's shoe went through the hall floor where they just put a rug over the hole. In the bedroom they nailed license plates over the holes and put a rug over it." Termites, weak stairways, leaky roofs, sinking floors, and cardboard walls were typical complaints voiced by Security Realty tenants.

Encouraged by its first victory, the group took on other errant property owners. One of them was Edward "Chickenman" Heyman who owned 57 houses. Landlord Heyman also operated a poultry stall at the Cross Street Market. After forcing Heyman to repair the home of Mrs. Lillian Lloyd by winning a housing court case, TUG discovered that Mrs. Lloyd was evicted and TUG could do nothing about it. TUG helped her find a place to live, but, meanwhile, the members decided to picket the "Chickenman's" business on Saturdays when TUG members were off work and when many shoppers went to market. TUG enjoyed many victories and forced repairs, but it also discovered that rents were often raised dramatically and/or tenants were evicted. Summarily, ownership was the key.

Roadlords had to be fought by using the same institutions used by them: government bureaus, the courts, association. During his childhood, one of South Baltimore's own, Theodore McKeldin, who would later become Mayor of Baltimore, had to move because his house on Stockholm (now Ostend) Street was razed to make way for a viaduct. Now, in the mid-seventies, the roads were bigger; the stakes were higher.

The urban completion of I-95, an interstate planned to proceed uninterrupted from Maine to Florida, threatened major segments of the Peninsula. One plan for the road simply cut a wide swath through the Sharp-Leadenhall area, into South Baltimore near Federal Hill, across the Peninsula to nearby Ft. McHenry. Another early plan called for the road to go right through the Fort, as though it were a wilderness. Later schemes called for it to tunnel under the Fort and harbor, or cross them on a bridge. Many meetings and fights occurred including testimony by planners, pro and con; businessmen, pro and con; and court writs, including one entered by the Doda family of Locust Point. The story was told by Shirley and Victor Doda.

Twenty years before, Locust Point was asleep. When the city announced plans to put the Interstate through the Point, the neighborhood was "referred to by

this big shot from the city as an 'Industrial Wasteland.' That was the biggest mistake he ever made in his entire life," said Shirley. It made everybody mad. The Locust Point leaders prepared for "war."

They organized a parade which ended at School #76, the Francis Scott Key school. There, the people spoke; a thousand were in attendance. The Army Corps of Engineers spoke against the road. The shipyard spoke against it. Representatives from Ft. McHenry spoke against it. The environmental impact statement was invoked against the road. The environs of the Fort, Locust Pointers pointed out, could not be infringed upon. "Their" Fort helped them save their land once again.

The fight concluded with a demonstration at City Hall. One person dressed up as a monkey, and on the way to City Hall the "Pointers" bought several bunches of bananas off one of the small boats tied up near Pratt Street. Carrying placards with the message, "DON'T MONKEY WITH US," the "Pointers" passed out bananas to politicians, the Mayor's staff, and anyone else around. "Later," Shirley says, "the Major said, 'You won your fight, fair and square.'" Victor Doda added, "We beat them legitimately . . . we did our homework . . . If they (the city) tried something today, we'd be right back at it."

CONCLUSION

During the late sixties, some so-called radical university students from Wisconsin and Michigan decided to practice their beliefs through community action. As they had been taught to do, they researched their subject. This company of would-be urban patriots came up with several possible sites. They debated and, finally, chose one: the working class community of South Baltimore. They had not met Josephine Purdy, but they probably realized the feeling Josephine encountered when she took a job at Mondawmin, a new shopping center four miles from South Baltimore. Another worker asked Josephine where she lived, and when she replied, "South Baltimore, (the other woman) turned around to me with the worst look." The worker said, "*South Baltimore?* My God, I would never live in that section! and I grew up there."

The students wondered, could this neighborhood be "educated" regarding its "exploitation" by the powers that ruled over it through bureaucratic fiefdoms? Could the inhabitants, viewed by these mid-west intelligentsia as victims of an alliance between businessmen and politicians, be awakened? Be radicalized? In 1970 they came, about a dozen young people in an unnoticed caravan driving to Baltimore, renting places to live; hoping to live as they believed.

One of their first acts was to establish *The South Baltimore Voice*. The first issue of 11 June, 1971, makes clear its position: "This paper is a fighting paper . . . we are fighting for more control over our lives and over the institutions which affect our lives."

Ten years later little remained of their effort. The paper ceased publication in 1978. Only two of the original twelve still lived in the area. One of them stated his view of the basic reason little was accomplished. "The others came here to reform, to experiment in a social cause, while we came here to live. While they debated strategy, we got involved with the community." This person is still active

in his community and in COPO. He has proven, to his satisfaction, the significance of personal investment in a neighborhood.

Now, in 1980, people don't speak of South Baltimore as did Josephine Purdy's co-worker. Harborplace, hotels, a federal bank are just some of the investments coming to the area. More important, people are coming. The houses that remain in Sharp-Leadenhall are being gutted and rebuilt from top to bottom. The newcomers are young, mostly childless, professional and business oriented. Property values rise, oldtimers worry about paying taxes, and Locust Pointers, isolated by geography and spirit, continue to reproduce their own families and way of life.

In a sense, South Baltimore will be as it has been. It will continue as several communities whose members mingle with each other in shops and with other city folk at the harbor's public events. But, otherwise, the people of the Peninsula will most likely remain in their own worlds.

Yet there is one other feeling which they all share. Once again we hear from Josephine Purdy: "We're a stone's throw from the natural gas tanks. They manufacture right here at Spring Gardens If those tanks go up, that's the end of this end of town."

One wonders, where do the people live who own those tanks?

REFERENCES

1. The information about Victor Angelo's work comes from a number of sources which reflect the data collection of the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP). Residents from the four areas, Locust Point, Sharp-Leadenhall, South Baltimore (which includes Federal Hill) and Riverside were interviewed by two CETA funded community historians, Areta Kupchyk and Christine Green. Other sources of information, typical of social history, were local papers, church and business records, census reports, city directories, land office records, school records, city agency records and the archives of the University of Baltimore Center for Baltimore Studies, formerly known as Baltimore Regional Institutional Studies Center (BRISC). Two NEH funded graduate assistants, Michael Franch and Rosewin Sweeney, provided much help during the summer and fall of 1979 as did Norman Rukert who made his research on Federal Hill available to the author.

During the twentieth century, little social history written by trained historians has been narrative in style. The BNP in its attempt to appeal to the public for support and interest decided to prepare essays about its neighborhoods in narrative format. The only citations of sources which appear are in the text. Finally, Tom Jacklin, BNPH editor, has served the project well over the past three years.

2. Because of certain problems, the actual years were not 1928, '38, '48, etc., but 1928, 1937, 1942, 1956, 1964, and 1977.

Old West Baltimore

RODERICK N. RYON

PREFACE

WHITE INHABITANTS HAVE BEEN LEAVING OLD WEST BALTIMORE FOR MOST of its recent history. By contrast, the chores of building a community—everything from making neighbors of newcomers, to setting up churches while setting down roots—have been the lot of black people since the early years of the century. City Council ordinances sometimes barred their residency beyond Fulton and North Avenues, and central city commercial development encouraged large numbers of black newcomers to settle north and west of downtown. “West Baltimore” today designates the entire western part of the city. Hence, the story of *Old West Baltimore* is the story of its black citizens who lived beyond Madison Avenue and Franklin Street, but south and east of North and Fulton Avenues. Other designations (Harlem Park, Sandtown, Sugar Hill, and Upton, for example) take note of little neighborhoods within what has always been a spacious community.

Both those who asked questions and those who answered them seated next to a tape recorder helped me immensely, but I have a special debt to Lucy Peebles. An Old West Baltimorean herself, she was a splendid research assistant, but much more—a collaborator and interpreter of almost all the sources used in this study. Professors Bettye Gardner and Cynthia Morgan, both of Coppin State College, also offered suggestions. I, of course, am responsible for any mistakes.¹

Buildings, street names, the countryside in 1900—all were daily reminders to the people of Old West Baltimore of the people who had first settled the locale. Spacious estates dotted the gently rolling countryside within just an hour’s walking distance of Baltimore and Charles Streets. Upton, on West Lanvale Street, was the most famous of these neighborhood landmarks. Structured in beautiful colonial-styled architecture, it was the ancestral home of the Dammon family. From its upper veranda, one could watch the approach of clipper ships in Baltimore harbor. Harlem Square, noted for its beautiful Dutch gardens and once the property of Thomas Edmondson, Jr., was bequeathed to the city after the Civil War. Most neighborhood streets bore the names of wealthy Baltimoreans. Winchester, for example, was named for George Winchester, one-time president of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad; Gilmore Street was designated for a family numbering a Confederate army officer, prominent bankers, and local merchants.

Old West Baltimore was both country and city at the close of the nineteenth

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century. East of Pennsylvania Avenue, huge beautiful three-story townhouses, with ten to twelve rooms, marble mantle pieces, ornate staircases and chandeliers, lined Madison Avenue, McCulloh Street and Druid Hill Avenue. Westward to Fulton, blocks and blocks of new, more modest two-story homes sprang up amidst the larger three-story dwellings. A handful of industries and businesses were spacious enterprises occupying acres of landscape. An enormous greenhouse sat at Pennsylvania Avenue and Dolphin Street (near the new Northwestern Police Station), and a lumber yard stretched from Pennsylvania to Argyle. Pennsylvania Avenue, bisecting the neighborhood from northwest to southeast, was the exit out of the city to the villages of Reisterstown and Hanover, Pennsylvania. Western Maryland Railroad also divided the area. Its rails ran east to west and the adjacent acres and fields west of Pennsylvania Avenue were a playground to children from as far away as Mount Vernon Place.

Whites mainly inhabited Old West Baltimore at the turn of the century, but hundreds of black people were beginning to move in just as the entire population of the city began to mushroom. Downtown, new industries, expanding shipyards, and new merchandising houses swelled the fortunes of city businessmen and drew tens of thousands of European workers to the city. Immigrants settled mostly in the eastern and southern sections close to the factories and shipyards. Tens of thousands of black people had come to Baltimore after 1870, many of them from rural Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Settling in clusters all over the city they too were available for factory jobs. Most major Baltimore employers instead reserved industrial work for white immigrants, expecting black folk to work as always, doing servant chores for a growing number of prosperous whites.

Shut out of neighborhoods close to industry as the entire city's population swelled, black citizens found themselves in a kind of horseshoe pattern around the central city, pointing northward. By World War I, Old West Baltimore formed the western side of that horseshoe.

Segregationist values, notions that blacks should be separated and subordinate, prevailed throughout the country in these turn-of-the-century years, and Baltimore whites deemed the emerging black community of Old West Baltimore a tolerable, even useful city neighborhood. Residents were close enough to be in the employ of affluent whites who still resided downtown, in Bolton Hill, or near Harlem Square, and a mere street car ride from the more spacious northern sections. Moreover, even with thousands of residents, this community might be restricted, controlled, watched over. Jim Crow laws seemed to guarantee that. Segregationists in the General Assembly voted for Constitutional Amendments in 1904, 1908, and 1911, mandating literacy tests and educational requirements for suffrage, and segregated facilities on railroads and steamships in 1904 and 1908. Three times before World War I, the Baltimore City Council forbade blacks from residing in "white" blocks, thereby confining them to five per cent of the city's real estate. Courts overruled suffrage and residency measures, but city blacks faced new more virulent discrimination anyway: downtown department stores began to deny credit to black customers before the war, and cultural institutions near Old West Baltimore—the Peabody Institute, for example—relegated a black audience to separate galleries.

Outside pressure, this pressure to live a life both apart from the rest of the city

and subordinate to everyone in it, weighed heavily on the community. Making something of that life was a challenge.

Newcomers came to Old West Baltimore for many reasons. When housing was torn down in the central city, it was convenient to move just a few blocks westward. Relatives from the neighborhood spread the word about job opportunities to their kinfolk all over the upper South; sometimes affluent whites recruited servants from rural Maryland. By 1910, 23,000 black people lived east of Pennsylvania Avenue amidst 7,500 whites, but west of Pennsylvania Avenue, 8,000 black people lived on a dozen or so alley streets behind all white blocks.

Broad thoroughfares on the eastern borders of the community, Madison Avenue, McCulloh Street, but especially Druid Hill Avenue, became home for an upper strata of the city's entire black population. These were people whose children remember them as "middle class." Professional people (by 1933 twenty-five of the city's thirty-eight black physicians, fifteen dentists, and seventeen pharmacists) lived amidst neighborhood entrepreneurs, including real-estate salesmen, photographers, house-painters and even grocers. Butlers and gardeners in nearby Bolton Hill, and postal workers downtown, all respectable men in the community, also lived in stately three-story dwellings lining wide streets. Families here were often home-owners, financially independent but never wealthy. Residents maintained a strong sense of pride in a few possessions, especially their homes. Coal-burning Latrobe stoves heated many houses, and over the years gas lighting gave way to electricity. The location was almost perfect. Women could shop in the stalls of nearby Richmond Market; men could walk the several blocks to work or take the Druid Hill Avenue streetcar downtown, and the wide sidewalks were just fine for evening strolls up to North Avenue.

Residents counted on each other, indeed watched over each other, to ease the burden of being a stranger. "When you came up here [from Virginia] you had to



FIGURE 1.
House, 1000 McCulloh Street.

report to a resident here, someone you knew. And they notified your family right away. And you stayed there, right there, until you got a job." If the larger Baltimore community was hostile, neighbors simply could not be anonymous faces to each other. The daily triumphs and tragedies of life had to be shared.

Living close to each other, word of a new baby, a wedding, or death spread very quickly. Cousins and grandparents were often close by, and family life itself was taken very seriously. Child-rearing was especially important business, and youngsters were often shielded—shielded from unpleasant contacts both outside and from within the community. One longtime resident remembered: "If a girl in the neighborhood became pregnant and had a baby and had no husband, we were not permitted to associate with her any longer. They [our parents] would feel sorry for her and they would say, 'Oh, she's my friend. I'm very sorry this happened. You can speak to her when you see her, but no more associations.'"

Parents spared few if any rules for their children—rules about bedtime, prompt return from school, three hearty meals. Mothers were remembered for their demands: "She saw to it we had an adequate breakfast. Sometimes she made us eat more than we ever wanted to eat because you had to have hot cereal. . . . Then you'd have to have scrambled eggs and bacon and toast and orange juice or something or other. You had a whole meal before you could go out of the door."

White children in Bolton Hill, offspring of employers, were sometimes considered good playmates. Many an adolescent girl saw first-hand preparations for Baltimore's Bachelor's Cotillion, an annual festivity for white debutantes. Parents believed that when they exposed their youngsters to the manners and morals of the city's white elite, they were educating them about a natural part of urban life, about people whose lives, segregation notwithstanding, would be inevitably intertwined with their own. And if the community's young saw more privileged outsiders with more material advantages, they could treasure even more their own possessions, their own accomplishments. "Why, my mother" remembered one Old West Baltimorean, "Why she made everything an occasion. If I got the highest mark in spelling Mama always made gingerbread."

Everybody in the community relied on public neighborhood schools, but parents in the eastern sections were especially proud of School 103, on Division Street, a model elementary school which drew students from East and South Baltimore. In 1901 the City also combined in one building and one institution educational endeavors which in white schools were conducted in separate, more spacious places. The Colored High and Training School opened in a two-story, sixteen room building at the corner of Pennsylvania and Dolphin. Its classrooms served the normal department for training teachers, a regular high school, and a polytechnical branch. The facility, previously housing a roomy German-American elementary school, now jam-packed black students in the old building and in a one-room portable building in the school yard. Nearby homemakers also opened their living rooms as makeshift classrooms. As many as four shifts of students used the facilities until 1927.

Churches also were crowded. Several dozen opened their doors before the War, some with new congregations and some transplanted from the center city. Most were established east of Pennsylvania Avenue and some had congregations numbering hundreds. In 1908, Union Baptist, which had been in East Baltimore,

moved close to its members at Dolphin and Druid Hill. Enon Baptist built a church at Park Avenue and Dolphin, also close to its neighborhood congregation. Sharon Baptist moved to Presstman and Carey in 1900, but then moved again to Whatcoat and Presstman in 1915. Sometimes the shifts of groups in neighborhoods led to the sale of black churches to white congregations. In 1901, for example, St. James Episcopal sold its dwelling at the corner of High and Lexington streets in East Baltimore to a Jewish congregation and built a new dwelling at Park Avenue and Preston, near Sugar Hill. Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal, located in the center of the city, collected \$67,000 to buy a lot and build a church. Its edifice at Dolphin and Etting is probably the oldest surviving black church built and financed by blacks in Baltimore City. Collecting dimes and pennies for years, church members were proud of a church which included classrooms and a gallery seating five hundred people and which was lighted by electricity and heated by steam. Its neighbor, Bethel A.M.E., opened its doors in 1910 on Druid Hill Avenue with a congregation of hundreds.

Immigrants or children of immigrants from the Upper South, most churchgoers were Baptists or Methodists, but Roman Catholics had a special place in the community. A century before, the Haitian rebellion had brought several hundred black Haitians to the city, and their descendants, together with Southern Maryland arrivals, became the nucleus of a sizeable Catholic community. In 1888, Cardinal Gibbons had dedicated St. Peter Claver's at Fremont and Bloom, close to alley streets but in the heart of a white neighborhood. Its membership swelled with newcomers before the War.

As they flocked to service each Sunday, churchgoers sensed something special about their churches, indeed about other community enterprises. Meetings here were large, congregations numbering hundreds not dozens. In this most populous black community in the state, a neighborhood so close to other communities by rail or streetcar, institutions served outside patrons. For Sharp-Leadenhall residents or East Baltimoreans, Old West Baltimore was the home of the Druid Hill YMCA. For cousins from Cambridge or Frederick, it was a place to stay, bedding at a relative's home, for a once-a-year shopping spree in the city. For Odd Fellows from Philadelphia, or ministers in a regional clergymen's association, the community offered Richmond Armory, a near perfect convention site.

The community was a cultural center. The *Afro-American*, with a national circulation, was already a neighborhood institution. Little dance salons, musicians' studios, and performance halls dotted Druid Hill and Pennsylvania Avenues. Neighborhood highbrows—writers, school teachers, clergymen, lawyers—had at hand the facilities of a large city, but Old West Baltimore was otherwise like a small town. There was an exchange of ideas here, a chance to share and support one another among people who inhabited the same blocks, walked the same streets.

Intellectual leaders left their greatest imprint as they tackled the problems of racial discrimination. Three incidents in 1910 frightened the community: a family of newcomers was forced out of their new home in the 700 block of West Lanvale Street by a group of whites who defaced the property; windows were shattered in a new home in the 800 block of Stricker Street; and a handful of whites threatened a family moving into the 1100 block of Myrtle Avenue. Faced with firsthand

dangers, neighbors rallied around a small group of leaders, notably George W. McMechen, W. Ashbie Hawkins, Russell Waller, and especially Dr. Harvey Johnson.

Dr. Johnson, a veteran of civil rights battles, embodied qualities of community leadership—experience, articulateness, and iron determination. Pastor of Union Baptist, with a congregation of 3,000, Dr. Johnson had organized the Mutual United Brotherhood of Liberty, a forerunner to the NAACP, in 1885. Author of newspaper columns, magazine articles, and theological treatises, he had penned and published six addresses on race relations. Johnson sometimes preached voluntary separatism for black churches and institutions generally, but he was absolutely unremitting as he attacked imposed, forced segregation from the pulpit. Few ever forgot him: “He was severe, indignant; his word was law but he was always fair.” “He was a very stern . . . black man. There was something between [you] . . . I guess it was a mountain of respect . . . You always approached him with a bit of timidity . . . He was afraid of no one, because he believed his principles were right.”

Newcomers all over Baltimore City organized social clubs and fraternities to assuage the anxieties of a new place, but what distinguished Old West Baltimore organizations was their political functions. Community leaders made them political tools, weapons to lobby against discrimination. The Ministerial Alliance, a community non-denominational clergymen’s association, led a delegation to Annapolis in 1902 to protest against segregated railways and steamships. Sharp Street Memorial minister Daniel W. Hayes joined others in testifying against a bill which was then defeated. Next year, the Colored Men’s Suffrage League was organized. It opened night schools at neighborhood churches, passed out sample ballots, and registered voters to defeat the disenfranchisement bills. Local churches in 1904 announced a boycott of railroad and ship excursions so long as these facilities were segregated. Annapolis lawmakers heard the message and exempted Baltimore City from a bill which segregated customers on electric railways in 1908.

Community leaders kept abreast of nationwide developments. Dr. Johnson and Ashbie Hawkins, a local educator, sat among the delegation of four Marylanders at the Niagra civil rights meeting of 1904. Eight years later, a handful of activists established a chapter of the NAACP, today the second oldest in the country. The Women’s Suffrage Association, which reminded white voters that black women were also disenfranchised, met at Sharp Street Church, and a DuBois Club, named for the famed black educator and editor, also supported civil rights.

At the helm of a statewide effort, community leaders still insisted civil rights business was also a neighborhood affair. City-wide meetings, usually held at Old West Baltimore churches, were designed for large audiences, and the *Afro-American* often advertised them with the banner headline, “LET EVERYBODY COME.” Its follow-up stories reported audiences of hundreds of people. In 1913, 1,500 people, one of the largest civic assemblies in the city, filled the pews of Bethel AME to hear Oswald Garrison Villard, renowned editor and a founder of the NAACP, vilify white segregationists.

Perhaps the words of activists to outsiders mattered less than the message to the community, a message which reminded people segregated in Old West

Baltimore of how wrongly they were treated. The *Afro* editorialized in 1913: "In the memory of the oldest inhabitants there has never been a time in the history of this city when the tensions between the races have been so tightly drawn.... Not one single, solitary voice from the white pulpit has been lifted on behalf of the Negroes." And no later spokesmen has been more insistent on redress than Dr. Johnson, speaking to white clergy: "There must be shown to the Negro minister the same recognition and respect. Her ministers must not be just humored and tolerated. They must be respected and appreciated with absolute equality."

Teaching each other that they had human worth was itself a lesson in survival. On the eve of World War I, Old West Baltimoreans were segregated. But they were not submissive, and they were not silent.

When President Woodrow Wilson appealed to Americans to support war against the Central Powers in Europe, he won quick approval in the community. The Baltimore *Sun* took note of the fact that city blacks were the only local ethnic group whose loyalty was beyond question. Several hundred young men in the neighborhood enlisted in the 808th and 811th Pioneer Infantry, the 154th Depot Brigade, and the 368th Infantry. Most were trained at Camp Meade, Maryland, and some saw combat duty at Meuse-Argonne.

At home, however, the most obvious change of war-time was the arrival of thousands of new residents. Like the pre-War newcomers, they hailed from places all over the Upper South—Spotsylvania, Cape Charles, Eastern Shore, tidewater North Carolina—but they were poorer and more numerous than those who had come before. By 1930, almost twice as many black people lived in Old West Baltimore as had lived there in 1910, the blocks west of Pennsylvania Avenue to Gilmor Street showing the greatest growth.

The swelling populace made Old West Baltimore a little city within a city. Western blocks were still country-like, with farmers from nearby driving wagons downtown. Indeed, children could watch sheep and cattle driven down Mount Street to city markets. But from Gilmor to Madison Avenue, so many new shops and businesses opened that many residents seldom ventured outside the community except for work. Hotels, movie houses, and insurance and real-estate agencies lined Pennsylvania and Druid Hill Avenues. New churches, often store-front rooms, attracted immigrants from the South, and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association met in a house at Vincent and Laurens Streets. Frederick Douglass High School opened in 1927 in a new structure at Carey and Baker Streets. Its faculty was nothing short of distinguished, numbering one member holding a doctorate, six with masters degrees, three Harvard graduates, three Fiske graduates, fourteen Howard graduates, three from Brown University and one from the University of Pennsylvania.

Residents were not isolated from white people. From parlor windows neighbors could watch adolescent girls walk each morning to the all white Western High School or they could see youngsters on their way to Fulton Avenue movie houses which closed their doors to blacks. One large community employer sold its products to blacks but did not employ them. Neighbors who moved into all white blocks, especially those just west of Pennsylvania Avenue, were always apprehen-



FIGURE 2.
Douglass High School.

sive, praying that folks would get along: "Are we the first family here, or the fifth?" Will we have peace, or will there be trouble?" Usually whites and blacks greeted each other and children played together. Yet integration stopped at the doorstep. In obedience to unspoken rules, black children did not play in all white blocks nearby, and whites appeared in black blocks only for a specific purpose. Some newcomers faced ugliness: doorsteps were painted and adjacent white blocks were lined with rope to prevent blacks from passing through. More often, neighbors just bided time until whites left. "When you moved in they wouldn't have...trouble for you. You just stuck to your business and you sure couldn't get out there and ask too many questions. It happened just like that. Very, very rapidly."

Work, the sheer volume of it, dominated most people's lives. In 1916 and 1917, city social workers, in a study of caseloads of private charities, marveled at the fact that blacks were less likely to receive charity aid than first and second generation European immigrants, a condition due partly to the fact that everybody in many black households did some outside work for pay. Black men generally worked at combinations of several jobs, part-time and full-time, as ditchdiggers, wagon drivers, butlers, caretakers and more. Black women were consistently more highly employed, usually as domestics or waitresses, than women of any other ethnic group in the city. Parents preached the virtues of what they practiced, insisting that hard work was for everyone, e.g. for young boys and close friends: "[My mother] could do anything in the house . . . She's the person who gave me lessons in painting. . . . Taught me how to wash, how to iron handkerchiefs, napkins. Taught all the children who ever came round the house. And she didn't mind asking company to help. 'Come here lady, come here so and so. You iron these flat pieces for me while I do something else.'" The lessons were remembered. "Thank the Lord I was raised on working. You worked when you got big enough to get an iron in your hand She wanted you to be independent."

Outside the home youngsters faced a challenge because local businesses seldom

hired blacks except as delivery or maintenance people; with no industry in the neighborhood, the chore of getting to an outside job was hard. Young people became creative at peddling their labor and wares. Entertainer Cab Calloway, who spent his childhood in Old West Baltimore, recollected:

Boy did I hustle. People working downtown would have to come through our area in north Baltimore on the street cars to get to and from their jobs. In the morning I'd sell the Baltimore *Sun* for three cents. I got a penny a paper. I'd start out at around eight o'clock each morning and hustle those street cars. I'd ride all the way up to Madison Avenue to the carbarn on one car, then I'd hop a car coming downtown and sell the papers all the way back. I'd also leave a stack at the corner of Madison and North Avenue, and people coming past in the morning would take a paper and leave three cents.²

These hard-working people lived close to one another. A family might share a house, but the family often included cousins, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and more likely those relatives shared a flat. The resulting compactness—people close to each other in both homes and streets—molded a community ethos, a certain mixture of people unequaled in the city. For example, even a young child could daily see all kinds of people, all kinds of situations. Mother might be “church-going” but Grandfather (who shared the child's room) owned a pool hall. A few doorsteps away from his Bible classes were the youngsters who could pass on the bawdy stories from the Pennsylvania Avenue clubs. The loud noises of Pennsylvania Avenue, the races at Pimlico and prostitution, were as inescapable as the top-name entertainment advertised on the billboards of Pennsylvania Avenue. They were as nearby as the homes of distinguished clergy, professors, lawyers. Sometimes people in the community lived in two worlds (or three or four) at once. A man could teach composition and history at Douglass High School in the day and while away the nights in the clubs of Pennsylvania Avenue. Calloway remembers:

One year I was spending three or four hours in church every Sunday plus Bible classes during the week, Bible school every day during the summers, and singing in the junior choir, and the next I was part of a gang of guys who were basically hustlers.

On the one hand, my family and my music teachers, whom I loved and respected, were rather puritanical people: churchgoing, middle class, strivers. On the other hand, I spent a lot of my time in that rough and raucous Baltimore Negro night life with loud music, heavy drinking and the kind of moral standards or lack of them that my parents looked down on. I managed pretty well in both of these worlds, I suppose, because I was accustomed to thinking for myself. I didn't get taken in entirely by the night life, but I didn't get taken in by the middle-class values either.³

Roland Park or Waverly might rear its sheltered children but not Old West Baltimore.

In 1927 the Family Services Agency, which was responsible for city-wide relief, noted that poor black Baltimoreans maintained a higher standard of living than the city's foreign born. In Old West Baltimore hard work had made the difference. Residents' own efforts had built a tolerable, even good, life for almost everyone.

The Great Depression began to take its toll among workers in the community within months of the stock market crash of 1929. City wide, eighty-five percent

of employable black males held jobs, as did fifty-one percent of employable black women wage earners in 1930, but when Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated in the very depth of the Depression, March 1933, a community tradition—hard work by everybody—had been undermined. Hundreds of low-paid workers, experiencing the ugliest features of job competitiveness and the last-hired-first fired principle, lost jobs that white employers now deemed unnecessary luxuries.

For wage-earners and the unemployed alike, physical survival was a challenge. Could ordinary people, still relying on themselves and trusting their own ingenuity, salvage not just a few disadvantaged in the community but almost everybody? People learned first of all that they could, with dignity, make do with less. Living quarters were doubled up once more, rations which workers sometimes received from unions or employers were spread around the block, and people did extra work if they could. One old-timer recalled that when he married he could not afford to rent a flat for his new bride. His cousin, who shared his third-floor flat, offered his front room and took over for himself the groom's bachelor quarters, a slightly smaller rear room.

Bargains in these years were treasured. Shopping at Lafayette Market for many took place late Saturday night when the produce was cheap and shopkeepers could be dealt with for the lowest prices. Fuel became a problem in three-story rowhouses without central heating; people on a third floor kept themselves warm, if at all, from coal or wood-burning Latrobe stoves located three flights below.

When the worst of times passed, people marveled at what they had done, sometimes with wistful humor: "Why when we got married I told my wife, 'Now you're a lovely bride, but sweep up that rice threw on you. That's our wedding supper.'" "Why men would walk all the way to the waterfront along Pratt Street, buy a suit for \$3.00 and walk back up to Pennsylvania Avenue and pawn it for \$6.00. This could happen three or four times a day until the pawn dealer caught on." "We used to go to the store and ask the man to sell us empty lard cans for our garbage. Then we'd take them back and put them on our stove and the heat would melt the lard remaining in it and sometimes we'd get a pound, pound and a half."

Old West Baltimoreans fought hard to keep their jobs, sensing that in these worst of times what had been white people's work now must be their own. Community businesses had to hire more people from the community itself. The City-Wide Young People's Forum, an association of students and graduates who met weekly for lectures and discussions at Old West Baltimore churches in the early 1930s, tackled the problem of community unemployment in 1933. Black patrons, they believed, should refuse to buy anything in white-owned local businesses which refused to hire black clerks. Church leaders, the Monumental Elks (a fraternal lodge on Madison Avenue) and social clubs in the neighborhood joined the struggle. They hoisted "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" signs and picketed for months in front of A & P and Tommy Tucker stores along Pennsylvania Avenue. The boycott lasted until early 1934, when store-owners relented and began to hire blacks.

A branch office of the Baltimore Emergency Relief Commission opened at Druid Hill and Lafayette Avenues in 1934, but when residents discovered that



FIGURE 3.
Picketers at Tommy Tucker Store, Pennsylvania Avenue, 1933.

white clerks Jim Crowed black clients and favored whites with more relief money, the *Afro* put up a torrent of protest. Still, occasional equal treatment of black folks by Depression-era beauracracies struck many as a new experience, something exciting. One resident remembered, "The WPA brought about something unknown, blacks and whites . . . out there together . . . getting the same money . . . It was always thought that the white people got more . . . but with the WPA [we thought] that was a thing of the past."

Community leaders believed that labor unions could be forced to open their doors to blacks. To be sure, there was no neighborhood industry to employ an Old West Baltimorean, but a man could work at a Broening Highway plant or Sparrows Point and call Harlem Park home. Counting on unions, especially CIO unions to represent black workers and protect them when industries opened their doors, ministers urged workers to sign union cards. Bethel AME and Sharp Street Memorial hosted meetings of workers; Druid Hill YMCA was the scene of dozens of labor rallies. Respected preachers and prominent NAACP lawyers like Thurgood Marshall, a native of Old West Baltimore, appealed to citizens to join the appropriate union. Steadily, industrial jobs became available; East Baltimore companies which in earlier decades had refused to hire blacks now advertised in the pages of the *Afro*, giving streetcar directions from Old West Baltimore to the plants.

Roosevelt's defense preparations and indeed World War II itself raised the wages of so many workers that new businesses could flourish in the neighborhood. Through tradition and discrimination, businesses operated by residents had been of a certain kind (funeral, beauty shop, barbershop, for instance), but now a host of black entrepreneurs opened dozens of different kinds of enterprises. There were hotels on McCulloh and Franklin streets, produce, meat and poultry stands in Lafayette Market, a furniture store on Pennsylvania Avenue, a laundry at Druid Hill and Wilson, even a furrier on North Eutaw near the edge of the

community. Welders and entrepreneurs alike were examples to black children, evidence that a new generation could aspire to many jobs and different kinds of work.

High wages also made Pennsylvania Avenue an entertainment mecca drawing thousands of people. Known as the “Strip” for decades, it had long been a place to promenade on Easter and entertain visiting relatives on week-end evenings. Excluded from other entertainment houses in the city, blacks from South and East Baltimore and servicemen from posts all over Maryland frequented its theatres and clubs during World War II. Six movie houses attracted thousands of patrons, but the most popular theatre was the Royal which, along with Harlem’s Appollo, Philadelphia’s Earl, Chicago’s Regal, and Washington’s Howard, attracted some of the finest entertainment in the country. Indeed, Baltimore was part of a circuit of top entertainers known as TOBA, Theatres’ Owners Booking Agency (or sometimes, Tough on Black Artists).

Built in 1921 and 1922 by a black corporation aided by local citizens who bought a brick for a dollar, the Royal had changed hands in the 1920s but no matter who owned it, it was known as one of the most elegant theatres in the city with eight fully-uniformed usherettes in attendance. The stars who performed there are now legendary: there was “Fats Waller” who opened the Royal in 1921, and Chick Webb who brought Ella Fitzgerald to Baltimore after discovering her at age sixteen in New York. Then, there was Pearl Bailey, who remembers: “The first time I played the Royal in Baltimore, I rushed out front to see my name on the billboard after the first show.” Audiences recall Billie Holiday and Baltimore’s own Joe Turner who played for Louis Armstrong, Earl “Fatha” Hines who broke all attendance records in 1941, allegedly playing to 13,000 fans in three days, and Lionel Hampton who used to audition for his band there during the 1940s.

The community supported the theatre and the theatre also supported the community. Backstage at the Royal, local entertainers like Joe Shields were



FIGURE 4.

Royal Theatre, Pennsylvania Avenue entertainment district.

introduced to the world of professional music. Saturday morning rehearsals allowed neighborhood children to exhibit their talents, and professionals sometimes instructed and encouraged them.

The Regent Theatre took second-place to the Royal but it, too, was famous. It was noted for its highly talented chorus-line revues, a gigantic orchestra pit, and popular serials and chapter movies attracting hundreds of patrons each week. Ike Dixon's Comedy Club also had a national reputation for first-rate entertainment.

Elsewhere on the Avenue and in the community, rent parties allowed poorer people to listen and play the blues, and many hours were whiled away in this manner on street corners and in people's flats. For nights out, people dressed for the occasion, sporting their finest or their most flamboyant. South of Dolphin Street there was a "low life" which respectable members of the community were expected to avoid. Prostitutes and female impersonators plied their trades and a handful of bars drew servicemen and other patrons. Locked "Under the Clock" was the fate of some unruly visitors after a night on the town; a lofty clock over nearby Northwestern Police Station was a neighborhood landmark.

It would be a mistake, however, to romanticize even the most elegant spots on the Avenue or segregated entertainment. Neighbors can recollect: "It was nice. But you'd see all the hoodlums too." Most establishments were white-owned and the city did not enforce even minimum health and fire regulations for patrons. Segregation meant that the finest musicians in the country were denied lodging in the city's grandest hotels, and many a visiting entertainer spent his nights in cramped quarters on neighborhood side streets. Before these establishments were torn down they were both a monument to black artistic accomplishment in Baltimore and a testimony to racism's social costs.

"Oh, it's gone down. It's just deteriorated, not what it used to be." So old-timers bemoaned the neighborhood. To be sure *their* neighborhood did almost vanish. Ball and chain wrecking crews did that. Hundreds of homes were knocked down in the Franklin-Mulberry Street corridor for the East-West Expressway in the early 1960s. Urban renewal, which almost always meant black removal, also leveled hundreds of homes. Between 1951 and 1964, 3,100 families were displaced by new construction that lagged years behind the wrecking crews. Alley houses all over Harlem Park, businesses and century-old homes along Pennsylvania Avenue south of Mosher Street, had all been demolished by the mid 1970s. Community landmarks vanished—Old Lafayette Market (1952), Gillis Memorial Church (1969), the Royal Theatre (1971), the Regent (1975).

Old West Baltimore ceased to be the place for prosperous professional black people to live. In the 1950s, a handful of judges, lawyers, school principals left the old neighborhood and claimed homes in Forest Park and Windsor Hills, among the City's oldest suburbs. Elegant Druid Hill Avenue townhouses gave way to elegant spacious estates in Ashburton, called by some black Baltimore's Gold Coast. This exodus of professionals was part of a vast movement northward and westward by large numbers of black people. In the decade after World War II neighbors who had spent their youth in alley houses in Harlem Park moved onto main streets to Fulton Avenue and then beyond to Rosemont. In 1961 the Maryland Advisory Committee on Human Rights reported that restrictive cove-

nants, banks which offered no mortgage money, and real estate agents who steered blacks from white neighborhoods were big obstacles to middle-class blacks who wished to move; Federal and City Council statutes finally outlawed discrimination, thereby speeding up the egress. The lure of shopping centers and bigger patches of grass drew literally thousands of folks to Park Heights Avenue and Pimlico in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The right to move out was a civil right, albeit freshly pressed, and this post-war community of migrants carried on the neighborhood tradition of leadership. Enon Baptist hosted Dr. Martin Luther King for his first visit to Baltimore in 1957. Two episodes drew national attention in the Sixties. Churches joined an effort to force Maryland Route 40 restaurants to desegregate, businesses which even drew the ire of the State Department when they refused to serve African diplomats. Busloads of Freedom Riders left community churches and congregations collected bail money for those arrested in 1961. Two years later, neighborhood churches—Sharp Street Memorial, Union Baptist, Douglass Memorial, St. Gregory the Great, St. Pius V, and St. Peter Claver's—banned together to desegregate Gwynn Oak, a Baltimore County amusement park. CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) conducted workshops in non-violence in the basement of Metropolitan Church; TV lights flooded the church basement as preparations got underway for a mass demonstration on July 4th. Network news covered the demonstration in which sixty-nine activists were arrested. The Park was desegregated within a year.

But civil rights issues also touched the lives of newcomers to the old neighborhood. Immigrants came, as always, from rural Maryland and Virginia, tidewater North and South Carolina, but in such large numbers that by 1960 native Old West Baltimoreans were a distinct minority in the eastern sections. The newest arrivals faced something tragically new, problems greater than those of any earlier generation. Baltimore became home because people were forced out of the South, often suddenly. Post-war farm mechanization and consolidation made even subsistence vegetable gardens luxuries, and hundreds of sharecroppers' huts were leveled by tobacco farmers eager to plow every acre. When they arrived, work in Baltimore was not low-paid or demeaning; it was, as never before, unavailable. Capitalist technology had taken away hundreds of jobs, everything from ironing shirts to delivering coal. The bitter irony of desegregation was that industries which now opened their doors to blacks had fled to the suburbs and beyond. Between 1970 and 1976, metropolitan Baltimore lost 33,000 manufacturing jobs.

The jobless poor coped. Old values—work and family, for example—were as strong among them as with any earlier generation: "The thing was to get a job. You had a little job everyone looked up to you." But the times demanded new survival skills, new sacrifices, from people who could not hope for better times when "the Depression's over." "When my daddy [a longshoreman] got laid off, he tole Mama he'd go to New York to make some money. I peeked in the room where they wuz talkin'. Fust time I ever seen a grown man cry." Childrearing was now the full-time job of grandparents, uncles, and aunts, even if they lived far away. "When Daddy left, my grandfather in Virginia wanted to take the brothers, but Mama sent the sisters instead. Boys could scrap for themselves in the city."

And the jobless worked anyway. "All of us boys' jobs was to get wood. My father built us a wagon, so every day we got out of school we'd go find wood at a condemned building. We had a wood stove in the kitchen and a coal stove in the children's room."

Activists (and the neighborhood poor were now numbered among them) understood that civil rights was not just something for the world beyond: "Eatin'? I don't care about eatin' [i.e., in downtown restaurants]. I'm talking about jobs . . . [and] the racial discrimination in this town is something awful." Black Panthers, who met on Division Street, sponsored a free breakfast program and CORE persuaded clerks in Pennsylvania Avenue stores to join unions. As city school and recreation programs were integrated, staff workers demanded a fair share for the neighborhood: "Whites got their stuff [recreational materials] delivered. We had to go down to Mulberry Street to get ours. When they started having integrated meetings, then you were aghast at the stuff which the whites could get and you couldn't." Homemakers in public housing joined the protests. Murphy homes tenants boycotted a state-run kindergarten in 1966 when the State Department of Education forced the removal of favorite teachers.

Few households harbored hopes for a brighter future, but more than a few neighbors could count their accomplishments: "I used to pay the rent, buy the food [at age thirteen] . . . I saw two sides of the coin . . . It made me a survivor, . . . made me more independent, a fighter . . . It made me more an open-minded person." Dr. Johnson and Cab Calloway could say little more.

Old West Baltimore emerged a changed neighborhood in the 1970s. As ever, its central location mattered. Few institutions drew in thousands of outsiders, but it was a convenient midway point between the East Side and the burgeoning western suburbs, a place therefore for offices and meetings of organizations which served the entire metropolitan black community. No longer a self-contained community, it was a good place to live, a home close to outside places where neighbors worked and shopped. Major buslines made almost every part of the city only minutes away. Downtown stores, Greyhound buslines and offices, including the State Office complex, were but a short walk away.

Hundreds of people chose it as home. "I'm a city girl. I like the noise, I like police sirens. I just like people." They chose for good reason: amidst all the obvious scars left by urban renewal, the neighborhood still offered a variety of good housing—older public housing like Gilmore and McCulloh homes, new apartment projects such as Zion Towers on Pennsylvania Avenue and St. James Manor adjacent to Lafayette Park, whole blocks of freshly painted and rehabilitated homes like the 1000 block of Mount Street. Harlem Park offered something unique to families. When alley houses had been torn down, twenty-nine inner block parks, squares behind city blocks, were created with sturdy playground equipment, and traffic forbidden. In Upton, City rehabilitation programs allowed two generations of a family to purchase a "duplex," that is a large three story house, divided into two distinct units for each generation. And if too many older homes were boarded up and abandoned, hundreds of traditional three-story dwellings, all over the locale, still offered something special—the privacy and spaciousness of entry halls, small alcoves, and extra rooms often unavailable in suburban rowhouse housing.

Most of all, Old West Baltimore emerged from the Sixties as a community of thriving churches, some eighty of them, who sustained the progressive tradition of the neighborhood. New congregations built new sanctuaries in Sandtown (St. Luke's United Methodist, at Riggs and Gilmor; New Bethlehem Baptist, on North Carey Street). Older churches had something special to offer. Huge spacious greystones (which were mostly debt-free), now drew both newcomers as well as hundreds of folk from the northern and western sections who came back every Sunday and swelled the church treasuries. They grew as never before: Bethel AME's congregation soared from 600 to 2,500 in the late 1970s. Tiny St. Katherine's Episcopal won parish status in 1975 and its first black priest in 1977. As outside attention to civil rights waned, their witness was visible, persistent; it ranged from church doors thrown open to a rent-control campaign to a "Free South Africa" sign on the front lawn of Bethel. Pantry programs at St. James Episcopal, home renovation by Douglass Memorial, tutorial and counselling programs at New Shiloh and Bethel, Sunday schools attended by literally thousands—all served the neighborhood and molded a sense of community vitality. Old West Baltimore was still a center of activity.

Problems abounded, but the spirit to survive had itself survived to 1980. Old West Baltimoreans, like Dilsey in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, could say: "We endured."

REFERENCES

1. Interviews with Old West Baltimoreans of many varied backgrounds provide the meat of this study. Interviewees included elderly natives, vividly recollecting their childhood years, and young adults for whom Urban Renewal and desegregation were a mere yesterday's experiences. Community professionals (clergy, teachers, public officials) offered their recollections; so did less notable ordinary citizens. The Vertical Files (Maryland Room, Pratt Library) and the community news sections of the *Afro-American* provided supplementary information. Among published sources, institutional histories (of churches, for example) and biographies and autobiographies (of entertainers and clergy, for example) were the most useful.
2. From *Of Minnie the Moocher and Me* by Cab Calloway and Bryant Rollins, copyright © 1976 by Cab Calloway and Bryant Rollins. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.
3. *Ibid.*

Understanding the Monumental City: A Bibliographical Essay on Baltimore History

RICHARD J. COX

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND RESEARCH GUIDES

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

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

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

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

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

GENERAL HISTORIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARCHITECTURE

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

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

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

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

ART AND ARTISTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

CULTURAL AND RECREATION HISTORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ECONOMIC HISTORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ETHNIC, BLACK, AND WOMEN'S HISTORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, PUBLIC UTILITIES, AND MARITIME HISTORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MILITARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEIGHBORHOODS

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

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

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

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

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

POLITICS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RELIGION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A LIST OF RECOMMENDED BASIC READINGS

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

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

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

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

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

BOOK REVIEWS

Baltimore History: Working Papers from the Regional Economic History Research Center, Volume 4, Numbers 1 & 2. Edited by Glenn Porter and William H. Mulligan, Jr. (Wilmington, Delaware: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, 1980. Pp. 155. Paper)

The Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation sponsors periodic conferences on the economic history of this region. The very able scholars there bring together people working in a related area to read papers on and discuss their current research. The entire series of working papers provide a valuable and up-to-date resource on many aspects of this area's economic and technological history. The seven papers presented on Baltimore history deal primarily with methodology and resources available for researchers. The actual content of these papers will have particular value for anyone who wants to learn just what records are located where and to read several scholars' comments on how such records can be used.

The first four papers deal specifically with resources and opportunities for research. Richard J. Cox, the Baltimore City Archivist and Records Management Officer, writes on material under his purview in "Resources and Opportunities for Research at the Baltimore City Archives." He provides a summary of already processed record groups which include those of the mayors, city councils, and elections in Baltimore. Of note to researchers is the archivist's goal: the publication by 1983 of a guide to all the historical records of the city government. In the second paper, John T. Guertler provides "A Brief Description of the Collections of the Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center." Located at the University of Baltimore, this center currently houses the records of 25 organizations like the Chamber of Commerce, the Greater Baltimore Committee, Planned Parenthood, and the League of Women Voters. The entire BRISC collection is listed in this useful survey.

An even more extensive listing is attached to Larry E. Sullivan's "Sources for the Study of Baltimore History at the Maryland Historical Society." The material held by the MHS manuscript division alone is enough to keep teams of historians busy for years. Sullivan lists family, business and organization papers, prints and photos, newspapers and census material available on microfilm and much more in this fine, comprehensive study. In the fourth paper of this group, Patricia M. Vanorny describes the "Records of the Baltimore Judicial System." She includes an explanation of the structure of the court system, which must be understood in order to figure out where to find various kinds of information. She provides the greatest detail on records of civil and equity proceedings.

The last three papers all treat historical and geographical perspectives on aspects of Baltimore history. Joseph Arnold's paper on "Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1800-1980" should be read by anyone considering writing neighborhood history. With considerable good humor, Arnold, a history professor at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, warns of some of the pitfalls to be avoided, and provides both good general background material on the overall growth of neighborhoods and some considerations of value to all potential local historians. Edward K. Muller's study before Industrialization: Baltimore's Central District, 1833-1860" illustrates how the records described in the bulk of the papers in this collection can be used. Muller deals with specific subject matter: the patterning of the Central Business District before the rapid industrial expansion that followed the Civil War. He includes a large number of detailed tables and maps of specific economic activities and their locations. The final article, "Nineteenth-Century Baltimore: Historical and Geographical Perspectives: A Commentary" is a critique of the last two papers by Theodore

Hershberg, Director of the Center for Philadelphia Studies and the School of Public and Urban Policy at the University of Pennsylvania.

The working papers are not light reading, nor are they intended to be. They are, rather, fine and competent surveys of many resources available. They provide an enormously useful and very handy reference for anyone undertaking a research project, large or small, on the history of Baltimore.

Morgan State University

SUZANNE ELLERY GREENE

The Records of Baltimore's Private Organizations: A Guide to Archival Resources.
Edited by John T. Guertler. (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1981. Pp. xxii, 312.
Indexed. \$40.00, cloth.)

The records survey, says archivist John Fleckner in a Society of American Archivists *Basic Manual* of similar title, is a basic tool of archival control. Fleckner goes on to say that, in its broadest application, the survey can transform an institution "from a passive custodian of antiquities to an active participant in the process of documentary selection and preservation." The Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center (BRISC) of the University of Baltimore has taken on this active role through its coordination of the Baltimore Historic Records Survey, and in so doing has performed an immensely valuable service for the local archival and scholarly communities.

The idea of the Baltimore Historic Records Survey was first proposed by a consortium of archivists and historians, first called the Baltimore Congress for Local Records and History, later the Metropolitan Baltimore Historic Records Council, and was funded through a grant proposal to the NHPRC. The BRISC project proposed to assess the location, type and quantity of local private records holdings for the purpose of aiding research, encouraging preservation, and furthering the collecting programs of local archives. To accomplish these ends, an able professional staff was assembled to define the scope of the project and to devise its information-gathering system. Four categories of records were initially chosen for study: those of neighborhood and community groups; those of business, labor and the professions; those of fraternal and social organizations; and those of religious groups. The survey was intended to be as exhaustive as possible, with the exception of the business records, where sheer numbers forced the project directors to limit the survey to those companies founded before 1930. A list of potential records holders was assembled from various guides and directories, and a questionnaire was mailed, with follow-up by telephone and selected field visits. A response rate of 21% is reported, which seems reasonable considering that the respondents, whose primary function was not that of records-keepers, were asked to provide much of the basic data. Finally, to disseminate the collected information, a one-volume published guide was planned.

The resulting work contains 820 entries, arranged alphabetically, covering organizations as varied as schools, churches, cabinetmakers, and phrenologists. The holdings of seven area repositories (BRISC, the Hall of Records, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Baptist, Episcopal, Lutheran and Methodist churches) are included, though some have been described elsewhere. The privately-held records, however, are the real stars of the book—many of them being reported for the first time. How many historians, for example, were even aware of the existence, much less the potential for research in the records of the All Nations Foundation, the Neighborhood Development Corporation, the Women's Missionary Union of Maryland, or dozens of other groups listed in the *Guide*?

Typical entries list the organization's name, address and telephone number, a brief description of holdings by type, quantity and span dates, and conditions of access.

Researchers should be particularly mindful of the generosity which has prompted many organizations to open their records, so as not to abuse the privilege by excessive demands for time and service. It is significant to note that not all organizations listed have opened their records for research, but have nonetheless allowed them to be reported so that there is at least an indication of their existence, which later generations of scholars may profit from. The entries are presented in an attractive, easy-to-read type face, though one wonders if the large amount of wasted space at the bottoms of some pages contributed to the book's high price.

Serious scholars will be well-advised to read the *Guide* from cover-to-cover, for its chief flaw is its inadequate index. Listed are the names of organizations and people included in the guide or mentioned in its descriptions, occasional place-names, and a paltry 22 subject headings. Armed with the knowledge that some 19th-century artisans combined cabinet-making with a funeral business, but lacking the requisite names, nowhere in the *Guide's* index would one find reference to cabinetmaking, coffins, funeral parlors, furniture, morticians/mortuary science, or undertaking, though a number of businesses serving one or more of those needs are listed. Similarly under-represented in the index are the various shipping trades so vital to the economy of the Port of Baltimore. The average researcher, I suspect, would find it too tiresome to check each listing under "Business—manufacturing" or "Business—service" to find the entries which do exist. The need for additional cross-references in the name entries is also keenly felt, and the index as a whole stands curiously at odds with the project's goal of promoting access and knowledge.

The major goals of the project are, however, already being fulfilled to an admirable extent. Dozens of cooperating private organizations have a new or renewed sense of the value of preserving their documentary histories, both from the survey and from follow-up seminars conducted by BRISC; some have even been moved to transfer their non-current records to local archival repositories, including the Maryland Historical Society. The spirit of cooperation between institutions fostered by BRISC in directing records to appropriate repositories is a professional canon often talked about but too rarely put into practice. Some of the records remaining in private hands will undoubtedly disappear again, but the book serves as a record of their existence and custody in 1981—a vital link toward establishing subsequent provenance. In that respect particularly, the *Guide* will have continuing value as a tool for research.

Maryland Historical Society

KAREN A. STUART

Governing Baltimore: A Guide to the Records of the Mayor and City Council at the Baltimore City Archives. By William G. LeFurgy, Susan Wertheimer David, and Richard J. Cox. (Baltimore: Department of Legislative Reference, Baltimore City Archives and Records Management Office, 1981. Pp. i, 19. \$2.50, paper.)

Baltimore is fortunate to have a professionally staffed municipal archives department to bring order and manageability to the voluminous paperwork generated by a city bureaucracy. In addition to establishing order, the Baltimore City Archives promotes accessibility to the records by describing for potential researchers the nature and arrangement of its holdings. This is precisely the function of *Governing Baltimore: A Guide to the Records of the Mayor and City Council at the Baltimore City Archives* by William G. LeFurgy, Susan Wertheimer David, and Richard J. Cox.

Governing Baltimore is one of a series of guides produced by the City Archives staff describing their collections and is scheduled to become part of a comprehensive guide to the holdings of the City Archives in 1983. This particular guide focuses on the records of Baltimore's mayors and city councils.

The authors first summarize the growth of Baltimore as a municipality and the

corresponding development of local government. This introductory section acquaints the researcher with the changes in the selection, responsibilities and powers of the mayor and city council, which is necessary for the interpretation of the records generated by these bodies.

The following "Scope and Content" section focuses more specifically on the existing records. The papers described are contained in two separate groupings: the records of the mayor, 1797-1971 and the records of the city council, 1797-1975. Due to past archival policies, or the lack thereof, the completeness of the records of each administration varies. The weaknesses as well as the strengths of the series are outlined. Likewise, methods of arranging the material have changed over the years. These differences are clearly explained for the potential researcher.

The core of *Governing Baltimore* is the "Series Description" section. The two main record groups are further subdivided into several series. The description for each series includes the series title, span dates, size (in terms of inches, cubic feet, and boxes), arrangement, and topical content. There are references to published records when they exist, such as *Mayor's Messages, 1800-1830*. Numerous cross references direct the researcher to related material and/or indexes within the collection as well as to other collections both at the City Archives and in other repositories.

Final sections include a list of Baltimore's mayors and their terms of office and a bibliography of sixteen books and articles dealing with the history of Baltimore's municipal government. There is a selective index to the topics listed in the series descriptions. More comprehensive indexes to the material are available at the City Archives.

It has been said that one should never judge a book by its cover. But the guide's cover photograph of Mayor Howard W. Jackson's desk littered with papers gives a distinct visual clue to the scope of the archivist's task. The arrangement and description of the records of Baltimore's mayor and city council is no small accomplishment, and *Governing Baltimore* is an important tool for the utilization of this material.

Maryland Historical Society

DONNA ELLIS

Baltimore Album Quilts. By Dena S. Katzenberg. (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1981. Pp. 124. \$19.50)

This book is the catalog which was published for a traveling exhibit of 24 Baltimore album quilts seen in Houston, New York, and Baltimore during 1981 and 1982. Both catalog and exhibit were supported by a grant from the U. S. Government, National Endowment for the Humanities. The catalog contains an introduction by the author (and organizer of the exhibit), a history of the Baltimore album quilt, and photographs with descriptions of the quilts in the exhibit. There are a total of 83 black and white and 21 color illustrations. A selected bibliography of 64 sources is included, with the notation that a complete bibliography exists and is available by appointment with the Baltimore Museum of Art.

As part of the introduction to the catalog, Dena Katzenberg writes the following:

At the onset of the fad for album quilting around 1840, Maryland examples of the type were similar to others made along the Atlantic seaboard and as far west as Ohio. But in the years between 1846 and 1852, there emerged in Baltimore a group of quilts that comprise an exceptional and brilliant artistic entity, with distinctive features that set them apart from other quilts of the same period.

About 50 such quilts are known to exist, according to the author.

Three studies or sections make up the history of the Baltimore album quilt. "Fabrics," the first section, traces the origins of the printed textiles used in making these quilts. Early

production of printed cloth in the Baltimore vicinity is discussed more fully in the third section of the history.

"Designs," the second section, is an examination of the various design components. Visual sources from the decorative arts and graphic materials are revealed, influences of other textile working techniques are explained, and the cotton prints are analyzed for the way in which quiltmakers allowed the printed designs to suggest objects made from materials other than textiles.

The third section of the history is entitled "Baltimore: Monument City, Methodism and the Makers." The author discusses historical landmarks and contemporary events documented by the quilts, and appearing in such forms as the Baltimore clipper ship and the Washington Monument. Also mentioned was a spirit of patriotism, expressed in a design memorializing Colonel William H. Watson, Mexican War hero. As the author brought out the strong connection between the Baltimore Methodist Church and the making of Baltimore album quilts, this reader was left with a desire to investigate Methodism, perhaps to gain a deeper understanding of why Methodism was bound up with the Baltimore album quilt.

Last of all are the reproductions of the exhibited quilts. Each single page reproduction is directly opposite a text including a description and a listing of all inscriptions (mainly signatures). For identifying the squares of the quilts, the reader is supplied with a grid pattern of letters and numbers devised by the author.

Baltimore Album Quilts is the first published history on this subject. The discoveries it makes place it as a valuable contribution to Maryland History and American decorative arts. The most remarkable discovery is, I think, the attribution of the finest workmanship and the writing of many signatures to one quiltmaker, whose name we now know.

Inspiration for this project may have come, in part, from earlier writers on the subject: Dunton, the Orlofskys, and Peto, all of whom have ventured forth their ideas on the making of Baltimore album quilts, but none of whom have attempted the intensive research needed to write such a thorough history of this textile form.

Maryland Historical Society

JUDITH MARIE CORAM

Colonial Maryland: A History. By Aubrey C. Land. (Millwood, N. Y.: KTO Press, 1981. Pp. xviii, 326, plus appendices. \$25.00)

Originating as part of the "History of the American Colonies in Thirteen Volumes" under the general editorship of two seasoned scholars, Milton Klein and Jacob Cooke, the appearance of this volume on the eve of the 350th anniversary of the chartering of our state is a happy fortuity. As we are reminded of Maryland's origins during the next few years, we might reflect upon the broad view of our state's development and appreciate the need for retelling its story in volumes such as this one.

Written by the sure and able hand of a master craftsman, *Colonial Maryland* is not esoteric, antiquarian history. It synthesizes new research; integrates lesser known cultural, economic, intellectual, religious, and social developments with more familiar political ones; and presents a comprehensive interpretation of Maryland's early development. Without a doubt, it is the finest single-authored volume about our colonial period in print. One could easily use it as a model for a text that would outline Maryland's development in the new American nation.

Twelve chapters of varying length lay sandwiched between a preface and epilogue. Three appendices list the Lord Proprietors, the Governors—royal and not so royal, and chronicle the establishment of the counties. An annotated bibliography structured around the chaptering of the text and an index round out this volume.

About half of the text covers the first century of Maryland's development; the other

half the remaining 50 years. One might argue with such brief coverage of events from the 1730s to the 1780s because of their relation to the momentous American Revolution. But Land interprets them from the perspective of historical precedents encountering new conditions rather than the inevitability of the Revolution. The controlling themes of the book are forward—rather than backward—looking, thus giving readers a keener and quieter sense of the momentum of events as well as of the sturdy determination of Marylanders amidst their profoundly changing order.

The controlling themes are three. First, immigration continued to account for Maryland's rising population throughout the colonial period. Their ethnic variety as well as increasing numbers shaped provincial society, economy and the political order. Land discusses these developments in their various stages. The second theme is what he calls the "provincial way" (p. xvi). These were ways of life—lifestyles or cultural adaptations—that were distinctly local in character and that evolved into a Maryland way. This second theme is far more complicated and subtle in its effects than may be described here; suffice it to say that Land handles it deftly and imaginatively. The third theme is what he calls "a struggle for autonomy, or at least for a considerable degree of freedom in provincial self-realization" (p. xvii). From the beginning, he argues, Marylanders expressed a provincial or local interest in public affairs that frequently collided with all external authorities, be they proprietary, royal or imperial. This last theme, one might well imagine, became of crucial importance from the 1730s through the 1770s.

Land's explanation of colonial Maryland and his approach to its history is best exemplified perhaps by his explanation of when it ended. Our state's declaration of independence on July 3, 1776 is often used as that terminal point, but Land prefers to use the new state constitution of that year. That document completed, he says (p. 325), "a pattern running through a century and a half of Maryland history. In the constitution of 1776 provincial leaders reduced to written form the propositions that represented their deepest political and social convictions." It is this long view, this grasp of fundamental traditions that we might dwell upon as we approach our 350th anniversary.

UMBC

GARY L. BROWNE

Justice Samuel Chase, by Jane Shaffer Elsmere. (Muncie, Ind.: Janevar Publishing Co., 1980. Pp. xiii, 370. \$14.95.)

The reputation of Samuel Chase has had a curious history. Born and reared in modest circumstances, he was admitted to the bar in 1761, at the tender age of twenty, and quickly achieved much professionally, financially and politically. He became an ardent and important worker in the cause of American independence, and in the shaping of Maryland's constitutional and political beginnings as a state. Bold, resolute and scrappy, he was frequently embattled in some altercation or other, so that he acquired some determined enemies as well as some useful, influential friends. The former succeeded in keeping alive reservations and doubts as to Chase's character, while the latter provided him with much needed help in times of serious personal adversity. By 1788 he had been obliged to declare bankruptcy—but he also received an important judicial appointment in Baltimore County.

Washington had ignored Chase's various requests for federal positions after 1789, but finally (with apparent reluctance) nominated him to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1796. Thereupon Chase's characteristic conduct continued on a national stage, featuring stormy trials of persons accused of treason and sedition, and culminating in the dramatic impeachment proceedings of 1804–1805. The residue of all this was an impression of the man which lasted 175 years: an intemperate partisan who nonetheless survived by dint of the great intelligence and impressive legal skill which had launched his career so auspiciously in the first place.

Somehow, though, during all that time there was no full, scholarly biography of this colorful Maryland member of that crucial generation of shakers and founders. Then, in 1980, there appeared two book-length accounts of the man. One, *Stormy Patriot*, was a biography published by the Maryland Historical Society; it will be familiar to readers of this magazine, where it was reviewed in the Fall, 1980 issue (pp. 250-251), and described as a "good story." Jane Shaffer Elsmere's *Justice Samuel Chase* is a different kind of book. It is not really a biography; as the title indicates, this is about Chase as a Justice. After a brief sketch of Chase's first fifty-five years, his career on the U.S. Supreme Court becomes the real subject; and half of the account of that career is devoted to the memorable impeachment.

Chase's Maryland concerns continued to be an interesting part of his life after 1796, at least for a few years. But the major interest to be served in this book is the part this man played in early national constitutional development. We are told some things about this, though the yield is modest and largely a familiar one; and a constitutional historian concerned with precision of thought and language will find that some matters are described by approximations rather than exact statements. Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, for example, which is crucial to one's understanding of the emerging federal judicial power, did not really establish such a broad scope of review as stated on page 59. And the discussion of the opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts is not as searching and specific as it should be, given the central importance of this to Chase's fate.

Many readers, though, will be more concerned with the larger ideas which were articulated in American jurisprudence during these years, and especially Chase's role in their promulgation. The focus is not sharp on these matters, and the exposition is often limited to the style of direct report. For example, the familiar language of Chase in *Calder v. Bull* (1798) is usefully quoted, but the sequelae are not clearly delineated. The subject under discussion was federal review of state legislation, but the writer invokes earlier sentiments of Chase from *Hylton v. U.S.* (1796) as evidence of his restraint. This muddies things up, especially since Chase's words in *Hylton* related to a possible review of the power of the U.S. Congress, a more formidable prospect by far than the review of state power. The major feature of Chase's thought here, moreover, was the persistence of a concept of natural justice where property rights were concerned, an understandable spinoff from all that talk of natural rights back in the 1770s. This can be found in the opinions of other justices, too: Paterson in the 1790s, and John Marshall in his later years. All of this is a prelude, it has been assumed, to subsequent versions of the idea which appeared in altered verbal clothing: due process, reasonable law, et al.

The main subject of this book is found in a group of seven chapters devoted to Chase's impeachment. One of them, entitled "The Nature of Impeachment," is a competent, brief review of the historical meaning and development of the process. In subsequent chapters, some of the personal side of Chase is glimpsed now and then, and it seems probable that we do not have enough authentic material to give us more than that. But the specific issues embedded in the charges against Chase somehow do not emerge with much clarity. In part this is due to the writer's commitment to a chronological report of the trial, with occasional, relatively brief efforts at sustained topical analysis.

The most important issue, the question of whether an impeachable offense must also be an indictable one, appeared every once in a while during the course of the trial, so that a good number of men had things to say in support of both negative and affirmative answers. We are told finally that the question simply "was not answered definitively." Perhaps. But earlier in the same chapter ("Verdict") we were told, "If the Court [i.e., the Senate sitting as a Court] accepted the reasoning of the defense counsel that only indictable acts were ground for impeachment, then Chase's acquittal was possible." Since the outcome was acquittal, we can at least say that the prosecution's insistence, voiced by several men, that

Chase's conduct warranted conviction even if it did not include indictable offenses, did not prevail. A narrow view of the meaning of "high crimes and misdemeanors" seemed in effect to have become the established one, at least until 1913.

There are some curious documentation practices in this book. At one point we learn that John Randolph of Roanoke "exercised an influence over his fellow congressman that has seldom been equalled." As if to suggest to the reader that this is more than the writer's personal opinion, there is a footnote at that point—and it is a reference to the Washington, D.C. *Federalist* for October 28, 1803! In another judgmental sentence, it is asserted that "Burr's conduct at the trial of Chase was one of the more praiseworthy aspects of his career." The footnote at this point refers to a letter of John Quincy Adams to his father in 1805. There is something odd about too many of the footnotes.

If there is something of value to be learned from this book, it is in the realm of understanding and appreciating certain admirable qualities in Samuel Chase. This account is a fair one; it stays close—perhaps too close—to the sources; there is no conspicuous effort to improve Chase's reputation. Despite some limitations of style, insight and exposition, though, the writer manages to convey a decidedly better impression of Samuel Chase than most readers are likely to have brought to the work. Between this and *Stormy Patriot*, the image of an irascible, partisan judge may be softened through our acquaintance with a brave, able and conscientious jurist. Samuel Chase was both of these.

Wayne State University

RICHARD D. MILES

NEWS AND NOTICES

30TH ANNIVERSARY—HISTORIC ANNAPOLIS, INC.

A number of special events are planned in conjunction with the celebration of the 30th anniversary of Historic Annapolis, Inc. For reservations and further information, call the Historic Annapolis, Inc. Tour Office, (301) 267-8149 daily or (301) 263-5553 on weekends.

MID-ATLANTIC REGIONAL ARCHIVES CONFERENCE

The Spring meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference will be held in Ocean City, Maryland, May 21-22, at the Fountain Bleu Hotel. Interested members of the public are invited to attend, and may receive further information by contacting the staff of Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society, (301) 685-3750.

CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC COAL INDUSTRY

The Regional Economic History Research Center, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation will sponsor a one-day conference, "The Middle Atlantic Coal Industry: History and Contemporary Perspectives," on Friday, April 16, 1982 beginning at 1:00 P.M.

For further information contact: William H. Mulligan, Jr., Regional Economic History Research Center, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, P.O. Box 3630, Greenville, Wilmington, DE 19807.

ARCHIVES INSTITUTE

The Georgia Department of Archives and History has begun accepting applications for its three-week INSTITUTE. Sponsored in conjunction with the Emory University Division of Librarianship, the 16th annual training seminar for beginning archives professionals will be held in Atlanta, July 26 through August 13.

The INSTITUTE offers general instruction in basic concepts and practices of archival administration and management of traditional and modern documentary materials. The program focuses on an integrated archives/records management approach to records keeping and features lectures, field trips and supervised laboratory work. Topics to be included in this year's program are records appraisal, arrangement and description of official and private papers, control systems, micrographics, conservation, and reference service.

Tuition is \$250 for non-credit status and \$750 for 5 quarter hours graduate credit from Emory University. Those wishing to apply should presently be employed in an archival institution. Enrollment is limited to 15 participants and the application deadline is April 21. For more information and an application write: Lorraine Lee, Institute Coordinator, Georgia Archives, 330 Capitol Avenue, SE, Atlanta, Georgia 30334.

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORY IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Society for History in the Federal Government announces that its annual meeting for 1982 will be held at the National Archives in Washington on Wednesday, April 14. President David Trask, Chief of Military History, will preside over a business meeting to be followed by three topical sessions, one in the morning and two in the afternoon. A reception will follow the final session. The three topics are: (1) Presidential Libraries; (2) the effect of the Reagan administration's budget policies on history in the Federal government; and (3) the ethics of being a Federal historian. For further information write the Society at Box 14139, Benjamin Franklin Station, Washington, DC 20044.

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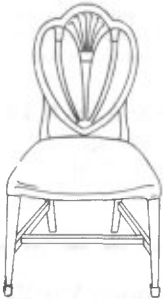
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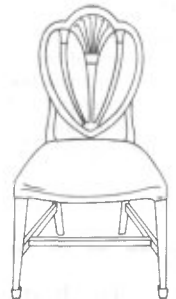
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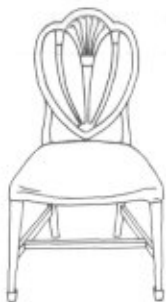
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