

# Maryland Historical Magazine



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The Maryland Historical Society  
Winter 1983

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V 4 EAST VIEW OF BALTIMORE MARYLAND DRAWN BY G. BECK, PHILADELPHIA. ENGRAV'D BY T. CARTWRIGHT, LONDON. PUBLISHED JANUARY 1ST. 1802. BY ATKINS & NIGHTINGALE. . . \*\* Aquatint, printed in colors with hand coloring. 41.7 × 57.6 cm. MdBE (wove paper, watermarked J. WHATMAN), MdBPM, MdHi (mounted on cardboard), VBHo.

The earliest known contemporary printed view of Baltimore, shown here, was engraved by T. Cartwright after the painting by George Beck, an English landscapist who was a Baltimore resident in 1796–97. The location from which the view was taken is not known, but it may have been a high spot in what is now Mt. Olivet Cemetery on Frederick Avenue. The stream at the lower left is Gwynns Falls. The harbor with the surrounding town is to the left of the tree. Whetstone Point (now Locust) is the neck of land to the right of the tree, jutting between the basin and the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River. This view was copied in a small engraving (13.8 × 19.4 cm.) by G. Cooke, published in London in 1812 possibly as a book illustration. Impressions are in MdBE, MdBPM, MdHi, and VBHo.

Pleasants, *Anglo-American Landscape Painters*, pp. 13, 14, 29, 30; Stokes and Haskell, *Historical Prints*, pp. 47–48.





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J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Trustees, greets William Donald Schaefer, Mayor of the City of Baltimore, at Society special event.

## REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

It is with deep appreciation and great affection that I open the Annual Meeting of the Museum and Library of Maryland History by requesting a moment of silence in honor of our Honorary Trustee Herbert Boone, and our active Trustee Matthew Hirsh, both of whom passed on during the past year. I will include also William Hill, a devoted member of the Maritime Committee, in this tribute.<sup>1</sup> Each of these gentlemen had served the Society with loyalty and purpose over the past years.

We are all so thankful that both Romaine Somerville and Leonard Crewe are back on duty and have fully recovered from their respective illnesses.

In accordance with our practice, two trustees, Messrs. James Wollon and Thomas Burdette, were rotated off the Board, and Mrs. Terry M. Rubenstein resigned for family reasons. I know we all wish to join in thanks to all three for their many contributions to the programs of the Society and in the hope that we will continue to have their help and advice.

The Society has been stronger and a better place in which to work during the years of Frank Weller's Presidency, and I feel we should all give him a big hand for what he has accomplished. At this time it is my great pleasure to introduce our new President, Brian B. Topping, and three new Vice Presidents J. Jefferson Miller II, Walter Pinkard and Frank H. Weller, Jr. T. Rowland Slingluff has been made an Honorary Trustee, and I take this pleasant opportunity of thanking him as well as introducing new trustees: Mrs. Stewart Rogers, Senator William James of Harford County, and J. Henry Butta, President of the C & P Telephone Company.

In line with the Nominating Committee's recommendation to bring the Vice Presidents more into the mainstream, thereby creating a pool for future officers, etc. of the Museum and Library, each will have between one and three committees of the organization with which he or she will become thoroughly familiar. They in turn will keep the President and Council advised.

Turning to the Endowment Campaign, I wish to advise the membership and the Board that as of October 14, 1983, we have in hand \$3,516,335.06 in cash or pledges—\$3,493,771 in cash or pledges having been in hand at the end of the fiscal year (June 30).

At this point I wish, in Mr. Crewe's absence, to thank him for all he has done during this past year. I know, were he here, he would wish to introduce Ramsey W. J. Flynn, his co-chairman for Annual Giving in the upcoming year.

I wish particularly and personally to thank our curators, Stiles Colwill and Jennifer Goldsborough, for making the Silver Exhibit such a success. Most important, you all realize without such a dedicated staff we could not carry this organization on. Great credit goes out to them for bearing up under the budget restraints of the past year.

In closing, I wish to call for a motion of appreciation and gratitude to Marion and Henry Knott for their very generous gift establishing the Knott Chair for Maryland Church History.

The Meeting stands adjourned so that we may view Jennifer Goldsborough's very excellent slide presentation "Silver in Maryland."

*J. Fife Symington, Jr.*

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Walter Rundell, a member of the Publications Committee, died the day after the previous annual meeting.

## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

In March of 1983 the National Endowment for the Humanities announced that the Maryland Historical Society had been named one of three Maryland cultural and educational institutions to receive a challenge grant. The \$600,000 grant to the Society was the largest awarded in the state and will be used to strengthen the Endowment Campaign and to help fund the Chairs for professional staff which were created as the basis of that campaign. Challenge grant funds can be drawn upon over a period of three years. During that time, the Society must raise from private sources three new dollars for every one dollar awarded by the Humanities group. Another major matching grant, \$35,000 for the publication of a catalogue of the Society's furniture collection, was received from the National Endowment for the Arts.

*Maryland's First Century*, a seminar covering 17th century Maryland history, architecture and decorative arts, marked the opening of the Society's celebration of the 350th anniversary of the founding of the colony of Maryland. Co-sponsored by the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the Seminar appropriately took place on Maryland Day. The numerous other projects which the Society has undertaken to celebrate the 350th anniversary also began to take shape in 1982-83. One of the most significant is a new, two-volume general history of Maryland. Robert J. Brugger was selected as the author from an exceptionally qualified group of candidates. Having received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University and taught American history at the University of Virginia and Harvard, Dr. Brugger previously served as associate editor of the James Madison Papers, a publication of the University of Virginia. Preparations for a major exhibition and catalogue of Maryland silver, another 350th anniversary project, dominated the museum scene in 1982-83 under the supervision of Jennifer R. Goldsborough. Other anniversary projects underway are: the publication of a guide to the roadside historical markers, a series of educational radio spots entitled *Marylanders Who Made a Difference*, and a special exhibit on the Calvert family.

Under the auspices of the Museum Assessment Program of the American Association of Museums, Douglas E. Evelyn, Deputy Director of the National Museum of American History inspected and evaluated the Museum and Library of Maryland History as part of the official accreditation process. In the eleven page final report, which concisely and accurately assesses recent progress and proposes future goals, the Society was given high marks in all areas.

For better service to the public, the hours for the Museum and Library were expanded and coordinated in January of 1983. Both the Museum and Library are now open from 11AM to 4:30PM Tuesday through Friday, and 9AM to 4:30PM on Saturday. Sunday hours are related to special events.

The Museum and Library served as the main host for the 15th North American Prints Conference, the theme of which was "Images by and for Marylanders, 1680-1935." The conference, one of the major events in the field of historical American graphic arts, attracted over 150 curators, art historians, collectors, educators and dealers. Thirteen scholarly papers were delivered over a two-day period. Laurie Baty, Society Assistant Prints and Photographs Librarian, was the coordinator of the conference.

The Society continues its work at Government House and in January a gala reception marked the opening of the fourth public room to be completed under the program, the Victorian Parlour. Researched and implemented under the watchful eye of Mrs. Howard Baetjer, II, the ornately furnished room reflects a stylish Maryland parlor of the 1870's.

The Fifth Annual Maryland Antiques Show and Sale, chaired by Mrs. Jay Katz, got off to an excellent start. Attendance at the Preview and on the first public day indicated that it would be the best year ever. However, a major snow storm made the remaining days very lean. In spite of this, the event was a financial success. In other fund raising events, proceeds from the bi-annual auction and gifts-in-kind program approached \$60,000 thanks to the efforts of D. Jeffrey Rice and Barbara W. Horneffer.

The computerization is progressing. Membership records as well as accounting records including payroll, accounts payable and accounts receivable have been computerized. The preliminary steps for the computerization of Development Records have been completed, and the actual computerization will take place this year.

Three long-term staff members retired this year: Hester Rich after 29 years of service in the Library; Mary Meyer, Genealogical Librarian since 1967, and Betty Key, who brought to the Society statewide and national attention and respect through her accomplishments as Director of the Oral History Program. We mourn the passing of Davie Harrell who served with dedication for

over 25 years in the Membership and Business Offices, and Abbott L. Penniman, past Chairman of the Building and Grounds Committee, who volunteered his expertise and services to oversee the construction of the Thomas and Hugg Building.

Finally, I would like to thank all the volunteers who helped to make 1982-83 another active and productive year: those who worked side-by-side with the staff, those who devoted their time and talents to special projects such as the Antiques Show and Sale and those who served as trustees and committee members under the leadership of J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., Vice-Chairman of the Board/Chief Executive Officer, and Frank H. Weller, Jr., President.

Romaine Stec Somerville



## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

My duties in the office of President of the Maryland Historical Society have provided me with a period of service that has been both enlightening and rewarding. Much of the enjoyment in this position has been provided by the people with whom I have worked on the various committees comprising the Council of the Society. I wish, therefore, to first acknowledge both retiring and new committee chairmen for certain of the Council committees. Among the retiring committee chairmen I wish to acknowledge and thank for their loyal service are the following individuals: for the Annual Giving Committee—Calvert C. McCabe, Jr., Coordinator, and Truman T. Semans, Chairman; for the Finance Committee—John T. Stinson, Chairman; for the Maritime Committee—George M. Radcliffe, Chairman; for the Public Relations Committee—Mary E. Busch, Chairman; for the Speaker's Committee—Arthur L. Flinner, Chairman; for the Special Projects Committee—Thomas W. Burdette, Chairman; and for the Women's Committee—Mrs. James E. Cantler, Chairman.

The individuals replacing those retiring on each of the committees, and we welcome them to the Council of the Society, are the following: for the Annual Giving Committee—Ramsey W. J. Flynn, and Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., Co-chairmen; for the Finance Committee—William C. Whitridge, Chairman; for the Maritime Committee—Norman G. Rukert, Sr., Chairman; for the Antique Show and Special Projects Committee—Mrs. Hammond J. Dugan, III, Chairman; for the Public Relations Committee—Vernon Stricklin, Chairman; for the Speaker's Committee—William Arnold, Chairman; and for the Women's Committee—Mrs. John S. Kerns, Jr., Chairman.

In the past it has been the custom to give a synopsis of each committee's activities over the course of the year. Rather than attempt to do that in any comprehensive fashion, I believe it more informative and to the point to give some of the highlights of activities which have occurred at the Society under the sponsorship of some of the standing committees over the fiscal year just ended. Some of those highlights have occurred to me as being perhaps of general interest to the Society's membership, and I thought it appropriate to mention them in this Report.

As an example, our Addresses Committee presents four annual endowed lectures each year. In the past, these lectures have been of the traditional format with a variety of topics of an artistic/intellectual orientation, often given by noteworthy speakers. This past year, however, there was a slight departure and something quite unusual in the form of a dramatic presentation of George Bernard Shaw's *Dear Liar* as the Norris Lecture. This was a well attended event, and I believe that the Addresses Committee deserves both our commendation and support for an innovative and popular variation.

Though it was mentioned at last year's Annual Meeting in October (since that meeting had occurred after the official opening of the France-Merrick Wing which occurred in this fiscal year) both the Building and Grounds Committee and the Gallery Committee were heavily involved in the successful completion of that project which has added much needed exhibit and storage space.

The Education Committee, in addition to performing many of its traditional activities, has embarked upon a program developed in connection with the 350th celebration of the founding of Maryland, by preparing a series of brief biographies of important Marylanders to be used in spot broadcasts on both public and possibly commercial radio stations. In addition to this somewhat innovative activity, the Education Committee has also developed special tours for children entitled "Childhood in Early Maryland" as well as a number of "hands-on" tours.

The Gallery Committee, in addition to its activities in connection with the France-Merrick Wing, was responsible for sponsoring three "medium sized" and critically well-received exhibits involving Maryland landscape painting (sponsored by the Maryland State Arts Council), the Smithsonian Institution's Innovative Furniture exhibit, and, last but not least, the Society's own and delightful "Up from the Basement, Down from the Attic".

The Library Committee too got into the act in terms of putting on exhibits, and it sponsored its first major exhibit in some time in the Fall of 1982 entitled "The Mapping of Maryland." This exhibit was accompanied by an attractive and informative guide which was published under the auspices of the Library Committee and which serves as a handy reference to the history of Maryland maps. In addition, the Library Committee was responsible for the fact that the Society served as the host institution for the major Fifteenth Annual North American Print Conference.

Another committee which often is responsible for putting the Society in the public eye is the Maritime Committee, which is presently undergoing the process of re-installing the collection of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum. Nonetheless, the Maritime Committee sponsored a travelling exhibit entitled "Maryland's Traditional Boat Builders."



Frank H. Weller, Jr., President, 1980–1983 (center), with J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Mrs. Weller.

The Publications Committee has continued to pursue a branch for a major new history of Maryland to be published in the near future. A search was conducted and, as mentioned elsewhere in this Annual Report, a highly qualified author selected and we all look forward to the publication of what is expected to be a major addition to published texts and histories of the State of Maryland.

Last, but certainly not least among those items which we have selected to mention, the Women's Committee has been responsible for sponsoring a number of successful bus trips and annual events and is, of course, the sponsor of the Annual Christmas Party, which is one of the great events held at the Maryland Historical Society. These are but a few of the highlights, intended only to give a flavor of the extent and variety of the Society's activities and perhaps meant to encourage our members to get others to join and partake of the benefits of membership in this wonderful institution.

Another important event which occurred during this past year, not necessarily related to such things as exhibits or matters which put us in the public eye, was the fact that the Society was able to reacquire, on very favorable terms, the property formerly occupied by the New Sherwood Hotel directly across the street from the main entrance to the Society. It was felt by the staff, the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, and the Trustees, that it was extremely important

to make certain that the use of that property be compatible with the activities of the Society. Thus, when the opportunity presented itself to reacquire the property, it was viewed as being doubly fortuitous, since it provides us with the flexibility of adding additional parking space, as well as other uses which may be beneficial to the future of the Society. At present, the plans are that the lot will be converted to additional parking space as soon as funds are available.

As a last note in this Annual Report, we wish to acknowledge receipt by the Society of a major gift from Mr. and Mrs. J. Fife Symington which will go toward the construction and furnishing of a room to be known as the Jack and Arabella Symington Memorial Library. This library will be dedicated to Maryland sporting arts and memorabilia, and will also provide shelving and space to house the outstanding collection of sporting books presented to the Society by the family of Mr. DeWitt Sage. The library is presently intended to be located in unfinished space above the France-Merrick Wing, and in addition to its intended purpose, will provide hanging space for exhibits of paintings, prints, photographs and other items relating to Maryland sport. This library and the collections that it is intended to house will therefore hopefully add to the scope of appeal of the Museum to that segment of our population who are particularly sporting oriented who may therefore be supportive of the Society because of this new addition to the collections. The sports which are presently intended to be represented by various forms of art, memorabilia, books, etc. shall be such activities as waterfowling, fox hunting, field shooting, timber racing, cock fighting, skiing, stream fishing, beagling, etc.

Another year has drawn to a close, and this Report, as we stated at the beginning merely highlights a small segment of the activities in which I was involved during the course of this past year. Others, obviously, are set forth in the Director's Report and the Report of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Together they represent the breadth and value of the Society; an institution which is becoming increasingly well known and respected in museum and library circles throughout the country.

Frank H. Weller, Jr.

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With grateful appreciation, we list those members and friends who have made contributions to the Society from July 1, 1982 to June 30, 1983.

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We are deeply grateful to the many individuals, not listed above, who generously supported the Society with contributions in amounts up to fifty dollars.

## In Memory of Davie Harrell

A. Aubrey Bodine  
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 P.W. Filby  
 Earl V. Harrell  
 J.A.S. Kouwenhoven

Walker Lewis  
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Combined Balance Sheets—All Funds  
JUNE 30, 1983

ASSETS

Cash and marketable securities—at cost or do- nated values . . . . .	\$5,258,639	(1)
Accounts receivable . . . . .	111,294	
Inventories—at lower of cost or market value . . . . .	15,236	
Prepaid expenses . . . . .	25,219	
Real estate and equipment—at cost less deprecia- tion of \$129,896 . . . . .	3,311,155	(2)
Interfund net receivable . . . . .	229,938	
Books, manuscripts, paintings, statues, furniture and other exhibits . . . . .	3	
Total Assets . . . . .	<u>8,951,484</u>	

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

Accounts payable and accrued expenses . . . . .	81,975
Mortgage payable . . . . .	20,000
Deferred revenue . . . . .	118,751
Interfund net payable . . . . .	229,938
Fund balances . . . . .	8,500,820
Total Liabilities and Fund Balances . . . . .	<u>\$8,951,484</u>

- (1) Market value \$6,113,518.
- (2) It is the policy of the Society to record depreciation on only a small portion of its real estate which is leased to others and on office furniture and equipment.

OTHERS

We are deeply grateful to the many individuals and institutions who generously supported the Society with contributions in amounts up to fifty dollars.

In Memory of  
David Harrell  
A. Robert Bohne  
Dr. & Mrs. Ferdinand E. Conrad  
Paul Kille  
Earl V. Harrell  
L. S. Ruppel

Walter Lewis  
Charles R. Moyer  
A. Henry Kirk  
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Larry E. Sullivan

## STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1983

### General Funds

**REVENUE:**

Dues .....	\$106,022	
Contributions and grants .....	355,196	(1)
Legacies and legacy income .....	15,784	
Investment income .....	381,500	
Rentals, sales and service fees .....	55,930	
Admissions .....	8,126	
Auctions .....	59,236	
Antique show .....	35,006	
Other income .....	23,309	
<b>Total Revenue</b> .....	<b><u>1,040,109</u></b>	

**EXPENSES:**

Gallery and museum .....	134,313	
Library, prints and manuscripts .....	158,198	
Magazines and history notes .....	62,007	
Educational service .....	29,579	
Public relations, development and fund raising .....	125,757	
Building operations .....	289,257	
Administration and general .....	238,778	
<b>Total Expenses</b> .....	<b><u>1,037,889</u></b>	
<b>Excess of Revenue over Expenses</b> .....	<b><u>\$2,220</u></b>	

(1) Includes grants from city, county and state governments totalling \$108,325

**Funds (Deficits) for Specified Purposes**

**ENDOWMENT:**

Contributions, gains on sales of investments and other income .....	\$1,020,276	
Expenses .....	<u>39,227</u>	981,049

**PUBLICATIONS:**

Revenue .....	20,659	
Expenses .....	<u>17,404</u>	3,255

**MISCELLANEOUS SPECIAL FUNDS:**

Revenue .....	185,628	
Expenses .....	<u>214,196</u>	(28,568)

**LATROBE PROJECT:**

Revenue .....	76,733	
Expenses .....	<u>91,507</u>	(14,774)

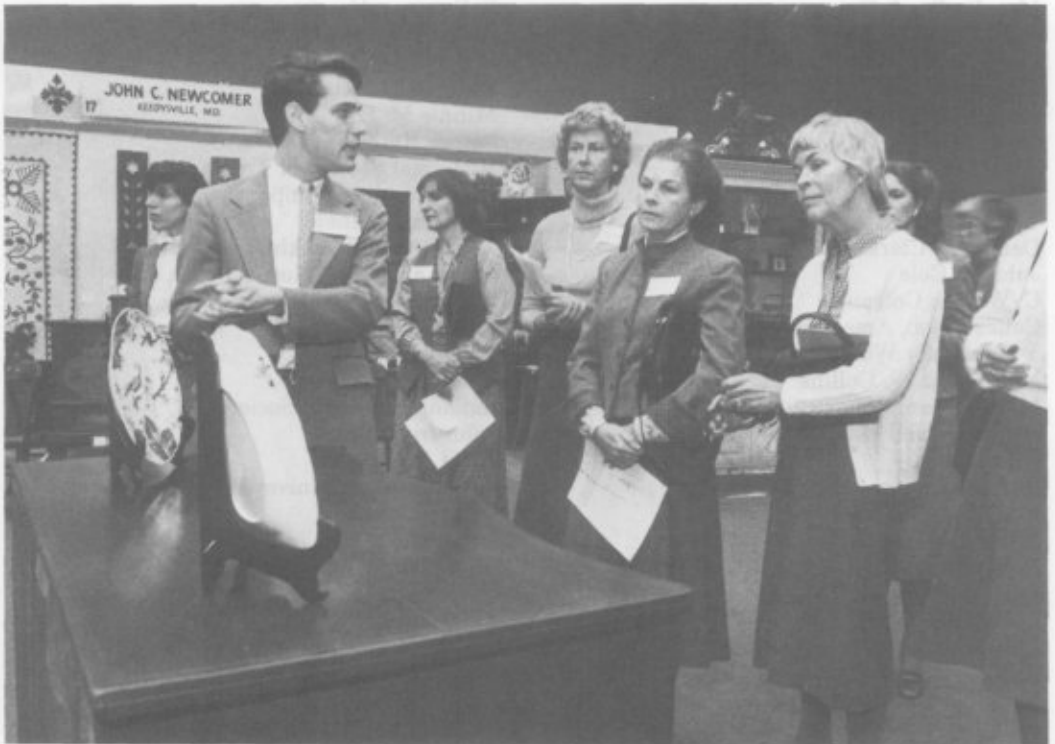
NOTE: The foregoing combined balance sheet and statement of revenue and expenses have been prepared by the Treasurer of the Maryland Historical Society from the report for the year ended June 30, 1983, submitted by independent public accountants. Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to the Treasurer, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Md., 21201

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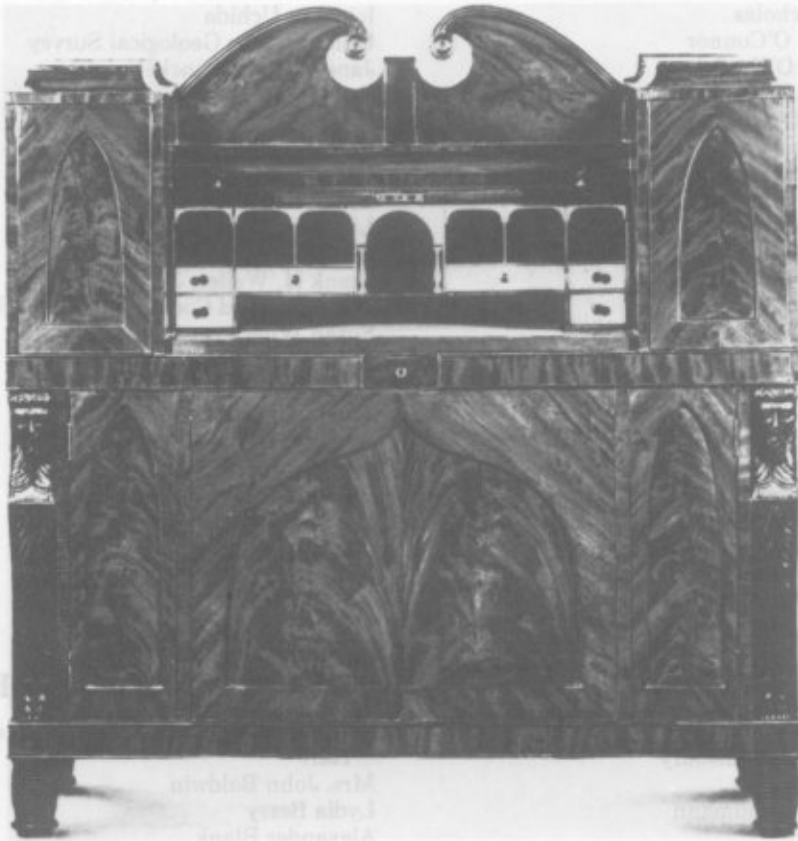
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 C. G. Vitek  
 James F. Waesche  
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 Josephine W. Wallis  
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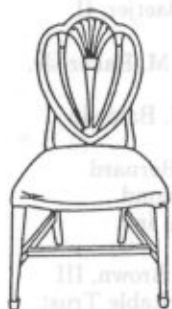
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# Ebenezer Cooke's *The Sot Weed Factor* and its Uses as a Social Document in the History of Colonial Maryland

LOU ROSE

LITERARY MATERIAL CAN BE USED by historians and students of social history to gain additional insights into the social attitudes and mores of older periods. This is especially true in the absence of sociological studies by social scientists of the time. Works belonging to many literary genres, if properly interpreted by researchers whose knowledge of the structure of a society derives from sources other than purely literary ones, can be made to yield the outlines of social history. Even satires hold up a mirror to nature, which at times willfully distorts, but simultaneously magnifies the idiosyncrasies of people viewed in the specific context of certain places and times. To illustrate my point I have chosen Ebenezer Cooke (1667?-1730), who signed himself "Gentleman and Laureat" [of Maryland] and is the author, among other works, of *The Sot Weed Factor*, a satirical poem in hudibrastic verse unique as a literary work and as a social document as well. Cooke captured for all times the sights and sounds of Colonial Maryland at the turn of the eighteenth century, and satirized the idiosyncrasies of the colonists, their women and the local Indians. He accurately reproduced the texture and flavor of a way of life now gone forever. One episode in *The Sot Weed Factor* is of special interest to Maryland historians in general and to Calvert County historians in particular.

Historians of Colonial Maryland are already blessed with the preservation of the Maryland court records, which are more

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Mrs. Rose is Curator of the Calvert County Historical Society.

complete and detailed than those of other American colonies, and are made easily accessible through publication in the invaluable *Archives of Maryland*. The social historian of manners, morals, customs, and attitudes among early Maryland settlers should supplement his study of the official chronicles, often drily ambiguous, with the careful perusal of Ebenezer Cooke's double edged satire, *The Sot Weed Factor*.<sup>1</sup>

Cooke's last name is sometimes spelled "Cook."<sup>2</sup> But, following the authoritative examples of Lawrence C. Wroth,<sup>3</sup> Edward H. Cohen,<sup>4</sup> and, last but certainly not least, of Ebenezer himself who always signed his name with an *e*, Cooke will be the preferred usage.

Not enough is known of Cooke's life to make up a documented official biography. In 1935 Lawrence C. Wroth used educated guesses and circumstantial evidence to work out an ingenious theory regarding the poet's identity, his family connections, the attribution of his literary works, and the salient facts of his life. Contrary to Wroth's fears, his "painfully reared structure" has never to this day been "upset by any significant fresh data or discoveries."<sup>5</sup> Readers desiring to learn the few established facts relating to the life of the Maryland poet are referred to Wroth's and Cohen's works,<sup>6</sup> as well to Elias Jones' history of Dorchester County.<sup>7</sup> The latter contains a description of the 1000 acre tract of land at the mouth of the Choptank River called "Maulden" or "Malden," and subsequently known as "Cooke's Poynt" or Cook's Point, which was owned by Ebenezer's father, who bequeathed it to him and to his sister Anne in his will.<sup>8</sup>



Cooke published in London in 1708 a narrative poem entitled *The Sot Weed Factor* in hudibrastic verse. This metrical form consists of quaintly rhymed octosyllabic couplets, with an occasional triplet, of the type made famous by the English Restoration poet Samuel Butler in his mock epic *Hudibras*. The title page of the original edition of Cooke's poem, as printed by the London publisher and bookseller Benjamin Bragg, is reproduced in facsimile in Bernard C. Steiner's annotated edition of the works of Ebenezer Cooke, *Early Maryland Poetry*.<sup>9</sup> As was customary in works of that period, the subtitle of the poem gives a mini-summary of its contents: *The Sot Weed Factor; or, a Voyage to Maryland. A Satyr. In which is [sic] described the Laws, Government, Courts and Constitutions of the Country; and also the Buildings, Feasts, Frolicks, Entertainments and Drunken Humours of the Inhabitants of That Part of America. In Burlesque Verse*. The poem is narrated in the first person by an alleged merchant ("factor") from London, who deals in tobacco ("sot weed", i.e., the weed that makes one besotted.) Cooke's narrator voyages from London to the Maryland Province sometime between 1694 and 1708. The author portrays his factor as green and inexperienced at his trade, and gullible and naive in his dealings with people. He is swindled, robbed, and otherwise victimized in every possible way by various types of seemingly rustic and unsophisticated colonists. He is also harassed by specimens of the local fauna ranging from loudmouthed frogs to bloodthirsty mosquitoes. He even falls victim to the dreaded "seasoning", the mysterious, often fatal disease that struck a large number of newly arrived colonists and even temporary visitors to the Maryland Province. Cooke gives this vivid description of the onset of the illness that seizes the poem's narrator:

With cockerouse as I was sitting,  
I felt a fever intermitting;  
A fiery pulse beat in my veins,  
From cold I felt resembling pains,  
The cursed seasoning I remember,  
Lasted from March to cold December.<sup>10</sup>

The sot weed factor finally sets sail for his return voyage to England, saddened and

embittered by the treatment he has received at the hands of the inhabitants of that "cruel...inhospitable shoar," Maryland. The poem ends with the narrator soundly cursing Maryland and everyone connected with it.

*The Sot Weed Factor* consists of seven major episodes, or movements. They include an introduction, giving the factor's background and describing his voyage to America; his landing at Piscataway and his first impressions of Maryland; the description of the way of life of a poor planter; the trip to Battletown and a session of the Calvert County court; the hospitality of a "cockerouse," or wealthy planter (described as a sort of counterpoise to the poor planter in the earlier episode); the misfortunes attendant upon the merchant's sales of his wares; and, finally, the conclusion, with the narrator's colorful curse on the New World. The entire poem is structured around an amusing, if unflattering, description of an informal outdoor session of the Calvert County court at Battletown, which was at that time, according to Cooke, the county seat.<sup>11</sup> This rollicking scene is depicted with words that have a visual, almost choreographic impact. Calvert Countians will wonder, as I have, why Cooke, who owned property in Dorchester,<sup>12</sup> and later moved to Cecil and Prince George's counties, but never spent any time in Calvert—at least according to the available records—singled out the latter county to introduce his audience to the Maryland judicial system. To make matters even more puzzling, Battletown, or Calvertown, already possessed a very good court house as far back as 1669, according to Morris L. Radoff's authoritative study<sup>13</sup> and to Charles F. Stein's *History of Calvert County*.<sup>14</sup> Few historians would, of course, dispute the fact that early Maryland courts—indeed, the entire provincial judicial system—were not exactly models of procedural efficiency and courtroom decorum. Aubrey C. Land remarks that "at the beginning of the [eighteenth] century both Governor Seymour, and the

poet, Ebenezer Cooke, could with truth speak satirically of the county judges."<sup>15</sup> Illiteracy was so widespread among these magistrates that when one of them (like the judge Cooke's narrator observes in Battletown) could sign his name he shamed all his colleagues on the bench. Despite their grotesquerie, Cooke's characters had counterparts in real life; for example, his brawling, disreputable lawyers could have been modeled on the notorious Thomas McNamara.<sup>16</sup> Professor Land has more to say on the turbulent courtrooms of Maryland counties, as well as on the flamboyant, outrageous lawyer Thomas McNamara himself, in an earlier work about the history of an old Maryland family.<sup>17</sup> In the Battletown episode Cooke leads his readers with consummate skill to share the narrator's amazement at suddenly coming upon a large number of people, arranged in a circle like performers on a stage, shouting, singing, swaying, drinking, fighting, as if orchestrated by the baton of an invisible conductor. This masterfully-portrayed crowd scene includes drunken judges and lawyers, defendants, plaintiffs, jurors, sheriffs and spectators. The latter customarily consisted of the entire ambulatory male population of the county in which court sessions were held. Such sessions convened three times a year, lasted approximately three or four days, and were social highlights in the colonists' harsh and dull lives. In the poet's own words, the sot weed factor, accompanied by the son of a friendly planter, arrives at

... a place in *Maryland* of high renown.  
Known by the name of *Battle Town*,  
To view the crowd did there resort  
Which justice made and have their sport  
In that sagacious county court. . . .<sup>18</sup>

The judges and lawyers of Calvert County are presented to the reader as a bunch of boisterous drunks, engaged in "frolicks" which the poet describes as follows:

We sat like others on the ground  
Carousing punch in open air

Till cryer did the Court declare;  
The planting rabble being met,  
Their Drunken Worship likewise set;  
Cryer proclaims that noise must cease,  
And straight the lawyers broke the peace;  
Wrangling for plaintiff and defendant,  
I thought they ne'er would make an end  
on't.

With nonsense, stuff and false quotations,  
With brazen lyes and allegations;  
And in the splitting of the cause,  
They us'd such motions with their paws,  
As shew'd their zeal was strongly bent,  
In blows to end the argument.  
A reverend Judge, who to the shame  
Of all the bench could sign his name,  
At Petty Fogger took offense,  
And wondered at his impudence,  
My neighbour *Dash* with scorn replies,  
And in the face of Justice flies.  
The bench in fury streight divide,  
And scribblers take, or judges side;  
The jury, lawyers, and their clyents,  
Contending, fight like earth-born gyants;  
But sheriff wily lay perdue,  
Hoping indictments wou'd ensue,  
And when. . .  
A hat or whig fell in the way,  
He seized them for the *Queen* as stray;  
The Court adjourn'd in usual manner,  
In battle blood and fractious clamour.

Cooke was neglected, even ignored, by contemporary, as well as by nineteenth and early twentieth-century literary critics and historians,<sup>19</sup> with one notable exception,<sup>20</sup> until he was rediscovered by such literary historians as Lawrence C. Wroth, J. Leo LeMay, and Edward H. Cohen. This neglect and disregard may have been deliberate, because Cooke's impudent wit did not spare any class, sex, race, religion, profession, or institution of Maryland in his time. He portrayed the colonists as knavish barbarians and the local Indians as ridiculous studs, speculatively eyed by the colonists' bored, sluttish wives.<sup>21</sup> Cooke's Quakers are hypocritical, sanctimonious rogues who swindle the sot weed factor out of his wares and his money. Last, but not least, the poet managed to make supposedly educated and civilized Englishmen (like his narrator) look every bit as silly and ridiculous as the rest of his cast. Moreover, Cooke's risqué allusions and the racy language he uses in

poking fun at "a whole managerie of American types . . . with entertaining, irreligious, and scurrilous rakishness were bound to offend post-Restoration and Victorian sensibilities."<sup>22</sup> Cooke was a throwback to the Restoration "wits" at a time when the pendulum of social mores was swinging in the direction of strict Puritan morality. He was a kindred spirit to such Restoration poets as the Earl of Rochester<sup>23</sup> and Aphra Behn.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Aphra Behn wrote the melodramatic novel entitled *Oronooko* (London, 1688). Cooke makes an oblique reference in connection with the naked, bloody body of his guide, the planter's son, whom he finds in that deplorable condition, asleep on a table, obviously as the result of a drunken fight, on the morning after the Calvert County court session. The poem's narrator calls out to him: "Rise, Oronooko, rise!" The hero of Behn's eponymous novel was horribly mutilated and tortured to death, an ordeal described by the author in gory detail. In an explanatory note to the above quoted line, Cooke reminded his readers that planters were often called "Oronooko" from the "oronooko" tobacco they planted. LeMay also points out this double allusion.<sup>25</sup>

The biting clever and uninhibited humor that characterises the contents and language of *The Sot Weed Factor*, as well as its author's affinities with our own *Zeitgeist*, inspired a kindred spirit, the contemporary award winning and best selling novelist John Barth. In 1960 John Barth published a remarkable tour-de-force of historical fiction, also entitled *The Sot Weed Factor*, of which Cooke is the hero, or, rather, the antihero.<sup>26</sup> A native of Ebenezer Cooke country, Dorchester County, John Barth is totally at home in the inner and outer landscapes of the poet's world. Barth's expansion to their outer limits of many of the inchoate situations of Cooke's poem and his giving free rein to his own outrageous imagination in creating new scenarios with fantastic twists and turns<sup>27</sup> of the plot, stirred up a great deal of controversy twenty-two years ago when

Barth's novel was first published. Literary critics analyzed and dissected his work at all imaginable levels. None commented on his affinity with and indebtedness to Cooke's poem. Barth's intent in writing his novel was said to be the debunking of American history in general, and of Maryland's early history in particular, with emphasis placed on Maryland's being the author's native state. His moral universe was defined as one in which public affairs and politics are wicked and sinful, whereas sex is innocuous and benign.<sup>28</sup> Barth himself ascribes his choice of Cooke as his hero to the fact that "his poem suited [his] purpose and because nearly nothing was known of the man himself."<sup>29</sup> Regarding the session of a Maryland county court which Cooke located with apparent arbitrariness in Calvert County,<sup>30</sup> Barth moved his own court scene to Dorchester County for reasons arising from his plot; "in order to have Ebenezer lose his estate in the place where he will regain it."<sup>31</sup> This makes perfect sense in the context of Barth's narrative; but Calvert County historians are still left with the unanswered question, why did Cooke choose the Calvert County seat, Battle Town or Calvertown, as the model for an inefficient, corrupt, and ridiculous county court?

Another puzzle, of more general interest, especially to literary historians dealing with Cooke, is the poet's supposed laureateship. Edward C. Steiner and Lawrence C. Wroth deal with the question briefly, without reaching any definite conclusions on whether Cooke had actually been appointed by Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, or by some other Provincial official, as Poet Laureate of Maryland, in imitation of the practices of the English Court. The choice of Lord Baltimore as the appointing official is doubtful for at least two reasons. The first, as Professor Cohen rightly observes, is that "the Lords Baltimore cannot have been at great variance with their proprietary counterparts in the other Southern Colonies, and Virginia's Governor Berkeley had written in 1671: 'Thank God *there are no free schools nor printing* [in this Province] . . .

Learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and *printing* has divulged them . . . God keep us from both!"<sup>32</sup> These are hardly the sentiments of a prospective patron of the arts and letters in the New World.

But, even if Lord Baltimore has been an enthusiastic admirer of the printed word in general, and of poetry in particular, he had more pressing matters on his mind with regard to Maryland than the appointment of a *versificator regis* of his own to pay official homage to the great men of the Province. Moreover, Cooke's description of life in Maryland is not exactly the stuff of which the laudatory poems of a Laureate are supposed to be made. In his fictional biography,<sup>33</sup> Barth solves the laureateship question in his customary spirit of multi-layered irony by having Ebenezer receive his commission as Maryland's Laureate in London, before sailing for Maryland, from the protean Harry Burlingame, this time impersonating Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore and Fourth Lord Proprietor of Maryland, to Ebenzer's dismay and chagrin, when the deception is revealed to him. Professor Cohen hypothesises that Thomas Bordley, a high Maryland official and member of the General Assembly, may have conferred the laureateship on Ebenezer Cooke. This assumption is based on a holograph poem by John Fox, a Virginia-born, early eighteenth-century writer. The poem is addressed to Thomas Bordley. In it Fox implies that Bordley had selected Cooke as his Laureate rather than himself. Moreover, Cooke showed unusual and genuine respect for Thomas Bordley in a eulogy he wrote on the official's death. This is a far cry from the ambiguous tone of another eulogy he wrote in memory of Nicholas Lowe. In this poem, written between 1720 and 1722, it is not difficult to recognize the mockery underneath the faint praise bestowed upon the deceased, as Wroth was the first to point out.<sup>34</sup> Although LeMay observes that

"Poet Laureate of Maryland"<sup>35</sup> I agree with Cohen's assertion that "while his [Cooke's] title to the laureateship was not necessarily an official one, bestowed as it seems to have been by Thomas Bordley rather than by some proprietary interest, still it was an honor which he perhaps deserved as a Maryland poet who was keenly aware of the early American spirit of defiance of a tyrannical administration."<sup>36</sup>

Cooke's sophisticated satire of men and institutions at a particular time and place has never become outdated, because its appeal is timeless. To quote again Cohen's perceptive study, "the principal elements of both the subject and style of his verse seem to place him in a unique context *obliquely* [*italics mine*] removed from his contemporaries,"<sup>37</sup> but very close, I should like to add, to the spirit of our time.

#### REFERENCES

1. In *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1972), J. Leo LeMay points out that Cooke's poem clearly satirizes the men and manners of the New World, while it also mocks the Englishman's attitudes toward, and misconceptions of Colonial America: hence the double edge of his satire. For an excellent review of LeMay's book, see *Maryland Historical Magazine* v. 68 (Winter 1973): 451-452.
2. Among others, Le May, *Men of Letters*, p. uses the spelling "Cook."
3. In his biographical entry on Ebenezer Cooke in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. XI, Supplements I and II, p. 189, as well as in *The Maryland Muse* (Worcester, Mass., 1935), Lawrence C. Wroth uses the poet's spelling of his own name, "Cooke."
4. Edward H. Cohen, "The second edition of the *Sot Weed Factor*" in *American Literature*, v. 41 (1970) and his *Ebenezer Cooke: The Sot Weed Canon* (Athens, Ga., 1975.)
5. Wroth, *The Maryland Muse*, p. 14.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-10 and Cohen, *Ebenezer Cooke*, pp. 26-27.
7. Elias Jones, *The Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Cambridge, Md., 1966), pp. 62-64.
8. *Ibid.*, p.
9. Bernard C. Steiner, *Early Maryland Poetry* (Baltimore, Md., 1900).
10. Lenora S. Walsh and Russell Menard hypothesize in "Death on the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, v. 69 (Summer 1974); 225, that the "seasoning" might have been a malarial fever which apparently approached pandemic proportions among immigrants. They quote a contemporary correspondent of the London Royal Society in Maryland, "Most newcomers to the

Marylanders, such as Thomas Bordley . . . dubbed Cook[e] their *mock* [*italics mine*]

- Province have a severe fever and ague which they call the seasoning and the most part have it the first year."
11. The seat of the Calvert County government had been laid out by Robert Brooke, shortly after 1650, under the name of Battletown. However, according to Charles F. Stein, *A History of Colvert County, Morylond* (Third edition, Baltimore, Md., 1976), p. 45, it was re-established in 1667 as Calvertown by an Act of the Maryland Assembly relating to the laying out of towns.
  12. Jones, *Dorchester County*, p.
  13. Morris L. Radoff, *The County Court Houses and Records of Morylond. Part One: The Court Houses*. (Annapolis, Md., 1960), p. 39.
  14. "Robert Brooke, shortly after his arrival in Maryland, had selected the site of the County Courthouse at Battletown, situated on the northern shore of Battle Creek, at its mouth. After 1663 Battletown became known as Calvertown and the first courthouse was erected there." (Stein, *Colvert County*, pp. 95-96.)
  15. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Morylond: A History*. (Millwood, NY, 1981), p. 227.
  16. *Ibid*, pp. 125-126.
  17. Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulonys of Morylond* (Baltimore, Md., 1958.)
  18. In quoting from Cooke's poem, I have consistently used Steiner's text (see note 9), eliminating the capitalization of common nouns for easier reading.
  19. To quote just one of the many examples of such neglect, even *The Representative Authors of Morylond: From the Earliest Time to the Present Day with Biographical Notes and Comments Upon Their Work* by Henry E. Shepherd, Superintendent of Instruction in Baltimore and subsequently President of the College of Charleston, S.C. (New York, 1911) does not include Cooke among the authors treated in the main text, but relegates him to a "Supplemental List" at the end of the book, in which writers obviously regarded by the author as lesser lights rate only a brief entry, without dates of birth and death, with a selective list of their works. Poor Ebenezer is only given *The Sot Weed Factor*, without comment, as literary output worth mentioning.
  20. The exception is Moses Coit Tyler's *History of American Literature 1607-1764* (New York 1878, repr. 1949), still valid and unsurpassed in scope and scholarship.
  21. Cooke's contempt for the illiterate, illbred, and hard drinking Maryland planters, and their sloppy and sluttish women, was shared, and occasionally expressed, by other contemporary observers of the Maryland scene. See "Maryland Hoggs and Hyde Park Duchesses: A Brief Account of Maryland in 1697" in, *Morylond Historical Mogozone*, v. 73 (Spring 1978):89. See also Richard S. Dunn, "Masters, Servants, and Slaves in the Colonial Chesapeake and the Caribbean" in *Early Morylond in o Wider World* edited by David B. Quinn, (Detroit, Mich., 1982), p. 248: "Ebenezer Cooke's scarecrow-like, sotweed planters, flocking to the Maryland shore in their Scotch-cloth blue, do not seem to be the makers of a Great Society." I cannot resist quoting an odd speculation regarding Cooke's cast of characters on the part of an otherwise factual and sober Maryland historian, Matthew Page Andrews: "Ebenezer Cooke's unfavorable report upon American customs may be said to have been the prototype of Charles Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit*, preceding the latter by over a century . . ." (Andrews' *Tercentenary History of Morylond* in 4 volumes, Baltimore, 1925), v. 1, p. 484. A careful re-reading of Dickens' novel left this writer quite puzzled concerning the aptness of Andrews' comparison.
  22. LeMay, *Men of Letters*, p. 93.
  23. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647-1680), a court poet of the Restoration and author of *A Sotyr Against Monkkind* (1669) and other sexually explicit poems.
  24. Aphra Behn (1640-1689) was the first woman to write professionally for the English stage and to proclaim herself sexually liberated at a time when, despite the permissiveness and licentiousness of Restoration society, male chauvinism was rampant. She is the subject of two recent, excellent biographies, one published in England in 1977, *The Possionate Shepherdess*, the other by an American, Angelina Goreau, entitled *Reconstructing Aphro Behn: a Social Biography* (New York, 1980.) Mrs. Behn's collected works were published in a multivolume collection edited by Montague Summers in 1913.
  25. LeMay, *Men of Letters*, p. 88.
  26. John Barth, *The Sot Weed Factor* (New York, 1960, rev. ed. 1967.)
  27. A striking example of Barth's embroideries on Cooke's themes and of his additions to Cooke's cast of characters is the prominent role played in his novel by John Coode, a prominent leader in the 1689 Orange Revolution. A factual account of Coode's activities can be found in Michael G. Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689" in *Morylond Historical Mogozone*, v. 55 (Fall 1960); p. 321 ff. Barth's treatment of Coode, however, turns him into another shadowy figure, a master of deception and disguises, interacting with Ebenezer's mysterious friend and Coode's alleged enemy, Harry Burlingame, with whom Coode occasionally switches roles in a display of shape shifting, which makes the reader wonder whether Coode and Burlingame may not be one and the same person.
  28. Considering the awful retribution the novel's female lead, Joan Toast alias Susan Warren, is dealt by Fate as a consequence of her sexual escapades, an objective reader is justified in thinking otherwise.
  29. John Barth's letter to Lou Rose of June 16, 1982.
  30. See remarks on county courthouse earlier in this paper; also note 11.
  31. Barth's letter to Lou Rose of June 16, 1982.
  32. Edward H. Cohen, *The Sot Weed Conon*, p. 40.
  33. John Barth, *The Sot Weed Factor*.
  34. Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Morylond Muse*, pp. 26-27.
  35. LeMay, *Men of Letters*, p. 81.
  36. Cohen, *The Sot Weed Conon*, p. 45.
  37. *Ibid*, p. 2.



# Prudent Laws and Wise Regulations: Three Early Baltimore Mayor's Messages, 1797-1799

WILLIAM G. LEFURGY

**T**HE RECORDS OF THE BALTIMORE municipal government are crucial sources of information about the city's past. Unfortunately for Baltimore historians, there are few records available for the first years after the establishment of the city government in 1797. Alleviating this shortcoming somewhat are three unpublished documents recently acquired by the Baltimore City Archives.<sup>1</sup> These are in effect "state of the city" reports for the years 1797, 1798, and 1799<sup>2</sup> written by Baltimore's first mayor, James Calhoun.<sup>3</sup> Directed to the city council, these reports deal with problems that confronted the city.

The problems discussed by the reports arose from the phenomenal growth of the city during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. A quiet town of 5,000 in 1774, Baltimore was by 1800 the third largest city in the nation with 26,000 residents. Physically, it expanded from a scraggly collection of waterfront buildings to a sprawling and diverse cityscape. Activity was everywhere, with new buildings shooting up and the streets continually jammed with new arrivals. People came because of opportunities generated by a booming local economy centered on the port. Heavy foreign demand for grain, generated by a succession of European wars, lay behind the town's prosperity. Nearer to grain producing areas than any other east coast port and possessed of abundant water power for flour milling, Baltimore thrived.<sup>4</sup>

Up to this period in America, Baltimore's experience as an "instant city" was unique.

Other metropolitan areas, such as Boston and Philadelphia, had developed gradually over scores of years. But the sudden crush of people and the demands of prosperity made it necessary to radically improve Baltimore's governing apparatus and public services in a short period of time. These were pioneering efforts in managing a new and unstable urban environment.

At first, town government evolved slowly. The only truly local authority up to the Revolution was the Board of Town Commissioners, a weak body with vaguely defined responsibilities. Frequently the Baltimore County Court handled necessary functions, such as repairing a bridge or appointing a market clerk. Through its power to enact laws, the state legislature exercised general, if distant, control over the town. Adequate for a sleepy backwater community, this rudimentary and diffuse system underwent modification when the town began to have growing pains. Fears that the muddy, rutted and crooked streets might hinder Baltimore's commercial growth led to the establishment by the legislature of a Board of Special Commissioners in 1782. Exercising more power than any previous local authority, the Board directed the cleaning, repairing, and extension of the town's streets and sewers. In 1783, concern about deterioration of the harbor led to the creation of a Board of Port Wardens to oversee removal of silt and regulate port activities.<sup>5</sup>

These limited attempts to stem the town's difficulties failed. The streets worsened under steadily mounting traffic, despite herculean efforts by the Special Commissioners. Clogged with debris, wharves,

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and a multiplying influx of vessels, the harbor was a mess beyond the control of the Port Wardens. There were still no enforceable fire regulations and no effective methods of crime prevention. Disease was on the rise. Potable water was scarce. Baltimore had become a quagmire for want of adequate public services.

Everyone concerned knew that Baltimore required a more comprehensive and effective system of local government to improve things. There was, however, widespread disagreement as to what form this system should take. The wealthy merchants and landowners of the town wanted a government that would give them a dominant role. But those outside the circles of great wealth banded together and managed to reject what they considered non-democratic charters of government in 1782, 1784 and 1793. A majority of residents finally assented in 1796 to a charter modeled after the new federal constitution, complete with a two branch legislature (city council) and an independent executive (mayor). While this instrument, with its provisions for indirect elections and property qualifications for voting rights, was less democratic than many wanted, the need for improved public services was too critical to ignore further. On the last day of 1796, the legislature approved the charter. And after a hurried election of a mayor and city council early in 1797, the new municipal government set about establishing a framework of laws, regulations, and enforcement mechanisms.<sup>6</sup>

The three reports that follow reveal the thinking behind these efforts to subdue the negative effects of urbanization. As the documents indicate, Mayor Calhoun endeavored to formulate official policy. Those who recalled English rule still regarded centralized authority with suspicion but, with so many difficulties demanding immediate attention, no serious opposition to the mayor's leadership appeared. The city council, although endowed by the charter with substantial authority of its own, chose to follow many of the suggestions Calhoun made in his reports. In this context, the documents are actually decision-making instruments that directly influenced the city's development.

City of Baltimore 19th June 1797  
Gentlemen of the City Council [:]

The short experience we have had of the Incorporation<sup>7</sup> of this City, affords a pleasing prospect that it will be found useful and agreeable to the Inhabitants, as it appears to be generally admitted that the operation of the ordinances past at our first Session,<sup>8</sup> have contributed not a little to the welfare of the City in a variety of instances—[.]

The Markets which were almost deserted are again filled with every species of Provisions, and thus collecting them to the places assigned by Law<sup>9</sup> for their disposal, the conveniency of both buyer and seller are promoted, and we are enabled to check if not intirely [sic] prevent, the evil practice of forestalling the immediate necessities of life.

The Regulations for the Riding and driving of Carriages & Horses through the City,<sup>10</sup> have in a considerable degree tended to the security of foot passengers and children, but this is one of the Ordinances found most difficult to carry into complete execution, and gives most offence, as the practice of Canterng or going in a slow gallop has been so prevalent, and deemed by many so safe, that it has given considerable offence when they are fined; however I am persuaded that it will be impossible to execute any Law on the subject unless similar to the present one, that is to prevent galloping of every kind, for it is difficult if not impossible to draw the line of distinction betwixt the moderate and immoderate degree, in the gait of a Horse, and we must therefore either inforce the Law as it is, or repeal it altogether; Perhaps it might not be amiss to permit Laboring Horses to be turned out in such parts of the City as are not thickly Inhabited, which would be a great accomodation to Carters & Draymen without much, if any real Injury; in this ordinance there is no provision made against Riding or driving anything but a Wheelbarrow on the Brick Pavement.<sup>11</sup>

The Ordinance to prevent and remove Nuisances<sup>12</sup> has evidently contributed to the Ornament, the comfort, and the Health of the City, by cleaning the Streets, Lanes and Alleys, and the prevention and removal of many dangerous Nuisances provided

against in this Act; but it is found from experience that the provisions of this Law does not extend to many cases that occur;<sup>13</sup> and I now submit to your consideration a representation made to me on this subject by the City Commissioners[.]<sup>14</sup>

The Watching and Lighting the City<sup>15</sup> must at all times and upon any plan be attended with a very serious expense, but the present plan costs upward of £ 5000 p annum, which from the best information I have been able to collect, exceeds the expense of watching and Lighting the City of Philadelphia, and in my opinion is more than our funds will enable us to support; As the contract with Mr. Betlinger<sup>16</sup> [sic] will expire on the first Day of January next, and provision ought to be made in time for the ensuing year especially for the purchase and preparation of the Oil<sup>17</sup> wanted in Winter, I submit it to the Council whether it would not be proper to take up the subject the present Session, and adopt a plan for conducting this business next year, either by contract or otherwise. —and I now lay before you the observations and proposals of Mr. Betlinger respecting it[.]<sup>18</sup>

Knowing that the appropriation for the surveying, deepening, & preserving the Harbor of Baltimore, altho considerable, would not enable us to keep the Machine<sup>19</sup> constantly employed and a sufficient number of hands in the Scow<sup>20</sup> to discharge the Mud, I intend to work it only so long and in such part of the limits prescribed, as we can get the Mud taken from a long side of the Machine, and have hitherto employed it in deepening the Channel from opposite Herbaugh's [sic] or Hughes's Wharf,<sup>21</sup> in a direction upwards; and the Mud has been taken<sup>22</sup> from it by Messrs. McElderry<sup>23</sup> and O'Donnel,<sup>24</sup> when this space is sufficiently deep and they cease to receive the Mud it will proceed farther upwards, and I expect Messrs. Smith<sup>25</sup> & Hollins<sup>26</sup> will then receive the Mud. The Machine is worked by five hands besides the Superintendent [sic] one of which is a Millwright and the Weekly expense including the Superintendent [sic] wages, feeding the Horses, and repairs of the Machine, have been about fifty five Dollars[.]

The different permissions granted by the Portwardens to extend Wharves within the limits mentioned in the ordinance to pre-

serve the Navigation, have been laid down on our general Plat, but the Gentlemen appointed to ascertain the depth and course of the Channel have not yet accomplished that duty[.]<sup>27</sup>

I have had considerable difficulty and not yet succeeded, in procuring a formal transfer from the Maryland Insurance fire company, of the right of licensing & regulating the Sweeping of Chimneys, and fixing the rates thereof, and the right of erecting or renting a Magazine for Storing Gunpowder;<sup>28</sup> not from any backwardness in the Company to transfer the right, but from the impossibility of convening them, it is however in a fair train of being affected, and in the mean time rather than the Powder should again be thrown on the City, and the regulations of this statutory Law cease, I have undertaken to rent a House for the Reception of Gunpowder and appointed a person to take charge of it, and mean to proceed to the Licensing of Sweeps; this will be attended with little or no expense to the City as the Licenses for Sweeping of Chimneys, will be equal to the extra expense of Storing Gunpowder. The procuring a proper Site for a public Magazine and erecting a suitable building<sup>29</sup> for the Storage of all Gunpowder brought to the City, is an object of great importance to the safety of the Citizens, and therefore worthy the attention of the Council at this time, especially as it would ultimately add to our revenue instead of diminishing it[.]

I have collected a general statement of the accounts up to the present time which will show expenditures since our commencement and the balance in the hands of the Treasurer[.]<sup>30</sup>

From experience it is found that many Offences created by our Ordinances differ in degree according to circumstances, and therefore I submit it to you whether there ought to be a discretionary power lodged somewhere to mitigate fines, so as to apportion them to the offences[.]<sup>31</sup>

Jas. Calhoun, Mayor

[Feb. 12, 1798]

Gentlemen of the City Council[:]

In recurring to the situation of Baltimore since its Incorporation, I flatter myself the Inhabitants have no cause to regret the



change, but on the contrary are satisfied that many valuable advantages have already resulted from the laws of the Corporation. And altho defects may probably be discovered in some of the Ordinances passed last session, they will make reasonable allowance for this our first essay in Legislating, and patiently wait the digestion of a suitable code for a place of such rapid improvement.<sup>32</sup>

The General Assembly of the State have at their last Session, passed a Supplement to our Act of Incorporation, which considerably extends our sphere of Legislation.<sup>33</sup> They have also granted a liberal donation for a public Hospital, which will require your early attention, to make provision for carrying into full effect their benevolent views on this subject.<sup>34</sup>

You will find ordinances have already been passed on most of the subjects intrusted [sic] to our Jurisdiction by the Original Act of Incorporation, there are however some few that have not yet been acted upon, these together with the subjects enumerated in the Supplement,<sup>35</sup> will afford employment for the present Session, and I am persuadid [sic] you will engage the task with that harmony and disposition of mind, most likely to promote the interest and happiness of your constituents.

Permit me Gentlemen to remind you of the necessity there will be for making provision for a more correct division of the City, as the Wards at present differ materially in their numbers of Inhabitants.<sup>36</sup> The persons appointed by the Governor & Council to this duty in the first instance made the division by the best boundaries that could be ascertained, as there was not time to take a census, and they did not consider it very material expecting provision would be made for a more equal division at the first Session of the City Council.

In the execution of the Ordinances of last Session I have not found one that has given me more trouble, or created more uneasy sensations than that respecting the Night Watch & Lamps,<sup>37</sup> particularly as to the latter, which had been contracted for by the Criminal Court (previous to our Charter of Incorporation) until the 31st Day of December last. As we could not engage any person for the present Year to supply oil and every requisite for the sup-

port of the Lamps but at such an exorbitant [sic] rate that our funds would not enable us to bear. The Commissioners of the Watch agreed in opinion with me, to make an experiment of the actual expense by furnishing the oil, etc. and employing a person to distribute it to Lamp Lighters and to superintend the Lighting, cleaning, & keeping the Lamps in proper order and repair, and understanding that it was necessary to have Spermecity oil for the Winter consumption, I early in the season got a Gentlemen to order one Thousand Gallons from Boston, which was ship'd in the Month of November, but unfortunately the Winter setting in uncommonly early, the Vessel after beating on the coast for a considerable time, was obliged to put back, and did not arrive here until since the breaking up of the Ice. We therefore had to commence at the worst season of the Year, without proper Oil, and without experience. But as we now obtained good Oil I have a confidence the Lamps will exhibit an appearance more satisfactory to the Inhabitants.

It is our intention when the time of the present Watch expires (which is the last day of March) to attempt the establishment of one more conformable to those of Elder Cities, that is by having the same person to Watch & to Light their respective squares, or districts,<sup>38</sup> which we hope will in some degree lessen the expense altho on any plan we can devise, it will cost nearly equal to the two Dollar tax on the City property. This is a charge incident to the protection of every Town, and not attributable to the Incorporation, it was as great before we were incorporated as it will be now[.]

Agreeably to the directions contained in our charter, I now make a Report of the general state of the City, with an accurate account of the money received and expended in the preceeding year, as will appear by the Treasurer's general account herewith exhibited.<sup>39</sup> In order to bring it more immediately within your view, I have made a summary of this account and classed the receipts & expenditures under their respective heads. This you will observe does not comprehend any part of the expense of Watching & Lighting the City, except the last quarter of the Watch, and what has been paid for oil etc. since the

first day of January. The other was paid out of a fund heretofore appropriated for that purpose, and under the direction of the Criminal Court, which I am informed is now intirely absorbed[.]

By these statements you will perceive the necessity of the strictest economy to bring our expenses within our income and to prepare us for the payment of the heavy debt intacted on us by the former board of Special Commissioners, and that incurred by the Committee of Health<sup>40</sup> in the Year 1796.

City of Baltimore Feb. 12th, 1798

Jas. Calhoun

[Feb. 11, 1799]

Gentlemen of the City Council[:]

When we take a review of the preceding year, When we reflect on the increased population, commerce, & wealth of this City, When we consider its situation with respect to Health, compared to that of other parts of America, which have unhappily been visited with a destructive Malignant fever,<sup>41</sup> We have abundant cause to make our acknowledgements to the Supreme Being, for having thus highly favored us. But signal as our Advantages have been, yet it deeply concerns us to use every human means, to guard our City against the visitation of so direful a calamity[.]

As it is yet a matter of controversy with Physicians of the first eminence, whether this Malady is of foreign or domestic origin,<sup>42</sup> it essentially becomes us to take every reasonable precaution, to guard against its introduction from infected places, and at the same time to resort to every expedient in our power, to cleanse the City from filth, and from all such substances, as are supposed to generate, or propagate the disorder.

The Commissioners of Health during the last sickly season,<sup>43</sup> considering that there was great danger of introducing the fever into the City by means of Vessels coming up to the Wharves with damaged cargoes, on the 10th day of August Resolved that all Vessels arriving from any of the West Indie Islands loaded with Coffee or other produce that may be liable to damage, or putrefaction, be not permitted to come up into Port,

but that the Cargoes thereof be discharged into other Vessels while it remains in the River, and every necessary care extended to purify<sup>44</sup> the same before it be admitted into the City, and that the Health Officer<sup>45</sup> be required to pay strict attention thereto.

This regulation was rigidly adhered to, and was by many believed to have contributed in a great degree to the preservation of our City, but it must be observed that it may be a questionable matter, whether the Commissioners of Health under the general powers given them by the ordinance to preserve the Health of the City,<sup>46</sup> and to prevent the introduction of pestilential and other infectious diseases into the same, have authority to make all necessary regulations relating to the stoppage, and unloading of Vessels during the season when contagion is to be apprehended, and therefore I submit it to you whether it would not be best to prepare an ordinance embracing every regulation respecting the Health Department,<sup>47</sup> that may be deemed advisable, and to repeal those that have been passed from time to time since the Act of Incorporation, as it is better whenever a variety of laws have been made on any subject to reduce them into one view, than to be obliged to search supplements and additional supplements, before they can be known. And this becomes the more necessary at this time as Congress are about passing an Act,<sup>48</sup> directing their different officers to render every necessary aid in carrying into full effect, the quarantines [sic] and other restraints which shall be required by the Health laws of any State, or pursuant thereto, respecting Vessels arriving in, or bound to, any port, or district thereof, whether from a foreign port or place, or from any other district of the United States.

The Ordinance for regulating the sweeping of Chimneys, and that for preventing fires within the City,<sup>49</sup> passed at your last meeting, will I am persuaded be found to lessen in a very great degree the Calamaties [sic] by fire. In examining the City pursuant to those ordinances, there were found to my great astonishment, many instances of persons keeping combustible matters, so near to their fire places, of others putting their hot ashes in places so utterly unsafe,

and of others having their fire places, stoves, and stove pipes, in so bad a state and condition, as to have made any man of reflection shudder at the imminent [sic] dangers to which our City had been exposed in many parts, from those causes only[.]

The ordinance to regulate the sinking of Wells, and repairing of Pumps, and the Supplement thereto,<sup>50</sup> have produced a supply of Water in several parts of the City, and will no doubt be found beneficial [sic] in case of fires, but an effectual supply of Water can only be had by pipes, or aqueducts, conveying it through all parts of the City, from the Neighbouring Waters, or Springs, which I hope will be found practicable by the committee appointed to examine and report on this subject.<sup>51</sup> This will no doubt be attended with a very considerable expense, but when we reflect on the magnitude of the object, both as to preservation from contagion & fires, as well as for culinary uses, who will hesitate in contributing his proportion of the Money wanted to effect so desirable a purpose.[?]

When we consider the rapid growth of Baltimore, which less than forty years ago, was but a small Village containing about one hundred Houses of every description. That it then had but three or four vessels, perhaps about three hundred Tons burthen in the whole. That it now ranks so high in the United States being second with respect to exports, having exported to foreign ports for the last year ending 30th Sept. property to the amount of 12. 613:122 of Dollars. That it owns Sixty thousand Tons of shipping, visiting almost every Country & Clime where commerce is extended, and that from the industry of its inhabitants, and enterprize of its Merchants, combined with the peculiar advantages of its local situation, it bids fair to equal any City in the Union, if fostered by prudent laws, and wise regulations, what member of either branch of the City Council will shrink from his duty or regret the necessary time spent in digesting and preparing such laws, and regulations, or what good Citizen will not lend his aid to carry them into execution.[?]

In pursuance of an Act of Assembly of this State<sup>52</sup> and an Ordinance of the Corporation for the establishment of an [sic] Hospital for the relief of indigent sick per-

sons etc.<sup>53</sup> I have with the advice & consent of the Gentlemen named in said ordinance, caused an Hospital to be built on a Lot of ground, purchased from Mr. Walter Roe,<sup>54</sup> containing about seven acres situated North of the City, a plan of which building, the progress made therein, and the account of the purchase of the Ground & expenditures for the building, will be laid before you.<sup>55</sup>

As this was to be a State Hospital, and there appeared a disposition in the Legislature who granted us the Money to commence it, to have a building on a liberal plan, and a well grounded hope that they would give us farther aid to finish it, we thought it best to construct a House on as extensive a scale as could be covered in with the funds then appropriated after paying for the ground, rather than limit it to so small a one as those funds would completely finish, trusting to farther grants for its completion—This building is now under roof, and so far paid for, and from the best estimate I am able to procure will cost about four thousand Dollars to finish, and two thousand more for Bedding, and other necessary furniture. I am informed the Legislature of the State at their last Session made an additional grant of three thousand Dollars for this purpose,<sup>56</sup> on condition that Baltimore County & City, will raise an equal sum, so that it now remains with us to avail ourselves or not, of the liberality of the State Legislature.<sup>57</sup>

The Register will lay before you an acct. of the Money received and expended for the last twelve [months commencing the] first Inst.<sup>58</sup> which I trust will exhibit an agreeable appearance, for altho our expenditures have necessarily been very considerable, the Revenues [sic] of the City have not only enabled us to meet them, but to pay upwards of six thousand Dollars towards extinguishing the debt which the Town owed before it was incorporated.

Feb. [11th] 1799

[signed] Jas. Calhoun

#### REFERENCES

1. The provenance of the documents is unclear. Initial responsibility lay with the city council, but at some point the items disappeared from the council files. In March 1979 the documents came to the Baltimore City Archives (hereafter referred to as

- BCA) from the Baltimore Municipal Museum. It is not known when or how the Museum acquired the material. Currently, the documents are part of the BCA record group 9, series 1.
- Under the new government, the mayor was to submit annually a report (or "message") concerning the "general state of the city" to the city council within the first five days of the council's opening session. Sessions usually began in January or February. Early reports are available in compilations published by the municipality, such as *Mayor's Messages, 1800-1830* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.). No available compilation, however, includes the 1798 or 1799 annual reports presented here (the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* newspaper did publish the reports soon after they appeared). The 19 June 1797 document is not technically an annual report as the city government had only been operational for about five months. The item is, however, the first to summarize in detail the new government's priorities and actions. This document has never been published in any form.
  - Calhoun (1743-1816) was born of Irish stock in Pennsylvania. He came to Baltimore from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, around 1771 and quickly became a successful merchant. During the Revolutionary War, he served on Baltimore's ruling committee of observation and later was Deputy Commissary-General of Purchases for the Continental Army. Active in the efforts to establish an effective local government, Calhoun was instrumental in getting the 1796 charter. He owed his 21 February 1797 election as the first mayor to his widespread popularity among all elements of the city's population. Calhoun resigned in 1804 midway through his fourth two year term in office and later served as a member of the city council.
  - Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 10ff; Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 3-13.
  - Jacob H. Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), pp. 18-19, 31.
  - Dennis Rankin Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829: The Genesis of a Community," Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1976, pp. 116-118; Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790-1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 83-84. The charter appears in *Laws of Maryland, 1796*, ch. 68.
  - This refers to the official implementation of the municipal government through the approval of the city charter by the state legislature.
  - The session started on 27 February and continued until early July of 1797.
  - Baltimore Ordinance 16 (11 April 1797).
  - Ibid.*, 12 (10 April 1797).
  - The council agreed with Calhoun and passed ordinance 35, a supplement to the riding and driving ordinance, on 26 June 1797. Riding or otherwise placing a horse on paved footways was thereby outlawed.
  - Ordinance 15 (7 April 1797). A nuisance was anything noisome, improperly disposed of, or judged potentially harmful to human health. The most common nuisances were animal carcasses, vegetable matter, and excrement. For want of a garbage collection service, Baltimoreans at this time often tossed such material—along with the rest of their trash—into the streets.
  - The problem alluded to here was that the original nuisance prevention ordinance did not specifically outlaw the throwing of liquid wastes into the streets or any kind of garbage into the gutters. Ordinance 39, passed on 26 June 1797, rectified these omissions.
  - Ordinance 14, passed on 10 April 1797, authorized the appointment of five city commissioners to direct the grading, paving, and repairing of city streets. Also placed under the direction of the new body was the long standing problem of trying to keep the streets clean (see notes 12 and 13).
  - Watching refers to the practice of having designated watchmen patrol the city streets at night to deter crime. The city's other method to discourage lawlessness involved lighting the streets after dark. Ordinance 10, passed on 3 April 1797, established the Commissioners of Watching and Lighting to supervise the performance of these activities by private contractors.
  - Jacob Lewis Bettlinger contracted with the Baltimore County Court to light the city's streets for one year starting 1 January 1796. He probably supplied similar service for previous years as well. Little personal information exists concerning Bettlinger. A newspaper advertisement dated 10 January 1795 notes that an "I. L. Bettlinger, Tinman and Blacksmith next door below G. C. Presbury's, esq., in Gay Street, Baltimore" is willing to light the streets for an adequate sum.
  - The street lamps used by the city burned oil derived from the sperm whale. This fuel, generally known as spermeity oil, had to be imported in large quantities from New England whaling centers.
  - This particular proposal was not found but a similar one dated 13 November 1797 is in BCA record group 16, series 1, box 1 (HRS 1797-99). Bettlinger proposed to light the city for the coming year for \$27 per lamp or \$26 per lamp plus \$1,000. He also demanded a three year contract.
  - Accumulating deposits of silt in the harbor forced the city to come up with some method to keep the shipping channels clear. The device hit upon was a "mud machine" consisting of a barge equipped with an oxen powered scoop.
  - This was a large flat bottomed boat into which the mud machine operators shoveled silt raised from the harbor.
  - Leonard Harbaugh originally owned this structure that was near the eastern end of the inner harbor. The wharf continued to be known by Harbaugh's name even after Christopher Hughes, Sr. (1744-1824), a prosperous merchant, acquired it.
  - The mud was used to fill in the spaces between wharves to create firm ground.

23. Thomas McElderry (d.1810), a prosperous landowner and merchant, owned a wharf located at the foot of Market Space.
24. Captain John O'Donnell (1749-1805), a wealthy landowner, merchant, and founder of the Canton Company, owned a wharf near or next to that of Thomas McElderry.
25. Samuel Smith (1752-1839), a prosperous merchant, member of congress, and future mayor of Baltimore. Smith's wharf started at the foot of Gay Street and was next to O'Donnell's wharf.
26. John Hollins, merchant. The location of his wharf is not known, although it was near that of Samuel Smith.
27. Ordinance 22, passed on 24 April 1797, authorized a three man commission to chart and survey the harbor channel. After completion of this task, the commission was to establish a boundary line beyond which no wharf was to extend. The boundary was to prevent obstruction of the channel. A plat dated 18 July 1799 (BCA, record group 12, series 2, no. 26) displays the line and is signed by William Patterson and Seth Barton. A 1797 list of city officials indicates that these two individuals along with David Stewart functioned as "Commissioners to make a survey of the harbor and port of Baltimore" for that year.
28. Unswept chimneys and improperly stored gunpowder were extreme fire hazards in eighteenth-century Baltimore. The Baltimore Insurance Fire Company, incorporated by the state legislature in 1787, originally had responsibility (coupled with a commercial incentive) to regulate these dangers. When the company failed to meet expectations, the legislature in 1791 gave the Maryland Insurance Fire Company regulatory authority in these areas. Baltimore's 1796 charter granted the city government exclusive power to oversee chimney sweeping and gunpowder storage.
29. Several rented buildings stored gunpowder in the city at the time Calhoun wrote. This arrangement lasted until the city government appropriated \$2,665 early in 1800 to erect a municipal powder house on the south side of the inner harbor. According to the municipality's financial records, the new magazine was in operation by February 1802.
30. This document was not found, but similar information is available in the city register's records (BCA, record group 32, series 8).
31. The council complied with Calhoun's request by passing ordinance 36 on 26 June 1797 authorizing the mayor to reduce or remit a fine if deemed appropriate.
32. What Calhoun is attempting to convey is that some of the ordinances passed are flawed and that it will take time to refine an adequate set of laws for the city.
33. *Laws of Maryland*, 1797 ch. 54. This act specifically authorized the city government to tax for the purposes of street paving or sinking wells; to regulate and license commercial haulers; to forbid the construction of wooden buildings; and to prevent the building of new wharves without official consent.
34. *Laws of Maryland*, 1797, ch. 102. The hospital was meant for "the relief of indigent sick persons and for the reception and care of lunatics." Citing the "charitable disposition in divers inhabitants of this state to contribute largely towards establishing a common state hospital in or near the city of Baltimore," the legislature granted \$8,000 to the city for this purpose.
35. See note 33.
36. It has been suggested that the wealthier and less democratic elements of the city had the wards gerrymandered in their favor. This is plausible, as from their inception in 1797 the wards varied greatly in population. Redistricting did not take place until 1802. See William Bruce Wheeler, "The Baltimore Jeffersonians, 1788-1800: A Profile of Intra-Factional Conflict," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (Summer 1971): 153-68.
37. Ordinance 10 (3 April 1797). See note 15.
38. No ordinance or other official directive exists for such a change. It is, however, likely that the watchmen had some responsibility for the lamps until 1816 when the municipality contracted with the Baltimore Gas Light Company for lighting the streets.
39. Located in BCA record group 9, series 1.
40. This was a group of city residents, essentially self-appointed, who attempted to coordinate disease prevention efforts in Baltimore from 1793 until the formation of the municipal government.
41. Philadelphia, New York, and Boston had major outbreaks of yellow fever during the Summer and Fall of 1798. The *Aedes aegypti* mosquito, inadvertently imported from West Indian ports along with more desirable ship's cargo, transmitted the disease. Baltimore, with its many marshes and pools of stagnant water, was a favorable spot for *Aedes* to settle and breed. Serious yellow fever epidemics struck the city in 1794, 1797, and again in 1800. The mosquito's role in these calamities was unknown during this period.
42. Two conflicting theories existed at the time regarding the origins of disease. One held that local unsanitary conditions precipitated infection through the emission of harmful vapors and that the only way to prevent illness was to suppress nuisances, such as swamps, overly full privies, and rotting animal and vegetable matter. The second school of thought held that recently arrived persons and materials brought disease with them from places where illness was widespread. According to this concept, good public health depended upon identification and quarantine of infected people and materials. Of course, the germ theory had yet to be developed.
43. The greatest incidence of yellow fever was between July and October—the months during which the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito flourished in Baltimore.
44. This process involved the removal of cargo to a non-populous area where it was exposed to the open air until any offensive manifestations disappeared.
45. The general assembly authorized the appointment of this official in 1793 after a widely publicized yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia. The officer's prime duty was to inspect incoming vessels for signs of contagious disease. If any signs were found, the officer could quarantine vessels and



their crews.

- 46. Ordinance 11 (7 April 1797).
- 47. This was not done until 1801.
- 48. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 1799 ch. 12, "An Act respecting Quarantines and Health Laws."
- 49. Ordinance 108 (12 December 1798).
- 50. *Ibid.*, 19 (26 April 1797); 76 (12 December 1798).
- 51. Thomas J. Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Evarts, 1881) notes that the city government appointed Robert Smith, Zebulon Hollingsworth, Edward Johnson, and W. MacCreery in 1798 to report upon methods of conveying water into Baltimore. Submitting their report on 13 February 1799, the committee recommended introduction of water from either Gwynn's Falls, Jones' Falls, or Herring Run through a pipeline. The council agreed with this idea and authorized a lottery to pay for it. But as Calhoun noted in a 10 June letter to the council (BCA record group 9, series 1, box 1), the project stalled when persons whose property lay between the city and water source demanded prohibitive sums of money before they would allow construc-

tion of the pipeline. It was only after the appearance of the privately run Baltimore Water Company in 1804 that the city's water supply improved.

- 52. *Laws of Maryland*, 1797 ch. 102.
- 53. Ordinance 69 (20 February 1798). The hospital, located on the present site of the Johns Hopkins Hospital complex, opened in 1800 but was not completed for another twenty years. As with other public services, the city government contracted with private individuals to run the hospital.
- 54. A dry goods merchant residing at this time at 57 Market Street near the corner of Tripolet's Alley.
- 55. Not found.
- 56. None of the compilations of state laws for 1798, 1799, or 1800 mention this additional grant. But since the city government put up a matching sum (see note 57), the state must have given the extra money.
- 57. The municipality accepted the state's terms and appropriated the money through ordinance 1, passed on 20 February 1799.
- 58. Not found.

# Travel in the 1830s: The Diary of William Minifie

Edited by C. HERBERT BAXLEY

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

**W**ILLIAM MINIFIE, SON OF JAMES & Elizabeth Hyne Minifie, was born in Devonshire, England, on the 14th of August 1805. He received a fair English education in the private schools of Totnes in that County.

He remembers very well the public rejoicings held on the conclusion of peace with France, when Napoleon Bonaparte was sent to Elba and of those in the following year when news of the great victory of Waterloo was received. Also, of the great excitement which occurred several years afterward when the news was received that the bill against Queen Caroline was thrown out of the House of Lords.

His parents belonged to the English Episcopal Church in which he was baptized and was Confirmed by the Bishop of Exeter.

At the age of 15 he was apprenticed to a carpenter and joiner in Totnes, with whom he served two years, when his master failed in business and a portion of the premium paid was lost. Shortly afterward he was apprenticed to Mr. Jacob Harvey of Torquay, who carried on a large building business, to whom a premium of forty Pounds was paid. He lived with Mr. Harvey's family five years.

During his residence in Torquay, he became acquainted with Miss Mary White. After an intimacy of several years, they were married at Tor Church on January 14, 1828. (They celebrated their Golden Wedding last January 1878.) Immediately after their marriage, they started for London,

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Mr. Baxley, of Ridgewood, N.J., is a great-grandson of William Minifie.

stopping at Dartmouth and at Totnes to visit his mother, then to Exeter. On the third evening, they left Exeter for London on the top of the stage coach, arriving at London in about 24 hours. (The distance is now traveled by rail in four hours.) On the 28th they sailed from the London Docks for Baltimore, where they arrived after a stormy passage of 72 days.

He worked for some months after his arrival in Baltimore at ship joiner's work, the hours being from sunrise to sunset and the wages \$1.25 per day. He then opened a carpenter's shop and went to work on his own account.

In the spring of 1830, he started for England in the old ship Dumfries; Captain Harvey. On the second night after she left the city, she was caught in a violent storm in the Gulf Stream which did so much damage that she returned to Baltimore for repairs; arrived after an absence of two weeks. Two weeks afterwards, he embarked in the ship Philip Tabb and arrived in Liverpool in 28 days; the return voyage occupying six weeks in the same ship with his mother and sister, his only near relatives.

While in Liverpool, he examined the track, etc., of the Liverpool & Manchester R.R. which was not then opened for travel.

At that time, the crossing of the Atlantic by steamships was much discussed among seafaring people and others. It was the general opinion that the steamships would be very uncomfortable for passengers, from their pitching heavily in a head sea, having no sails to steady them and that they could not be profitable.

About 1834, William and his wife made a trip to the West. At that time the B. & O. R.R. had only reached Frederick. After that, by stage on the National Road to

Wheeling. From Wheeling by steamboat to Cincinnati, and then to Madison, Indiana, returning to Cincinnati. A stage coach for Erie across Ohio, a journey of several days and nights. The coach carried the mails and during one night made two miles and a half an hour, some of the passengers walking behind carrying fence rails to lift the wheels out from between the logs of the corduroy roads. Then to Niagara and home via New York by steamboat, coach and canal, stopping at Saratoga, Troy, Albany, Philadelphia, etc.

In 1836, he was elected a member of the Maryland Academy of Science & Literature, in which he took an active part. It was dissolved in 1844 for want of support. At the time of its dissolution, he was one of the curators.

In 1837, he announced himself as an Architect & Builder. In that year, he designed and erected the Front Street Theatre, Baltimore. It was generally considered to be the equal, if not superior, to any theatre then existing in the United States. The building was much praised by prominent actors and others for its arrangements for scenery and for its acoustic qualities.

September 1845, he was elected Teacher of Drawing in the Central High School of Baltimore; he occupied this position five years. Drawing had not previously been taught in any of the Public Schools of the City. The course of instruction adopted was very similar to the Industrial Drawing now used in the Public Schools and his own work, afterwards published, was used orally for instruction in Instrumental Drawing.

In 1852, he was elected Professor of Drawing for the School of Design of the Maryland Mechanical Institute. He devised a course of instruction, reorganized the school and gave short addresses at the opening and closing of the annual sessions, which have been published.

In 1849, he published his Text Book of Geometrical Drawing, Perspective & Shadows, to which was afterward added an Essay on the Theory & Application of Color, illustrated with 50 steel plates. This work has been very favorably received both in this Country and England, especially by the scientific press of both countries.

In 1853, it was introduced into the De-

partment of Art of the British Government at Marlborough House, London, and was placed on the list of books recommended to the Schools of Art & Design throughout the Kingdom. (Royal Octavo Edition)

A Duodecimo edition, slightly abridged, illustrated with 48 steel plates, was soon after published for the use of schools. These are still live books, up to this time (1878) 15,000 copies have been published; 9,000 of the Octavo, 6,000 of the Duodecimo. They are in use in many of the schools and colleges throughout the United States and are largely used for self instruction.

Mr. Minifie has been a frequent contributor to the local press, generally on scientific matters. His series of letters on the schemes for the improvement of the Harbor of Baltimore elicited much favorable attention. He was one of the originators of the present Maryland Academy of Science and is still a member. In 1858, he was elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and is still a member.

He became a naturalized citizen about 1833, having given notice of his intention shortly after his arrival in Baltimore, which has been his residence for 50 years.

He has never taken an active part in politics, nor held any political appointment. He has, however, always held very decided opinions; was an Old Line Whig and voted for Henry Clay for president; was a very decided outspoken Union man during the Civil War and is a firm Republican at present.

He was one of the originators of the Maryland Mechanics Institute and also of the Allston Association. The object of the Allston was the formation of a Life School and other aids for the benefit of artists and amateurs but was soon converted to a social club.

In 1847, he purchased the stock of a Book & Stationery Store at 114 Baltimore Street to which he added Drawing Instruments and materials, as his own experience as an architect and teacher has shown him the need for such a depot. Some years later he added artist's materials to his stock.

He occupied the premises at 114 Baltimore Street for 29 years, since 1868 with his eldest son, James Woodfin Minifie, as



a partner. In 1876 they removed to No. 5 North Charles Street.

#### William Minifie—1878

##### TRIP TO NEW YORK—1830

October 23rd; Left Baltimore in Steamer Constitution at 5 PM, arrived at Frenchtown at 11, took Stage across the State of Delaware, 16 miles to Newcastle.

24th: Arrived on board Steamer Newcastle at 3 AM, arrived at Philadelphia at ½ past 6, 40 miles.

Sunday, at Philadelphia. Walked about the City with Mary & Lydia<sup>1</sup>, saw the United States Bank, a very handsome stone building. Philadelphia is a very handsome City, the streets are straight and cross each other at right angles, it contains many handsome buildings and 195,000 inhabitants.

Went to the waterworks on the Schuylkill after dinner, it propels the water to a reservoir about 150 feet above the river and is carried in iron pipes all over the City, waterworks cost \$4,500,000. Boarded at Mrs. Austie's, No. 91 South Third Street.

25th: Left Philadelphia at 7 AM in Steamer Philadelphia, passed by Burlington and Bristol at 9, arrived at Boardingtown<sup>2</sup>, State of New Jersey, 40 miles at 10, saw Joseph Bonaparte's residence.

Took Stage 24 miles to Washington, a small village, on the Raritan River, arrived at 2 PM. Took steamer to New York, 36 miles, arrived at ½ past 5.

Took boarding at Mrs. Mann's, 61 Broadway, called on Mr. Jno. Syms in Chatham Street, went to the Park Theatre, saw Clara Fisher perform, very much pleased. Returned to Mr. Syms' for Lydia, arrived at our lodgings at ½ past 11.

26th: Shopping all day, spent the evening at Mr. Syms'.

27th: In the morning visited the Town Hall, a spacious and elegant building with a large open space in front called the Park, the Hall contains many portraits of eminent men painted by first rate artists.

Took a walk on the Battery, a delightful promenade, from thence to Castle Garden which is joined to the Battery by a wooden bridge. At present it is used for recreation,

but in time of war is a strong defence to the City.

New York contains 200,000 inhabitants, is a place of great trade, and from its location is likely to retain its superiority over every other City in the Union.

Crossed the East River in the evening to Brooklyn on Long Island, a very pleasant Town containing 15,000 inhabitants, one of the United States Navy Yards is here, had no time to visit. Called on Mr. Kutz, an Englishman, returned across the Ferry to Mr. Syms' where we spent the evening.

28th: Left New York in the Steamer Swan at 7 AM, very foggy, arrived at the City of Brunswick, N. J., on the Raritan at Noon, took Stage, changed horses at Kingston, passed thro Princetown, a pleasant Town which contains a College and Theological Seminary.

Arrived at Trenton on the Delaware, 25 miles from Brunswick at ½ past 4. Low water, the steamer could not come up, changed horses, crossed the Delaware Bridge to the State of Pennsylvania, saw the place where General Meaureau took refuge in his exile.

Arrived on board the Steamer Trenton a little above Bristol at 5, arrived at Philadelphia at ½ past 7, went to see Peale's Museum, a handsome establishment considered the best in the Union, slept at Mrs. Austie's.

29th: Left Philadelphia at 7 AM on board Steamer Wm. Penn, arrived at Delaware City, 8 miles below Newcastle at 11, got on board the Delaware Canal Barge, passed thro the Canal which connects the waters of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.

Arrived at Chesapeake City, 14 miles, at ½ past 1, went on board the Steamer Carroll, arrived at Baltimore, 65 miles from the Canal, at ½ past 7. All well.

1. Mary's sister, Lydia White.

2. Bordentown.

##### TRIP WEST TO OHIO & NIAGARA FALLS—1834

Wednesday, June 25th: Mary started by the Stage to Cumberland. Received a letter from her on the 29th.

July 4th: Started at ½ past 5 by the Rail Road Car. Arrived at Frederick at 1 PM, 62 miles by RR, 45 by Turnpike. Took Stage to Hagerstown, to supper, changed coaches, travelled all night, across several small mountains, very heavy rain, arrived at Beavansville, to breakfast at 7 AM.

5th: Arrived at Cumberland at 12 Noon. Stopt at Susan's.<sup>1</sup>

6th, Sunday: Staid at Cumberland.

7th: Staid at Cumberland.

8th: Left Cumberland at ¼ before 1 in the Reliance Line, very bad road, arrived at Frostburg ¼ before 5, would go no further as the company was very disagreeable. Supped & lodged at the Frostburg Hotel, George S. Evans, in the Allegheny Mountains, very good accommodations.

9th: Left Frostburg at 4 PM in Reliance Line, took supper at Thistle Tavern.

10th: Crossed the Laurel Mountain, the highest of the Alleghenies about daybreak in heavy rain. Arrived at Uniontown, Penna., at ½ past 5 for breakfast. Crossed the Monongahela at Brownsville, took dinner at Washington at 2 PM, arrived at Wheeling at ½ past 10.

11th: Wheeling all day, on the east bank of the Ohio River, a general rendezvous for travellers from East to West & vice versa. Contains about 6,000 inhabitants & several manufactories, coal is very plentiful in the neighborhood.

12th: Engaged a passage in the Ohioan for Cincinnati, fare \$10 each. Left Wheeling at Noon, arrived at Marietta at 9, lay to 4 hours account of fog.

13th, Sunday: Had prayers by Mr. Howell of Norfolk, pleasant day, arrived at Portsmouth, Ohio, at 10 PM, walked on shore with Mr. H. The Erie & Ohio Canal terminates here at the mouth of the Scioto River. Saw Mr. Andrews.

14th: Arrived at Maysville, Kentucky, about daybreak, discharged some freight, left at 5 AM, arrived at Cincinnati at Noon, stopt at Mrs. Hamilton's, Main Street above Front.

15th: Called on Mrs. Devon, 7th Street, in the morning, at Litton's Museum in the evening.

16th: Drove around the City in a gig, very pleasant, churches chiefly in the Gothic style, many of the private mansions are finished in a handsome style. The Miami Canal terminates here. Left Cincinnati at 11 AM in Steamer Champlain, arrived at Madison, Indiana, at 9 PM. All well.

17th: Wet day, supped at Mrs. McLean's.

18th: Dined at Mrs. McLean's. Left Madison at 5 PM in Steamer Benjamin Franklin.

19th: Arrived at Cincinnati at 3 AM, stopt at Cromwell Cincinnati Hotel. In the afternoon crossed the river to Newport, Kentucky, then across the Licking to Covington.

20th, Sunday: Visited two Presbyterian Churches, paid 6¼ cents for a seat, could not hear the preacher, handsome church. Looked in the Unitarian (Gothic) & Catholic (Gothic) in Sycamore St. Supped at Mrs. Devon's, booked for Columbus, paid bill at hotel, retired at eleven.

21st: Started at ½ past 4 in Citizens Line Stage, breakfasted at Reading, dined at Waynesville, passes thro Xenia at Noon, stopt at the Yellow Springs at 5 PM, took some water, arrived at Springfield, Capital of Clark County, at 7 PM, 70 miles from Cincinnati. The part of Ohio traversed today lies between the Great & Little Miami Rivers & is generally called the Miami Country, very flat & in many places swampy, very fertile, corduroy roads. Mary sick. Thermometer 96°.

22nd: Left Springfield at 4 AM, arrived 51 miles at Columbus at 2 PM, Capital of Ohio, handsome place. Left at ½ past 5, supped at Sunbury at 11, travelled all night, bad roads & stage.

23rd: Arrived at Mt. Vernon at 6 AM, 21 miles, at Loudonville at 3 PM, supped at Wooster at 10 PM, travelled all night.

24th: Breakfasted at Medina, arrived at Cleveland, Ohio, at Noon, beautiful situation. Embarked immediately on board Steamer Enterprise, arrived at Ashtabula, Ohio, at 10 PM, passed Erie, Penna., in the night.

25th: Arrived at Portland, New York, at 6 AM, arrived at Buffalo at Noon, received a

letter from home, dined at Eagle Tavern. Buffalo a very fine flourishing town containing about 10,000 in habitants.

At ¼ past 4 PM took Stage for the Falls, cross'd the Erie Canal & Niagara River to Canada at Black Rock, 4 miles from Buffalo, thro Chippawa & battle ground of Chippawa. Arrived at Pavilion at sundown, landlord a dirty rascal named Adkinson, could or would not accommodate us after keeping us waiting an hour. Got another Stage and drove to the National Hotel at Bridgewater or Lundy's Lane, kept by Slater, good accommodations.

26th: Walked to the River and bath'd in an eddy just below the Falls, returned to breakfast. Then walked to the Table Rock, a grand view of the Horseshoe Falls. Then stript & put on a dress prepared for the purpose & descended the spiral staircase to the riverside with a guide & penetrated 145 feet under the Horseshoe Falls, the situation is awfully sublime. Returned & dressed, walk'd to the Ferry ½ mile & cross'd to the American side, very fine view from ½ up the bank of both Falls.

Cross'd the toll bridge to Goat Island where there are a variety of views from different points, ascended the Stone Tower, walked to the end of the Terrapin Bridge projecting over the great Falls, the situation is almost terrifying. Returned to the New York shore, descended to the Ferry, cross'd during a heavy gust of wind, which raised the spray and gave us a complete drenching, heavy thunder & lightning without rain added to the grandeur of the scene.

Rode from the Ferry to the tavern to dinner after which our party left us, consisting of Mr. & Mrs. Hoffner of Cincinnati, Mr. Hopkins of New Orleans, Mr. Hunt of St. Louis & two others.

At 4 PM rode to the Table Rock & again penetrated with Mary under the sheet of water to Termination Rock, brought away some fragments, ascended to Table Rock where Mary shot the water house,<sup>2</sup> returned at sundown.

27th, Sunday: Drove in the morning to the Whirlpool, 3 miles below the Falls, returned to dinner. Hired a wagon to go to Queenstown, started at ½ past 2 PM, passed thro

Stamford, arrived at the Heights of Queenstown in 1 hour. Ascended General Brooks' monument, a handsome column of great height, his remains are interr'd in a vault below, the monument is situated on the battlegrounds.

Descended to the Ferry, cross'd the Niagara River to Lewiston (New York), took passage on board Steamer United States for Rochester, then to the hotel to supper. Started from Lewiston at 7 PM, touched at Youngstown (N.Y.) and Niaraga (Canada), entered Lake Ontario at ½ past 8.

28th: Arrived at daybreak at the Landing, 5 miles above the mouth of the Genesee River, 3 miles below Rochester. Took the Rail Road to Rochester, walked to the Falls. Rochester appears to be a fine, flourishing city, has several handsome churches, contains about 11,000 inhabitants, it is of very rapid growth.

Returned to Rail Road to same boat, having determined to go to Oswego. Descended the Genesee River, passed Charlotte, a village at the mouth, and again entered the Lake. The United States steamer is a very handsome boat, 150 ft. long, 26 ft. beam, with two powerful engines.

Arrived at Oswego at 1 PM, hired an extra Stage for Utica, started at 3 PM, had an apology for supper, travelled all night, chiefly thro dense pine forests.

29th: Arrived at Rome at 7 to breakfast, at Utica at 10. Dined & supp'd at Mr. Curtis's, a very good house. Utica a very handsome town in the Mohawk Valley on the banks of the Mohawk River, containing about 10,000 inhabitants. The Erie Canal passes thro the town. Engaged a passage by Canal Boat for Schenectady, left Utica at 6 PM in Canal Boat Independence.

30th: Arrived at Canajoharie at sunrise & at Schenectady at 2 PM. Wrote a letter to Ann.<sup>3</sup> Walked around the village, an old fashioned Dutch settlement.

Started at ½ past 4 in Rail Road Car, thro Ballston Spa, arrived at Saratoga Village in 1 ¾ hours, 22 miles, put up at United States Hotel. After supper walked to Congress Spring & drank some water, then to Hamilton Spring.

31st: Walked to Congress Spring & took some water, returned to hotel to breakfast, then visited Columbian High Rock & Flat Rock Springs.

Left Saratoga at ½ past 1, thro Schenectady to Albany at ¼ past 4 by Rail Road, 38 miles, part of the time travelled at the rate of 25 miles per hour. Put up at the American Hotel run by John Thomas.

Visited the new Baptist Church, ascended to the top of the dome, a fine view of the city, river and surrounding countryside. After tea, visited the Statehouse & City Hall, went in the dome of the latter, then went on board Borden's new steamboat.

August 1st: Left Albany in Steamer North America at 7, passage 50 cents, 145 miles. The scenery on the Hudson is very picturesque. Arrived at New York at 7 PM, stopt at Mr. Syms'.

2nd: Walked thro various parts of the city to the Post Office, Exchange, Holts Hotel, etc. On the Battery and at Castle Garden in the evening, saw Mr. Sutton, the ventriloquist, perform.

3rd, Sunday: Visited churches in the morning, several shut up. In the evening at 4, crossed the North River to Hoboken.

4th: Visited the City Hall in the morning, a very splendid building. Then hired a barouche and drove to the Dry Dock, Waverly Place, Lafayette Place & several principal places & buildings. Went in Trinity Church, saw Bishop Hobart's monument, returned to Chatham Street to dinner.

Then cross'd the East River Ferry to Brooklyn, visited the Navy Yard, went on board the Receiving Ship Hudson, 64 guns, everything in perfect order, saw Frigates Sabine & Savannah on the stocks. Took tea at Mr. Kurtz's, called on Mr. Adlard.

Returned to New York, took omnibus to Niblo's Garden, everything very splendid, illuminated walk, fine music & handsome saloon, several pieces of fireworks, the siege of Antwerp was superior to anything of the kind I ever saw. Returned to Mr. Furz's, Pearl Street, supp'd & arrived at Mr. Syms' at 11.

5th: In the morning walk'd to the Battery, called on Mr. Pike & Mr. Adlard. After dinner cross'd the Ferry to Brooklyn, hired

three coaches & proceeded with Mr. Syms & wife & several others of their acquaintances thro Flatbush to Coney Island, bath'd in the surf. Returned to New York at 8, supp'd at Mr. Furz's, retired at 12.

6th: Went to the Post Office in the morning. At 10 started in the Steamer Independence, Rail Road Line, arrived at South Amboy at ½ past 12. Took the Rail Road Car, arrived at Burlington at 3, 35 miles. Got on board the Burlington & dined, arrived at Philadelphia at 6 PM, put up at the Commercial Hotel, Chestnut Street. Walked to the Courthouse & Green.

7th: Walked to the Exchange in the morning, a handsome new marble building on the Corinthian order. Took the omnibus to Mr. Barrington's, 348 Front Street. Then walked to Navy Yard, went on board the Pennsylvania, a large ship on the stocks pierced for 160 guns, will carry 220, also a Frigate in another house.

Took omnibus to Fair Mount Water Works on the Schuykill, there is a handsome wooden bridge of a single arch across the river at this place, returned to the hotel to dinner.

In the evening hired a dearborn & pair & drove to the Girard College & around the City, took tea at Mrs. Barrington's.

8th: Started in Steamer Robt. Morris at 6 AM, arrived at New Castle, 40 miles, 20 minutes after 8, cross'd the Rail Road to Frenchtown, 16½ miles in 1 hour. Arrived home at 2 PM, all well.

1. Mary's sister, Susan White Mobley.

2. Probably refers to a waterworks pump house at Table Rock erected in 1834, later abandoned as impractical.

3. William's sister, Ann Minifie.

#### TRIP WEST TO OHIO & NIAGARA FALLS—1834

##### *Rail Road*

	<u>Miles</u>
1—To Frederick	62
12—To Rochester & back	6
16—To Saratoga	22
17—To Albany	38
21—To Bordentown	35
24—To Frenchtown	<u>16</u>
	179

Stage

2—To Wheeling	219
6—To Springfield	70
7—To Cleveland	182
9—To Niagara	14
10—To Queenstown	7
14—To Utica	76
19—To Coney Island & back	30
	<u>598</u>

Steamboat

3—To Cincinnati	374
4—To Madison	90
5—To Cincinnati	90
8—To Buffalo	193
11—To Rochester Landing	97
13—To Oswego	65
18—To New York	145
20—To Amboy	23
22—To Philadelphia	29
23—To New Castle	35
25—To Baltimore	64
	<u>1,205</u>

Canal

15—To Schenectady	80
	Total 2,062

TRIP WEST TO OHIO & NIAGARA FALLS—1834

Expenses

Fare to Wheeling for Mary	\$12.00
Expenses to Cumberland	2.50
Fare to Wheeling	12.00
4th July: Breakfast at Ell't Mills	.50
Dinner at Frederick	.50
Supper at Hagerstown	.50
5th: Breakfast at Bevansville	.38
7th: Sundries at Cumberland	4.00
8th: Sundries at Frostburg	2.25
	<u>\$34.63</u>
9th: Supper at Thistle Tavern	1.00
10th: Breakfast at Uniontown	.75
Dinner at Washington	.75
12th: Bill at Wheeling	3.50
Porter & sundries	.75
2 Fares to Cincinnati	20.00
Sundries on board Ohioan	.38

14th: Porter Cincinnati	.25
16th: 2 Day's board at Cincinnati	3.50
Gig	1.00
Museum & sundries	1.50
Porter	.25
Washing	.75
2 Fares to Madison	5.00
Porter, etc.	.63
18th: Fares to Cincinnati	6.00
Porter, etc.	.25
19th: Ferry & sundries	1.00
20th: 2 Days at Cromwell's Hotel	4.00
Sundries	.75
Washing	.56
Stage Fare to Columbus	12.00
	<u>\$99.20</u>
21st: Breakfast at Reading	.75
Dinner at Waynesville	.75
Supper & lodging at Springfield	1.00
22nd: Breakfast at Springfield	.75
Fare to Cleveland	12.00
Dinner at Columbus	.75
Supper at Sunbury	.75
23rd: Breakfast at Mount Vernon	.75
Dinner at Loundonville	.62
Supper at Wooster	.75
24th: Breakfast at Medina	.75
Sundries	.50
Fare to Buffalo	8.00
25th: Dinner at Buffalo	1.00
Coach to Lundy's Lane at Falls	2.00
26th: Guide under Falls for 1	.50
Ferry Boat, going & returning	.75
Toll at bridge to Goat Island	.50
Cold Water, etc.	1.00
Guide under Falls	1.00
Present & sundries	.50
Washing	1.00
27th: Bill at Drummondsville	6.50
Ferry to Lewiston	.50
Supper at Lewiston	.75
	<u>\$143.32</u>
27th: Ascending Brooks Monument	.25



Sundries	1.00	5th: Left Baltimore at 6 AM in Steamer
Fare to Rochester	8.00	Carroll, arrived at the Elk River at 10, at
28th: Rail Road to & from	.25	Frenchtown at 11, at Philadelphia at ½ past
Landing		3 PM. Put up at Congress Hall. Spent the
Extra Fare to Oswego	4.00	evening at Mr. Barrington's.
Dinner at Oswego	.75	6th: Left Philadelphia at 6 AM in Steamer
Fare by Stage at Utica	6.00	New Philadelphia, arrived at Bordentown
Supper, etc.	.50	at 9, across the Rail Road at ½ past 11, at
	<u>\$164.07</u>	New York at 2 PM. Drove to several hotels
29th: Breakfast at Rome	.62	to get accommodations for Miss Millard,
Dinner & supper at	1.50	left her at Holts. Called on Mr. Syms. Em-
Utica		barked on board the Steamer Boston for
Sundries at Utica	1.00	Providence. Arrived at Hurl Gate at 6 PM.
Fare by Canal to Sche-	7.00	7th: Rained all day. Awoke at 4, something
nectedy		wrong below, got on deck as soon as possi-
30th: Fare by Rail Road to	2.00	ble, got a ducking & a few delightful hours
Saratoga		of seasickness. Arrived at Point Smith at 8
31st: 1 Day's board at Sara-	4.00	AM, at Newport at ½ past 10, with a heavy
toga		sea & wind at Providence at 1 PM, 5 hours
Fare by Rail Road to Al-	3.00	later than usual. Dined at Franklin House.
bany		Hired a light wagon for \$5 to Medway.
Tea & lodging at Amer-	2.00	Passed thro Pawtucket, Attleboro, Wren-
ican Hotel		tham & Franklin. Arrived at Rock Bottom
1st August: Fare to New York	1.00	in Medway at 9.
Breakfast & dinner	1.75	8th: Visited the Wadding Factory. Hired a
Sundries	.75	wagon for Dedham, passed thro Medfield.
4th: Barouche at New York	2.00	Arrived at Dedham at 1, 13 miles from
Sundries	1.00	Medway. Stopt at Norfolk House, Mr. Al-
Omnibus, Ferry, Niblo's		dens. Left at 5 by Rail Road, arrived at
etc.	2.00	Boston at 6 PM, stopt at Mrs. Hyatt's
	<u>\$193.69</u>	Marlbro Hotel, Washington Street. Called
5th: Chaise to the Beach	2.40	at Mr. Streeter's in the evening.
Ferry & sundries	.75	9th, Sunday: Walked about the City, looked
6th: Coach to Steamboat	.75	in Mr. Dean's church, heard Mr. Streeter
Fare to Philadelphia	6.00	preach in the forenoon, walked around the
Dinner	1.00	Mall & returned to the hotel to dinner.
Washing	.44	Then visited the Courthouse, Stone Chapel
7th: Omnibus	.88	(Gothic) & another Episcopal Church with
Coach	3.00	an Ionic front adjoining the Masonic Hall.
8th: Fare to Baltimore	6.00	Attended service at the Trinity Church, a
Breakfast	1.00	handsome granite building in the Gothic
Porter, etc. at Philadel-	1.00	style, then home to tea. Then walked round
phia		the Mall & Commons to Tremont House &
Tavern Bill	4.00	theatre. Retired at 9 quite fatigued.
Dinner	1.00	10th: Left Boston at 9 AM by Rail Road,
Carriage home	.50	24 miles to Lowell, arrived at ¼ past 10.
	<u>\$222.41</u>	Visited the Carpet Factory, saw them weav-

#### TRIP NORTH TO BOSTON—1835

August 4th: Preparing for a trip to Boston. Mary has been in Medway, Mass., 5 weeks on Sunday last.

Lowell quite a handsome town, has a neat Gothic Episcopal Church & 3 or 4 Meeting Houses for other sects. The water power used in the manu-

factories is drawn by a canal from the Merimack River about a mile from the town. Good quarries of granite in the neighborhood, lime scarce, costs \$1.50 for a cask of 2½ bushels, bricks laid at \$11 per 1,000, all found. The factories: Carpet, Calico Print Works, Woolen & Cotton. Started at 3 PM, arrived at Boston at ¼ past 4, after tea called at Mr. Streeter's. Retired at 10.

11th: After breakfast hired a carriage, took up Mr. & Mrs. Skinner in Hanover Street, proceeded to Charleston, saw the Dry Dock, went on board the Columbus Receiving Ship, everything appeared in good order. Then to Bunker Hill, saw the monument, called on Mr. Everett by the ruins of the Nunnery, passed thro Cambridge, saw Harvard College, then to Mount Auburn. From Mount Auburn to Fresh Pond Hotel, a beautiful situation, returned thro Cambridge Port to Boston, arrived at the hotel at Noon. Then went on the top of the Statehouse, had a beautiful view of the City & suburbs. Got a letter from Ann<sup>1</sup> at the Post Office. Visited Faneuil Hall & market, returned to the hotel to dinner.

Left Boston at 4 PM by Rail Road for Wooster,<sup>2</sup> engine broke down at Framingham, detained us upwards of 2 hours. Arrived at Wooster at ½ past 9, put up at the Exchange Coffee House.

12th: Felt very unwell. Left Wooster at 10 AM by Stage. Arrived at Hartford, 60 miles, at 8 PM, stopt at the Temperance Coffee House.

13th: Mary unwell. Walked around the City, went in the dome of the Statehouse, fine view of the Connecticut River & Valley, the most cultivated I have seen in America. Hartford contains about 6,000 inhabitants, several handsome churches & appears to drive a large trade. Visited a Silk & Tuscan Braid manufactory, not in full operation.

Left Hartford at 11 AM, passed thro Farmington, Cheshire, etc., on the route of the canal. Arrived at New Haven at 7 PM, Fontine full, stopt at Pavilion, slept at a cottage in the neighborhood. Called at Mr. Landford's, Mr. Howell not there, Miss Harriett out of town. The view of the Long Wharf from the window of our apartment

very much resembles the Middle Pier at Torquay.

14th: Breakfasted at the Pavilion. Then hired a barouche and drove (in company with Mr. Geo. Walterston of Washington) around the Town, the handsomest I have ever seen in America, the houses spacious with gardens, many of them in a superior style of architecture, mostly built of wood. Visited Yale College, the Trumbull Gallery of Paintings in the College contains some very fine pieces, also several specimen of Antique Medals with some Peruvian Images. There is a very spacious room attached to the College containing a large collection of minerals very handsomely arranged, also fossils of the Mastodon & others.

Returned to the Pavilion, had a fine view from the top of the building, it fronts the Bay on the south and is a delightful summer residence kept by Mr. L. W. Allis. Visited an extensive coach factory belonging to Brewster & Colvis.

Left New Haven at Noon in Steamer Superior, a thunder-storm came on about 2 PM, passed Hurl Gate<sup>3</sup> at ½ past 6, arrived at New York at 7. Stopt at Mr. Syms', saw Mr. Furze of Torquay. I am 30 years old today.

15th: Walked to the Post Office & got a letter from Ann with a full account of the riots<sup>4</sup> in Baltimore, all our friends well, took a bath at Castle Garden. In the afternoon went to see Parkers' Cement, makes good cisterns, has not been proved for outside of buildings. Went to the Bowery Theatre, saw the Last Days of Pompeii, in the evening.

16th, Sunday: Walked to Unitarian Church in Chambers Street, shut up. Then to the Ferry & crossed to Hoboken, New Jersey, walked to see some lots purchased by Mr. Syms. Returned to Chatham St. to dinner, then called on Mrs. Furze.

Walked to the French Church, a splendid marble building in the Ionic order, saw the Jackson Liberty Pole that had been struck by lightning & rifted to pieces, from thence to Mr. Armstrong's. Tea'd at Syms', saw Mr. Adlard at the Brooklyn Ferry, then went to the Battery & Castle Garden, a

great number of visitors there, very hot day.  
Mark sick.

17th: Walked to the Post Office. Called at Mr. Pike's store, then went with Mary to several wholesale straw stores, called on Mrs. Furze. In the evening crossed to Brooklyn, walked on the Heights, called on Mr. Adlard's family. Returned to Chatham Street at 9.

18th: Left New York at 6 AM in Steamer Independence, arrived at South Amboy ¼ before 9, across the Rail Road 35 miles to Delaware. Embarked in Steamer Trenton, arrived at Philadelphia at 2, stopt at Congress Hall. Went to U. S. Bank, then to Mrs. Barrington', returned to hotel to supper. Heavy rain.

20th: Left Philadelphia at 6 AM, arrived home at 3 PM. Found all well.

1. William's sister, Ann Minifie.
2. Worcester.
3. Hell Gate.
4. Over the failure of the Bank of Maryland.

#### TRIP NORTH TO BOSTON—1835

##### Expenses

Aug. 5th: Fare to Philadelphia	\$3.00
Meals	1.00
6th: Tavern bill at Philadelphia	1.00
Fare to New York	3.00

Meals	1.00
Steamer to Providence	5.00

7th: Dinner at Providence	.50
Wagon to Medway	5.00

8th: Wagon to Dedham	2.75
Dinners	.75
Rail Road to Boston	.75

10th: Rail Road to Lowell	2.00
Dinners	1.00
Fare to Boston	2.00

11th: Carriage hire	5.00
Tavern bill	7.50
Hack to depot	.63
Rail Road to Wooster	3.00

12th: Tavern bill	2.00
Stage to Hartford	6.00

13th: Tavern bill	2.00
Fare to New Haven	4.00

14th: Tavern	2.50
Carriage hire	2.00
Steamer to New York	4.00
Dinner	1.00
Carman	.25

18th: Fare to Philadelphia	6.00
Breakfast	1.00

20th: Tavern	2.00
Fare to Baltimore	6.00
Breakfast	1.00
Carriage hire	.50

Sundries	4.87
	<u>\$90.00</u>



# Frederick Douglass's Escape after Harpers Ferry

DORIS LANIER

**F**REDERICK DOUGLASS (1817-1895), THE noted black abolitionist, narrowly escaped capture and, possibly, death after John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in October, 1859. Douglass was among the large number of Brown supporters and met with him several times while he was preparing for the Virginia campaign. In the early part of 1858 Brown visited with Douglass in Rochester, New York, and while there Brown wrote to several of his supporters, soliciting financial aid for a project he was undertaking, although they and, certainly, Douglass were probably unaware that Brown was preparing for the Harpers Ferry campaign. Brown met with Douglass again at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, shortly before the raid, and at this time revealed his plan and strongly urged Douglass to join him in his endeavor. However, Douglass objected emphatically to the plan and made it clear that he would not participate.<sup>1</sup> Eight weeks later, while delivering a speech in Philadelphia, Douglass was informed of Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. The governor of Virginia, apparently believing that Douglass had something to do with the raid, immediately ordered his agents to apprehend Douglass; but the attempts to capture Douglass were foiled by a sympathetic telegraph operator, John W. Hurn, who suppressed the telegram which instructed the sheriff of Philadelphia to arrest Douglass.<sup>2</sup> The following story, told by Hurn thirty years after the incident, appeared first in the *Philadelphia Record* and was reprinted in the *Savannah Morning News* on July 19, 1882.<sup>3</sup>

'Yes, sir, I am the man who saved Fred Douglass from being hanged when "Old

John Brown" was captured at Harpers Ferry. I suppressed a dispatch addressed to the sheriff of Philadelphia instructing him to arrest Douglass, who was then in that city, as proofs of his complicity in the memorable raid were discovered when John Brown was taken custody.'

Seated on the doorstep of his cozy cottage, a few miles outside of Vineland, N. J., was John W. Hurn, a pleasant, gray-bearded man of sixty, who, when questioned, answered as above respecting the aid rendered by him to the noted abolitionist.

'At that time I was a telegraph operator, located in Philadelphia,' continued Mr. Hurn, 'and when I received the dispatch, I was frightened nearly out of my wits. As I was an ardent admirer of the great exslave, who was doing all that mortal could do to agitate the anti-slavery question, I resolved to warn Douglass of his impending fate, no matter what the result might be to me. The news had just been spread throughout the country of the bold action of John Brown and his intrepid followers in taking the little town of Harpers Ferry. Everybody was excited, and public feeling ran high. Before the intelligence came that Brown had been captured, the dispatch which I have mentioned was sent by the sheriff of Franklin County, Pa., to the sheriff of Philadelphia, informing him that Douglass had been one of the leading conspirators, and requesting that he should be immediately apprehended. Though I knew it was illegal to do so, I quietly put the dispatch in my pocket, and asking another operator to take my place, started on my search for Fred Douglass. I went directly to Miller McKim, the secretary of the contraband, underground, fugitive railway office in Philadelphia, and inquired for my man. Mr. McKim hesitated to tell me, whereupon I showed him the dispatch and promised him not to allow it to be delivered within three hours. I told him I would not do this unless he agreed to get Douglass out of the state. This

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he readily assented to, for it was his business to spirit escaped slaves beyond the reach of authorities. I returned to the telegraph office and kept a sharp lookout for similar dispatches. None arrived, however, and when the allotted time expired, I sent the belated message to its destination.'

'In the meantime, those entrusted with my secret saw Douglass and urged him to leave the town as quickly as possible. He was loath to do so at first, but the exhortations of his friends overcame his objections, and in an hour he left on a railroad train which placed a gap of forty miles between him and Philadelphia every hour. He reached his home in Rochester, N. Y. in safety, destroyed the compromising documents, and then packed his gripsack and

started for Canada. It was fortunate for him that he left as soon as he did, for immediately after his departure from Rochester his home was surrounded by officers.'

REFERENCES

1. The best biography of Douglass is Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (Washington, D.C., 1948); see especially Chapter X, "Douglass and John Brown." The best biography of Brown is Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood* (New York, 1970); see pp. 282-83.
2. In addition to Quarles, *Douglass*, p. 179, see also Quarles, *Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown* (New York, 1974), p. 114.
3. "Fred Douglass' Savior," *Savannah Morning News*, July 19, 1882, p. 4. Also see *Washington Evening Star*, February 21, 1895.

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Yes, sir, I am the man who saved Fred Douglass from being hanged when "Old

...of Philadelphia to arrest Douglass.

# “The Right to Strike”: Labor Organization and the New Deal in Baltimore

JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER

**N**EW DEAL LABOR LEGISLATION DID much to encourage worker organization. Union membership climbed from 3.4 million in 1929 to over 8 million in 1939. Yet historians have not adequately documented the impact of the New Deal on laborers at the local level. Only recently have studies examined the social bases of particular unions or individual factories, resulting in what David Brody has aptly described as one of the “most promising” approaches to the study of labor history.<sup>1</sup> Yet the necessary study of the workplace should not obscure the need to examine the interaction of workers, unions, employers, and national and local officials within the city’s political and administrative framework. This study of labor organization and the New Deal in Baltimore proposes to address that need.

Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act passed in 1933 stated that employees “shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.” Inadequate enforcement of this provision under the NRA and the Supreme Court’s subsequent decision invalidating the Recovery Act made the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935 necessary for successful union recognition and collective bargaining. Historians have argued with some frequency and considerable accuracy that the New Deal’s commitment to labor was more rhetorical than real. In his history of *The World of the Worker*, James Green argues that although the Wagner Act’s National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) represented an important achievement for collective bargaining, it “often failed to check unfair

labor practices.” Even the *Baltimore Sun* in 1935 felt it “safe to predict that the Wagner bill will be as ineffectual as was Section 7(a).”<sup>2</sup> Yet worker militancy increased and demands for union recognition grew more adamant. In short, the New Deal’s labor legislation did not guarantee union victories but it did insure labor-management strife.

Employers in Baltimore were accustomed to labor passivity, especially during hard times. Before the New Deal, only the garment workers, led by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACW), challenged that dictum. The ACW strike called in September 1932 involved 5000 mostly female workers, affected over 200 manufacturers and contract shops, and resulted in the unionization of 70 percent of the men’s garment industry.<sup>3</sup> Yet the real push for unionization came with the New Deal—its message and its measures. Workers seized upon the riveting Rooseveltian rhetoric and the less powerful labor laws to organize themselves. Their efforts frequently collided with their bosses who regularly relied on the police to act as strikebreakers, with New Deal officials who complained about complex NRA codes and compliance procedures, and with city officials who wanted to maintain a stable workforce as an incentive to prospective businesses. All three groups denounced strikes as unnecessary and unfortunate.

In 1930, according to the U.S. census, Baltimore’s population stood at 804,874 with 362,072 listed as gainful workers—28 percent female, 72 percent male; 39 percent black and 61 percent white. By 1932 the effects of the depression were beginning to be felt as the city’s unemployment rate climbed to 16 percent and local relief agencies, without adequate funds, had to sus-

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pend their services. Some employers capitalized on the labor surplus by reducing wages and increasing hours. Studies showed that sweatshops increased in size and number while worker conditions only worsened. Other employers, hampered by declining demand, laid workers off or shut down their businesses entirely. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad turned to the job-sharing system, reducing the hours of the workers rather than laying off its employees. Bethlehem Steel, on the other hand, discharged 1231 workers by March 1933 and then announced its opposition to a proposal for a state-sponsored unemployment insurance program.<sup>4</sup> Frustration and fear acted as constant companions to many people in the Great Depression. Yet workers in a variety of industries still turned to organization as the means to salvage both their jobs and their integrity.

Despite depression conditions, then, workers began to agitate for union recognition. Although the garment workers initiated their fight even before the adoption of the NRA, most workers organized under the apparent protection of the Blue Eagle. And organization spread throughout the ranks of the employed and unemployed alike. Unionists, Socialists, Communists, and other activists urged workers to challenge their bosses, to demand their rights, and to stand firm by their unions.

But union activities and spontaneous worker strikes encountered serious opposition. The city's mayor, Howard Jackson, although a Democrat, consistently denounced the New Deal and the labor militance he believed it produced. Although he provided tentative support to the city's organized skilled workers, he regularly upheld police intervention in strikes and usually sided with area employers during industrial disputes. Business managers also stood ready to defend their control over the workplace and took steps to insure their continued domination. The 1932 garment strike which had failed to unionize the city's two largest clothing firms, J. Schoeneman, Inc., and L. Greif & Bro., demonstrated the severity of local opposition. The strike represented an early indication of what would happen to organizing workers throughout the decade—the firing of union sympathizers, employment of non-union workers, use

of the police to restrain picketing and protect the newly-hired employees, and the condemnation of strikes by public officials and employers alike. Even the New Deal, although charging the workers to action, failed to alter the pattern permanently. Employer hostility combined with police intervention to slow union recognition throughout the 1930s. New contracts meant new struggles; battles were fought and re-fought with gains usually temporary and worker victories never complete. Yet the workers, bolstered by the spirit of the New Deal, were not merely helpless victims but determined laborers who, although operating within the confines of inequality, made demands on both their unions and their employers.

Baltimore's industries were for the most part small and aspiring, anxious to reap benefits at the expense of the worker. They did not share the notion growing in popularity among big business that there was a "harmony of interests" between employer and employee, albeit an unequal partnership in harmony. Rather, small employers believed that there was much to be gained from making extraordinary demands on unorganized workers, who felt threatened by the prospect of unemployment. In theory, at least, those demands were to be tempered by state social legislation regarding hours and working conditions. But in practice the abuses proved enormous and consistent. J. Knox Insley, Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland, a long-time supporter of Governor Albert Ritchie, and an unlikely ally of organized labor, wrote Ritchie of the blatant disregard for labor laws shown by a group of the city's small employers. "There are," Insley complained, "a relatively small number of companies . . . which, no matter what means of encouragement or persuasion have been adopted, seem to acquire no sense of responsibility in regard to these laws"—laws, he added, which if observed, would represent "little inconvenience" to them.<sup>5</sup>

But small employers were not alone in their hostility to workers. Schoeneman and Greif, for example, did not appear on Insley's list of "unscrupulous employers" and despite their consistent union-busting activities, they hired public relations experts to insure they remained in Insley's good

graces—a luxury smaller companies could not afford. These clothiers and other large firms demonstrated throughout the New Deal period that it was not merely the smaller and less secure companies that exploited workers in Baltimore.

Both business and labor applauded the adoption of the NRA. But union leaders like ACW vice-president Hyman Blumberg worried about the new program. Because the legislation required the drafting of codes regulating wages and hours, Blumberg feared that establishing the code for the men's garment industry would renew the conflict between the workers and their bosses and possibly even undo the progress made during the 1932 strike. Further aggravating the situation was the division between employers at the national level involving the Clothing Manufacturers of America, an organization of 30 large firms that recognized the ACW, and the Industrial Recovery Association (IRA), a rival group of manufacturers that had refused to deal with organized labor. Determined to preserve industrial harmony at the local level, Blumberg took the initiative to call a conference of workers and employers, sending invitations to about 65 Baltimore firms employing nearly 5,000 women and men.<sup>6</sup>

Afraid that industrialists would use the code to undermine union influence, Blumberg announced at the local conference that the ACW would not merely accept the decisions of the manufacturers and that the union demanded a 35-hour week with a minimum hourly wage of 50 cents. He even termed the Clothing Manufacturers Association's 40-hour week proposal "ridiculous" and called for a wage standard that would shut down a number of contracting shops "which would have been closed long ago if the State Department of Labor were on to its job." He added that the ACW supported standardization of prices, garments, and wages in order that "competition at the expense of labor alone will be terminated." One owner of a large firm announced his agreement with Blumberg, declaring that "when we bought labor for nothing, nobody made any money. If we can have protection in all markets, a guarantee that all will be competing on the same wage and hour basis, we'll prosper." Blumberg concluded the meeting by urging all

manufacturers to join with the ACW to eradicate the worst evils of the city's garment industries. Too long, he added, had Baltimore been competing with eastern Pennsylvania for the "title of lowest wage center in the industry."<sup>7</sup>

Blumberg recognized that neither trade association fully endorsed the workers' side of the NRA, but he also believed that the Clothing Manufacturers Association was more willing to provide at least limited support for workers' organization and slightly higher wages in return for worker stability. He feared the possible consequences of the IRA's proposal for special provisions allowing workers to deal individually with their employers. Fortunately for Blumberg and the ACW, the national NRA negotiator ruled that the IRA proposal actually violated the act as passed by Congress. Blumberg also knew that Baltimore manufacturers, despite their expressed desires for greater efficiency and less competition, also disliked Section 7(a) as well as the likelihood of paying higher salaries. A minimum wage of 40 cents an hour would have meant doubling the payroll for some local firms. The chairman of the Clothing Manufacturers of Baltimore, Benjamin LeBow, after talking with members of the Clothing Manufacturers Association, reported to his fellow city employers that "they are not a damned bit pleased with this, but they know they've got to go along with it. 'School's out,' they say." As a precautionary measure, Blumberg and the ACW called a 24-hour strike in the men's garment shops, saying that workers would return to their jobs only for "New Deal" wages.<sup>8</sup>

Like the clothing code, the establishment of all the industrial codes required considerable compromise and extensive deliberation. But the real problem concerned the enforcement of wage and hour codes and that difficult job fell to the NRA National Compliance Board. A Compliance Division was created in Washington and compliance offices were established in every state. In Maryland, former *Sun* reporter, ad-man, and enthusiastic New Dealer, Arthur Hungerford began his duties as state NRA compliance director in January 1934. Urging complete cooperation from labor and industry, Hungerford expected a tidy admin-



istration. He saw the New Deal, and particularly the NRA, as an opportunity for unity in spirit and action and predicted that in such an environment labor and industry would naturally treat each other fairly.<sup>9</sup> Trapped by his own zealotry, however, Hungerford failed to realize that spirit alone proved inadequate in a sagging economy and that unity had little place in the contest between industrialists and unionizing workers.

The absence of national commitment to upholding either the NRA codes or the provisions of Section 7(a) made local enforcement difficult. Further complicating the problem, from Hungerford's perspective, were the variety and number of codes to be enforced. Nationally, the NRA ultimately approved codes for over 700 "industries," causing some firms to be affected by at least two codes. Hungerford pressed for local enforcement but soon realized that Baltimore businessmen were unwilling to discipline their fellow employers. He consistently complained to the national office about inadequate local cooperation but received little assistance. Moreover, he failed to realize that his own prejudices operated to enhance NRA violations. Hungerford disliked strikes regardless of the employer offense, rarely punished persistent violators, and consistently favored large businesses at the expense of smaller ones.<sup>10</sup>

Hungerford's preference for large businesses particularly hurt the workers in Baltimore, where big businessmen constituted some of the city's strongest anti-unionists. Thus, they generally conformed to Melvyn Dubofsky's findings about big business and labor reform. Like Dubofsky's Progressive era corporations, Baltimore's large firms spoke of the necessity for enlightened labor policies but daily practiced anti-unionism. Although Baltimore's big businessmen were not Dubofsky's National Civic Federation members, they were still large enough to wield considerable influence in the city itself. Moreover, they figured among the worst NRA abusers even though they also ranked among its most sympathetic rhetorical supporters. Hungerford, as an ad-man himself, reacted favorably to the rhetoric of the public relations experts employed by the city's major companies

and dismissed big-business violations as "unintentional."<sup>11</sup>

Even before Hungerford took charge of the state's compliance machinery in 1934, abuses of NRA codes had become so widespread that the Socialist paper, *Maryland Leader*, devised an award to be given to the "chiseler" of the week. Following the *Leader's* example, the Baltimore Federation of Labor (BFL) placed NRA violators on its "We don't patronize" list published in its paper, *The Federationist*, and by 1935 had also launched a campaign against "chiselers." The Baltimore *Afro-American* encouraged a "Buy Where You Can Work" program directed at Blue Eagle businesses in an attempt to force owners to hire "colored help"; it also regularly published the names of non-complying companies.<sup>12</sup>

As part of the NRA arrangement, the various industries organized into trade associations, ostensibly to fulfill the Blue-Eagle agreements about wages, hours, and trading practices. Hungerford rarely questioned the decisions of these industrial associations. When, for example, he found that the Retail Automobile Trade Authority had refused to report violations to the state NRA office, Hungerford merely referred to the Authority as "our bad boy." Moreover, he refused to challenge the decision of the local Cotton Garment Code Authority that instructed employers to pay their workers only 25 to 35 percent of the money owed them as a result of company wage-code violations. Finally, despite overwhelming evidence of repeated employer abuses, Hungerford clung tenaciously to his anti-strike sentiments, declaring that it was never necessary for workers to strike "to obtain their rights under the NRA."<sup>13</sup>

Hungerford, however, was not simply anti-worker or in the pockets of the city's big businessmen. Although swayed by the favorable Blue Eagle slogans repeated by employers, he disliked strikes not merely because they disrupted production but because they indicated weaknesses in his office. Hungerford preferred arbitration with himself as mediator. He stressed patience in the settling of disputes but failed to appreciate that lengthy negotiations consistently operated in favor of the violators and not the aggrieved workers.

The most celebrated NRA case in Baltimore involved the men's garment industry. It provided poignant testimony of the continuation of the garment workers' predicament, despite unionization and despite the New Deal. In the fall of 1932 when the ACW had conducted its organization drive, unionizing all but the Schoeneman and Greif companies, the Schoeneman company had led the assault on the union. Continuing the attack on the ACW, the Greif firm, as the second largest clothing manufacturer in the country, simply ignored the NRA wage codes. Hostile to worker organization and to bureaucratic regulation, the company announced from its headquarters in Baltimore that it intended to challenge the constitutionality of the NRA.

The charges against Greif originated not with Hungerford but at the national level. The national compliance office had consistently received complaints about Greif's operations in Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania from the earliest days of the NRA. In fact, when the men's clothing code went into effect, the company changed its basis of operation from the piece-work system to a combined hourly wage and quota system, setting the daily quotas so high that workers complained they had to begin work before the official starting time and skip lunch merely in order to meet the required production schedule. Hungerford, too, had received similar complaints but had not taken action on the matter.

In April 1934, federal investigators visited all eight of Greif's plants in the three states, only to find that 1933 pay records had been destroyed. Moreover, company officials, particularly in Baltimore, refused to cooperate with the NRA officials. Despite these problems, the investigators still found the company guilty of depriving its employees of over \$35,000 by not paying the code's minimum wage. In July a committee of the National Compliance Board held hearings on the Greif case and requested the appearance of the company's Baltimore officials. They declined to attend, however, saying they did not want to compromise their position in challenging the constitutionality of the Recovery Act. The Board then ruled against Greif. In turn

company attorneys filed suit against the NRA, charging that the recovery program was illegal and that the men's clothing code had been framed in violation of law. The attorneys further declared that the clothing code was "proposed by the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of the United States, which was formed and fostered by Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union." Moreover, the manufacturers association had been created to secure "control and domination of the entire men's clothing industry and forc[e] all manufacturers into this union or out of business."<sup>14</sup>

While legal proceedings continued, the NRA ordered Blue Eagle labels withheld from the Greif company for its violation of the wage code. Company officials appealed to the Baltimore Association of Commerce which denounced the NRA's move against Greif. Hungerford lamented the entire situation but noted that the BAC had not bothered to "secure the facts" before protesting on behalf of Greif.

In response to the absence of Blue Eagle labels, retailers began cancelling their orders for Greif, bringing substantial financial pressure to bear on the company. By the end of August, Greif announced its willingness to abide by the decision of an impartial mediator chosen by the Department of Justice. The arbiter ruled that Greif had violated the wage provision of the code and suggested that the company eliminate the quota system and raise wages to a level more commensurate with that paid by other companies in the industry. The NRA agreed that in order to get the higher salaries it would "not . . . press for [full] restitution of the fair wages" owed to employees. As part of the deal, Greif repaid only a fraction of the money due the workers.

Hungerford found the entire Greif case unfortunate and complained that the federal authorities had completely bypassed the state NRA office. Moreover, he feared that the introduction of the Justice Department further undermined the strength of the NRA in settling disputes and resulted in altogether too lenient decisions regarding wage restitution. "As soon as violators realize," Hungerford explained, "that if

they thumb their noses at NRA and are carried to the Litigation Division, that a compromise will be made that would never have been considered in this office, very few of them will make adjustment."<sup>15</sup> Hungerford himself, however, had failed completely to initiate an investigation of Greif.

Even with federal NRA intervention, the city's workers never fully benefitted from Section 7(a). At the local level, Baltimore's chairman of the NRA Grievance Committee, Colonel W.D.A. Anderson, demonstrated his typical reaction to labor unrest in late summer of 1933 when unionizing boot and shoe workers encountered a lock-out by intransigent employers. The workers immediately protested by demonstrating outside the building only to be arrested by city police and chastised by Anderson, who termed their actions unnecessary belligerence. Like state and local NRA offices, the state's Office of Labor and Statistics resented disruptive worker activities. Although the individual state labor commissioners changed from 1932 to 1937, the Office held uniformly to its position of hostility toward agitation. Throughout the 1930s it repeatedly denounced "summary" action on the part of strikers, maintaining that workers should be patient with employers who forbade unions or decreased wages.<sup>16</sup>

More supportive of worker organization was the Baltimore Labor Relations Panel created early in July 1934 as a sub-committee of the Philadelphia Board of Labor Relations. The Philadelphia Board had decided that it could not reasonably handle Baltimore's labor disputes as well as its own and decided merely to review the Baltimore Panel's decisions. Washington officials, however, instructed the Panel to report to them instead of Philadelphia and by 1935 Baltimore became "District V," serving as the headquarters for the rest of the state as well as Virginia and Delaware. The Panel's membership accounts in part for its sympathy to unionization. Designed to have three representatives each from labor and business and an impartial chairman, the Panel in fact operated in its first months without full management representation. By the end of July all three businessmen selected had officially resigned, complain-

ing of too much work. Moreover, chairing the Panel was Jacob Hollander, former Progressive reformer and consistent friend of labor. As a special investigator during the 1932 garment strike, Hollander knew well the abuses in the sweatshops and the arrogance of the city's big businesses. He had been repeatedly ignored by Schoeneman officials in his attempt to "get the true facts" concerning the strike. Although in favor of business growth and worker stability, Hollander was a strong advocate of enlightened labor practices and, unlike Hungerford or Insley, he was not easily swayed by public relations experts.

Hollander submitted monthly reports on the activities of the Panel, frequently noting a "great deal of friction" between management and labor. In pursuit of industrial harmony, the Panel devoted most of its time to attempting to reconcile employers to the idea of organization and arbitration. "Baltimore employers," Hollander lamented, "are traditionally hostile to the idea of unionism." Indeed, the Gilded Age philosophy of Commodore Vanderbilt best expressed when he asked, "Can't I do what I want with my own?" held special relevance for city employers during the Great Depression. Employers consistently refused to meet with Panel members or comply with its decisions.

Despite business resentment, the Panel resolved a few disputes in favor of union recognition. The membership of Erwin Feldman, business representative and attorney for the Needle Trades Association of Baltimore, largely explains the successful settlements. He bargained with labor members and urged fellow businessmen to accept Panel decisions. Feldman's activities along with those of another Panel member, Charles Kreindler, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), insured that the Panel's record was best in the needle trades. Still other cases, however, although officially recorded as resolved, represented an agreement between management and union officials without the consent of the rank and file. For example, Harry Cohen of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America settled a trucking strike with a



"verbal agreement with the Hamden Transfer and Storage Company," adding "while we have accepted only a verbal agreement, we have every confidence in the word given us by Mr. M. A. Parrish, the head of the Company." Rank and file members, however, failed to share Cohen's optimism and continued to press for a written contract that included recognition of their union, the closed shop, and salary adjustments.<sup>17</sup> The problem of enforcement was somewhat alleviated by the passage of the Wagner Act, yet employers continued to resent what they regarded as outside interference with their workers and their businesses while workers continued to strike for union recognition despite the Panel's preference for negotiation.

"The big battle over the NRA," aptly declared the *Maryland Leader*, "boils down to the right to strike. Employers everywhere are challenging the right to strike under NRA." The *Leader* correctly realized that in a city hostile to unions, organization rarely occurred without a struggle. Before his death in 1933, BFL President Henry Broening asserted that the "NRA means nothing to workers unless they organize and enforce their rights under the law." Other labor officials viewed the NRA with even less optimism, and one local BFL delegate warned in 1934 that the NRA was "crumbling," making rapid organization of workers essential to better working conditions. "Organization," concurred new BFL President Joseph McCurdy, "must be the watchword of labor."<sup>18</sup>

Despite McCurdy's pronouncements, the BFL generally preferred the policy of reaction to action in its labor activities. Anxious not to alienate employers or city officials, McCurdy refrained from initiating organizational campaigns. The *Maryland Leader* frequently denounced the Federation's reluctance to organize the unorganized. When, for example, the *Leader* discovered the poor conditions and miserable wages in local paper box factories, it exclaimed, "One is at a loss [to understand] why the Baltimore Federation of Labor allows these workers to remain unorganized. The *Maryland Leader* is ready and willing to help in every way possible the Federation to organize these workers." But the BFL

proved more responsive to competition than cooperation. Indeed, a BFL delegate warned that a "communist group was endeavoring to organize an industrial union among the upholsterers" and advised the Federation to "get busy and help the Upholsterers Union."<sup>19</sup>

Despite the sporadic nature of the BFL's efforts at unionization, workers spontaneously organized and demanded affiliation with the BFL. They were inspired by the NRA and refused to believe *Business Week* when it declared "the Recovery Act's real goal is business recovery." Bakers at a Baltimore bread company requested recognition from the BFL after having organized 98% of the workers themselves. Between 1933 and 1935, the BFL's Organizing Committee largely limited its activities to granting new charters to self-organized workers desiring union recognition.<sup>20</sup>

Baltimore's organizational activities, however, did not depend solely on workers' initiative. Unions such as the ACW, the ILGWU, and the Baltimore Industrial Council (BIC), as part of the national Congress of Industrial Organization, all conducted vigorous campaigns in the city. Less formal but extremely valuable assistance came from a handful of iconoclastic BFL delegates and a few Socialists, many of whom belonged to the union of the unemployed, the Peoples Unemployment League (PUL). By cooperating daily in all organizational matters, these unions and individuals worked together to strengthen labor's drive toward union recognition. Socialist and PUL member Frank Trager, for example, worked particularly hard in the garment trades, where he assisted local ACW and ILGWU organizers. PUL Socialists Elisabeth Gilman and Naomi Ritches centered their efforts on organizing women in all trades and frequently cooperated with BFL delegate Anna Neary in assisting striking women textile workers and arranging boycotts. Neary's own contributions ranged from organizing the Women's Union of Dressmakers to forming a Union Label League comprised of women workers and wives of delegates and laborers.<sup>21</sup>

Frustrated by McCurdy's inaction, still other delegates rented halls, scheduled speakers to "educate" the workers, and is-

sued pamphlets and advertisements promising improved working conditions with organization—all of which resulted in marked increases in union membership for coopers, printers, seamen, textile workers, butchers, and bartenders.<sup>22</sup> But even these efforts scarcely obscured the realization that the BFL, at least officially, more often responded to the postures of other competing labor organizers or the activities of the workers themselves than initiated any comprehensive policy of its own.

Further restricting the BFL's impact on labor organization was its refusal to deal with black workers. Even the possibility that such competing groups as the Communists, Socialists, or Urban League would organize blacks failed to stir the BFL to action. In 1934 the Baltimore Urban League officially launched a movement to organize black workers and appealed to the BFL for assistance. The BFL, however, refused to either endorse the campaign or provide delegate assistance. On the other hand, the Urban League received considerable support from the Socialist Party and the League for Industrial Democracy. Socialists Gilman, Trager, and Joel Seidman were especially active and repeatedly denounced the BFL's racist policies. The BIC also officially challenged the racism common in Baltimore's unions. But even the BIC devoted the latter part of the 1930s to organizing unorganized whites; not until 1945 did black membership in local unions approach significant levels.<sup>23</sup>

One of the few unions to collide forcefully with the BFL's racist policies of inaction was the Baltimore Joint Board of the ACW. The Board consisted of elected leaders from ACW locals in the city and was chaired by Ulissee De Dominicis, frequently referred to as "the militant leader" in Baltimore's ACW. Unlike Blumberg, who emphasized relieving worker exploitation through standardization of products and cooperation with enlightened employers, De Dominicis talked little about cooperation and more about natural labor-management conflict. Not reluctant to call a strike, De Dominicis spoke highly of the ACW's "army of clothing workers," 5000 strong, and a disciplined "fighting" unit with a thorough understanding of the importance of the workers' "industrial power." He also

discussed such issues as labor education and the integrity of the working-class. According to the BIC's *Labor Herald*, the membership of the Joint Board reflected not only the ethnic composition of clothing workers but also the more radical sector of the union. "In Baltimore," the *Herald* wrote, "we have an international grouping of [garment] workers," from Jews to "foreign-born colored peoples." But Jews, Italians, and Poles figured most prominently in the membership of the Joint Board and were represented by such local leaders as Sarah Borinsky, Max Anslander, I. Chaikin, Victor Zappacosta, Joe D'Annunzio, Pasquale Piersanti, Hyman Titelman, Michael Skrakowski, Nathan Gershowitz, and Samuel Caplan.<sup>24</sup>

Under De Dominicis's leadership, the Joint Board made special efforts to organize blacks, maintaining that "colored workers in Baltimore are eager to organize." The ACW made some gains in the rag picking industry, although "bosses [were] especially concerned with promoting race hatreds to preclude organization." With ACW assistance, the Rag Graders, an affiliate of the Textile Workers Organization Committee, "elected a Negro worker" as president. De Dominicis consistently complained of employers exploiting race issues to stifle organization and urged both that workers be re-educated and that legal measures be taken to prevent employers from making effective use of racial threats.<sup>25</sup>

When, after successfully unionizing the men's garment factories, the ACW turned its attentions in the late 1930s to the cotton garment sweatshops, the race issue was of considerable importance. Not only were wages "notoriously low" with salaries ranging from \$4 to \$12 a week, but color largely determined the wages. The sweatshops kept a firm hand on their employees by "play[ing] on race differences," pitting whites against blacks, and threatening either to replace unionizing white workers with "colored ones" or to pay them "colored salaries."<sup>26</sup> Race hatreds, and particularly employer manipulation of such animosities, continued throughout the 1930s to serve as serious obstacles to organizing workers in an industry generally characterized by exploitation but where degrees of exploitation were determined by color.

The use of local police as strikebreakers constituted still another barrier to worker organization. City employers had traditionally used the police during labor unrest and that tradition remained unaltered by the New Deal. Socialists and activist BFL delegates registered their complaints against police harassment to local, state, and national labor officials as well as to the employers themselves, but little came of their actions. Union officials particularly denounced the police commissioner's arbitrary rulings limiting pickets in the city's strikes and his habit of sending enough police to far outnumber the striking workers. The commissioner routinely responded that police were necessary for the protection of employer property. In a 1935 garment workers' strike for union recognition, for example, the police did "everything possible to discourage the strikers." ACW organizers joined with Socialists to condemn the police behavior: "In any other city, not more than one or two police would be assigned to a shop of this size" but "in front of this shop we see at times 16 or 17 policemen with a patrol wagon." This show of force, they argued, was not for "their duty" of preventing violence but "for the purpose of intimidating the strikers, to discourage them, and to encourage the strikebreakers." "In some cases," they added, "the policemen at the door even open the door for strikebreakers." Workers routinely complained that the police were too eager to use force. And, newspaper reporters did in fact find strikers with bruised heads and blackened eyes. In one instance, a city policeman, later reprimanded, wounded two black strikebreakers whom he mistakenly thought were striking truck drivers. The state's Attorney General and future governor, Herbert O'Connor, agreed with the city's police practices and even condoned the use of state police during the course of strikes in order to protect employers and their property.<sup>27</sup>

By 1937 Baltimore could claim dubious national distinction for the behavior of its police during strikes. On March 9, 1937, a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor (the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee) revealed a letter of Charles L. Vietsch, the Baltimore manager of the William J. Burns Interna-

tional Detective Agency, Inc. In the letter, Vietsch complained to Burns about the poor market for his business due to the competition from the Baltimore police department. "The way strikes are handled here in Baltimore by various manufacturing interests," he wrote, "is, of course, to import skilled labor to take the place of the strikers, then enlist the service of the Baltimore Police Department GRATIS to guard the plant and protect the strikebreakers, and the strike is over in a very short while." The police methods, he added, kept labor unrest at a minimum and made employers disinclined to pay for strikebreaking services "although we have repeatedly and vigorously canvassed them for undercover service."<sup>28</sup> Apparently, the publicity given to police activities made some employers more inclined to buy private assistance. Crown Cork and Seal employed armed guards to prevent union officials from meeting with its workers while Bethlehem Steel attempted to solve its union problem in June 1937 by hiring 300 "special police armed with guns and tear gas."<sup>29</sup>

Judicial decisions and practices further complicated efforts at unionization. Violence frequently resulted when strikers clashed with strikebreakers or with the police. During one of Baltimore's bloodiest struggles in the 1930s, striking cab drivers, attempting to unionize in 1936, were sentenced to heavy fines and jail terms. A ruffian AFL organizer, Harry Cohen, spent nearly three months in jail for his role in the strike. The judge who sentenced him, Eugene O'Dunne, denounced strikes as examples of labor radicalism. O'Dunne stated precisely his philosophy of labor when he declared, "A man has a right to work for whom he will and what he will." But the union, he added, "has no right to determine the conditions under which other men may work." Another magistrate also involved in the taxicab strike warned truck drivers striking against a local firm that he would "invoke jail sentences" as he had during the cab controversy. Legislation passed by the state legislature in 1935 tended to slow judges' reflexive response to granting injunctions against striking workers. It required forty-eight hours notice to the defendants and a hearing involving both sides before issuing an injunction. But one judge,

Robert Stanton, even violated that law in granting an AFL union and an employers' association an immediate injunction against a militant CIO faction in the 1936 seamen's strike. Only after persistent reminders by CIO attorney I. Duke Avnet did the judge temporarily rescind the order.<sup>30</sup>

Yet, despite racial animosities, judicial practices, and police interference, worker organization continued apace. The passage of the Wagner Act, establishing the permanent National Labor Relations Board, and the rivalry between the BFL and BIC fueled the workers' drive toward unionization. Commissioner of Labor and Statistics Henry Lay Duer declared that 1936 was "marked by serious labor unrest," adding that "union recognition figured more largely than wage increases in the strikes." The momentum, moreover, was maintained in 1937 when the Supreme Court upheld the NLRB and in 1938 when Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, banning child labor and establishing minimum wages and maximum hours for workers in interstate commerce. The Office of Labor and Statistics noted that workers "took serious steps toward organization" in their unprecedented campaign for union recognition and even suggested that the pro-labor Court decision and the Standards Act served to soften local employer hostility to unions.<sup>31</sup>

Activist BFL delegates welcomed the introduction of the CIO in Baltimore. Along with PUL Socialists, they praised the BIC's determination to organize the unorganized and its willingness to cooperate with all the city's labor supporters. More than the BFL, the BIC consistently pressed for the right to organize and strike without police interference. CIO organizer and State Senator Robert Kimble, himself arrested by a "panicky policeman losing his head," urged the police commissioner not to create "unpleasant publicity" in the CIO's organizing districts. As late as 1939, state CIO organizer Frank Bender complained of police brutality and strike interference and requested Senator La Follette investigate the matter. The BIC also accused local Legionnaires of acting as strikebreakers, prompting the national commander to warn the city's American Legion members against participating in "vigilante action" while in uniform or

regalia. The local CIO regularly turned to the NLRB to prohibit hastily constructed company unions and hired the legal services of I. Duke Avnet and Jacob Edelman to combat Baltimore attorneys Leonard Weinberg and Harry Green, "widely known for their success in breaking strikes." These activities contributed significantly to the BIC's success in organizing the garment, auto, and steel industries and the waterfront.<sup>32</sup>

The spirit of the New Deal, the BIC's activism, and the reform sentiments of a few BFL delegates combined to make the BFL more progressive and aggressive in its organizational activities. With considerable fanfare, McCurdy launched in 1935 the BFL's campaigns to organize white-collar workers and to prevent wage cutting and "chiseling" by employers no longer bound by the invalid NRA. In 1936, "for the first time in the history of the Baltimore Federation of Labor," a woman delegate, Lillian Sipple, became a member of the Federation's traditionally male executive board. That same year the BFL took another unprecedented step in condemning "racial discrimination in union organizers." McCurdy himself, although a cautious labor leader, consistently endorsed the New Deal despite the mayor's disapproval and became more outspoken against the mayor and the Baltimore Association of Commerce. From the former, he requested permission to organize municipal workers and from the latter he demanded a revised employment insurance bill that did not smack of "toryism" and reflect "reactionary chambers of commerce and their allied interests." On a visit to Baltimore, federal reporter Lorena Hickok found McCurdy a "grand," "intelligent," and "thoroughly honorable" labor leader. The BFL called for public housing and worked with the Baltimore Museum of Art to create exhibits "of particular interest to labor," opening the museum to those in "all walks of life." At McCurdy's insistence, the *Federationist* reprinted a full-page resolution condemning as a "royal slumming party" the proposed visit to Baltimore by the Duke and Duchess of Windsor and Charles Bedaux—"the archenemy of labor." Finally, and most important, the BFL moved toward industrial as opposed to craft organization. The

change resulted in an increased but not always harmonious membership. Significantly, however, the BFL upheld the rights of less skilled workers. For example in 1937, a local of the Chemical Workers union at a fertilizer plant in the Canton section of Baltimore protested the comparable wage scale of "laborers" who belonged to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). Class and craft tensions emerged as the chemical workers denounced the acceptance of "mixed" laborers into the BFL. Work disruptions forced the Federation to settle the issue and the BFL upheld the ILA's wage scale.<sup>33</sup>

Still, McCurdy remained uncertain about the BFL's new course of action. When, for example, the BFL turned to organizing municipal truck drivers, the city's chief engineer promptly fired the union leaders. At a mass meeting intended for union organization, the BFL instead backed down, explaining that unionization would have to be postponed. According to the *Sun*, "a mild uproar greeted the announcement." Workers booed and hissed, chanting "We've been sold out!" Others pledged to organize without union assistance: "You can strike if you've got the guts," shouted Frank Janiewicz, one of the workers fired for union activity. But most of the workers merely filed out of the hall. "They invited us last Wednesday to hear some speakers," complained one municipal employee, "and before the meeting was over asked us to sign up to join the union. Now tonight, after the city officials have fired several men and will fire the rest of us as fast as their names are learned, they walk out on us." As the men feared, the city fired more workers all the while conceding that the rule involving municipal employees and labor organization was unclear. McCurdy halted BFL organizational activities, requested the city to clarify the rule, refused to challenge the firings, promised no-strike clauses in union contracts, and waited for seven months until the City Solicitor finally announced that city workers held the right to organize as long as union participation did not "interfere with their duties." In another instance, McCurdy wavered again, backing down from his earlier denunciation of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor and apologizing for being the "genesis" of their decision to

cancel the trip. Indeed, it becomes clear upon closer examination that McCurdy preferred his cautious, limited policies and departed from them only when challenged.<sup>34</sup>

From within his own organization, activist BFL delegates routinely complained of inaction at the top. In 1936 Fred Rausch, the secretary of the Baltimore Building Trades, challenged McCurdy for the BFL presidency—marking McCurdy's first opposition since assuming office in 1932. Rausch had earned the title of "militant delegate" as a result of his organizational efforts in the Steelworkers' Organizing Committee, his chairmanship of Labor's Chest for Liberation, and his membership in the Baltimore Anti-War Committee and the Peoples Unemployment League. Rausch accused McCurdy of being out of touch with the reformist sentiments of city workers. Outside the BFL, McCurdy's chief antagonists were neither intransigent city officials nor hostile employers but new BIC organizers, unschooled in the politics of compromise, unwilling to move cautiously, and unable to justify McCurdy's halting approach to unionization. At the Federation's 1936 convention, both types of challenges coalesced. Along with Rausch, other activist BFL delegates organized to have the BFL support the BIC. After considerable debate among the 375 delegates, the proposed resolution to approve officially the Committee for Industrial Organization failed by only 60 votes. Furthermore, McCurdy beat Rausch by only 88 votes. When the CIO was forced to break completely with the national Federation, disgruntled local BFL delegates, including Rausch, left the Federation. With little opposition, by 1939, McCurdy began his seventh term as president.<sup>35</sup>

Disaffected BFL delegates joined the ranks of the CIO, working with Socialists, the ACW's Joint Board, and various textile organizations to unionize the city. The *Labor Herald*, the BIC's official organ after 1937, supported the CIO from the paper's inception in 1936. The editor was Charles Bernstein, former editor of the Socialist *Maryland Leader*; James Blackwell, a Socialist, UAW organizer, and chairman of the PUL, served on the *Herald's* advisory board. The ties between the Socialist Party



and the BIC were considerable and intimate as Socialists like Trager, Gilman, and Blackwell worked long and hard to assist the Industrial Council's organization campaign.<sup>36</sup>

Cooperation between the BFL and the BIC, however, occurred infrequently. A few delegates from both groups worked together in 1936 to form the Emergency Committee for Relief of local strikers. Other collaborative efforts included a 1938 joint meeting to discuss possibilities for Labor's Non-Partisan League in the state's primaries, and the following year, the BFL and BIC leadership joined together to oppose legislation concerning compensation and occupational diseases. More usually, McCurdy urged BFL members to steer clear of what he regarded as BIC radicalism. Not enamored of such "new strike methods" as the "sit-in," McCurdy regularly condemned the CIO as communistic.<sup>37</sup>

Conflict between the BFL and the BIC often became intense and bitter. Long regarded as one of the city's most important labor leaders, McCurdy worked hard to preserve that reputation. He was not anxious to share his recognition and authority with either newly-created organizations or, even worse, with successful labor leaders from the ranks of such "marginal" groups as the city's Socialists. Even anti-labor judges like O'Dunne singled McCurdy out for praise as a responsible union leader who acted in the true "spirit of the sons of Maryland." The BIC, on the other hand, had neither respected leaders nor organizational tradition. From the start, the BIC was suspect and frequently charged with being un-American. O'Dunne denounced the BIC and called the sit-down strikes "forms of unlawful confiscation." Still others in the city warned workers "to beware of the C.I.O. activities dominated by avowed Communists." McCurdy himself routinely blasted the CIO for its radicalism, directing workers to rally behind the BFL and the "Star Spangled Banner" and not the CIO which, he said, "stand[s] for Communist International Organization." "Woe be to those," he warned, "who will do anything to drag down American standards and substitute the Red flag of Communism." At the BFL's annual meeting in 1937, McCurdy not only refused to seat CIO delegates but

successfully encouraged the convention to adopt a resolution condemning the activities of the CIO for having brought "chaos, strife, dishonor, and ill-feeling into the labor movement" and for using sit-down strikes which were "unlawful practices and un-American."<sup>38</sup>

Disagreements between the BIC and the BFL filled the pages of the city's newspapers. Although much of the publicity intensified organizational competition, at least some of it worked against the cause of unionism. As early as 1936, and before the official AFL-CIO division, the *Sun* noted a "split in the ranks of organized labor" over the election in the sixth Congressional district. When Fred Rausch announced his union's support of Representative David Lewis, McCurdy, himself a New Dealer, wrote a letter to Lewis's opponent, Republican State Senator Harry LeGore, praising LeGore's comparatively obscure labor efforts. Although all the unions affiliated with the Federation had already officially endorsed Lewis, McCurdy acknowledged that the "term indorsement probably could be used to describe [his] letter." The possibility of beneficial labor legislation also failed to produce BFL-BIC harmony. When in 1939, for example, Delegate Leon Rubenstein introduced a "baby Wagner Act" into the state legislature, he announced that he held the support of both the BFL and the BIC. But McCurdy denied that his organization endorsed the proposed legislation and condemned Rubenstein for having conferred only with BIC attorneys. Finally, even some of the workers themselves grew weary of the bickering and in 1938, a group of waterfront seamen repudiated both the AFL and the CIO by creating an independent union. The new secretary explained their action, saying "our members feel they don't want to be used as powder in a fight between individuals."<sup>39</sup>

But, as the organization drives indicate, the rivalry between the BFL and the BIC scarcely resembled a mere personality contest. Moreover, the competition frequently served to enhance unionization.<sup>40</sup> Although McCurdy certainly exaggerated the BIC's radicalism and the BIC understated the BFL's organizational efforts, there were substantive differences between the two or-

ganizations, especially during the earliest months of CIO organization in Baltimore. The BFL only reluctantly called strikes and never condoned the sit-in whereas the BIC threatened work stoppages more freely and actively encouraged workers to sit-down on the job. Until 1938, the BIC heavily relied on radical organizers like PUL chairman James Blackwell to recruit members. And BIC organizers included numerous Socialists, some Communists, and many self-described "liberal-minded" reformers. Finally, at union meetings, the BFL discussed the specific benefits of organization, but at CIO gatherings topics included the dangers of fascism and war, the problems of racism and discrimination, and the urgent need to assist the unemployed. Two strikes, in particular, illustrate the differences and divisions between the BFL and the BIC.

In 1935, activist BFL organizers urged taxicab drivers to strike when company officials refused to bargain with their union or grant wage increases. In response to the strike, the cab companies hired strikebreakers and special police to protect them. One company president told a *Sun* reporter that "the men who are on strike are dead." Cabbies sabotaged the cars by breaking keys off in the ignition and smashing windshields. But the company response was swift. Union leaders had their cars destroyed and strikers were beaten when they tried to prevent cars from leaving the garages. Company officials also hired crews of ruffians to "cruise the streets." Although they were not allowed to pick up passengers, they served to remind the strikers that the cars could be moved. The violence prompted the city police to dispatch additional units to the garages to protect company property. It also moved McCurdy to urge an immediate settlement. An uneasy armistice resulted as many workers returned to their jobs, unhappy with McCurdy and their inability to win their demands.<sup>41</sup>

In 1936, the drivers struck again. They shut down one company entirely for laying off cabbies involved in union activities. Both BFL and BIC organizers supported the strike and the frustrated drivers. As in 1935, company officials refused to negotiate, even snubbing federal arbiters, and once again hired new drivers to operate the

cabs in defiance of the strikers. But this time the drivers were more prepared and determined; they met the first cars attempting to leave the garages with bricks and tire irons. Violence erupted, lasting over an hour and halting traffic until "police finally broke up the pitched battle . . . and the battered cars limped back to the garage." Despite gun-toting strikebreakers, the cabbies continued their attacks on the company's autos—concentrating their assaults on the owners' primary source of profit. By immobilizing the cars, the strikers also hoped to prevent the newly-hired drivers from replacing them on the road. The situation prompted the governor to request a temporary settlement for the 1936 holiday season. But even that failed when company officials used the time to create a company union and distribute leaflets denouncing specific labor organizers. In January the drivers resumed the strike and the employers refused to negotiate, maintaining that the "episode [was] closed" now that the drivers had a union. But one particular BFL organizer stood firm against the owners. A square-shaped, loud-spoken Teamster named Harry Cohen told a group of "enthusiastic" strikers that "the war is on . . . and we're going to take the battle into our own hands." "Some of you will get in trouble," he warned, "but we will get you out." McCurdy declined to comment on Cohen's declarations but did denounce the role of the police in the strike as a "strike-breaking agency." More violence followed and one company official observed that the strike had "gone haywire." Police arrested strikers daily but on February 16, 1937, Judge O'Dunne issued a warrant for the arrest of Cohen on charges of "instigating, fomenting, aiding and abetting riot, assault and disorderly conduct on the public streets of Baltimore City." O'Dunne also instructed company officials, McCurdy, and Cohen to meet with him to arrange a settlement of the strike. On February 22, the *Sun* pictured O'Dunne and McCurdy smiling and embracing in announcing the end of the strike. But the drivers found little to cheer about in the settlement. McCurdy refused to challenge Cohen's arrest, saying only "Thank God we live in America or he'd probably be hung [sic] by now." Moreover, no concessions were made to the



workers; McCurdy weakly added, "... organization of the cab drivers may be deferred for the time being..." The BIC, angered at being ignored by both the *Sun* and Judge O'Dunne, lambasted McCurdy for his surrender and for abandoning the drivers. The *Labor Herald* even accused Cohen of precipitating violence in order to offset the gains made by the CIO among the drivers. "Chowderhead Cohen," the strikebreaker, the *Herald* wrote, cooperated with company owners, McCurdy, and O'Dunne to end the strike—a strike the drivers wanted to continue. Cohen was an unsavory character who had engaged in strikebreaking activities among seamen too radical for the tastes of the BFL. He had also defied rank-and-file truck drivers by accepting a verbal agreement with a trucking firm. But in this instance he held considerable support from the cab drivers. And, his ultimate conviction and three-month prison term only enhanced his popularity. Yet, because McCurdy postponed organization and temporized with company officials, after 1937 cab drivers turned increasingly to the BIC.<sup>42</sup>

The second strike involved the city's seamen and lasted from the fall of 1936 to February 1937. From the outset, the BIC supported the striking unions, the International Seamen's Union (ISU) and a radical faction of the ISU which had joined with city Communists to form the Marine Workers Industrial Union. With BIC assistance, during the course of the strike the groups joined together under the aegis of the National Maritime Union (NMU). Cooperating with Socialists, the BIC also helped establish the Citizens Committee for Striking Seamen. But the BFL refused to support the strike or assist the strikers. McCurdy urged the seamen to abandon the strike, saying the "communists are back of it, there is no question about it." He even closed the city offices of the ISU and the ILA because of "radical activities." McCurdy urged workers to uphold their contractual agreements with the ship owners but his appeal was no match for the fiery words of Patrick Whalen, labor organizer and later president of the BIC. Whalen, when not in jail, was a powerful speaker who won the support of the Socialists like Elisabeth Gilman and reform-minded at-

torneys like Avnet. Avnet later recalled Whalen as an orator who "ran sentences together," "mispronounced words," and "cussed profusely." "But his thinking was clear," Avnet added, and he knew the seamen and their problems. It was among the seamen that Whalen was most popular. Speaking to a receptive audience of seamen long accustomed to a rudimentary life of inconvenience, he denounced labor leaders who had "ritzy" lifestyles and insisted on wearing "clean shirts": "I have been involved in strikes for years," he remembered, "and I have slept in flophouses, under viaducts and in jails—with my comrades. We have no money, and to win this strike every man must expect to suffer the hardships of his fellows." Such talk may have alienated the impeccably-dressed McCurdy and strengthened him in his belief that the strike was "dominated by the Communist party" but it also increased support and sympathy for the strikers. Despite her past cooperation with the BFL and McCurdy, Gilman stepped up her campaign to assist the strikers, countering that "Reds did not dominate the movement" and that it was a genuine "rank and file movement" with legitimate grievances "against low wages and living and working conditions..." Even the Communist Party denied initiating the strike, although it did pledge \$50.00 and a truckload of foodstuffs for the strikers. CP member Earl Dixon longingly told a group of seamen gathered at a Polish-American hall in South Baltimore, "We wish we had men of your nerve and pluck with us. You're the kind we want. I am proud that there are men like you who are willing to fight for what they believe is right."<sup>43</sup>

McCurdy and the BFL failed to understand the importance of the strike to the seamen and the significance of community and solidarity among the strikers. During the strike, the seamen brought their orderly and fraternal way of life on the sea to the shore. Their organization adapted well to waging an effective strike and to unionizing under the NMU. Gilman noted this when she proclaimed the seamen strike "the most orderly and best conducted I have ever seen." Not only did the seamen carefully structure kitchen as well as picket duty but their spirit of camaraderie even extended

to black and Oriental sympathy strikers. They unanimously passed a resolution to "treat all seamen as brothers and on an equality" regardless of race or color and made arrangements to "take in" a West Coast Chinese cook who had been officially excluded from the maritime unions. Moreover, nearly 50 seamen organized a march on Washington to participate in an anti-Nazi demonstration in front of the German embassy. They also organized their own entertainment, calling on seamen to play instruments and sing songs from their ethnic groups. Finally, to insure orderly behavior, they created a "court of justice" with fines and punishments for crimes ranging from drunkenness—the most common offense—to "scabbing"—"the most serious offense." Whalen himself conducted the hearings and when he took the union card of a seaman who refused to join the strike, he was arrested for theft in a "mock trial."<sup>44</sup>

The BFL's refusal to support the strikers resulted in significant gains for the BIC on the docks. Moreover, when McCurdy joined with the hated ship owners in an attempt to secure an injunction against the strikers, the BFL also became the enemy. The national success of the NMU also facilitated the expansion of the CIO on the waterfront. The end of the strike in February 1937 provided wage increases and a NMU victory; subsequent elections held by the NLRB further legitimized the CIO's power. Even some members of the city's traditionally conservative ILA left the BFL for the NMU.<sup>45</sup>

Beginning in the summer of 1937, however, the BFL attempted to repair some of the damage. Determined to counter the BIC's "persistent efforts," the BFL threw "its entire resources. . .to building up the maritime industry" in Baltimore for the Federation. One BFL spokesman aptly described the situation: the AFL and CIO "are lining up for a showdown on the matter of control over maritime and allied unions." Federation-affiliated longshoremen launched the campaign, announced their intention "to war on the C.I.O. in the port of Baltimore," and staged brief strikes, forcing CIO men off the ships. The struggle continued throughout 1938 and 1939. And although the BFL failed to recapture its former strength, it mounted a serious cam-

paign, especially when it responded to the CIO by imitating it. The Federation offered the seamen the opportunity to join the Sailors' Union of the Pacific—a national union like the NMU but, according to the BFL, without the "radical leadership." "Counting on anti-Communist feelings," the BFL hoped to entice the seamen from the NMU. Charges of communism against the CIO served the BFL well in 1938 and 1939. Ironically, however, the allegations took hold after the BIC had already begun to moderate its tactics and programs. Socialist PUL members no longer served as organizers, the BIC urged negotiation before striking, and the state CIO organizer, Frank Bender, even attempted to attract white-collar municipal workers by appealing to their class interests. Despite the BFL's successful association of violence and un-Americanism with the CIO, the city's most violent strike involved the cab drivers and the BFL. But labor militance, especially the sit-down strike, more correctly characterized the CIO movement and, for some, that was more troubling than ruffian Teamsters. Until these later years, however, the BIC's militance accounted for its ability to expand the CIO throughout the city.<sup>46</sup>

To a large degree, then, the activities of the BIC, the Socialist agitators, and the ACW contributed to the general labor unrest in Baltimore during the years 1936 and 1937. An Amalgamated-led walkout in August 1936 protesting wage cuts closed six clothing firms, particularly affecting the infamous sweatshop of A. Abrams & Sons in Baltimore's clothing district on Redwood Street. Despite police interference and violence by strikebreakers who hurled bottles from the windows of the Abrams factory, striker enthusiasm remained high and the ACW firm. On September 11 workers returned to their jobs with their wages restored. Even the municipal workers, long held in check by the anti-unionist Jackson administration, began to organize. Although the organization grew rapidly in certain sectors, most workers still insisted that "there will be no demonstration of a wild and reckless power that does not exist." Careful to avoid charges of radicalism, municipal workers argued that they had suffered long enough from the city's budget

cuts, that they had tired of "Jackson's red arithmetic"—a phrase used to express their "contempt for the scandalously low wages paid by the city."<sup>47</sup>

Labor turbulence and strife particularly characterized the year 1937, when the number of strikes in the city peaked for the entire decade. There were sit-down strikes and hard-driving organizational campaigns among dressmakers and automobile, chemical, and cotton garment workers. The CIO-United Auto Workers opened the year with a General Motors organizing drive and walkout of UAW workers at the city's Fisher Body plant and Chevrolet. Led by UAW organizer and PUL chairman James Blackwell, the strike immediately encountered difficulties. The Fisher manager told the strikers that the plant would never close, and non-union workers initiated a loyalty movement, presenting the company a declaration of support signed by 2,400 employees expressing gratitude for the recently received Christmas bonus and confidence in General Motors. The press catapulted this "loyal workers" group into prominence by reporting their charges of UAW intimidation in an attempt to disgrace the union. When the "loyal workers" met to organize a march on Washington to demand that Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins intervene and end the strike, the UAW workers were forcibly barred from the meeting, resulting in a "free-swinging melee." The UAW's defeat of GM at Flint, Michigan, brought an end to Baltimore's strike, but the strikers returned to work without solid UAW support among the workers. Within days, company officials fired the union leaders, prompting UAW members to disrupt plant production temporarily.<sup>48</sup>

Testimony before the La Follette Committee in February 1937 altered the public understanding of the Fisher plant's loyalty movement. Fisher's plant manager, although insisting that the movement originated among the workers, conceded that the loyalty leader was a former Pinkerton employee and that the loyal leadership had been provided with the company's payroll list for mailing and propagandizing purposes. Union men, testimony further indicated, had been systematically threatened and terrorized on the job.<sup>49</sup>

National and local UAW organizing efforts continued full force. In June the UAW called a sit-down strike of 800 workers at the Fisher plant to protest the use of non-union labor on the trim line and succeeded in mounting a 2,000 person picket-line. A quick settlement brought the re-hiring of the union leaders, mutual control of assembly-line speed, an agreement on seniority rights, and wage increases.<sup>50</sup>

Appropriately, however, Baltimore's first sit-down strike involved 75 women garment workers at Roberts Dress Company. After all, it had been agitating women workers who had challenged Schoeneman's anti-union policies even before the passage of Section 7(a). In March 1937 Roberts dressmakers contended that the company was sending work out to non-union shops, thereby depriving them of their work. After two weeks of negotiations the women scored a victory when the company agreed to stop giving the dresses to non-union shops.<sup>51</sup>

Baltimore's upholsterers' union also won an important victory in 1937, and from one of the "biggest and bitterest anti-union firms," the Levenson Zenitz Furniture Company. The earlier upholsterers' union had been crushed during World War I by a lockout and completely destroyed by an open shop drive in 1920. Company managers had also created racial and ethnic antagonisms among workers, further eliminating traces of organization. At the end of the 1920s, local organizers managed to revive the union long enough to call a strike in 1927 but the city's traditional pattern of employer intimidation and police interference abruptly ended it. Given this unfortunate history, the 1937 victory seemed particularly sweet. The settlement at last provided union recognition. Moreover, the upholsterers secured wage increases, the closed shop, and a "firm standing in the city."<sup>52</sup>

Signs of improvement in labor's situation seemed to abound in 1937. The ILGWU began a major organizing drive while the Baltimore Joint Board moved into a "larger and more modern headquarters," providing tangible proof of the ACW's success. In July the CIO called its first meeting to form a central labor body in Baltimore; the assembled delegates, according to the *Labor*

*Herald*, represented over 50,000 members. Socialists reported increased attendance of laborers at the Workmen's Circle Lyceum in East Baltimore. Even the labor commissioner helped secure the closed shop for striking workers at the Baltimore Enamel and Novelty Company; at the settlement he suggested the employer take his employees to dinner as "a sign of good feeling."<sup>53</sup>

But there was also another side to labor's story. Persistent efforts on the part of auto workers and textile employees did not bring their goal of a closed shop. Moreover, despite the city's favorable ruling, not all municipal workers could organize. The Board of Fire Commissioners, for example, issued a "flat no" to firefighters attempting to affiliate with the AFL and instructed fire captains to confiscate union materials and turn off radios when labor leaders "went on the air." The ACW and the ILGWU could not eliminate sweatshops, and strikes frequently brought only temporary improvements. Despite some labor victories, then, not a few employers refused to concede defeat and continued to challenge unions, especially those connected to the CIO. In 1939, for example, one company owner declared, "We just won't recognize the C.I.O. Before I'll do that I will walk right out the front door and lock the place up for good." Even companies that had cooperated with the BFL refused to deal with the CIO. The Baltimore Labor Relations Board continued to encounter intransigent employers who fired union activists, refused to bargain collectively, intimidated workers or posted "discriminatory material" on company bulletin boards. Some manufacturers simply left the city rather than allow organization. The clothing company, S. Cohen and Sons, moved to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, only days after settling its strike with the Baltimore Cloakmakers' Union by promising to reinstate union activists and provide the closed shop. Even the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Afro-American* attempted to prevent unionization. The *Afro-American* organized a company union for "loyal" workers while the *Sun* created "pressroom committees" to forestall unionization. The NLRB ruled against both papers, ordering the *Afro-American* to re-hire union workers and calling the *Sun*'s maneuver "a sham imposed by the management upon the

men." *Sun* owner A. S. Abell successfully appealed his decision; an Annapolis judge peculiarly concluded that there had been no "actual discrimination" despite "evidence to show that the superintendent of the pressroom made statements from which the men could infer that it was not to their interest to join the union."<sup>54</sup>

Labor leaders and the rank and file also provided sources of discontent. Denouncing BFL conservatism, the *Labor Herald* declared: "We must have stronger and more militant labor leaders, with broader vision, foresight, and courage." "Baltimore," it continued, "has a long way to go. Let's start now." For ILGWU organizer Angela Bambace, the city's workers were themselves at least part of the organizing problem. In a 1937 article entitled "Wake up, Workers of Baltimore," Bambace cited the absence of working-class awareness as an obstacle to unionization. "Class consciousness is still a strange word among the Baltimore dress-makers" and among workers in general. "In Baltimore," she added, "people crawl. Nothing moves, and the earth is still flat." *Labor Herald* editor Bernstein concurred. Although acknowledging that Bambace's article had caused "very unfavorable comment and a good deal of resentment," he queried how "can one help [but] draw the conclusion that Baltimore is not in the 20th Century cycle, when one observes and sees that many labor failures have recently taken place in the city." Indeed, he noted that "nothing encouraging ever seems to happen in Baltimore."<sup>55</sup>

But labor's situation was neither as grim as Bernstein maintained nor as active as the Office of Labor and Statistics observed in its reports of "serious labor unrest." In 1938 tranquility was largely restored, as such issues as seniority rights dominated labor-management discussions, suggesting that at least union recognition had been partially achieved. But numerous industries remained unaffected by unions. Local officials continued to oppose strikes while the police, despite national publicity, persisted as strikebreakers. The city government, the Baltimore Association of Commerce, and even some workers preferred sweatshops to the threat of no shops at all. Because of continued economic uncertainties and NLRB compliance problems as



well as local anti-union traditions and sentiments, labor's victories remained incomplete and insecure. Although many workers correctly felt that they had accomplished much by the end of the decade, the progress was not as widespread as many of the city's hard-working activists had expected. An unprecedented but still fitful national commitment to labor combined with local obstacles to insure that Baltimore remained, in Trager's words, "only a so-so labor town."<sup>56</sup>

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Young Frederick Douglass: The Maryland Years.* By Dickson J. Preston. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980. Pp. xvii, 242. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

*Slave and Citizen: The Life of Frederick Douglass.* By Nathan Irvin Huggins. (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, 1980. Pp. viii, 194. Bibliography, index. \$9.95.)

*Moral Choices: Memory, Desire, and Imagination in Nineth-Century American Abolition.* By Peter F. Walker. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. Pp. xxii, 387. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Reflecting contemporary American concerns, recent scholarship has attempted to show that earlier generations of Americans, too, suffered from identity problems. It should therefore come as no surprise that Frederick Douglass (1818-1895), black reformer, orator, journalist, statesman, was, in the words of one scholar, "deeply troubled over his racial identity . . ." What emerges from a reading of these books, however, is that Douglass was, and knew himself to be, a black man, a Marylander, and an American, in itself sufficient cause for at least mild schizophrenia.

How one views Douglass and others like him depends of course largely from what premises one starts. If one accepts as reality the American people as mulatto or a racial blend, one obviously reaches a wholly different set of conclusions than if one views the American people from the perspective of white superiority-black inferiority. Some years ago, Albert Murray, in his stimulating book, *The Omni-Americans*, said: "American culture, even in its most rigidly segregated precincts, is patently and irrevocably composite. It is, regardless of all the hysterical protestations of those who would have it otherwise, incontestably mulatto." If this be true, is it a case of blacks trying to be what they are not or of claiming that which is not theirs? And if, as Huggins suggests, Americans saw themselves in process of creating the perfect society, "a Nation of Nations," then, as Douglass contended, the treatment accorded black people was indeed the supreme test of American civilization. Why, then, would Douglass not have seen his role as one of removing obstacles to the inclusion of his race within the circle of American nationality and himself, as Huggins asserts,

as "a representative of his people . . . in that his very person and life symbolized the black American inspiring respect? One may thus wonder how severe was his identity crisis, or indeed if he had one.

More than the others, *Moral Choices* focuses on Douglass' inner life. Relying on insights from psychology and intellectual history, Walker analyzes the writings of six abolitionists, among them Douglass, in an effort to determine why certain people made the moral commitment to abolition. The author's principal source for Douglass is the several autobiographies he continued to update for nearly a half-century. Though more public than private statements, a fact on which the three authors agree, Walker contends that the autobiographies must be read "with an eye for the rather inconspicuous and subtle but profoundly significant changes" in the successive versions. His conclusions are provocative: that Douglass made the commitment to abolition out of "his hopeless secret desire to be white"; that the abolition experience taught him the absurdity of trying to abandon his blackness, thus forcing him to identify more closely with black people; and that he was curious if not troubled by his mixed racial origins the rest of his long life. One may be inclined to dismiss his generalizations as sheer speculation, but Walker's probing analysis is tantalizing even when it is not always convincing.

Since *Young Frederick Douglass* is the story of Douglass' youth as a Maryland slave, it can be expected to shed light on the issue of Douglass' self-image. To some extent it does. Engagingly written and a first-rate piece of historical detective work, the book is local history at its best. In a sense, Preston's starting point, like Walker's, is the autobiographies, and though he recognizes Douglass' memory as being remarkably accurate he concludes that the autobiographies as public statement led Douglass into omissions and exaggerations that have left a misleading impression of his experience of growing up in Maryland. The author clearly knows much about the places and people of Douglass' time, knowledge that he puts to excellent use in fashioning the best scholarly account yet of Douglass' early years.

Preston's major contention is that Douglass was first and last a Marylander. Indeed, Douglass' self-concept was not only a Marylander but as "an Eastern Shoreman, with all that that name implies." And for him it implied much: his

place of birth in Talbot County; his extended family; his memories of a boyhood not at all as bad as he later claimed. Perhaps the most fascinating because suggestive part of the book is Preston's discussion of Douglass' family background.

If Douglass had a well-developed sense of being rooted in time and place it was because his lineage went far back into Talbot County history. Moreover, the clan Bailey (Douglass' first surname) was extensive, ramifying throughout the region. Born in America, identifying with the locality of their birth, they looked down on the newer slaves from Africa. It was not until the early nineteenth century, when the Old Southwest was being opened to slavery, that seaboard slave families such as the Baileys began to be split up and fear of being "sold south" became an integral part of black American experience. It was into this changing world of tradition and fear that Frederick was born.

It is reasonable to assume that the early presence of people like the Baileys in places like Talbot County produced local cultures that were a racial blend. Since the culture was as much black as white, since generations of his ancestors lay in the Maryland soil, and since his was a close-knit, extended family of hard-working people scattered over the Talbot County countryside, it is the more readily understood why Douglass regarded freedom as a natural right, why he viewed African colonization with loathing, and why he believed black Americans had more than paid in full for the citizenship formally bestowed upon them in the Civil War Amendments.

Cross-cultural fertilization notwithstanding, Preston asserts, blacks in general emulated whites. In the final analysis, power was in planter hands. Is it not possible, however, that independent of slavery black Americans as a whole valued personal freedom and the success ethic of hard work and upward mobility which Preston finds so carefully nourished in Douglass? Perhaps. But Preston is concerned that along with Douglass' personal qualities it not go unnoticed that the actions of white Marylanders were crucial to the development of his character. "It is entirely to his credit," he writes, "that when the opportunity arose to escape from the cesspool of slavery, he had the wit and fortitude to take advantage of it. But it should be kept in mind that he had helping hands along the way, and that not all of them were black." For example, Preston turns Aaron Anthony, Douglass' first master and possibly his father, and Sophia Auld, Anthony's daughter, in whose house he lived during his Baltimore days, into father-and-mother figures. After all, Douglass barely remembered his black mother and knew nothing at all about his presumably white father.

Preston makes it clear that within the limits of an immoral and tyrannical system Douglass did not fare too badly. Indeed, he was a "favored slave," recognized by his masters as different and not to be subjected to the harsher brutalities of the system. Furthermore, Douglass had the good fortune, thanks to kind owners, to live much of his slave life in Baltimore, where his mind could expand and his ambition soar. He thus benefitted from close contact with white people in a variety of situations. Could such a background have made him desire to be white? Preston acknowledges that Maryland blacks, slave and free, contributed to the formation of Douglass' identity. But with few exceptions, he does not dwell on their impact. Until such relations are fully explored, however, no account of the young Douglass will be more than partial. Nevertheless, Preston's study adds to our knowledge of why the Frederick Douglass who entered history as the anti-slavery reformer was not the stereotypical Sambo but the articulate, self-assertive human being portrayed in the autobiographies.

Huggins is concerned less with the private than the public Douglass. Of the autobiographies he notes that "each told the story of a public not a private life, of a man whose story ought to dispel ignorance and prejudice about blacks." Huggins thus explains Douglass' personal affairs within the context of Douglass' political beliefs and public actions.

Confronted with the well-nigh impossible task of covering Douglass' long life in very few pages, Huggins parallels the autobiographies in interpreting Douglass' life as a success story. Douglass was the quintessential American: optimistic, self-reliant, and passionately concerned for the freedom of others, especially that of his own despised and exploited people. He would at the same time be a model for them and their representative to the entire American people. "Through the story of this life," Huggins writes, "one could glimpse human potentialities, and indeed human perfectibility, a testament for an American faith." His life-long interest in his origins thus allowed him to renew his perspective on the distance he and the nation had travelled and how far it had yet to go before it achieved the goal of the perfect society.

The suggestion, whether made by whites or blacks, that America was not the Negro's home and that he should therefore emigrate to Africa or elsewhere infuriated Douglass. That colonization was impractical and immoral went without saying. Black people, by all the canons of nationality, had a legitimate right to be here and a duty to remain. Moreover, in addressing himself to the question in 1894, he thought it "pertinent . . . to ask . . . where the people of this mixed race are to go, for their ancestors are

white and black, and it will be difficult to find their native land anywhere outside the United States." It is questionable that the crux of his concern was racial identity. Rather, it was his association of race mixture with American nationality. What was at issue was American identity: the mulatto was the personification of the United States as the land of social and political equality, "a Nation of Nations." Douglass was not rejecting his race, as he was sometimes accused of doing; what he was rejecting was the idea that black people could not be incorporated into the American nation as equal members. This is precisely what many emigrationists did assume.

Most arresting is Huggins' use of the "insider-outsider" concept. As a member of an outcast group, Douglass spent most of his life as an outsider, alienated from a society of which if reformed he yearned to be a part. In the antebellum period he therefore assumed the reformer's role of agitator for justice. Briefly, during Reconstruction, as black people were freed and granted citizenship, he had begun to see himself as an insider, at peace finally with the country of his birth. His criticism became muted, indeed almost silent, as he took up the role of party functionary. With the undoing of Reconstruction, however, came the realization that he had never really been an insider. Toward the end, he became again the reformer-agitator. He had always wanted desperately to belong, to be a citizen whose rights were recognized, a person whose humanity was respected. He had never known his parents, and notwithstanding his "favored slave" status and his prestige among reformers, he came to realize (perhaps he had all along) that he would remain an outsider. However, a desire to belong, to be an insider, should not be construed as wanting to be white. But even assuming at some stage a desire to be white, to others he would always be black. On this the three authors agree: his identification with black people increased with the years. By the end of his life, if not well before, as Huggins perceptively remarks, Douglass had certainly discovered that race was the basic factor in determining identity and common consciousness.

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*Shipwrecks on the Chesapeake.* By Donald G. Shomette (Centreville, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1982. Foreword, illustrations, maps, shipwreck listing, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 324. \$18.50.)

Books on shipwrecks too often relate only the demise of famous and treasure-laden vessels. In *Shipwrecks on the Chesapeake*, however, Donald

Shomette offers a wide variety of scholarly yet entertaining narratives of maritime disasters, from the mundane to the spectacular, spanning a period of 370 years. Contemporary newspapers and official documents provided the author with accurate sources from which he has extracted exciting stories of human drama and misfortune. Following the text is a chronological index of over 1800 documented vessel losses in the Chesapeake Bay region.

The book opens with an account of the first recorded vessel loss in the Chesapeake, that of a small vessel wrecked near Jamestown Island in 1608. Although data from the Colonial period is sparse, the author manages to assemble a number of interesting vignettes. The subjects range from the merchant ship *Needham* which burned in 1738 to an unidentified brig which was run aground in 1773 by a rebellious cargo of indentured servants and convict laborers.

Moving into the Revolutionary War period, the increase in available documentation is reflected in the correspondingly richer detail of subsequent shipwreck descriptions. Beginning with the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* and *Totness* during pre-Revolutionary turmoil in Maryland, the story moves to the scuttling of ships in Lord Dunmore's fleet of 1776, then to a number of war-related sinkings, including the destruction of the Virginia Navy at Osborne's Landing, and culminating with the loss of Lord Cornwallis' fleet at Yorktown in October, 1781.

Part Three, "The Age of Transition," provides an unusual change of pace as the reader is jolted into the present time by the author's first-hand account of an underwater archaeological investigation of the Barney Flotilla, scuttled during the War of 1812. Chapter 12 recounts the emergency on the Bay of steam power, with the resulting boiler explosions. One of the most interesting stories in this section does not involve a sinking at all, rather it describes the explosion in 1884 of an immense naval gun, "The Peacemaker," aboard the *USS Princeton*.

The section on the Civil War begins with the scuttling of Union vessels during the capture of the Gosport (Norfolk) Navy Yard on April 21, 1861 which gave the South a shipbuilding facility and much-needed ships, including the partially-burned *Merrimack* which became the ironclad ram *CSS Virginia*. The loss of the *Virginia* is described, along with other actions including the destruction of the *USS Commodore Jones* by Rebel floating mines, and leading eventually to the scuttling of the Confederate James River Fleet just before the fall of Richmond.

The last section, "The Modern Era," opens with the author preparing for a scuba dive on the wreck of the steam packet *New Jersey*, which burned and sank in 1870. The book ends with an account of the accident that resulted in the

sinking of the U. S. Coast Guard Cutter *Cuyahoga* in 1978, an effective and poignant reminder that, despite modern navigational and communications equipment, maritime disasters still occur.

Although this book is the most complete and accurate shipwreck study yet published, it nevertheless contains numerous errors, an almost inevitable consequence of a work of this scope. There are a number of omissions, misspellings, and incorrect entries and locations. The dates of loss are incorrect for many of the 1781 Yorktown shipwrecks; the *Vulcan* and three unnamed fire ships are mentioned in the text but not included in the listing of documented vessel losses. Although each section of the book begins with a shipwreck map, the first four maps, especially that for part one, contain serious locational errors.

In spite of these shortcomings, *Shipwrecks on the Chesapeake* is an excellent book that will be enjoyed by amateur and professional historians alike, especially those who are fascinated by the rich maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay.

JOHN D. BROADWATER

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*The Vagabonds: America's Oldest Little Theatre.*

By Linda Lee Koenig. (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983. Illustrations, appendices, index. 166 pages. \$22.50.)

Readers interested in drama or Baltimore will find Dr. Koenig's book *The Vagabonds* an interesting and informative study of this Baltimore dramatic institution. The references to dramatic groups in the United States of analogous size and purpose as well as the over-view of the other cultural institutions which have flourished or declined in Baltimore provide the reader with a fine perspective against which to judge the significance of this little theater group.

And the reader is convinced at the conclusion of the work that the Vagabonds is indeed significant. Its early days as a vehicle for experimental and, therefore, commercially precarious plays has given it a permanent place in a definitive history of drama in America. Furthermore, it has continued to schedule along with more popular productions less frequently staged plays, e.g., Cocteau's *The Human Voice* (1980) and plays by less well-established playwrights, e.g., Judson Jerome's *Candle in the Straw* (1971).

In her telling the story of the Vagabonds, Dr. Koenig is, on the whole, a felicitous and interesting writer. She identifies the major and minor characters who figure in the fortunes of the group as well as describing the moving forces in

front of and behind the scenes. Particularly poignant is Bruce Johnson's description of Helen Alison Fraser Penniman whose involvement with the Vagabonds extended from 1917 until her death in early 1964. He says, "She was the theater—the visible theater. When she went, there was no one to take her place."

Fortunately, then, the human side of this most human art fills Dr. Koenig's pages. Accounts of triumphs, defeats, personality conflicts, feuds, losses, and gains are side-by-side with facts of production, staffing, negotiations, and finances. Of great value are her interviews with various people from the various phases of the Vagabonds including Patti Singewald, Louis Azrael, and Naomi Evans Brightfield. Interspersed with hard data, the impressions of the people who participated in the productions of the Vagabonds as administrators, actors, and critics round out the history, giving it color and texture. In the same manner, Dr. Koenig's setting her account within the context of the city's fortunes and the country's affairs gives the reader an appreciation of the sheer grit which so many of the Vagabonds showed in this enterprise, a grit which has been rewarded only with the applause at the end of each show.

Unfortunately, the book suffers from a few shortcomings. First, a careful reading should have caught the egregious error of the very first sentence of chapter 1: "In 1900 Baltimore had a population of a little over 50,000." This typographical error casts a pall over the accuracy of the subsequent figures, all of which are important in the presentation of the Vagabonds' fortunes. Similarly "druken" for "drunken" (p. 40) is annoying.

Second, the manner of organizing the material could well benefit from revision. For some reason Dr. Koenig chooses not to follow chronological order within her chronologically ordered chapters. In the chapter, "The Twenties," for example, she discusses events which occur in 1922, 1928, 1924, 1925, 1924, 1922, 1921, and 1923, in that order, before beginning her account of the Vagabonds which moves from 1924, 1920, 1921, 1923, and 1920. At that point she gives a lengthy and interesting description of Mrs. Penniman's career with the Vagabonds. This rather convoluted narrative method persists as the book progresses.

Most serious, however, are the omissions. The Index is not exhaustive, for not every name mentioned in the book is indexed. These omissions could well have been a function of external considerations; nevertheless, they compromise the scholarly usefulness of the text. More harmful is the decision to give only selected cast lists in Appendix 3. Perhaps the publishing budget did not allow the author to include all the available lists. Nonetheless, their omission seriously



undermines the value of the book as a definitive history.

Despite my quarrels with certain of the author's decisions, however, I recommend the book for anyone, amateur or scholar, who is interested in drama in the United States or curious about the cultural institutions of 20th-century Baltimore. Dr. Koenig has obviously mined the information and refined the data so that the reader is able to appreciate this valiant group. Moreover, the photographs and illustrations which appear intermittently in the book add to the graphic appeal of a very well-put-together volume. The publisher deserves credit for the attractiveness of the book.

CAROL NEVIN ABROMAITIS  
*Loyola College*

*Representative Democracy: Public Policy and Midwestern Legislatures in the Late Nineteenth Century.* By Ballard C. Campbell. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980. Pp. xi, 260. \$20.00.)

In 1976, in an important article disguised as a review essay in *Historical Methods Newsletter*, Ballard Campbell called attention to American state legislatures as a neglected historical resource. Just as importantly, he carefully outlined the research designs and methodological approaches appropriate to utilizing that resource for exploring a variety of historical questions. Now, after a number of interim articles, Campbell has produced a major study implementing his own suggestions. *Representative Democracy* is a significant achievement, well worth the wait.

Campbell has several objectives. He wants to emphasize the primacy of state legislatures in the nineteenth century polity and the importance of policy in the governmental process, topics that historians have overlooked in their concentration on national politics and popular voting behavior. To accomplish this, Campbell investigates legislative behavior in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin from 1886 to 1895. He does not claim that those states are necessarily representative, but his careful specification of methodology and emphasis on legislative policymaking as a complex process reflecting a variety of influences suggest that his findings have a wider applicability than the upper Midwest.

Campbell begins by examining the process of electing representatives to the legislatures, concluding (with other "new political historians") that ethnic voting and partisan continuity were the major political features of voting behavior. The typical representative was a middle-aged white male with no previous legislative experience—an indication of the "amateur" nature of state politics that Robert Cherny also recently

found characteristic of Nebraska in this period. The cultural origins of legislators reveal more diversity and help persuade Campbell that the legislatures were democratic institutions, "representative of the societies they served" (p. 196). The cultural characteristics of each party's legislators tended to reflect those of their constituents, with Republican legislators coming predominantly from core cultural groups such as Yankees and Methodists and Democratic legislators from "ethnic outsiders" such as Catholics and Irish.

In studying policy decisions of these legislators, Campbell focuses on the contested legislative issues, selecting 1105 roll calls on the basis of their reaching a threshold level of voting conflict. He groups the roll calls into five general policy categories: Community Mores, Commerce, Fiscal Policy, Government, and Public Services. By analyzing these data through a variety of sophisticated quantitative techniques, Campbell dismisses several traditional notions of late nineteenth century politics—that politicians avoided substantive issues, that the major parties were virtually identical except for rhetoric, and that "bosses" dominated legislative policymaking.

Campbell's work rests on extensive reading in the social sciences. His major thesis reflects in particular his utilization of policy dimension theory, which maintains that issue content affects legislative voting behavior and that the relevance of potential determinants of decision-making varies according to the policy issue considered. Thus Campbell constructs a sophisticated and complex model of legislative behavior incorporating party, personal, constituent, economic, and cultural factors. Party proved to be the most important policy determinant, particularly in the category of Community Mores, which included legislation on liquor, school policy, and social behavior. Party was also the primary influence in shaping voting alignments over issues of Government and Elections, but was not particularly important in the categories reflecting commercial and financial legislation. Indeed, voting on those issues did not follow any consistent alignment. Voting cleavages along ethnic, urban-rural, regional, and occupational lines did occur at times, but these factors were not major and consistent determinants of voting decisions. In short, the voting behavior of Midwestern legislators "was the product of a diversity of factors. . . . Their responses reveal a process of decision-making in which numerous references circulated and shaped voting outcomes. The fluctuation of these voting alignments was tied closely to the subject matter under review" (p. 197).

There are few weaknesses in this excellent study. Despite a methodological appendix, some

readers will wish for greater clarity in explanations of what Campbell's data manipulations involved (and did not involve). Some of his defenses of the political system are rather strained, such as dismissing as unrealistic any criticism of parties for not developing integrated policy positions. And because of his insistence upon the reality of representative democracy, one regrets he did not exploit the full potential of the singular Illinois cumulative voting system. And, as always, there are small errors, such as the consistent misspelling of the name of Iowa Governor Horace Boies.

But these are minor complaints. *Representative Democracy* is an impressive book, reflecting exhaustive research and innovative methodology. It is mandatory reading for all interested in American political history.

PETER H. ARGERSINGER

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*North Carolina and the New Deal.* By Anthony J. Badger. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1981. Pp. xiv, 102. \$3.00, paper.)

*North Carolina and the New Deal*, part of the pamphlet series of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, is a solid and useful brief study. Taking as his central theme the "ambiguity" that marked the New Deal's impact on North Carolina, Anthony J. Badger seeks to describe and explain the state's ambiguous combination of new departures and old patterns in the 1930s. As he makes clear, the New Deal in greatly increasing the role of the federal government had major effects on North Carolina and her people: New Deal programs, for example, brought controls and long-term prosperity to North Carolina tobacco, regulation and help to the textile industry, direct relief and work relief to hundreds of thousands of needy citizens, Social Security, and a variety of works projects, including rural electrification. As a result of those and other measures, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal won great apparent political support among the state's people.

Yet despite all that, Badger maintains, "the New Deal left the basic economic, social, and political structure of the state largely untouched." Partly that was because of the priorities and limits of the New Deal itself, but it was largely, he argues, because local vested interests, public officials, and old ideas and practices constantly deflected and diluted New Deal efforts. Thus the New Deal's emphasis on recovery and its dependence on local cooperation and administration left the agricultural and industrial recovery programs primarily in the hands of established farmers and businessmen, who reaped

the rewards while tenants and small farmers got little help and unionism was thwarted. Thus, too, as other examples, relief, reform, and public works programs were resisted by conservative business and rural forces and weakened by penurious and conservative state government. Nor did North Carolina politics, which at once reflected and helped produce the limited impact of the New Deal, undergo much change. There was no "Little New Deal" in North Carolina, for frugal and conservative governors and legislators, attuned to the established economic and political power structure and imbued with the state's traditional "conservative, business-oriented ideology" of limited government, prevented any substantial change in state government. North Carolina's two U.S. senators claimed to support the New Deal until they were safely reelected in 1936 and 1938—and then became part (and in the case of Josiah W. Bailey, a leader) of the anti-New Deal conservative coalition in the Senate. Tar Heel congressmen more enthusiastically supported the New Deal in FDR's first term, but even their support waned in the second. Such political patterns revealed not only the limits of the New Deal's impact, including its inability "to bring new voices—the disfranchised and dispossessed [blacks and poor whites]—into the politics of the state" but also the limits Badger finds in an "agrarian liberalism" concerned about benefits for its chief constituents and increasingly wary and worried about New Deal urban liberalism. Persisting beyond the 1930s, such patterns and ideas and the state's traditional hierarchical and deferential class, racial, and political structure also belied North Carolina's image as a progressive bastion in the South.

The story that Badger tells, though consistently informative and interesting, is for the most part neither new nor surprising. His findings are based partly on his own excellent book, *Prosperity Road: The New Deal, Tobacco, and North Carolina*, partly on other studies of North Carolina in the era. His analysis of the limits of and on the New Deal largely reconfirm a variety of recent examinations of the New Deal and of sundry states and localities in the 1930s. Nor is the pamphlet without shortcomings. Its unavoidable brevity and reliance on the evidently uneven secondary material mean that some important matters are treated superficially or inconclusively. Contemporary photographs and political cartoons nicely supplement the text and give a flavor of the times, but many of the photographs are simply too small. Some readers will lament the absence of footnotes (though there is a good, short bibliography) and of an index.

But the strengths of this little book should be emphasized. It is an able, nicely-written, and

rewarding account of the New Deal in North Carolina, one that admirably achieves the aims of the pamphlet series. At convenient length and small cost, Badger's study synthesizes the existing literature, focuses on and illuminates crucial issues and developments, and in the bargain sheds light not just on North Carolina but on

the New Deal and patterns elsewhere as well. It also further whets the appetite for new studies of Maryland's people, politics, and public policy in the Roosevelt years.

JOHN W. JEFFRIES

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...and in the bargain sheds light not just on North Carolina but on the New Deal and patterns elsewhere as well. It also further whets the appetite for new studies of Maryland's people, politics, and public policy in the Roosevelt years.

From time to time additional legislation was enacted and taverns founded. By 1755 there were numerous and it was deemed necessary to establish guidelines for their regulation. Accordingly in April of that year "An Act Concerning Ordinances and for the better Regulation of Tavernkeepers and Ordinary Keepers" was passed by the Legislature. The Act created a system of licensing and set standards affecting all phases of keeping physical taverns and ordinary. It prescribed the number of beds for certain taverns—those in county seats to provide no less than four beds with warm covering, those in Annapolis, St. Mary's beds were required as well as other stipulations and provisions for a specified number of barrels. Limits were set on rates to be charged and on the amount of credit to be extended. Maintenance of an orderly house was enjoined. No food or drink could be sold without a license under strict penalties of law.

Provisionally for carrying out the many provisions of the Act was placed on the county courts in accordance with the law the Baltimore County Court, which had



# Tavern and Ordinary Licenses in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1755–1763

LILLIAN BAYLY MARKS

AS EARLY AS 1662 MARYLAND'S colonial Legislature recognized the need for inns or places of public accommodation for travelers by passing an Act for the encouragement of "victualling houses" or "ordinaries."<sup>1</sup> Providing lodging as well as food and drink, taverns and ordinaries catered not only to wayfarers but to local inhabitants seeking sustenance and conviviality. Such establishments were of particular importance at the seat of government and in localities where the county courts met.

From time to time additional legislation was enacted and taverns flourished. By 1735 they were numerous and it was deemed necessary to establish guidelines for their regulation. Accordingly in April of that year "An Act Concerning Ordinaries and for the better Regulation of Innholders and Ordinary Keepers" was passed by the Legislature.<sup>2</sup> The Act created a system of licensing and set standards affecting all phases of innkeeping: physical, financial and ethical. It prescribed the number of beds for certain taverns—those in county seats to provide no less than four beds with warm covering, those in Annapolis, six. Spare beds were stipulated as well as suitable stabling and provender for a specified number of horses. Limits were set on rates to be charged and on the amount of credit to be extended. Maintenance of an orderly house was obligatory. No food or drink could be sold without a license under strict penalty of law.

Responsibility for carrying out the many provisions of the Act was placed on the county courts. In accordance with the law the Baltimore County Court, which met

quarterly at Joppa Town, was authorized to "grant Lycenses to such persons of good repute to be Ordinary Keepers or Innholders for the ease and convenience of Inhabitants, Travelers and Strangers."<sup>3</sup> Annually at the August Court session licenses were issued to qualified applicants to "keep an Ordinary or Publick House of Entertainment until August next."<sup>4</sup> The fee for the year was £ 3.10.0. All licenses expired in August but could be obtained at any quarterly session and prorated. Originally there were several classes of licenses, "Ordinary," "Tavern" and "Publick House," but after 1760 only the first classification was used. The Court was also empowered to establish tariffs to be charged for food, drink and lodging. At the August Court session tavern keepers' rates were "settled" and a schedule drawn up that was required to be posted prominently in all ordinaries.<sup>5</sup>

There were fines for violations of the law, and to insure that such fines would be paid, each license holder was required to furnish two guarantors or "securities" liable in the amount of £ 40 each. The names of securities were entered in the Court Minutes with the names of the licensees. Minute Book Liber BB, 1755 to 1762 (and including 1763), has the most complete consecutive record of tavern keepers and their securities.

Over the nine year record covered by the Minute Book the number of licenses doubled from twenty in 1755 to forty-one in 1763. Several ordinary keepers held licenses for all or most of the period, indicating property ownership; others had licenses for short terms and were probably renters. Licenses were sometimes in the hands of one family for an extended period as the tavern passed from member to member.<sup>6</sup> Judging

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Mrs. Marks, a resident of Catonsville, Md., is the author of *Reister's Desire*.

by surnames, fourteen percent of the licenses were held by Germans, most of whom were in Baltimore Town. Women comprised eleven percent of the license holders. All but three of these were found to be widows, the majority of whom succeeded their husbands.<sup>7</sup>

An analysis of the names of securities shows that many had the same surnames as license holders, suggesting family relationships. Other securities were constables, justices, overseers of the roads and prominent members of the community. Justices, though a small percentage of the securities, were the most frequently called upon, sometimes guaranteeing several persons in a given year.<sup>8</sup> A larger number, or twelve percent, of the securities were constables. Two securities held tavern licenses and also operated ferries, an occupation traditionally associated with tavern keeping.<sup>9</sup> The largest group, or more than a third of the securities, were overseers of the roads, a quarter of whom at times held tavern licenses.<sup>10</sup>

A close bond of friendship existed among the tavern and ordinary keepers, who frequently served as securities for each other.<sup>11</sup> More than thirty percent were guarantors for other licensees. There was also intermarriage among their families. One quarter of the marriage records for all license holders were found; in sixteen cases the surnames of spouses were the same as those of other tavern keepers.<sup>12</sup>

As addresses were not included in the Court Minutes, the residences of license holders are not known. In only three instances were clues given as to the area in which the tavern keeper could be found.<sup>13</sup> Inns and taverns were located principally in Baltimore and Joppa Towns and in the more densely populated section of the county. Owners, however, did not always live at their places of business; in Baltimore and particularly in Joppa Town, owners often resided some distance from their establishments. Even when a tavern keeper was also a road overseer it is not possible to pin-point his tavern's exact location, for although a resident of the general vicinity, he was not always assigned to his own road. Over the years taverns changed hands or were leased by their owners. Consequently

the name of the tavern rather than that of the owner may appear in records of its location.

Some tavern keepers or their securities were prominent enough to be mentioned in print. Names of others appear on early settlers lists or in tax records, which are arranged geographically.<sup>14</sup> The locality in which the license holder resided may be surmised from these records; presumably the tavern was in the same locality.

A chronological tabulation of licenses issued during the period discussed follows. Notations from the Court Minute Book as well as original spelling have been retained. The author's comments are in brackets. Also following is a guide to areas where license holders might possibly be found, and a list of known tavern locations of the period.

#### AREA GUIDE<sup>15</sup>

- B Baltimore Town, comprising Deptford and Baltimore East and West Hundreds.
- C Central section of county north of present Baltimore city line, comprising Back River Upper and Middle River Upper Hundreds.
- E Eastern section of county between Middle and Bird Rivers, comprising Middle River Lower Hundred.
- G Area of county bordered by Harford County on east, comprising Mine Run and Gunpowder Upper Hundreds.
- H Harford County, comprising Spesutia, Susquehanna, Deer Creek and Gunpowder Lower Hundreds, originally in Baltimore County.
- J Joppa Town and vicinity, including Bush and Gunpowder River areas, now Harford County.
- M Present Baltimore city west of Jones Falls, and southwestern Baltimore County, comprising Middlesex and Patapsco Upper Hundreds.
- N Northwestern section of county, comprising North and Pipe Creek Hundreds, part of the former and the major part of the latter now Carroll County.
- S Present Baltimore city east of Jones Falls, and southeastern part of county west of Middle River, comprising Patapsco Lower and Back River Lower Hundreds.

TAVERN AND ORDINARY LICENSES IN BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND, 1755-1763

Key: O Ordinary  
 P Publick House  
 T Tavern  
 \* License issued for portion of year ending in August.  
 \*\* License holder prior to 1755.  
 Capital letter following name is code for Area Guide following.  
 Numerals in year columns are code numbers of Securities on List of Securities following.

Licensee		1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763
Philip Addleman [Idleman]**	N	-	-	-	T 237 130	0 34 223	-	-	-	-
John Algier	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 140 182	-
James Allen**	H	P 71 85	-	P 11 67	P 29a 26	O 11 12	-	-	-	-
Abraham Andrew	E	-	-	-	-	*T 94 10 10	-	-	-	*O 239 10 10
William Andrew**	E	P 94 0	-	-	P 94 239	0 177 119	0 234 94	O 94 166	O 94 239	-
Mary Andrews	E	-	P 239 94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Ashmore	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*O 89 70
Abraham Ayers, Jr.	H	-	P 22 129	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Barnes	H	-	-	-	T 191 229	-	-	-	-	-
Daniel Barnett**	B	P 94 98	P 136 92	P105 92	P 201 144	O 92 136	O 92 136	O 92 136	0 183 164	O 197 84
William Barney	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 83 78
William Barney, Sr.	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 13 156	-	-
James Barrance	U	-	-	-	T None Listed	-	-	-	-	-
Robert Bishop**	J	-	-	*O 219 108	-	-	-	-	-	-
		P 98 10	-	O 219 108	P 219 111	O 219 150	O 219 94	O 40 219	O 219 111	O 96 97

Peter Bond	W	-	-	-	-	-	O 63	O 66	O 153	-
							19	109	166	-
Thomas Bond** (Ptpsco.)	W	-	-	-	P 75	O 191	O 38	O 166	-	-
					171	166	166	130	-	-
William Bond	J	-	-	*O 10	-	-	-	-	-	-
				45	-	-	-	-	-	-
				O 45	-	-	-	-	-	-
				170	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nicholas Brittain	E	-	-	-	-	-	O 172	-	-	-
							38	-	-	-
John Buck**	E	-	-	-	-	*T 78	-	-	-	-
						177	-	-	-	-
		P 213	P 213	P 127	-	O 15	O 212	O 211	O 96	O 96
		65	125	222	-	124	69	78	177	124
Absolom Butler	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 153	O 186
									166	37
Susannah Butler**	M	-	-	T 53	T 53	O 171	O 166	O 130	-	-
				171	202	166	130	166	-	-
James Cary	B	P 239	P 105	P 61	P 191	O 98	O 191	O 94	-	-
		105	64	105	94	191	166	130	-	-
Jeremiah Chance	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 205	O 215
									172	172
Roderick Cheynie**	G	P 219	P 64	O 105	T 191	O 187	O 98	O 236	O 183	O 219
		98	94	159	202	202	177	115	164	96
Thomas Clendening	B	-	-	-	-	*T 78	-	-	-	-
						197	-	-	-	-
James Creswell	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*O 173
										145
Samuel Creswell	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 226
										208
Rachell Cruitt	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 33	-	-
								239	-	-
Robert Cruitt	H	-	-	-	-	-	O 239	-	-	-
							166	-	-	-
Thomas Davis**	E	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 197	-	-
								30	-	-
Samuel Day	J	-	-	-	-	*O 83	-	-	-	-
						120	-	-	-	-
						O 24	-	-	-	-
						-	-	-	-	-
William Denton	E	-	-	-	-	-	O 10	-	-	-
							95	-	-	-
Nicholas Dorsey	W	-	-	-	T 62	-	-	-	-	-
					130	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE—CONTINUED

Licensee		1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763
Valerous Ducard**		P 224	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	B	198								
Thomas Durbin		-	-	-	-	-	O 20	-	-	*O 100
	J						106			178
Abraham Ensor		-	-	P 87	-	-	-	-	-	-
	S			227						
Lewis Evans		-	-	-	-	-	-	O 128	-	-
	J							52		
Amos Fogg		-	*P 98	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	B		206							
		-	P 197	P 197	T 202	O 136	O 136	O 136	O 197	-
			158	18	13	18	13	209	87	
John French		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 3	O 239
	B								98	176
Edward Fry		-	-	*P 98	-	-	-	-	-	-
	B			142						
Job Garrettson		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 21
	B									88
William Gist		-	-	-	-	-	-	O 56	O 118	O 3
	W							55	80	93
John Gittiner		-	-	-	-	-	-	O 209	O 182	O 182
	N							239	204	165
Harman Greathouse		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*O 194
	W									102
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 220
										4
Luke Griffith		-	-	P None	-	-	-	-	-	-
	H			Listed						
George Haile**		-	-	-	-	-	-	O 66	O 59	O 110
	C							17	41	88
Eliza Hammond (Widow of Capt. Thomas)		-	-	-	-	-	-	O 56	-	-
	B							55		

Key: O Ordinary  
 P Publick House  
 T Tavern

\* License issued for portion of year ending in August.

\*\* License holder prior to 1755.

Capital letter following name is code for Area Guide following.

Numerals in year columns are code numbers of Securities on List of Securities following.

David Harvey	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 215
Darby Henly	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	172
William Hoffman	W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 157
Jacob Hooke	M	-	-	-	*T 42	-	-	-	-	-	59
Samuel Howell	H	-	-	-	91	-	-	-	-	-	O 183
William Huffman	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	182
Hannah Hughes**	B	-	*P 94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Hughs	H	*P 134	98	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philip Jackson	H	121	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Henry James	J	-	-	-	T 10	O 200	O 238	O 26	O 119	O 94	-
Mary Jarrett**	B	-	-	-	124	232	134	188	230	239	-
Catherine Jennings	B	P 224	-	-	-	-	-	-	*O 224	-	-
John Keen	H	198	-	-	T 132	O 132	-	-	175	-	-
Malacah Keener	B	-	-	-	237	237	-	-	O 183	-	-
James Kelsey	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 209	137	-	-
[Kelso?]	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	O 140	O 161	-
James Kelso	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	161	140	-
Joseph Langdon	S	-	-	-	T 92	O 195	-	-	O 105	-	O 4
Valentine Larsh**	B	P 224	P 18	P 18	T None	O 92	O 92	O 92	98	-	44
George Levely	B	198	116	58	Listed	18	18	133	-	-	-
William Levely	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 182
Alexander McComas (Son of Jn.)	J	-	-	-	-	*T 79	-	-	O 139	-	-
		-	-	-	-	233	-	-	161	-	-
		-	-	-	-	O 193	O 179	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-	151	193	-	-	-	-



TABLE—CONTINUED

Licensee		1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763
Thomas Miller		—	—	—	—	O 73	O 11	O 217	O 11	—
	H					36	31	68	235	
Henry Balsher Myer		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 140	O 140
	B								133	133
John Norris (Son of Ben.)		—	—	—		*T 25	—	—	—	—
	J					27				
					T 119	O 163	—	—	—	—
						164				
Caroline Orrick		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 5	O 169
	B								98	6
John Orrick		—	—	—	—	*T 144	—	—	—	—
	B					98				
						O 144	O 144	O 155	—	—
						143	98	166	—	—
James Osborn		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 29a
	H									50
Robert Patterson		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 128	—
	H								149	—
William Payne		—	—	*P 229	—	—	—	—	—	—
	B			141						
				P 229	T 224	O 162	O 190	O 56	O 229	O 3
				158	114	32	98	55	13	202
Reubin Perkins		—	—	—	T 36	O 36	—	—	—	—
	H				174	180				
Joseph Poulson		—	—	—	—	—	—	O 90	—	—
	J							86	—	—
Elizabeth Price		—	P 142	—	O 220	O 34	O 149	—	—	—
	S		53		104	35	49	—	—	—
Christopher Randall		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*O 166	—
	W								181	—
									O 166	—
									29	—

\* License issued for portion of year ending in August.

\*\* License holder prior to 1755.

Capital letter following name is code for Area Guide following.

Numerals in year columns are code numbers of Securities on List of Securities following.

John Reister	W	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 28 225	O 231 194	O 138 101
James Richardson (Taylor)	H	-	-	-	-	O 167 57	-	-	-	-
Stephen Rigdon	H	*P 185 218	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aaron Riley	H	-	-	-	-	*T 24 22	-	-	-	-
Isaac Risteau	J	P 10 23	-	P 39 144	O 83 16	O 23 196	-	-	-	-
Daniel Robinson	H	*P 112 168	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		P 99 112	P 97 184	-	P 2 148	-	-	-	-	-
Susannah Robinson	H	-	-	-	-	O 221 97	O 82 97	-	-	-
Hance Rudolph	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 83 78
Richard Ruff**	H	P 11 146	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thomas Saunders	J	-	-	-	O 198 152	-	-	-	-	-
Jacob Schartell	J	-	-	-	T 86 160	O 7 123	-	-	-	-
Christopher Sewell	W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 29 50	O 72 76
Adam Shake	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 182 231	-
James Silver	G	-	-	-	T 239 207	O 200 135	-	-	-	-
Mary Simm	B	-	-	-	-	O 162 18	O 13 18	-	-	-
William Sim	B	-	-	P 105 192	T 162 126	-	-	-	-	-
Josias Slade**	G	P 47 134	-	*O 16 120	T 156 16	O 23 187	-	O 10 237	O 51 59	-
Matthew Smiser	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 94 239	-
John Smith (Gwins Falls)	W	-	-	-	*T 144 29	-	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	T 60 144	O 9 117	-	-	-	-
John Smith	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 231 14	-	-

TABLE—CONTINUED

Licensee		1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763
Thomas Smith		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 173 210	O 173 122
Mary Stansbury	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 197 87	—
Hannah Starkey	B	—	—	*O 45 30	—	—	—	—	—	—
	G	—	—	P 45 124	—	—	—	—	—	—
William Stevenson		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 97 239	O 239 107
George Stewart	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 1 112a	O 219 111
Andrew Stigar		P 144 214	P 105 61	O 191 98	—	—	—	—	—	—
Joseph Sutton	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 21	O 21 187
Christr. Sytlemire**	E	P 113 198	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mary Sytlemire	B	—	—	—	—	—	O 98 18	O 92 136	—	—
Sebastian Sytlemire	B	—	P 98 61	P 142 98	P 98 142	O 98 202	—	—	—	—
John Taylor** (Joppa)	B	P 229 205	—	*O 147 81	O 158 30	—	O 46 188	—	O 38 8	—
Peter Tivis	J	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 130 142
Thomas Tredaway**	W	P 74 112	—	P 98 199	P 147 2	O 97 150	O 77 43	O 111 130	—	—
John Vanclief	J	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 154 185
Richard Wagstaff	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O 197 209
	B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Key: O Ordinary  
 P Publick House  
 T Tavern  
 \* License issued for portion of year ending in August.  
 \*\* License holder prior to 1755.  
 Capital letter following name is code for Area Guide following.  
 Numerals in year columns are code numbers of Securities on List of Securities following.

Joseph Wallace	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 197	87
Henry Warren	U	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 182	-	-	-
Abraham Wayne	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 83	-
Edward Wiggins	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 173	-	-	-
Henry Worrel	W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O 182	-
James Yoe	G	-	-	O 187	O 120	O 48	O 26	O 196	O 203	-	-
John Young**	J	-	-	30	-	54	189	92	216	-	-
Rebecca Young	J	-	-	-	T 131	O 132	O 234	O 10	-	-	-
	J	-	-	-	132	131	94	130	-	O 239	O 94
										94	239

## LIST OF SECURITIES

Key: c = Constable  
 d = Delegate to Maryland Legislature  
 j = Justice  
 o = Overseer of the Roads  
 t = Tavern Keeper  
 Capital letter before name is code to Area Guide.  
 Number before name is code to tabulation of Tavern and Ordinary Licenses.

- |     |   |                              |     |   |                              |
|-----|---|------------------------------|-----|---|------------------------------|
| 0   | U | Walter_____                  |     |   |                              |
| 1   | B | Robert Adair, j              | 55  | B | Christopher Carnan           |
| 2   | G | Thomas Ailer                 | 56  | B | John Carnan                  |
| 3   | B | William Aisquith, j          | 57  | J | Js. Carroll                  |
| 4   | B | Mark Alexander               | 58  | B | James Cary, o & t            |
| 5   | B | R. Alexander                 | 59  | G | Jeremiah Chance, t           |
| 6   | B | Robert Alexander             | 60  | W | Robert Chapman, c            |
| 7   | H | Joseph Allen                 | 61  | B | Richard Chase                |
| 8   | J | Joshua Amos                  | 62  | C | Arthur Chenowith             |
| 9   | J | Thomas Amos                  | 63  | N | John Chilcoat                |
| 10  | E | William Andrew, o & t        | 64  | J | Charles Christie [Sheriff]   |
| 11  | H | Thomas Archer, c & o         | 65  | J | John Clark                   |
| 12  | H | Jas. Armstrong               | 66  | C | Thomas Cockey, c             |
| 13  | B | William Askew                | 67  | H | John M. Cook, o              |
| 14  | S | Enoch Baily, c               | 68  | H | Robert Cook                  |
| 15  | E | Thomas Bailey                | 69  | E | Stephen Cottrell             |
| 16  | G | Charles Baker, o             | 70  | J | Gilbert Crocker [Crockett?]  |
| 17  | G | George Ball                  | 71  | J | Gilbert Crockett             |
| 18  | B | Daniel Barnet, t             | 72  | W | Robert Cross                 |
| 19  | M | William Barney, t            | 73  | H | Benj. Culver                 |
| 20  | H | William Barton               | 74  | J | William Dallam [Ex-Sheriff]  |
| 21  | M | William Bell                 | 75  | U | William Dandy                |
| 22  | H | William Bennett, o           | 76  | W | Richard Davis, c & o         |
| 23  | J | Robert Bishop, o & t         | 77  | S | Robert Davis                 |
| 24  | J | James Bisset                 | 78  | J | Edward Day, o                |
| 25  | J | Jacob Bond, o                | 79  | H | John Deavor                  |
| 26  | J | John Bond, o                 | 80  | W | William Demmitt              |
| 27  | J | Joshua Bond, o               | 81  | G | Christ' Diver                |
| 28  | W | Peter Bond, t                | 82  | J | Greenberry Dorsey, Jr.       |
| 29  | W | Thomas Bond, Patapsco, t     | 83  | J | John Hammond Dorsey, d       |
| 29a | J | Thomas Bond, o               | 84  | B | William Dunlap               |
| 30  | J | William Bond, t              | 85  | J | Thomas Durbin, o & t         |
| 31  | H | Barnet Boner [Bonae]         | 86  | J | James Elliott                |
| 32  | B | Js. Bonfield, c              | 87  | S | Joseph Ensor                 |
| 33  | J | Beale Bordley [County Clerk] | 88  | S | Job Evans, o                 |
| 34  | B | John Boring, o               | 89  | H | Menusuch Finney              |
| 35  | C | John Bosley, c & o           | 90  | U | Robert Fleming               |
| 36  | H | George Botts, o              | 91  | U | Inglehart Flowery            |
| 37  | S | Josias Bowen, c & o          | 92  | B | Amos Fogg, t                 |
| 38  | S | Nathan Bowen                 | 93  | W | John Ford, c                 |
| 39  | B | Roger Boyce, [Sheriff], j    | 94  | G | Thomas Franklin [Major], j   |
| 40  | B | William Boyce                | 95  | E | Absolom Galloway             |
| 41  | E | Nicholas Brittain, t         | 96  | E | Moses Galloway               |
| 42  | B | Geo. Fred. Brown             | 97  | H | Amos Garrett                 |
| 43  | B | L. Buchanan, d               | 98  | B | N. Ruxton Gay, j             |
| 44  | B | William Buchanan, o          | 99  | H | Jacob Giles, o               |
| 45  | E | John Buck, o & t             | 100 | H | Nathaniel Giles              |
| 46  | J | Abraham Bull, o              | 101 | N | John Gittiner [Gittinger], t |
| 47  | J | Samuel Bull                  | 102 | W | Adam Goose, o                |
| 48  | J | William Bull                 | 103 | C | Charles Gorsuch, c           |
| 49  | U | John Busey [or Basey]        | 104 | C | Anthony Gott                 |
| 50  | H | Thomas Bush                  | 105 | B | William Govane, d            |
| 51  | H | Thomas Bushe [Bush?]         | 106 | H | Ephraim Gover                |
| 52  | G | Jesse Bussey, c              | 107 | H | Philip Gover, o              |
| 53  | M | Absolom Butler, o & t        | 108 | H | Luke Griffith, o & t         |
| 54  | J | Peter Carlisle, c            | 109 | C | George Haile, t              |

- 110 C George Haile, Jr.  
 111 J Aquilla Hall, j  
 112 H John Hall, Spesutia, c & j  
 112a H John Hall, Cranberry, o  
 113 B George Hartman  
 114 U George Hayes  
 115 B James Heath, d  
 116 B Samuel Hoak  
 117 G Thomas Holland  
 118 W Charles Howard  
 119 H John Howard  
 120 J John Greniff Howard, c  
 121 H Nathan Hughes  
 122 S William Hughes  
 123 J John Hughston  
 124 H Benj. Ingram  
 125 H Francis Ingram  
 126 G William Isgrig  
 127 J Henry James, o & t  
 128 J Abraham Jarrett, o  
 129 H William Jenkins  
 130 N Jeremiah Johnson, c  
 131 H John Keen  
 132 H Pollard Keene, o  
 133 B Malacah [Nelchior] Keener, t  
 134 J William Kitley, o  
 135 S Joseph Langdon, t  
 136 B Valentine Larsh, o & t  
 137 B Jacob Leaf  
 138 B George Levely  
 139 B Jacob Levely  
 140 B William Levely  
 141 B Edward Lewis, o  
 142 B William Lux, o  
 143 B William Lux, Sr.  
 144 B William Lyon [Dr.], j  
 145 J Alex<sup>r</sup> McComas, o  
 146 J Alex<sup>r</sup> McComas son of Alex.  
 147 J Daniel McComas son of Wm.  
 148 H John McCool  
 149 H Michael McGuire  
 150 J John Mathews, j & o  
 151 B J. Mayes  
 152 B James Mayes  
 153 M Samuel Merryman, c & o  
 154 H Thomas Miller, o & t  
 155 B John Moale, o  
 156 G James Moore  
 157 J James Moore, Jr.  
 158 B John Moore  
 159 G Js. Moore  
 160 H John Morris  
 161 B Henry Balsar Myer, t  
 162 B William Nicholson  
 163 J Thomas Norris  
 164 H James Osborn, c, o & t  
 165 U Francis Ottlesburg  
 166 W Samuel Owings, d  
 167 J John Paca, d  
 168 J John Paca, Jr.  
 169 J William Paca  
 170 E John Parkes, c  
 171 B Dab. Buckler Partridge [Dr.], c  
 172 H Robert Patterson, o & t  
 173 H Reuben Perkins, o & t  
 174 H William Perkins  
 175 B George Pickett  
 176 B Jonathan Plowman, c & o  
 177 J Geo. Goldsmith Presbury, o  
 178 H James Pritchard, c  
 179 H Samuel Pritchard  
 180 H Js. Pritchett [Pritchard?]  
 181 W William Randall  
 182 W John Reister, o & t  
 183 M James Richards  
 184 H Nathan Rigbie  
 185 H William Rigdon  
 186 C George Risteau, o  
 187 G Isaac Risteau, o & t  
 188 H John Roberts, c  
 189 H William Robinson  
 190 B Justice Rogers [probl. Benj.], j  
 191 B William Rogers, j  
 192 M Richard Rutter  
 193 J Thomas Saunders, t  
 194 N Adam Shake, t  
 195 G James Silver, o & t  
 196 G Josias Slade, t  
 197 B Thomas Sligh  
 198 B John Sly, c  
 199 H John Smith  
 200 J Joseph Smith, o  
 201 S Heigh Sollers, o  
 202 S Thomas Sollers, c  
 203 G Archibald Standifor, c  
 204 G Richard Standifor  
 205 H William Standiford  
 206 S Tobias Stansbury  
 207 G Jonathan Starkey, o  
 208 B James Steward  
 209 B Andrew Stigar, t  
 210 H Henry Stump, o  
 211 E Christ<sup>r</sup> Sutton, o  
 212 E Stephen Sutton  
 213 H Birch [Burch] Swan  
 214 B Christ<sup>r</sup> Sytle mire, t  
 215 H Edmund Talbot, o  
 216 G Charles Taylor, c  
 217 H Michael Taylor  
 218 H John Thomas  
 219 G Walter Tolley, d, j & o  
 220 C William Towson  
 221 J Thomas Treadaway, o & t  
 222 B Luke Trotten  
 223 N Christ<sup>o</sup> Vaughn  
 224 B Thomas Ward, c  
 225 U Henry Warren, t  
 226 J Isaac Webster, o  
 227 B Robert Wilkenson  
 228 U John Williams  
 229 C John Wilmot, o  
 230 H John Wilson, o  
 231 W Henry Worrall, t  
 232 C Samuel Worthington, o  
 233 J Henry Worthral [Wetherall], c & o  
 234 G Justice Young, j  
 235 H Alex. Young  
 236 J Benj. Young [Col.], o  
 237 J John Young, o & t  
 238 J Samuel Young  
 239 G William Young [Sheriff], j & o



Tavern keepers who also held appointed offices during the period but who were not Securities for other licensees:

Overseers of the Roads	Constables
H William Ashmore	E Thomas Davis
W Nicholas Dorsey	
J John Hughes	
H Philip Jackson	
J John Taylor	

W Western part of county, comprising Soldiers Delight and Delaware Hundreds, the latter now Carroll County.

U Undetermined—name not found in any reference or two individuals found with same or similar name.

KNOWN LOCATIONS OF TAVERNS  
OPERATED BY LICENSE HOLDERS,  
1755-1763

John Algier's [Algire's]: At junction of the Conewago [Reisterstown] Road and the Garrison Road [Seven Mile Lane]. This was undoubtedly the successor of a tavern operated by Thomas Bond, who sold part of his tract "Bond's Garrison" to John Algier in 1757. Beam's Tavern, shown on Griffith's map of 1794, was at that approximate location. This was later the site of the Seven Mile House.<sup>16</sup>

Thomas Bond's Tavern: See Algier's above. In 1743 Thomas Bond held a tavern license and owned considerable land south of what is now Pikesville.<sup>17</sup>

Butler's Tavern: On east side of the Garrison [Reisterstown] Road, approximately half a mile north of present Rogers Avenue. The road was then an eighth of a mile further to the east. After Henry Butler's death in 1746 the tavern was operated by his widow, Susanna, and later by his son Absalom.<sup>18</sup>

John Buck's Tavern: Nine miles northeast of Baltimore Town on west side of Philadelphia Road, now Route No. 7.<sup>19</sup>

Amos Fogg's Inns: One, the "Indian Queen," on the corner of Market [Baltimore] and Hanover Streets, and the other, the "White Horse," at Front and Low Streets in Baltimore Town.<sup>20</sup>

William Gist's Tavern: Twelve miles northwest of Baltimore Town on west side of the Conewago [Reisterstown] Road, about half a mile north of St. Thomas' Church of Garrison Forest. The Reisters-

town Road was then considerably east of its present location.<sup>21</sup>

John Gittiner's [Gittinger's] Tavern: In 1761 John "Kittinger" patented a tract of land "Kittinger's Tavern" on the "east side of a waggon road from Baltimore Town to Connewango." By modern reference this would be the east side of the Hanover Road, between Hampstead and Manchester, now Carroll County. In 1772 he sold the tract to Peter Fowble who later operated a tavern in the area.<sup>22</sup>

George Haile's Tavern: On the main road to Baltimore Town [York Road] just south of the Court Road [Joppa Road] in the heart of Towson. A tavern owned by the Towson family was later located at this approximate location.<sup>23</sup>

Malacah [Melchior] Keener's Inn: The "Wheatfield Inn" in Baltimore Town, a forerunner of the "Howard House" on Howard Street near Fayette.<sup>24</sup>

Valentine Larsh's Inn: On southwest corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets in Baltimore Town.<sup>25</sup>

John Payne's Tavern: Corner of Calvert and Mercer [Bank] Streets in Baltimore Town.<sup>26</sup>

John Reister's Inn: On west side of the Conewago [Reisterstown] Road at Cockeys Mill Road in Reisterstown.<sup>27</sup>

Josias Slade's Tavern: Ten miles north of Towson, south of St. James' Church, at intersection of Old York Road and Manor Road.<sup>28</sup>

Young's Tavern: One mile north of Joppa Town on east side of Philadelphia Road, now Route No. 7.<sup>29</sup>

TAVERN KEEPERS RATES: 1758<sup>30</sup>

Hott meal of Roast or boiled with small Beer or Cyder	£0.1.0
A Cold Ditto with Ditto	0.1.0
Good Lodgings with Clean Sheets for night	0.0.6
Port Wine pr. Quart	0.4.0
Wired Beer from London or Bristol pr. Quart	0.1.6
Cask Beer pr. Quart	0.0.9
Cyder pr. Quart	0.0.4
Punch made with good Rum or Spirits with loaf Sugar pr. Quart	0.1.0
Country Brandy pr. Gill	0.0.3

French Ditto pr. Gill	0.0.9
Rum pr. Gill	0.0.6
Rum pr. Quart	0.2.6
Madeira Wine pr. Quart	0.4.0
Fial or other Low Wines pr. Quart	0.2.6
Claret pr. Bottle	0.4.0
Corn or Oats pr. Peck	0.1.0
Pasturage for Horse for Night or Day or twenty four hours	0.0.6
Stablage with good Clover or Timothy Hay pr. Night or Day or twenty four hours	0.1.0
Ditto with Corn fodder or Marsh Hay pr. Day or Night or twenty four hours	0.0.6

## REFERENCES

- William H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883- ), I:447-48.
- Laws of Maryland, Liber BLC, 1731-1752, folios 124-28, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, hereinafter cited as HR.
- Ibid.*, folio 124.
- Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Liber BB No. A, 1754, folio 16, HR.
- Laws of Maryland, *op. cit.*; Baltimore County Court Minutes (Rough), Liber BB, 1754-1762, August Court Sessions, no pagination, HR. See schedule of Tavern Keepers Rates preceding.
- Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Libers 1743-1746 and BB No. A, 1754, *passim*, HR. Twenty-one ordinary keepers held licenses prior to 1755 (indicated in tabulation preceding); of these, family members of four (Ashmore, Butler, Day and Ensor) held licenses previously.
- Robert Barnes, *Maryland Marriages, 1634-1777* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1975); Baltimore County Court Minutes, *op. cit.*; Baltimore County Court Proceedings, *op. cit.*; Baltimore County Probate Records, Wills, Libers No. 1, 1666-1759, and No. 2, 1721-1764, HR. Of the fifteen female license holders the marital status of Catherine Jennings and Elizabeth Price could not be determined. Marriage dates were found for all but four of the remainder (Butler, Jarrett, Sytle mire and Young). Mary Andrew for a time operated the tavern of her husband, William. Widows Mary Jarrett and Susanna Butler and the twice-widowed, Hannah (Bankston née \_\_\_\_\_) Hughes held licenses prior to 1755, the latter two in the steads of their husbands, Henry and William. Widow Hannah Starkey operated a ferry in addition to a tavern. There is no evidence that Eliza Hammond, widow of Thomas, or Mary Stansbury, widow of Tobias, had previous association with the tavern business. From the tabulation it is obvious that the six remaining widows took out licenses soon after the deaths of their husbands. One of them, Rachel Cruitt [Crute], was remarried to William Stevenson, whose license followed hers. Another widow, Mary Ruff, who did not herself hold a license, had as a second husband, James Richardson, a licensee.
- Justice N. Ruxton Gay, for example, in 1756 and in 1757 was security for four different individuals, as was Justice William Young in 1761 and 1763.
- William Andrew and James Silver operated ferries in the Gunpowder River area.
- Baltimore County Court Minutes, *op. cit.*, contains names of overseers of the roads, justices, constables, ferry keepers, sheriffs and medical officers appointed during the nine year period.
- For example, John Reister, a tavern keeper in Reisterstown and an overseer of the roads, in a three year period was guarantor for eight other tavern keepers.
- Barnes, *op. cit.*, pages 4, 15-16, 44, 63, 92(3), 96, 132-33, 138, 142, 150, 170, 176.
- To distinguish them from persons with identical names, the word "Joppa" followed the name of John Taylor, and to the names of Thomas Bond and John Smith were appended the words "Patapasco" and "Gwins Falls," designating the western section of the county in which they both lived.
- Richard J. Cox, "A Preliminary List of Early Baltimoreans, 1729-1776," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 21, No. 2 (Spring, 1980); 114-38 and No. 3 (Summer, 1980): 220-36; J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Trunbull Bros., 1874), pages 39-47, 49-53, 56, 160; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 2 Vols. (1881; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1971), I: 44-47, 50, 53-61, 69-74, II: 519, 757, 814-16, 818-19, 910-11, 916-21, see also footnote I:38, bachelors taxed in 1756; William N. Wilkens, "Baltimore County Tax List of 1763, St. Thomas Parish" and "Baltimore County Tax List of 1773," typescripts, Maryland Historical Society; *Maryland Tax List 1783 Baltimore County and Maryland Tax List 1783 Harford County* (Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, 1970).
- For locations of Baltimore County Hundreds as of 1783 refer to Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson: Friends of the Towson Library, Inc., 1979), map, page 23.
- Baltimore County Deeds, Liber B No. G, 1757-1759, folio 3, HR; Dennis Griffith, "Map of the State of Maryland," 1794, HR.
- Maryland Patent Records, Baltimore County, Patented Certificate No. 670, HR.
- William B. Marye, "The Baltimore County 'Garrison' and The Old Garrison Road," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 16 (1921): 214.
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- J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 2 Vols. (1881; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1971), II:514.
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- Maryland Patent Records, Baltimore County, Patented Certificate No. 2755, HR; Baltimore County Deeds, Liber AL No. D, 1771-1772, folios 623-26, HR.
- Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson: Friends of the Towson Library, Inc., 1979), pages 51-56.

24. Scharf, op. cit., II:515.  
 25. *Ibid.*, II:514.  
 26. *Ibid.*  
 27. Isaac N. Dickson, *The Early Days of Reisterstown and Vicinity*, 1869 (Reisterstown: Kiwanis Club,

1947), page 4.  
 28. Griffith, op. cit.  
 29. *Ibid.*  
 30. Baltimore County Court Minutes, Liber BB, 1755-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

10 Baltimore County Court Minutes of 1758, contains a list of members of the local justice system. In 1758, Justice of the Peace was appointed during the year period in the range, John Hester, a Justice of the Peace and an overseer of the road in that year period was appointed for 1758.

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REISTERSTOWN

1 William H. Brown, *The History of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1897, II:147-48.

2 Case of Maryland, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

3 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

4 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

5 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

6 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

7 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

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9 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

10 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

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19 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

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21 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

22 *Ibid.*, Liber BB, 1758-1762, August Court Session, 1758.

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## BOOK NOTES

*Genealogy of the Chew Family.* By Robert Levering Chew. (Woodbury, NJ: Gloucester County Historical Society, 1982. 488 pp., indexed, No price listed.)

Mr. Chew of Mitairie, Louisiana, a lineal descendant of Colonel John Chew, Gentleman (1587-1668), of Somersetshire, England and Jamestown, Virginia, through his son, John Chew, has spent many years compiling this most welcome history and genealogy of the Chew family as heretofore only the descendants of the immigrant's sons, Samuel and Joseph have been traced. He traveled to England where he visited Somersetshire from which the immigrant came to Virginia in 1622 in the ship, *Charitie*. He gives the birthplace of the immigrant as the Parish of Whalley, Lancashire, England in 1587. He further states that this John Chew was the son of John Chewe of Bewdely, Worcestershire, England, Gentleman, whose will was proved in 1640 [II Coventry] and who was supposed to have married (1) Ann Broddyll of Whalley [Braddyll, Braddill] and (2) Martha Gale of Bewdeley.

The Chew coat-of-arms, borne by the American family, is shown on the cover and the title page, and referenced in *Burke's General Armory* of 1647 and the *Heralds' College* of London, as noted by the author. Part I shows the New Jersey Chews descending from John Chew, son of the immigrant. Heretofore, only Samuel and

Joseph Chew, sons of the immigrant, have been traced in many other reputed genealogies. Part II of the book lists in alphabetical order, by given name, all Chews in America known to the author, with pertinent genealogical information as to birth, death, marriage and issue. Several pages of references are given and additional ones are cited within the text.

Further research of this prominent family, will, of necessity, have to be made in order to substantiate the author's statements concerning the English historical background. Mr. Chew has done a scholarly, thorough study, with emphasis on the New Jersey branch of the family.

JOSEPH CARROLL HOPKINS  
*Towson, Maryland*

*Obituaries: A Guide to Sources.* By Betty M. Jarboe. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1982. 370 pp. \$45.00.)

As the title states, this book is a guide to sources of obituaries. Although it is a guide *only* and is in no way an exhaustive study, it should prove to be of great assistance in locating the elusive obit. The listings are by geographical area for the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and "Other Countries." There is an appendix listing libraries and archives which maintain card indexes of obituaries. A subject index and author index complete this work.

MARY K. MEYER

# NEWS AND NOTICES

## THE ECONOMY OF EARLY AMERICA: THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The United States Capitol Historical Society, in cooperation with the United States Congress, will sponsor a symposium entitled "The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period," on March 29 and 30, 1984. The meeting will be held in the Senate Caucus Room, #325, in the Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. The program will consist of four sessions and a concluding lecture, followed by a reception. Speakers will include Stuart Bruchey, Paul G.E. Clemens, Thomas M. Doerflinger, Marc Egnal, Stanley L. Engerman, Joseph A. Ernst, Lewis R. Fischer, Robert E. Gallman, James A. Henretta, John J. McCusker, Russell R. Menard, Jacob M. Price, Winifred B. Rothenberg, and James F. Shepherd. All proceedings, including the reception, will be open to interested persons free of charge, and no advance registration is required. For additional information, write:

Professor Ronald Hoffman  
Department of History  
University of Maryland  
College Park, Maryland 20742

## THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN TASKER, SR.

For a doctoral dissertation on "Provincial Political Culture in 18th century Md: Life and Times of Benjamin Tasker, 1690-1768," I would appreciate any information on the location of all manuscript materials of or pertaining to Tasker & his family. I am especially interested in materials in private and/or otherwise obscure collections.

Anna T. Zakarija  
3700 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.  
Apt 326  
Washington, D.C. 20016

## TAYLOR FOUNDATION INDEXES COLONIAL PROBATES IN HONOR OF GEORGIA'S 250th BIRTHDAY

The R. J. Taylor, Jr., Foundation has issued a comprehensive, annotated index to Georgia's colonial probate records—wills, administrations, guardianships, appraisements and inventories, and related documents—in celebration of the 250th anniversary of the colony's founding in 1733.

The book, entitled *Index to Probate Records of Colonial Georgia, 1733-1778*, covers original records and microfilm housed at the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, and the University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, and includes some 25,000 references to more than 8,000 names.

The new volume is the tenth publication produced by the Taylor Foundation, which was founded in 1971 for the purpose of indexing, abstracting, and publishing genealogical and historical records relating to pre-1851, Georgia residents.

For further information, contact: Marilyn Adams, Editor 404/659-3016.

### FREE

Complimentary Copy of the *Genealogy Digest* Magazine. P.O. Box 15681 Salt Lake City, UT 84115

## BACK ISSUES OF THE MAGAZINE

Back issues of *Maryland Historical Magazine* are usually available. Inquiries should be directed to the Museum Shop and Bookstore, MHS, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201.

*Maryland Historical Magazine* Volume 76, Number 4 (Winter 1981) is presently in very short supply. Members or subscribers who would be willing to turn copies in are asked to mail them to the MHS at the address given above.

# MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

In each issue of Maryland Picture Puzzle, we show a photograph from the Maryland Historical Society collection. The photograph is, in some way, puzzling. We would like you to test your visual skills and knowledge of Maryland in identifying it. Please send your solution to the Prints and Photos editor of the Mary-

land Historical Magazine.

The fountain in the last Picture Puzzle was located on South Washington Place. The photographer is standing beneath the Washington Monument and is looking South on Charles Street. On the right the St. James Hotel can be seen, which was razed in 1967.

Depicted here is a street corner in a fashionable north Baltimore neighborhood. The date of the photograph is 1912. Can you guess where the photographer is standing? In your answer, please let us know how you identified the image.





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