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Editor's Corner:
The summer issue renews our commitment to be of service to scholars and all those persons interested in our state– the annual select bibliography of books and articles in Maryland history and culture. As always, we thank Anne S. K. Turkos of the University of Maryland for her part in this important work; with this edition we welcome as her collaborator Jeff Korman of the Enoch Pratt Free Library's Maryland Room. Peter H. Curtis, a veteran of many years' labor on this project, has moved on to Villa Julie College and to some of his own research and writing: a future issue of the magazine will include his findings on an interesting murder trial in nineteenth-century Western Maryland.

Cover Design: This B&O 900 series locomitive # 4608 was built in 1952. Photograph taken c. 1958. (Brunswick Railroad Museum.)

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Brunswick's "Blessed Curse": Surviving an Industrial Legacy

RICHARD LOVE

I'm going back to Brunswick, where the engines puff and roar
And where they keep a double track, that connects with Baltimore...
I'm going back to Brunswick, I'd like to dream awhile
Where the sun shines bright, the air is pure, and they greet you with a smile
—Rev. Luther Martin, Presbyterian minister (1857–1922)[1]

The company built the old wood and steel footbridge decades ago, just like it built the YMCA, the railroad station, and many of the modest Victorian houses balanced precariously on three large hills next to the railyards. Three times a day, every eight hours, the bridge, ninety feet long and six feet wide, carried the boilermakers, machinists, pipefitters, and laborers living in the company town up and over the busy double-tracked railroad mainline. One shift over and the other back; past the faded signs warning generations of railroad men, "So That You Can Think Safety First, Leave Your Off The Job Thoughts At Home" and reminding them that "Safety First Is No Fifty-Fifty Deal, It's All or Nothing." Off to work in the noise and grime of the rail yards, or home to the clapboard houses and neighborhood stores, small dark taverns and stone churches lining narrow streets twisting up and around two square miles of hillsides overlooking the Potomac River, fifty miles upstream from Washington, D.C.

The company was the Baltimore and Ohio, America's first commercial railroad; the town was Brunswick, Maryland, self-proclaimed "Home of the Iron Horse." For over a century thousands of Brunswick's men crossed over the railroad tracks to crew the steam and diesel locomotives and labor in the B&O's roundhouse, heavy car shop, and classification yard. The strong sense of community that bound the townspeople through nearly a century of existence came, primarily, from the common bond of railroad employment. In their heyday railroad organizations such as craft unions, company sponsored baseball teams, and the B&O Veterans Association boasted more members than many of the churches in Brunswick. While civic, fraternal, and religious organizations came and went throughout the town's one hundred-year history, the presence of the railroad remained constant, the pride of

Richard Love is working on his Ph.D. in American History at the University of Virginia. His latest research project was a study of black tobacco workers and labor unions in Richmond during the New Deal era.

East Hump yard crew, 1908. (Brunswick Railroad Museum.)

its employees and a common thread connecting all Brunswickians—white and black, young and old, Christian and Jew.

In Brunswick, as in many other small towns dependent on a single industry, life with the railroad was a double-edged sword. Those who worked the rails experienced times of comfortable security and times of quiet desperation—the inevitable cycle of hiring, work, furlough, rehiring, and layoff. The railroad brought both prosperity and hardship, basing its business decisions on profit and loss, not on the needs of its employees. Brunswickians accepted the good and the bad, knowing they could exert little influence over their largest employer. The railroad brought the town to life, and when it left, nearly one hundred years later, the citizens of Brunswick faced a dramatic change in that life—a change that would leave them with divided loyalties, bitter memories, and an uncertain posterity, struggling to save their town's historic identity as it faded away into the bedroom communities of the major cities surrounding it. One Brunswickian summed up the ironies of life in a company town, calling the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad "our blessed curse."[2]

In 1753 King George II of England presented a land grant of 3,100 acres, the area surrounding present day Brunswick, to John Hawkins. Inspired by the beautiful view of the Potomac River valley from the hills, Hawkins named the tract Merry

TABLE 1

Brunswick Population: 1930–1990

1930 – 3,671	1970 – 3,566
1940 – 3,856	1980 – 4,572
1950 – 3,762	1990 – 5,117
1960 – 3,565	

Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991).

Peep-'O-Day. Eventually the land passed from Hawkins to his heirs who, in 1780, sold it to Leonard Smith, the man who had originally surveyed the tract. Acting quickly, Smith began laying out a town that same year. In 1787 Smith completed his project, and the town of Berlin, Maryland, appeared on the land records of the day, lying along the north shore of the Potomac in the steep, precarious foothills of the Catoctin range of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Years passed, and a few settlers found their way into the river valley, setting up a trading post and a river-crossing ferry. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Berlin stood along the banks of the river, and over one hundred people called it home.[3]

By the 1880s the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad stretched from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. Trains connecting these distant points traveled the B&O mainline through West Virginia and Maryland, crossing the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry. As the railroad grew and prospered, its freight yard in Martinsburg, West Virginia, became too small to accommodate the increasing traffic on the busy east-west main line. The railroad needed a new, larger classification yard in which it could break down and reassemble freight trains traveling from Washington, Philadelphia, and Baltimore to Chicago, St. Louis, and other points west. Although the B&O surveyed land in West Virginia, the final decision placed the yard in Maryland. The reason was simple economics; the Maryland General Assembly offered the B&O a financial incentive to locate the new yard in Maryland. If the railroad would build its new facility on the Maryland side of the Potomac, the state would grant it an exemption from property taxes. Looking for a suitable tax-free site, the railroad found it just fifteen miles from Frederick, Maryland, sitting peacefully beside the Potomac River, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and, conveniently enough, the B&O mainline. The choice was Barry, a small settlement nestled in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, fifty miles north of Washington, D.C. and fifty-five miles west of Baltimore.

Barry was, in fact, Leonard Smith's town of Berlin. When the first post office opened in 1832, officials had changed the town's name to Barry, to avoid confusion with another town called Berlin located on Maryland's Eastern Shore. By 1834 the fiercely competitive C&O Canal and B&O Railroad both had reached Barry, and its population doubled to approximately three hundred. The C&O Canal wound its

way west between the Potomac and the town, while Barry sat literally astride the main line of the B&O, with the railroad tracks running down the middle of Main Street.

Having chosen Barry as the site of the new classification facility, the railroad began to purchase the flat land between the canal and the hills. To avoid driving property prices up, agents for the railroad disguised themselves as farmers and small businessmen, covertly acquiring property for the company. After buying the necessary land, including over four hundred acres for a town site, the railroad tore down the small village that surrounded the tracks, and construction commenced on the eastbound yard. In the meantime, using new lumber as well as materials recycled from old buildings, the townspeople and the railroad constructed a new town, perched in the steep hills next to the railroad's right-of-way, and built on lots laid out by the B&O for sale to its employees. When the time came to incorporate the town, one final detail remained. Although officially named Barry, many still referred to the town as Berlin. To avoid any further confusion, and to create a sense of identity to accompany its role as an important railroad center, the B&O decided to give the town a new name. The reasons behind the choice of that new name have been lost to history, but 8 April 1890 found the sleepy little town of Barry rechristened as the incorporated municipality of Brunswick. Three years later the B&O finished the new twenty-five-hundred-car eastbound classification yard. The vastly increased presence of the B&O created hundreds more jobs than the locals could fill, and new families moved to Brunswick as men sought work with the railroad. With construction on the westbound yard well underway, Brunswick's population grew to three thousand, a ten-fold increase. The industrial age had transformed the former eighteenth-century trading post into a bustling, twentieth-century company town.

In 1900 Brunswick got its first carbon street lamp, supplied by the B&O and placed on the town square at Potomac and Maple streets. In 1907 workers completed the westbound classification yard, bringing the total capacity of Brunswick's rail facilities to 4,250 cars. Stretching for seven and one-half miles along the river, the countless switches and crossovers carried thousands of freight cars and steam locomotives back and forth between the B&O mainline and the 104 miles of track comprising the largest rail yard ever owned by a single company. Two years later the Harper's Ferry Power Company brought the first electric power for homes and streetlights to Brunswick. In 1910 the B&O built a new, brick roundhouse and seven years later expanded it to nineteen stalls.

During World War I the railroad handled record levels of freight, and the Brunswick yards overflowed with cars arriving from all points along the B&O system. By the 1920s the B&O employed nearly thirteen hundred men in Brunswick, and at the end of the decade 30 percent of the town's entire population of four thousand worked for the railroad. The company also gave their employees a place to play. In 1929, with railroad funds and on railroad property, the B&O built Scheer Stadium, named after B&O general manager E. W. Scheer, at a cost of more than $15,000. Locals proudly claimed it to be the prettiest ball park in the state.

Brunswickians, however, were not immune to the economic and social catastrophe that was the Great Depression. In the early years of the 1930s the B&O cut its work force to less than half of what it had been in 1927. In 1932 the company discontinued stock dividends, as the value of B&O stock dropped from a 1929 high of $145 to an all-time low of four dollars per share. The depression brought significant cutbacks in railroad employment in Brunswick, and the ranks of the furloughed and laid-off grew.

After the United States entered World War II, the railroads boomed, along with most of industrial America. Freight tonnage soared, revenues skyrocketed, and B&O earnings went from a depression low of $132 million to nearly $342 million by 1945. In Brunswick the rail yards operated at a frantic pace as an average of seventy-five freight trains per day whisked war matériel and merchandise between the Midwest and the East Coast. Almost two hundred mechanics worked in the shops while more than five hundred men labored in the yards. By the end of the war they were handling over 100,000 cars per month, the equivalent of 140 freight cars every hour of the day and night. As revenues rose, so did salaries, and the employees in Brunswick saw their incomes grow as company profits soared. The average yearly compensation for a B&O employee climbed more than 60 percent, from $1,700 in 1930 to almost $2,800 in 1945. Brunswickians kept the trains moving, making a significant contribution to the war effort. Twenty-seven of their fathers, brothers, and sons gave their lives in military service.[4]

The middle of the twentieth century was a good time to be working for the Baltimore and Ohio. Entering a new decade, railroad revenues continued to climb, and in 1950 the B&O generated a record revenue of $376 million. Railroad employment in Brunswick remained high; one thousand men, nearly 70 percent of the town's workforce, labored for the railroad. The work was steady, even with the chance of the occasional furlough, and salaries were up, to a company-wide average of almost $4,000 per year. In 1950, although the town's population had declined almost 3 percent in the preceding ten years, the 3,752 people of Brunswick were comfortable and content. Life in the town had a kind of secure continuity about it; railroaders worked regularly, property taxes held steady, and the Lions Club's annual municipal clean-up campaign enjoyed great success. Brunswick's social and economic stability in the postwar period rested on a foundation built on the rising fortunes of American railroading, and the B&O in particular.[5]

The B&O had constructed its facilities at Brunswick in the age of steam, and the town served the peculiarities of the hundreds of steam locomotives plying their trade on the B&O's "Old Main Line" along the Potomac. Steam power required coal, water, and frequent servicing, and Brunswick's engine facilities provided all three. The huge brick roundhouse, the turntable, the large coal tower, and the ash pits existed because steam power required them. Steam engines leaving Washington or Baltimore journeyed as far as Brunswick, where other locomotives took over for the

The changing fortunes of Brunswick as a B&O operations point: the shop force with one of its first-class EM-1 steam locomotives in September 1945 (top); the last steam-engine crew to work at the Brunswick yard, December 1953 (bottom). (Brunswick Railroad Museum.)

TABLE 2

Estimated Railroad Employment in Brunswick

1930 - 1,300	1970 - 400
1933 - 580	1974 - 350
1945 - 900	1977 - 270
1950 - 1,000	1978 - 250
1955 - 1,100	1980 - 75
1960 - 600	1982 - 160
1962 - 460	1986 - 25
1967 - 530	1988 - 15
1969 - 430	1990 - 12*

*Due to the numerous and often intricate divisions in payroll, official job location and employment category, as well as the cycle of furloughs and layoffs inherent in railroad employment, exact figures for the number of Brunswick railroaders are unavailable. In addition, the total number of employees for any given year may fluctuate greatly during that year. These estimates are based on figures from the following sources: Brunswick *Blade-Times*, Brunswick *Citizen*, *Washington Post*, Baltimore *Sun*, Area Development Department - Potomac Edison, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of the Census, Maryland Department of Economic Development, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, Chessie System, CSX, Maryland Area Rail Commission (MARC).

run west to Cumberland. Diesel locomotives, on the other hand, needed neither coal nor frequent service, and they could make the run from Washington or Baltimore to Cumberland non-stop. Most importantly, diesel operating costs were far lower than steam. Hauling 120 cars of coal to Baltimore's Curtis Bay using steam power cost $779, while diesels could make the same trip for less than half that price. Although trains continued to pause in Brunswick to change crews and swap cars, the new, powerful diesel locomotives pulling them did not require the complex and expensive service facilities that provided jobs for many of Brunswick's railroaders. By June 1953 the number of diesels in service had reached eight hundred, and the inevitable end of steam power came one step closer to reality. It was a reality that held little promise for Brunswick.[6]

The B&O took pains to reassure residents that it had no intentions of abandoning the town. Addressing the Brunswick Lions Club, Douglas Turnbull, the executive assistant to B&O president Roy White, reminded the Lions that Brunswick had been an established division point on the railroad for over fifty years. "The B&O does not have in mind short-changing any town," Turnbull said, "and if changes do come, there is a spot on the B&O where mutual problems can be solved." Nevertheless, it was clear that what was good for the company was not necessarily good for the company town. It must have provided little consolation when William Murphy, superintendent of the B&O's Baltimore division, said that the economic effect upon operations in Brunswick was not much different from other points on the system. He did, however, add an upbeat note, saying that, "Despite many things that are

contradictory, there will always be a Brunswick." Regardless of Murphy's pledge, disturbing rumors of layoffs spread from the railroad roundhouse to the houses on the hills. According to one resident, Brunswick "is like the army, we live on rumors. About every five years a whopper of a rumor gets going about exactly what plans the railroad has for its future in Brunswick. The rumor dies down, and nothing happens." This time, something did happen.[7]

On Christmas Eve 1953, engineer "Buck" Engle and conductor C. C. Knisley rolled Engine No. 659, the last steam locomotive working the Brunswick yard, out of town toward the western end of the system. Knisley and his crew returned, but the locomotive stayed out west, and the age of steam in Brunswick officially had ended. Seven days later, on New Year's Eve—despite the previous declarations of the B&O—large scale layoffs hit the railroad. One year after setting records for peacetime profitability, freight revenues during the recession of 1953 fell more than $150,000 per day. This resulted in the furlough of more than six thousand employees systemwide, a reduction of more than 11 percent of the work force. In Brunswick the company furloughed seventy-eight railroad workers, representing nearly 8 percent of the local workforce. The furloughs affected every trade, including car men, shop workers, and clerical staff; coming during the holidays, they were a grim reminder of the realities families living in a company town faced.[8]

Times were changing in Brunswick, yet the town's railroaders believed that the B&O would somehow keep the town going. Even without the steam locomotive service facilities, Brunswick still had the largest rail yard on the B&O. The east- and westbound classification yards had a capacity of more than eight thousand cars, twenty-three miles of mainline and seventy-five miles of secondary track. The yard processed nearly three thousand cars per day, making it one of the busiest on the system, and the railroad continued to encourage its employees in Brunswick. In March 1954 John Edwards, the General Manager of the B&O Eastern Region, told a gathering in Brunswick that, despite the ongoing changes in the industry, both the town's and the railroad's "interests are mutual." Those mutual interests reflected the common bond of the railroad that held the population together.[9]

The homogeneous quality of the population also bonded the community. More than 95 percent of Brunswick was white, many residents having descended from the original founding families of the town. Some immigration of Italians had helped build the railroad, but most Brunswickians were of English or German descent and virtually all were native-born. Yet there were those whose race or ethnicity put them outside the mainstream. A small Jewish community lived in Brunswick, with a synagogue built by Charles Karn in 1917, but there were rarely enough Jews in town to conduct regular services, and by the end of World War II the synagogue began serving as a medical office. Perhaps the most prominent Jew in Brunswick was Victor Kaplon, a Russian immigrant who had arrived in America in the 1880s. Coming to Brunswick in 1889, he started in business as a peddler, selling his wares on both sides of the Potomac. He opened his first store in 1889 and in 1907 built the three-story, brick Kaplon's Department Store at the corner of Maryland and West Potomac avenues. Decades of charitable service to his community earned

him a reputation that transcended religious differences. Kaplon regularly spoke to local organizations about Jewish religious practices, and the local paper ran articles discussing the major Jewish holidays as they occurred.[10]

The black community of Brunswick numbered around 160 by the mid-1950s, and it experienced the indignities of institutionalized racial segregation just as Negroes did throughout the United States in the years before Brown v. Board of Education. Black residents lived in separate sections of town, attended separate Negro elementary and high schools, and used segregated facilities at the train station. Perhaps it was the overwhelming majority of whites or the fact that Negroes were railroaders too, but little or no overt racial strife occurred in Brunswick during the transitional years between Jim Crow and desegregation. When Ron Gilbert became the first black athlete to play on a white Brunswick baseball team in 1955, his teammates voted him their most popular player.[11]

Regardless of race or creed, Brunswickians found themselves unable to exert any influence over the economic decisions the railroad made. Faced with an ongoing series of cutbacks and layoffs, Brunswick searched for ways to lessen its dependence on the company. In September 1960 the B&O dealt a severe blow to the town's economy. Having finally completed its Cumberland Classification Center, under construction since 1952, the railroad closed the westbound classification yard in Brunswick, moving those operations to Cumberland. With the yard closed, west bound freight trains passed through Brunswick without stopping. For the town's railroaders, the closing came as no surprise. As one local said, it was a situation of "hoping it just wasn't going to happen." Layoffs resulting from the closing totaled nearly 150, with 50 jobs cut in the yard and another 100 laid off from the car shops. The layoffs represented approximately 20 percent of the local B&O work force. What is more important, almost 10 percent of the town's entire labor force was out of work.[12]

As Brunswick struggled to maintain its sense of community while riding the economic roller-coaster that was American railroading in the postwar era, a major shake-up in the railroad industry promised to have a severe impact on the town. By April 1960 the B&O had become the target of one of the biggest takeover struggles in railroad history. Two of the giants in the industry, the New York Central (NYC) and the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O), attempted to acquire the financially ailing, and therefore vulnerable, Baltimore and Ohio. At stake was control of the B&O's fifty-nine hundred miles of track penetrating the highly industrialized region between Washington, Chicago, and St. Louis, as well as connections between key manufacturing centers and Atlantic seaports. Both railroads believed that an eventual merger with the B&O would lead to "a greater diversification of traffic, extension of markets and important savings through elimination of duplicate efforts and facilities." Brunswickians watched nervously as outside forces fought for control of "their railroad." It was clear that, no matter who won, there would be major changes in the B&O, and, therefore, changes in Brunswick as well. Of particular concern were the problems that would result from moving control of a newly purchased B&O outside the state of Maryland. A corporation administering

a railroad from Cleveland (C&O) or Manhattan (NYC) would be less sensitive to the plight of a small Maryland town dependent on the B&O than would a company from Baltimore.[13]

The fight for control of the railroad continued for two years. In the end the Chesapeake and Ohio won, officially taking charge of the B&O on 1 May 1962 and thus forming the Chessie System. While the merger had little immediate effect on Brunswick, it painted a disturbing picture of the plight of American railroads and the towns that depended on them. The industry's financial uncertainty led to a series of bankruptcies and mergers as railroads fought to stave off collapse. The resulting conglomerate railroads, searching for ways to cut costs, looked to eliminate all duplication in track and trains as well as their related service departments and thus severely threatened small company towns like Brunswick.

In December 1967 the release of a new Comprehensive Master Plan for Brunswick highlighted the economic hazards of continued reliance on the railroad. According to its authors, the plan was "a blueprint for a new kind of city, which is within the financial and physical means of Brunswick's people to bring to full realization in the remaining decades of this century." That blueprint recognized the diminishing role that the railroad would play in Brunswick's economy. "The painful economic recessions experienced locally reflected conditions in the railroad industry. In regard to the future, Brunswick should continue its efforts to attract other industries. Another recession . . . could inflict the same economic pain so often experienced in the past."[14]

The plan suggested a new design for Brunswick's commercial core, including the elimination of many existing buildings, restructuring of traffic patterns, and rebuilding the area with pedestrian walkways, small parks, and improved parking facilities. Yet the commission seemed to argue against adoption of these ideas, saying, "Once such effort and investment is expended on this or a similar [limited] renovation plan, it appears that the problems of limited space and the unsightliness of the adjacent rail yards would still not be completely overcome." The suggested alternative to the downtown facelift was a new commercial business district located on the northern perimeter of the city near Souder Road and the recently improved Route 340. According to the plan, "The provision of a new business district for Brunswick would provide a needed jolt to the pride and spirit of the area," while "starting afresh allows maximum possibility in regard to both space and design." The plan estimated the costs for improvements to roads, sewers, water supply, and parks and recreation facilities at almost $1.3 million, to be spent over the next thirty years, a figure that did not include either the downtown facelift or the new commercial center.[15]

The town's unwillingness to commit to any of these suggestions illustrated a conundrum. The decline in rail employment also produced a decline in town revenues, compounded by the fact that the B&O, under its original agreement with the state, paid no taxes on its facilities in Brunswick. In addition, weakening ties to the railroad meant that many residents felt less inclined to renovate a downtown so closely associated with their former employer. Indeed, declining revenues—combined with an influx of newcomers living in Brunswick's suburbs—had shifted

attention from the town itself towards the peripheral residential area called Brunswick Heights.

By the end of the 1960s the number of commuters taking the early morning trains to Washington exceeded four hundred, nearly equalling the 430 employed by the B&O in Brunswick. While the town felt grateful for the recent prosperity created by a new car repair program, many residents continued to worry about the future. Even the railroad sought to point the town in a new direction. In 1969 a survey conducted by a B&O committee suggested that industrial development was not a realistic alternative for Brunswick. The committee reported that the geography of the town made impossible the laying of industrial railroad spurs, a necessity for any heavy industry. That geography, however, provided Brunswick with marketable assets that included the Potomac River, C&O Canal, Appalachian Trail, and a historic railroad facility. Therefore, the report concluded—faced with the poor chances for railroad or other industrial growth—Brunswick should make every effort to attract tourists and retirees by exploiting its natural resources.[16]

Local reaction to this report lead to the establishment of the Brunswick Potomac Foundation, a nonprofit organization chartered in 1969. The goal of the foundation was to promote the town's resources and encourage their use for recreation and trade. In an attempt to restore a feeling of civic pride, the foundation inaugurated an annual Potomac River Festival. The celebration offered a pageant, home tours, fishing contests, exhibits, displays, and tours of the canal, river and railroad. In addition the festival featured an art show, band concerts, and craft sales. Drawing almost five thousand visitors, the show managed to finish $500 in the black. Townsfolk, perhaps regaining some lost pride in their community, pronounced it the highlight of the summer.

During the 1970s the B&O came under the ever-tightening control of the Chessie System. The need to eliminate redundant services and streamline operations forced the company to continue to cut jobs, a process that had started nearly fifteen years earlier. Like other American railroads, the Chessie faced a declining share of the transportation market which, along with clashes between the corporations and the unions over crew size, hours, and wages, fueled a series of bankruptcies and mergers that reshaped American railroading.

In the face of hard times on the railroad, Brunswick continued to grow into its role as a bedroom community. By 1970 the population stood at 3,566, nearly equaling the 1950 census. Where once the B&O ran crack passenger trains like the Diplomat and the National Limited, humble commuter trains now ran the rails, four of them in the morning and four in the afternoon taking Brunswick's work force from its turn-of-the-century railway station to modern office buildings and businesses in Montgomery County and Washington, D.C. One advantage to commuting was the higher salaries paid in the cities; by 1970 the average family income in Brunswick had risen to just over $8,000. Yet, one year later, Brunswick faced the

possibility that it might lose the one rail service that offered the community its best chance for survival.[17]

In 1971 the U.S. Department of Transportation (USDOT) conducted a study entitled Washington Metropolitan Area Rail Commuter Feasibility Study. The purpose of the study was "to determine the economic and social feasibility and desirability for the restructuring or expansion of existing commuter rail service within the metropolitan area." The ninety-page document examined all existing rail commuter services including the two B&O lines serving the capital: the Baltimore-Washington line and the Brunswick-Washington line. While the study strongly urged the upgrading and expansion of most services, it came down squarely in opposition to Brunswick's lifeline, the forty-nine mile run from the town's small wooden station to Union Station in Washington. Citing surveys showing that the twenty-one mile Gaithersburg-Washington segment of the line accounted for more than 75 percent of all riders, the study recommended that commuter operations be cut back to that high volume portion of the route, because "ridership west of Gaithersburg is at a relatively low level [and] present forecasts do not indicate major growth in the near future." Losses on the commuter line, moreover, exceeded $800,000 annually, amounting to a loss of $1.88 for every dollar of revenue. These figures supported the conclusion that "further continuance of the operation has no financial justification."[18]

In Brunswick reaction to the report was predictable. Local commuters organized to write letters protesting a cutback in their rail service, and they found support among non-commuters who understood the threat that any reduction of rail service posed to the community. In 1972 the commuter-backed Alliance for Rail Commuter Progress surveyed the ridership on the Brunswick-Washington line and found additional support for the maintenance of that service. Unlike the government sponsored survey, theirs showed ridership growing; seven out of ten commuters had been using the line for less than three years, and patronage had increased over 40 percent in the previous twelve months without the benefit of advertising. The alliance's estimates of future ridership numbered potential rail commuters at thirty-thousand, more than double that of the USDOT study. The battle to maintain commuter rail service intensified as Brunswickians fought to save one of their most important resources.[19]

In October 1978 Chessie staged a grand opening to mark completion of the first half of a new coal-classification yard, a development that many citizens hoped would lead to a revival of the town's railroad fortunes. The renovation project enlarged the westbound yard and then put it in service as an eastbound yard in tandem with the existing eastbound facility. The company had invested nearly $2.5 million in the first phase of construction, and both railroad and town celebrated the achievement. In addition to the expanded yard, the car shops enjoyed something of a renaissance. Shop superintendent Dick Mullen noted that each employee took home $250 every two weeks, and then took a gentle poke at the town, remarking that workers would spend the money locally "if they had the shopping opportunities." That minor point aside, the current work force numbered 250, and they

faced more than twelve hundred cars awaiting repairs—three years of work at their current rate. "The car shop is in good shape as is the community," Mullen commented. "We both have a fine future." Commuters too had a reason to celebrate. For the first time in four years, Maryland DOT added a new commuter train to the Washington-Brunswick line, showing its support for commuters by investing $300,000 in first-year operating expenses, along with the $2.4 million annual costs subsidized by $1 to $2 million in federal funds. The locomotive and four coaches raised the number of daily trains to five, enough to carry comfortably the almost four thousand commuters using the line daily.[20]

By 1980 almost forty-six hundred people called Brunswick home. Nearly 40 percent worked outside Frederick County, and almost half traveled more than thirty minutes to work. Twenty-five percent travelled more than one hour to get to their jobs. Ridership on the commuter trains rose 25 percent in one year with over 90 percent of the riders going into Washington to work. The vast majority of Brunswick's new growth had come to its suburbs. Vacant, dilapidated buildings, broken sidewalks, and empty lots pock-marked the deteriorating town center. Despite the efforts of some residents to encourage its renovation, the majority evinced little interest in expending the time, money, and effort that a downtown revitalization would require. By the end of 1980 the Brunswick Board of Trade dissolved the organization that had attempted to coordinate business, industry, and community in an effort to improve the town's commercial possibilities. Citing a lack of support from the town, virtually no attendance at meetings, and an inability to accomplish anything, the remaining members of the board finally gave up. Yet there remained those inside and outside Brunswick who believed that they could make a difference. In early 1981 the Frederick County Office of Economic and Community Development, in cooperation with the town, opened an outreach office downtown on East Potomac Street. The office provided technical assistance and materials for residential and commercial building rehabilitation.[21]

About the same time, the Brunswick Planning Commission began a serious re-evaluation of the town's master plan. The town council had never acted on the original 1967 concept, and, fourteen years later, the plan was clearly an idea whose time had come and gone. The realities of higher taxes, increased budgets, and greater costs associated with a major redesign of downtown Brunswick made it unlikely that the town council and private citizens would ever build the revitalized urban area described in the plan. A more likely scenario involved the gradual decline of the area's commercial base and its eventual conversion to residences, as business tenants moved out of the town center. For those living in new homes on Brunswick Heights and shopping in Frederick or the ever-expanding Washington suburbs, the only link to downtown was the commuter parking lot at the railroad station. Yet when commuters faced the loss of their trains, the town managed to come together in their defense. In 1981 a rumor circulated that the state of Maryland was soon to abandon its subsidy of the B&O commuter trains. Recognizing the potential economic disaster such an abandonment would create, one thousand commuters and non-commuters alike signed a petition demanding that

the state continue to fund the trains. In May Gov. Harry Hughes, former head of the state department of transportation, put rumors to rest by signing a bill that kept the commuter trains running. Several months later, the state DOT backed the governor with the announcement that it would spend $600,000 to house the agency's newly rehabilitated coaches and locomotives at a renovated car storage site in Brunswick. Nevertheless, the continued rail service carried costs. The bill preserving commuter service required those riding the trains to cover one-half of the operating costs, necessitating a fare hike of almost 30 percent.[22]

For merchants downtown, the summer of 1985 brought the specter of new competition from Brunswick's own expanding suburbs, now large enough to support commercial development. The owners of a new shopping center, with signed leases from a modern supermarket, drug store, fast food restaurant, and other merchants, received the go-ahead from the town council to begin construction on a parcel of land at Souder Road in Brunswick Heights. The 30,000 square-foot facility would be the first modern shopping center in Brunswick, and many hoped that its construction would stem the tide of shopping dollars leaving the community. The shopping center would be a boon to residents but could strike the final blow to the downtown area. Leona Sauser, chairperson of the Brunswick Revitalization Committee, suggested the creation of a designated historic district as the first step to saving the downtown and increasing property values. "We need to educate ourselves to what we are," Sauser remarked. "We need to build a consensus."[23]

The campaign for the historic district had the opposite effect, stirring up strong resistance. Councilman Raymond Will said, "I don't quite have the concern about the deterioration of the town. And there's really not much here to preserve if you want to be truthful. We're off the beaten track and we don't have much to bring the people here." Will spoke for many downtown residents who believed that the plan would restrict their property rights, dictating what they could and could not do with their homes. The fight against the district gained a large measure of support, and as a scheduled vote neared, Mayor Richard Campbell, facing growing antagonism, chose not to bring the bill to a vote. Noting the strength of the opposition, Campbell admitted, "I'm just going to tuck my tail and let it go. Being mayor has become a disappointing and frustrating job. I decided not to push it because I didn't want to split the town." For the time being, at least, the town looked for other ways to solve its problems. Lacking the unity that the railroad had provided in the past, Brunswick had split along lines that divided new and old, urban and suburban.[24]

Even as the town fought over its future, America's first railroad ceased to exist. On 30 April 1987, in a move designed to streamline operations, Chessie officially merged the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad into the C&O and consigned the corporate identity of the B&O to history. All that remained of the once proud B&O was fading paint on old locomotives. The new blue and gray CSX emblem replaced the famous B&O Capitol dome trademark that dotted hundreds of railroad trestles in thirteen states. In May 1988 the CSX corporation eliminated Brunswick as a division stop on the railroad, making the town's connection with the railroad almost entirely a matter of history. The arrangement meant that most trains would travel from

Baltimore to Cumberland without pausing in Brunswick to change crews. Three days later the ax fell on Brunswick again when CSX announced the abandonment of the ten-year-old, $5 million coal-classification yard. Economic conditions and slumping coal sales made it more economical for the railroad to ship coal directly to piers in Baltimore. Referring to "the curtailment of our future transportation needs and requirements," CSX essentially ended all railroad activity in Brunswick, eliminating train inspectors, yard crews, and car repair operations. Brunswick's days as a bustling, blue-collar railroad town were over, and its transformation into a suburban bedroom community was nearly complete. Yet the desire of some residents to renovate the downtown area and maintain the town's railroad heritage remained. Once again this vision of a revitalized urban center came into conflict with those whose priorities lay in reducing costs and improving municipal services.[25]

For some time rumors had been circulating that Brunswick's turn-of-the-century, brick roundhouse faced CSX abandonment and demolition. By 1988 the seventy-year-old structure stood in a sorry state. Although still in limited use as an engine service facility, the roundhouse was literally crumbling; its brick walls cracking, its roof leaking and near collapse, the railroad considered the building a safety hazard and liability. The same group of concerned citizens working for downtown revitalization went into action to prevent destruction of the roundhouse. The effort to save the roundhouse signaled a rededication to the idea of a revitalized, historically aware downtown. It also split historic preservation and urban renewal activists from those in the community who believed that Brunswick's past had little of value to offer. Speaking for the preservationists, Leona Sauser told CSX officials, "Brunswick's past is the link to Brunswick's economic recovery . . . and it is American history we are talking about, the industrial revolution . . . this unique example of a company town. We accept the fact that the roundhouse is obsolete. We are not asking you to keep the roundhouse in operation. We are just asking you not to tear it down."[26]

The town council brought back the idea of an historic district as one way to save the roundhouse, but Brunswickians divided over the idea just as they had two years before. Support for Brunswick's preservation came, in great degree, from newcomers, such as Sauser and newly elected councilwoman Susan Fauntleroy, who believed that Brunswick's past deserved restoration and preservation. They led the fight for the historic district, worked to save the roundhouse, and supported politicians who favored making the city's past an important part of its present and future. Opposition came largely from natives who believed that the town government should concentrate on more pressing problems, particularly the rising costs of municipal services. They favored slower growth, managed by a conservative leadership that would work to hold costs to a minimum. Long-time residents for years had been living with their backs to the downtown, working and shopping outside the city center and objecting to any expenditures on its behalf unless there was an immediate, direct, economic benefit. Many continued to believe, moreover, that property owners in the proposed historic district should not be at the mercy of "special interests" telling them what they could or could not do to their property.

Mandated colors, facades, and other requirements seemed an invasion of sacred rights. As for their railroad heritage, they recognized that the railroad was all but gone and believed that the time had come to adjust to life without it. History was fine, and memories were fun, but they were not priorities.

Richard Campbell, Brunswick's mayor, tried to reassure them. "I personally feel that the future of Brunswick is directly linked to its past. . . . If we lose any more of that past we will face serious problems." Stressing the severely curtailed size of the proposed district, Campbell added, "We are not going to do anything that would harm any of the people of Brunswick." As bitter as the fight over the historic district had become, one incident put it in a strange perspective; more people attended a hearing on a proposed skateboarding ordinance than attended the hearing on the historic district. In July 1988 the town council rejected the proposed historic district plan in a three-to-three vote. Mayor Campbell, prevented from voting by statute, expressed disappointment but vowed to continue his fight to save downtown. Others on the council expressed satisfaction. Councilman Frank Strakonsky summed up the feelings of many, saying, "I voted against it because there are so many problems in the town now. Let's straighten them up first."[27] The confrontation over the historic district left the community divided as it had never been before. In a time of uncertainty, bad feelings replaced the sense of kinship and community that had flourished in the age of the iron horse.

In an era of urban decay and suburban sprawl, in a time of impersonal, faceless, and often dangerous neighborhoods, many Americans dream longingly of life in a small town. In 1989 the Gallop Organization asked Americans where they would like to live. From four choices, they chose a small town first. The idealized vision of a modest, friendly village with white clapboard houses surrounding a Main Street lined with local businesses shimmers like a mirage on the horizon, one answer to the problems of life in a modern society. Still, small towns are plagued by their own demons, and they may have profound effects on the lives of their citizens. The close-knit sense of community developed in small towns all across the country rests on a combination of shared experience, background, and employment. When changing times threaten these foundations, the very qualities that people find most attractive in small towns are often the first to disappear.[28]

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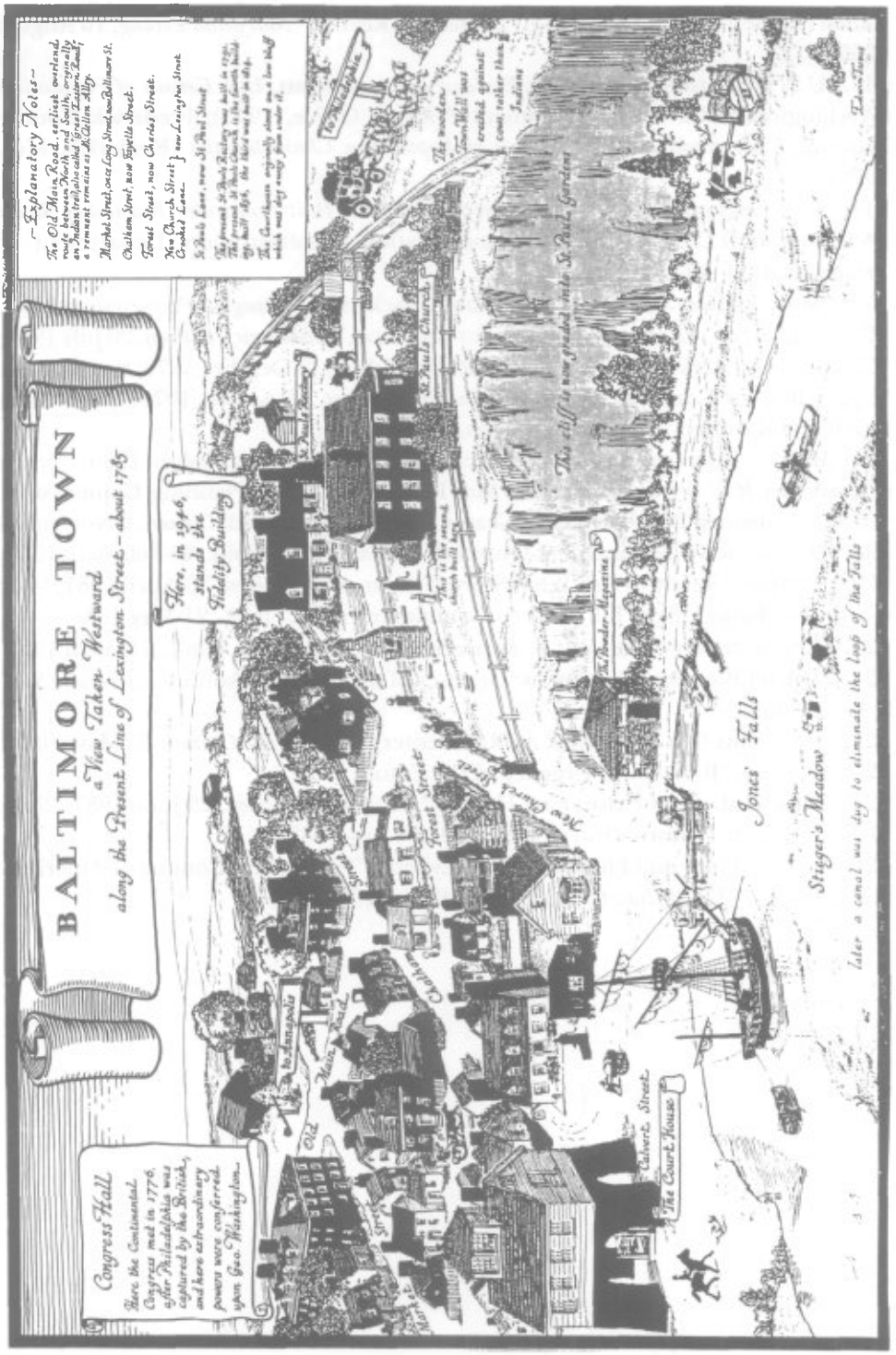

Edwin Tunis, Baltimore Town: A View Taken Westward Along the Present Line of Lexington Street, about 1785. (Fidelity and Deposit Co., 1946.)

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Parceling Out Land in the Vicinity of Baltimore: 1632–1796, Part 2

GARRETT POWER

Editor's note: For Part 1 (containing Maps 1–4) of this highly useful research essay, see the winter 1992 issue, pp. 453–66.

Establishment of Jones Town. A rival to Baltimore Town was also coming on the scene. The one hundred thirty-five and one-half acres of Cole's Harbour which lay to the east of the Jones Falls had been conveyed by James Todd to John Hurst in 1701 and had been on the real estate market for almost three decades. In 1702 Hurst mortgaged the property to Richard Colegate. Colegate took ownership under a foreclosure in 1705, and when he died passed it on to his orphaned sons, John and Thomas. Such was the state of the title in 1726 when Edward Fell set up shop there in a small settlement at the site of the original David Jones homestead on the east bank of the Falls. The site thereafter has been nicknamed Old Town in recognition of this first settlement[41] (Map 3).

In 1732 the assembly passed an act formally erecting the settlement as "Jonas Town," "on a creek, divided on the east from the town lately laid out . . . called Baltimore Town, on the land wherein Edward Fell keeps store." Four commissioners were appointed and given the power to purchase ten acres from the owner. A ten-acre survey was prepared and a new town was laid off into twenty rectangular lots following the lay of the east bank of the Jones Falls[42] (Map 4).

When it came time to purchase the land, however, there was uncertainty as to the title and value of the Jones Town settlement. William Fell was in actual occupation of the ten-acre tract, but, perhaps having learned a lesson from his brother Edward's failed escheat claim to Cole's Harbour, he disclaimed willingness or ability to sell. The sheriff empaneled a jury of freeholders, who confirmed title

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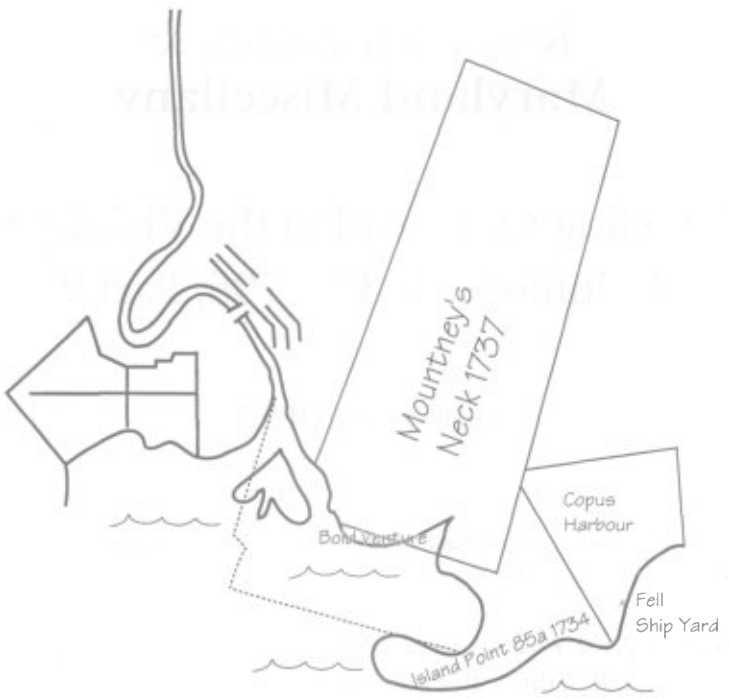
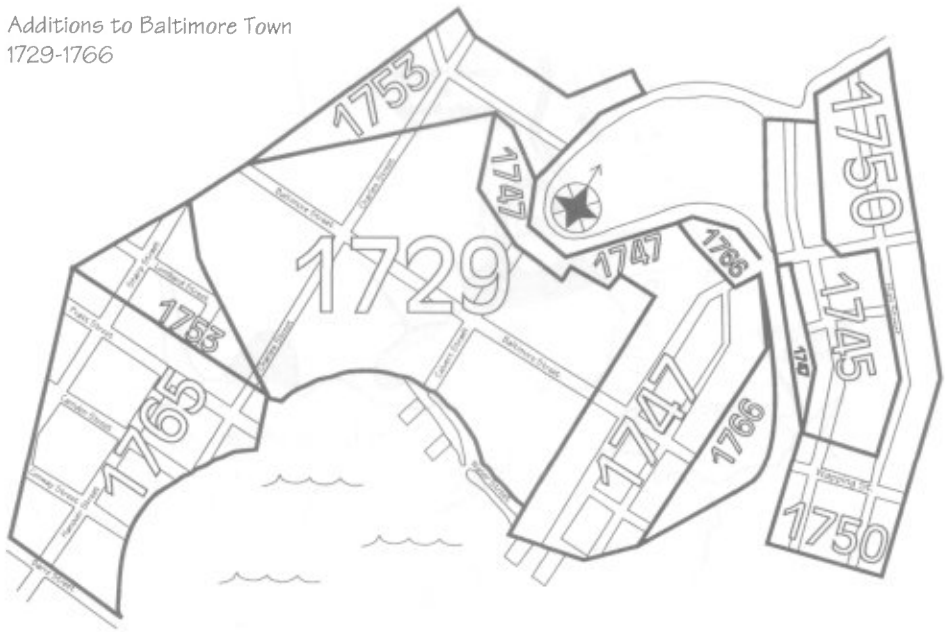


Map 5. William Fell's Claim, 1737.

in John and Thomas Colegate (the heirs and devisees of the mortgagee who had foreclosed on John Hurst) and awarded them three hundred pounds of tobacco per acre.[43]

Jones Town was separated physically from Baltimore Town by a marsh and the Falls, but a causeway and bridge soon permitted goods and people to move back and forth. After some delay the first lots were taken up in July of 1733; all were sold by 1741. Among the purchasers were Edward and William Fell.[44]

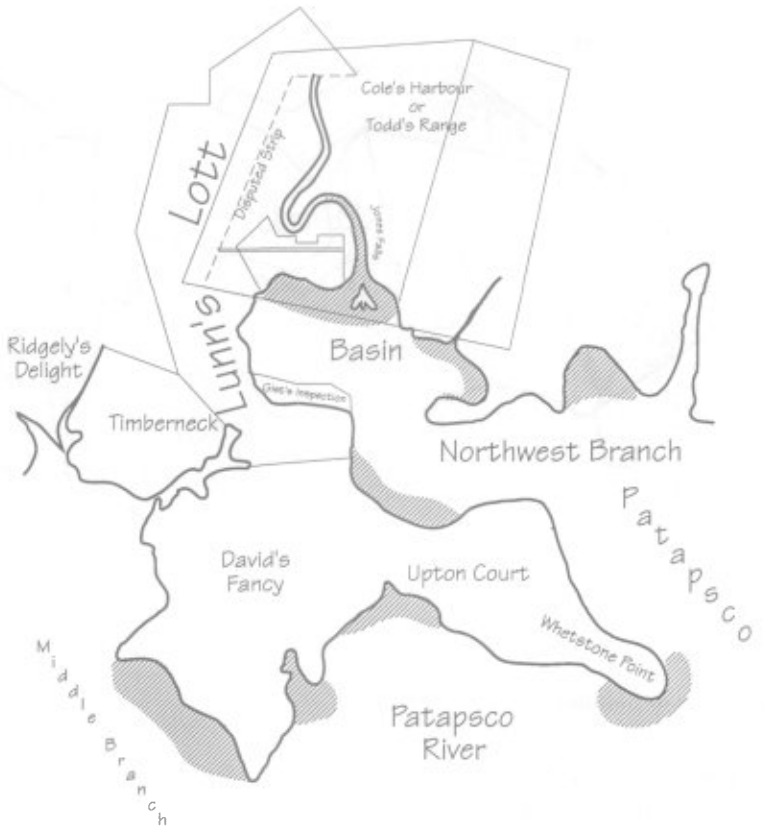
Escheat Claims of the Brothers Fell. The brothers Fell had not given up on their efforts to discover escheat parcels to be had at a discount. William took out escheat warrants under which he obtained patents to Island Point in 1734 and to Mountney's Neck in 1737. It was doubtful that his escheat claim to Mountney's Neck was tenable; James Todd had asserted title to it in 1701 and sold it along with Cole's Harbour. William Fell's claim to Mountney's Neck was likely to fail for the same reasons that brother Edward's escheat claim to Cole's Harbour had failed. But there remained the loose ends of a record title in Alexander Mountney, Samuel and Ann Wheeler, and David Jones, none of whom were connected to Todd. Decisions determining whether an escheat had occurred were in the hands of a jury and often made on grounds more political than legal, as anti-proprietary forces sought to cut off the revenue of the proprietors. Perhaps a jury would decide for William.[45]



Map 6. Additions to Baltimore Town 1729–1766.

William Fell's escheat patent to Island Point was on firmer ground. The tract in question had originally been patented to William Poultney in 1671 as the one hundred-acre Long Island Point (Map 1). Poultney died in 1674, devising the property to Edward Monfrett, who subsequently died without heirs. Just to the east a parcel had been patented in 1684 to John Copus as Copus Harbour. William, a ship's carpenter, was living and working on the Copus Harbour tract where he had built a mansion. His claim to Copus Harbour was reenforced by this open and notorious possession. But Charles Carroll of Annapolis had beaten William to the land office in the race to receive an escheat patent to the neighboring Island Point. In 1734 William bought out all of Carroll's "right, title and interest" in Island Point and obtained his escheat patent, which on resurvey was found to contain eighty-five acres. Island Point, when added to Copus Harbour of which he already had possession in fact, gave William approximately one hundred eighty-five acres of land. At last the Fell family possessed a parcel presumably free and clear of elder claims[46] (Map 5).

Incorporation of Baltimore Town. By 1745 the lots in Jones Town had all been sold, but a good many of the lots in Baltimore Town remained in the hands of the Carrolls. In that year, upon joint petition of the inhabitants, the assembly enacted "[t]hat the same towns, now called Baltimore and Jones' Town, be incorporated into one entire town, and for the future called and known by the name of Baltimore Town." The town thus created had two parts: a sixty-acre subdivision on a north-south grid and a twenty-acre rectangle wherein the streets followed the meander



Map 7. West and South Baltimore Vicinity, 1740.

of the Falls, separated by a twenty-eight acre marsh. By the terms of the act consolidating the two towns the connecting bridge was made public, to be maintained thereafter for "man, horse, cart or wagon" at the county's expense[47] (Map 4).

Speculations at the Edge of Town. Notwithstanding the glut on the market, new lots continued to be created on the fringes of the new town. Three of the seven men the 1745 Act designated as commissioners of Baltimore Town (Thomas Harrison, Thomas Sheredine and Alexander Lawson) were actively involved as land speculators.[48]

Thomas Harrison, a shipping merchant, arrived from England in 1742 and established his home and export-import business at the end of South Street on the waterfront. Then in 1747, after appointment as a town commissioner, he bought the twenty-eight acre marsh which lay between the two parts of Baltimore Town from Charles Carroll of Annapolis for one hundred sixty pounds sterling[49] (Map 4).

Commissioners Alexander Lawson and Thomas Sheredine also dabbled in real estate at the edge of town. Overlooking the horseshoe turn in the Falls to the north, just outside the town boundary, was a seven and one-half acre bluff of land;

although still titled in the name of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Lawson had an interest in it. Farther to the north and east of the Falls, Sheredine (along with his trading partner Thomas Sligh) had an option to buy out the Colegate orphans' residual holding that surrounded Oldtown.[50]

In 1747 the assembly ordered the annexation of eighteen acres owned by Harrison, Sheredine, and Lawson to Baltimore Town, and thereafter the commissioners employed Nicholas Ruxton Gay to survey the same and to lay it out with lots, streets and alleys[51] (Map 6).

The new lots failed to sell. Undaunted, Sligh and Sheredine exercised their option in 1750 and for one hundred pounds sterling acquired approximately two hundred ninety acres east of the Falls from John and Thomas Colegate, the sons and devisees of Richard Colegate. This tract had been part of the parcel that James Todd had sold to John Hurst in 1701 (ten acres already having been subdivided as Jones' Town) and that Richard Colegate had foreclosed upon. To be on the safe side, Sligh and Sheredine also obtained a quitclaim from the foreclosed mortgagor, John Hurst.[52]

The Sligh and Sheridine partnership prevailed upon the assembly at its 1750 session to annex twenty-five of their newly acquired acres lying on the outskirts of the Old Town settlement to Baltimore Town for "all intents and purposes as fully and amply as if included originally therein." High Street and Wapping Street were added.[53] The expanded layout of the new Old Town streets is marked on Map 6.

In 1750 Thomas Harrison began variously leasing and selling lots on his marsh. In 1763 Harrison leased the lot on the northwest corner of Gay and Baltimore Streets to the Town Commissioners of Baltimore, who caused to be erected Baltimore's first market-house. Harrison made the lot more affordable by leasing it to the commissioners at eight pounds sterling per year "for and during the full term of ninety-nine years," subject to a covenant whereby Harrison and his heirs agreed to perpetual renewals. No down payment was required.[54]

Development West and South of Baltimore Town. The parcels of land to the west and south of the Northwest Branch had been changing hands as well. In 1688 Edward Lunn transferred the rights to his 1673 patent to George Eager. Lunn's Lott was passed down through the family to George's grandson, also a George.[55]

Young George's sister, Ruth, married Cornelius Howard, son and heir of Joshua Howard, the patentee of Howard's Square (also known as Grey Rock) deep in the interior of Baltimore County. When young George went to sea, he gave over his power of attorney to his brother-in-law. George was never heard from again. Cornelius Howard took title in his own name and in 1763 he had Lunn's Lott enlarged to include contiguous vacancies. Its eastern boundary line, which overlapped with Cole's Harbour, was in doubt[56] (Map 7).

Neighboring Timber Neck was owned by John Howard, no immediate relative to Cornelius. He passed it down through his family to his granddaughter Rachel, who in 1721 married Charles Ridgely. In 1744 Charles Ridgely had Timber Neck resurveyed and laid out for one hundred sixty-five acres. This land was destined

to include the neighborhood of Ridgely's Delight, an eighteenth-century development of two- and three-story rowhouses.[57]

During the first two decades of the eighteenth century the peninsula of land lying between the Middle and Northwest Branches of the Patapsco River remained unoccupied. Charles Gorsuch long ago vacated his 1661 patent to Whetstone Point, and it had been repatented to absentee owner James Carroll in 1702. A 1706 legislative plan to designate the area a port of entry died aborning when neither traders nor planters took advantage. Upton Court and David's Fancy, the other two seventeenth-century patents, were both vacant and apparently escheat.[58]

Beginning in 1723 John Giles (yet another Quaker land speculator) sought to capitalize on this vacancy. In that year he obtained a certificate of resurvey to Upton Court (though he did not patent the land until 1731), and in 1725 he consolidated it with Whetstone Point, which he obtained from James Carroll for five pounds sterling. It took Giles just two years to take a profit when he resold four hundred of his newly-acquired acres to the Principio Company, along with the rights to all the iron ore "opened and discovered or shut and not yet discovered."[59]

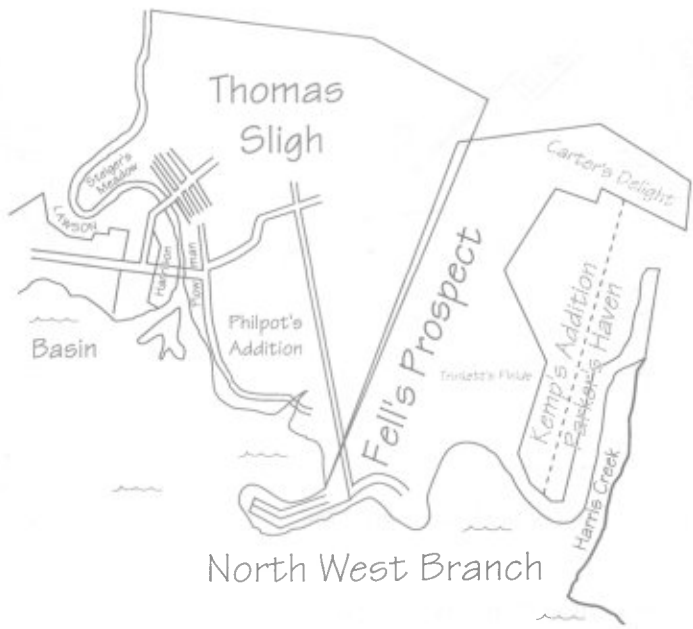
The Principio Company was an association of British iron-masters engaged in manufacturing pig and bar iron; it had been operating an iron furnace twenty miles to the north on the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River since 1715. Whetstone Point for many years was to be one of its principal sources of ore.[60]

Several years later Jacob Giles, John's son and successor in title, sold what was left of Upton Court to John Moale, the elder. Moale was a miner from Devonshire who arrived during the first quarter of the eighteenth century intent on developing the area's iron deposits. Finding David's Fancy vacant, he settled and opened a mine (the transfer from Giles was an addition to this holding). In the 1720s Moale resisted efforts to have the assembly erect a town on his land. (As we have seen, the disappointed promoters looked to the north of the basin, where, in 1729, with the cooperation of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, Baltimore Town was established on sixty acres of Carroll land.)[61]

Vacancies on the peninsula encouraged other adventurers to seek escheat patents. In 1732 surveyor Richard Gist ventured such a claim to an alluvial deposit at the base of Lunn's Point (Federal Hill today) which overlooked the water of the basin of Baltimore Town to the north. Known as Gist's Inspection, it was located by metes and bounds nominally between the original lines of Lunn's Lott and the basin. In reality, a considerable portion was covered by water.[62]

In 1737 John Moale obtained a warrant of escheat entitling him as first discoverer to "David's Fancy along with the benefit of any contiguous vacancy." Moale appears to have shared ownership of most of the peninsula with the Principio Furnace Company and Richard Gist. The approximate locations of Gist's Inspection, David's Fancy, and Whetstone Point are set forth on Map 7.[63]

John Moale, the elder, died in 1740, leaving two sons, John the younger and Richard. His will devised parcels in and around Baltimore Town to John the younger, and David's Fancy (which consisted of all of "Upton Court and adjoining escheat land") to the six-year-old Richard "and the heirs of his body, lawfully



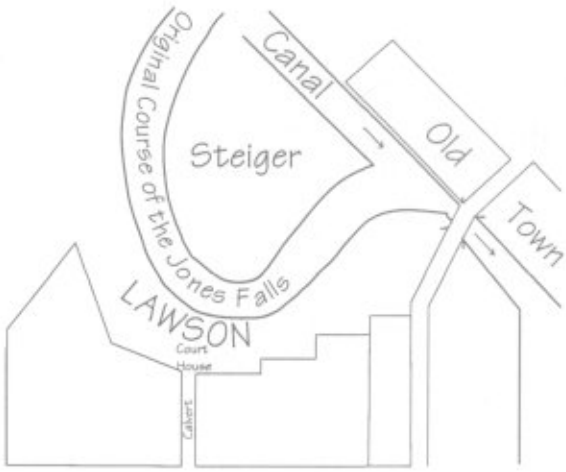
Map 8. East Baltimore Before the Revolution.

begotten, forever." This fee tail estate was a device employed by England's landed aristocracy to keep estates in the family. It required that lands pass from generation to generation in single file descent, and prevented the living generation from selling or subdividing the land. According to the strict settlement, when Richard died the parcel would pass to his heirs and subsequently to his heirs' heirs.[64]

Taking Stock at mid-Eighteenth Century. At mid-eighteenth century the environs of Baltimore lay ripe for development. Fortunately they were captured in this incipient state in a 1752 drawing by John Moale the younger (an artist as well as an uptown landowner). Drawn from the hilltop in Gist's Inspection (later called Federal Hill) overlooking the Northwest Branch to the north, he depicted a town wherein Calvert is the main street leading down to a wharf at the waterfront. It shows twenty-five houses, one church, and two taverns. The town had perhaps two hundred inhabitants.[65]

Were it to grow and prosper during the second half of the eighteenth century, Baltimore had to overcome various obstacles. Confused and conflicted land titles were discouraging capital investment. A horseshoe bend in the Jones Falls limited expansion to the north. The competitive Fell family was intent on creating a new deep-water port outside the Town's limits to the east, thereby outstripping Baltimore Town itself, where shallows blocked access to the shoreline.

Removing Clouds on Title. East of the Jones Falls, Thomas Sligh was instrumental in clearing title to the town. He and his partner Thomas Sheredine had already bought out the rights of both mortgagor (1749) and mortgagee (1750) in the parcel which James Todd originally transferred to John Hurst in 1701. After Sheredine



Map 9. Detail of Diversion of the Jones Falls, 1786.

First Court House

Courthouse circa 1783. Adapted from: C. C. Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and People* (1912).

died in 1752, Sligh's next step was to acquire Sheredine's share from his partner's son and heir in 1756. Two years later Sligh obtained a quitclaim of the Fell claim to Mountney's Neck in order to "remove a cloud which overshadowed his title." And in 1759 he added one hundred fifty acres to his holding by obtaining from Charles Carroll of Annapolis the "northernmost end of a tract of land called Mountenay's Neck" and a pie shaped slice of Cole's Harbour (Map 3). Thus, by 1760 Thomas Sligh had "purchased his peace" to the four hundred-odd acres of land surrounding Old Town. The parcel consolidated in Thomas Sligh is depicted in Map 8.[66]

In no time at all Sligh subdivided the tract he created. In 1759 Jonathan Plowman, a merchant newly arrived from England, bought several acres from Sligh just south of the Old Town settlement. Plowman built a house opposite the terminus of Baltimore Street on the other side of the Falls to the west. And in 1760 Bryan Philpot bought most of the adjoining land between the Falls and the Harford Run down to the waterfront (Map 8.). Plowman and Philpot laid out paper streets running northwest to southeast nearly parallel to the Falls, but none were actually constructed until after the Revolution.[67]

Land titles were also clouded in the west. In 1753 the assembly added thirty-two acres to Baltimore Town. The tract in question, still claimed by Charles Carroll of Annapolis, lay west of the original 1729 town and was situate on an overlap between the "ancient metes and bounds" of Todd's Range and Lunn's Lott, which was owned by Cornelius Howard. In 1757 Carroll sold the thirty-two acres to Joshua Hall. Hall's plan to parcel it out as building lots called ownership of this overlap into question[68] (Map 7).

Eventually the dispute triggered an ejectment action that was decided in favor of the heirs of Cornelius Howard. The Court of Appeals of Maryland held that the patent to Lunn's Lott (1673) was elder to that of Todd's Range (1701); Carroll failed

to prove that he and his predecessors in title were in actual possession of the disputed strip, and his record title was not permitted to relate back to the Cole's Harbour patent of 1668 but only to the Todd's Range patent.[69]

Before his death Cornelius had himself become a subdivider. In 1765 he had the assembly add thirty-five acres of the southern portion of Lunn's Lott to the Town. Thereafter he created a gridiron of Barre, Conway, Camden and Pratt Streets running east to west crossed by Hanover and Sharpe Street running north to south and bordering the basin to the east[70] (see Map 6).

This southern outskirt was to become known as French Town. Beginning in 1756 the "Neutral French" or Acadians began arriving from Nova Scotia from whence they were expelled by the British. Their first point of settlement was upon South Charles Street near Lombard. As the numbers grew to several hundreds, their colony expanded into small houses built in Howard's Addition, where it was to last for one hundred years.[71]

The Horseshoe Bend in the Falls. To the north, the obstacle to development was the horseshoe bend in the Jones Falls that stood in the path of Calvert Street. Overlooking the Falls, just outside the original Town boundary, was a seven and one-half acre bluff of land. In 1747 it was still titled in the name of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, but Baltimore Town Commissioner Alexander Lawson also had some interest in it. In that year the Commissioners employed surveyor Nicholas Ruxton Gay to lay out lots on this high ground along with convenient streets and alleys (Map 6). Carroll transferred outright ownership to Lawson in May of 1757.[72] The Lawson tract is represented on Map 9.

Barely a month before, Charles Carroll of Annapolis had sold the land opposite the Lawson tract to Dr. William Lyon. The Lyon's tract was a wooded marsh of approximately thirteen and one-half acres. In 1759, only two years after acquiring the parcel, Lyon sold it to a butcher named Andrew Steiger, who cleared it for pasturage for his cattle; the tract was called Steiger's Meadow. The Jones Falls served as a boundary between the two parcels; the deeds described each tract as "bounding on it"; Lawson and Steiger were cross-current riparians[73] (Map 9).

Although Alexander Lawson had no success in marketing his building lots on the bluff, he was able to sell several larger parcels. In 1765 he sold eighty feet of ground east of Calvert Street to the Presbyterians, who completed their First Church in 1766. And in 1768 when the county seat was removed from Joppa, the court house and public prison for Baltimore County were located on Lawson's land. The court house was at the head of Calvert Street, and the prison just to the west.[74]

The Mouth of the Falls. In 1766 Baltimoreans complained that the miry marsh on either side of the mouth of the Jones Falls "by the noxious vapours and putrid effluvia arising therefrom was very prejudicial to . . . health." They petitioned the assembly to make the marsh part of the Town and to remove the nuisance. The assembly added the twenty-one acre parcel to Baltimore Town but was less successful in its efforts to make the proprietors wharf in "all such marshy ground next to the water with a good and sufficient stone wall . . . or with hewed logs . . . not less than two feet above the level of the common tides."[75]

The proprietors of the marsh were Alexander Lawson, Brian Philpot and Thomas Harrison. A small marsh bordered the eastern edge of Lawson's bluff and several acres of swamp sat on Philpot's the east bank, but most of the land, perhaps ten acres, was in the hands of Thomas Harrison. It was the fringe leftover when eighteen acres of Harrison's Marsh had been added to Baltimore Town in 1747[76] (Map 8).

The assembly came up with a novel scheme to promote reclamation. A survey was ordered which laid out the land into one-eighth-acre lots. The proprietors were then given a choice. They could either make the lots into dry ground themselves or suffer a confiscation by the town commission. In the event of confiscation the commission would sell the lots to purchasers upon an express condition that the purchasers must reclaim the land within eighteen months. The purchase money would then be turned over to the respective proprietors.[77]

The scheme had two problems. The first was legal. Harrison had already leased a number of small lots to lessees for ninety-nine years, renewable forever; the lessees were the beneficial owners of the land. The act responded by giving these lessees the right to preserve their leasehold interest by making the lot into dry ground.[78]

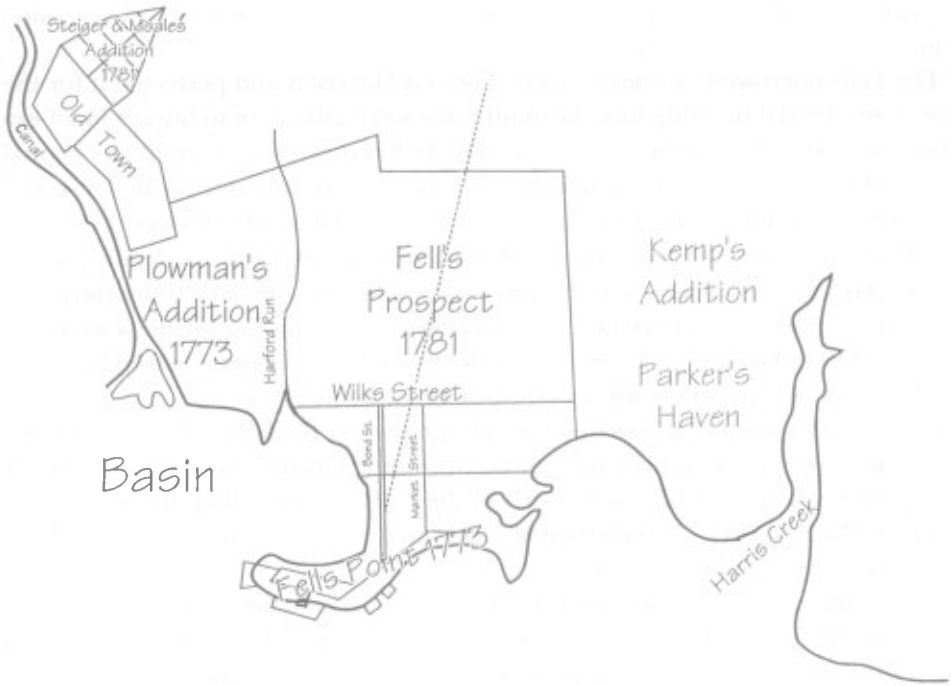
The second problem was less tractable; it was economic. Land along the banks of the Falls was not valuable enough to justify the cost of reclamation. In his efforts to make the marsh more marketable Thomas Harrison had offered the lots for no money down through the use of the ground rent system of finance. But even with this incentive the lots remained unimproved.[79]

The legislative initiative likewise failed to produce buyers willing to reclaim the land. As a result the plan was never put into operation. The effective date of the legislation was twice postponed for two years, and in 1779 Harrison's Marsh was ordered surveyed and laid out anew.[80]

The Fell Family Lands. The Fell brothers, Quaker immigrants from Lancashire, had long been active as Baltimore land speculators. Brother Edward, who had set up store at the mouth of the Falls in 1726, failed in his effort to divest Charles Carroll of Annapolis of Cole's Harbour; brother William, a ship builder, had obtained a questionable escheat patent to Mountney's Neck in 1737, which his heirs eventually quitclaimed to Thomas Sligh in 1758. On the other hand, the brothers purchased good title to a number of lots in Jones Town, and William's claims to Island Point and Copus Harbour were apparently senior to all others (recall Map 5).

In 1738 Edward Fell died, leaving all his property to his nephew and namesake; in 1746 William Fell died, leaving all of his property to his son. Death consolidated the Fell family properties in Edward Fell the younger. He devoted the rest of his days to perfecting the family claim to the lands to the east of Baltimore Town.[81]

In 1761 Edward Fell the younger obtained a patent to Fells Prospect, which constituted a resurvey of four parcels already claimed by the Fell family: Island Point, Copus Harbour, Carter's Delight, and Trinkett's Field. The surveyor reduced the whole into one entire tract of three hundred forty-three acres of land, more or



Map 10. Additions to East Baltimore, 1773, 1781.

less. The parcel took on a grotesque shape as the surveyor added to the ancient patents a seventy-acre strip of vacant land which wrapped tentacle-like along the Patapsco and Harris Creek waterfronts[82] (Map 8).

In only taking up a strip from the vacated patents for Kemp's Addition and Parkers Haven, Fell engaged in a profit-maximizing strategy known as "stringing." The land office charged forty shillings per hundred acres and an annual quit-rent of four shillings. Stringing allowed Fell to obtain valuable water frontage at minimum cost. The land office had rules against the practice, but the surveyors knew who their friends were.[83]

Once he perfected title to his tract, Edward Fell the younger wasted no time in putting lots on the market. In 1763 he laid out streets on a grid, except on the Point, where they followed the lay of the land (Map 10). Among the first purchasers in 1765 was Capt. Charles Ridgely who bought a waterfront lot. Edward Fell the younger died in 1766 leaving an infant son, William, as his heir. The task of marketing the family landholding fell to his wife and executrix, Ann Fell. Ann Fell so successfully marketed her land that Fell's Point soon rivaled Baltimore Town as a maritime center. It had a certain natural advantage— deep-water access attracted wharves, warehouses, and shipyards, which extended out into the North West Branch.[84]

Newcomers to the region had a hard time deciding in which settlement to live. To attract them to the Point, Ann Fell advertised and provided no-downpayment financing; her advertisements dispelled rumors that the Fell title was unmarketable

and that the locale was unhealthy. The favorable financing took the form of ground rents.[85]

The Fells borrowed this device from Thomas Harrison and perfected it for the sale of residential building lots. Ground rents were attractive to buyers in an era when money and credit were in short supply because they reduced the capital required for the purchase of land; since the leases were renewable the buyers could make improvements without much fear of forfeiture. Ground rents were attractive to sellers when securities were in short supply in that they provided a safe, passive investment; since the leases were renewable the sellers need not discount the price. By adding to the lease a covenant that a substantial dwelling or business would be built on the land within two years, Ann Fell ensured that property leased from her would either retain or increase its value, or revert to her.[86]

In 1773 the assembly authorized the enlargement of Baltimore Town to include eighty acres of land on the east side of town including Plowman's Addition and Fells Point. Plowman's tract of land lay east of the Falls and ran along the waterfront down to Harford Run. It remained an open commons; improvement would not come until after the Revolution.[87]

Fell's Point on the other hand was thriving. It contained fully one-quarter of the houses in the vicinity and a coffee house or hotel was open for business. It rivaled the waterfront west of the Falls as the town center. East Baltimore of that era is depicted in Map 10.[88]

The American Revolution. Between 1752 and 1776 the number of houses in the greater Baltimore area had grown from twenty-five to five hundred sixty-four. By the time of the American Revolution, newcomers— artisans, mechanics and businessmen— swelled the population to over six thousand seven hundred inhabitants. Reviews were mixed. Some called Baltimore a "place of considerable and extensive trade," others "a dirty, filthy place."[89]

The heat of the American Revolution served as the catalyst for further expansion of Baltimore's economy and population. Although British sea power cut off American trade, it indirectly benefitted Baltimore's merchants. The war freed them from the massive debt owed to English creditors and gave them a license to steal. Baltimore sent out nearly two hundred fifty privately armed vessels outfitted by Baltimore merchants. Samuel Smith and others made fortunes by capturing English merchant ships as prizes and by running the blockade to sell wheat and flour at wartime prices to Spanish forces in the West Indies.[90]

The Revolution also stimulated the domestic market for wheat and iron ore. Flour milling expanded with the creation of new mills along the Jones Falls and the Gwynns Falls. The iron works on Whetstone Point became part of the war effort. The furnace, expropriated from the loyalist Principio Company, produced "red thunder-bolts of war" for the battery of guns placed on a hastily constructed fortification. When the shooting stopped in 1781, the Free State confiscated one hundred ninety-five acres belonging to the company and sold the land at auction.[91]

The Revolution also produced a new generation of leaders. Counted among the gentry were Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Eager Howard. Carroll put the family fortune at risk by signing the Declaration of Independence; he subsequently succeeded to ownership of the family lands in 1782 upon the death of his father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Col. John Eager Howard, who fought with George Washington, inherited Lunn's Lott from his father, Cornelius, in 1777. Numbered among the new merchant-chiefs was Col. Samuel Smith, who resigned his commission in 1779 to rescue the moribund family mercantile firm of John Smith & Sons; this he did through privateering and government contracts. He was joined in these enterprises by his Scots-Irish Presbyterian co-religionists and relatives, the Steretts, the Spears, and the Buchanans, all of whom were heavily invested in slaves, ships, and waterfront property.[92]

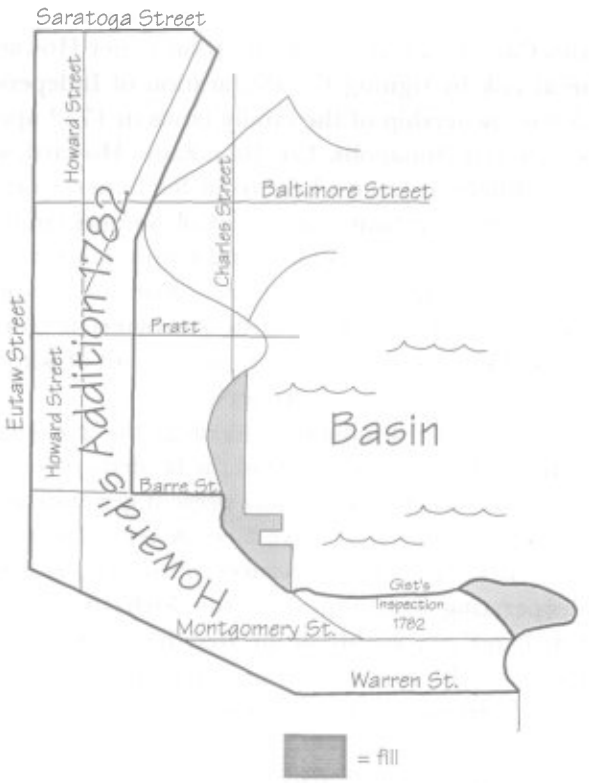
The Revolution also signalled a republican ideology that encouraged the break-up of ancestral estates. A favored technique of the landed aristocracy had been to strictly settle family lands so as to prevent any present generation from selling or subdividing the ancestral land. As we have already seen, John Moale employed this device when he devised Upton Court, resurveyed to include four hundred-acres (including several operating iron mines), to son Richard in 1740. Under the entailment the "dead hand" of John Moale dictated that enjoyment of the property would pass from Richard to Richard's children, and then to their children and their children's children, in perpetuity. Richard was denied the right to alienate his inheritance.[93]

In 1782 the republican assembly passed a law which permitted the living beneficiary to "dock the entail." In 1783 Richard did so, conveying David's Fancy to a "strawman" who immediately reconveyed it to him, free and clear. Richard died in 1786, leaving the estate outright to his brother, John the younger, who was by then a town commissioner. In 1758 John the younger had married Helen North (who was the first female child born in Baltimore, having been delivered at her father's house on the northwest corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets) and they had six sons. John the younger died in 1797, dividing the estate among them. In the course of just one generation David's Fancy had split into six shares.[94]

Post-Revolutionary Growth. In many ways 1782 was a pivotal year in Baltimore's history. In that year the once pre-eminent owner of Baltimore lands, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, died at the advanced age of eighty. Management of the Carroll estate passed on to his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton, at the age of forty-five already a mature man of affairs and a risk-taker who had put the family estate on the line by signing the Declaration of Independence.[95]

Most of the approximately forty thousand acres Charles Carroll of Annapolis passed to his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton lay elsewhere, on the estates of Doughoregan and Carrollton. A large portion of the original Carroll family holdings in Baltimore had been sold off.[96]

Seventeen eighty-two was also the year in which the town commissioners looked to expand all around the town. On the north side the obstacles to growth were



Map 11. Howard's Addition, 1782.

physical. The horseshoe bend in the Jones Falls stood in the path of Calvert Street. Projects were commissioned to provide a northward passage.

In the plans for grading Calvert Street the bluff overhanging the falls was to be cut away, but the court house stood in the way. Projector Leonard Harbaugh persuaded the town fathers that he could preserve the building by excavating the earth from beneath it, leaving the court house twenty feet up in the air. In 1783 Harbaugh accomplished this incredible feat, and Calvert Street was extended thereunder to the very precipice of the Falls[97] (Map 9). And in 1786 Englehart Yeiser, with the consent of the proprietors of the adjacent land (Alexander Lawson to the south and Andrew Steiger to the north), cut a canal through Steiger's Meadow, diverting the Jones' Falls from its old horseshoe curve into a due southeast course[98] (Map 9).

Once the Falls' course had been diverted into the "canal of Jones' Falls" the bluff was naturally washed and artificially pushed into the precipice, thereby allowing new development and bringing into question ownership of the original bed of the Falls. Did this now valuable terrain belong to Lawson's heir, or to Andrew Steiger, or was it still vested in Charles Carroll of Annapolis? In an ejectment action decided thirty-five years after the fact, the Court of Appeals of Maryland discounted the

Carroll claim to the bed and split the difference between the heirs of Lawson and Steiger's successors in interest.[99]

On the east side of town loose ends left over from before the Revolution impeded development. A 1773 assembly authorization to add eighteen acres owned by John Moale and Andrew Steiger to the Old Town section had never been formally acted upon. It was re-enacted in January 1782 by the General Assembly. That same law also provided for the addition to Fell's Point of as much of William Fell's Prospect as the town commissioners "may think necessary." Separate legislation authorized annexation of such portions of Parker's Haven and Kemp's Addition as would "contribute to promote the trade and commerce"; this authorization was not acted upon[100] (Map 10).

On the west side of town parts of Lunn's Lott had been annexed to Baltimore Town in 1753 and 1765, which Cornelius Howard had laid out into lots. After John Eager Howard succeeded to his father's estate in 1782 he persuaded the General Assembly to add the rest of Lunn's Lott. Howard took one hundred thirty-five acres of it and laid out approximately three hundred fifty lots along a grid from Warren Street up to Saratoga Street with the new Howard Street as the north-south axis. Howard's Addition, as it was known, was the largest single addition in the history of Baltimore Town[101] (Map 11). The assembly also authorized the town commissioners to annex so much of Gist's Inspection and Howard's Timberneck as "well calculated for the purposes of commerce and navigation." Part of Timberneck was left outside the town limits, but all of Gist's Inspection was appended to Lunn's Lott and included.[102]

The influx of the Acadian French from Nova Scotia and Scots-Irish from central Pennsylvania increased the population, from over six thousand in 1776 to more than thirteen thousand by 1790. These newcomers demanded affordable houses.[103]

John Eager Howard and William Fell the younger were the primary suppliers of land, selling and leasing hundreds of acres within the town limits. They utilized Thomas Harrison's ninety-nine year lease plan to dispense most of the lots, retaining a ground rent. Typically, the lots were leased to speculative builders, who further subdivided the lots and built houses in block rows for sublease to artisans and mechanics and skilled workers.[104]

Indeed the demand for housing close to the town center was great enough that in the 1780s developers began to fill the mud flats and fringing marsh to make building lots. They were encouraged in this practice by the 1745 act incorporating Baltimore. It provided: "[t]hat all improvements of what kind soever, Either Wharf, Houses, or other Buildings, that have, or shall be made out of the Water, or where it flows, as an Encouragement to such improvers, be forever deemed the Right, Title, and Inheritance of such Improver or Improvers, their Heirs and Assigns for ever." Waterfront owners had a license to fill.[105]

Reclamation proceeded quickly. By 1786 Charles Street was extended south across land fill. Fifty new building lots were thereby created along the Howard's Addition waterfront.[106]

Map 12. Detail of Gist's Inspection, 1783.

These additions came at a tumultuous time in Baltimore's economic history. It was an era of both boom and bust. In 1783 the real estate market crashed. Wartime demand for goods dropped, and exports were fewer now that merchants no longer had England to back them up. There was no national monetary and banking system. The fledgling nation went into a tailspin. As the depression deepened, the General Assembly inexplicably called in all Maryland currency, creating an impossibly tight money market. Interest rates soared; property values plummeted.[107]

Entrepreneurs were caught in the middle. For example, ownership of Gist's Inspection in 1782 passed into the hands of Christopher Hughes, a silversmith and money lender. In 1783, before the crash, Hughes leased a portion of the parcel to Leonard Harbaugh (the same "sturdy carpenter" who previously arched under the court house so as to permit the extension of Calvert Street) for two hundred six pounds sterling per year, a substantial sum.[108]

Harbaugh intended to take his profit by building and operating a maritime wharf and by subdividing and subleasing lots. Harbaugh received permission from the port wardens to wharf out into the basin from Montgomery Street. Harbaugh spent several thousand pounds improving the wharf site by extending logs into the water which eventually filled with soil above the ordinary tide. He also subleased seven or eight lots to speculative builders.[109]

Then the bubble burst. The sublessees failed to pay Harbaugh the sub-rent, and Harbaugh failed to pay Hughes the rent. Harbaugh claimed that the parcel was not worth twenty dollars under the prevailing conditions and that he could not continue to pay an annual rent of over two hundred pounds.[100]

When Hughes moved to repossess the partially improved land, Harbaugh took it personally and responded with a public airing of his grievances in the columns

of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser.* Harbaugh called Hughes a crocodile, made fun of his obesity, and questioned his honesty. In the midst of the dispute Harbaugh left town one step ahead of his creditors, leaving his improvement to go to ruin. Hughes retook possession of the land[111] (Map 12).

Harbaugh's precipitous exit left unanswered a number of legal questions concerning the title to Gist's Inspection and to the shifting sands, marshes, and mud flats surrounding the basin. First were the lingering doubts as to the validity of proprietary patents to land submerged under navigable water. Some currents of the common law suggested that pursuant to Magna Charta such lands were held in public trust and could not be transferred to private ownership.[112]

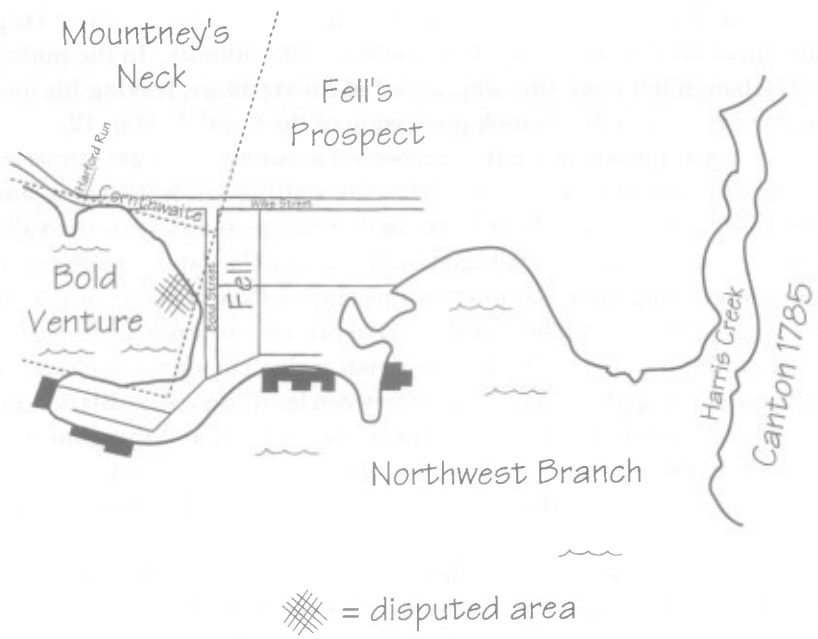
Next came the problem as to how riparian rights changed over time to take account of the shifting physical boundary between land and water. Blackstone said: "as to land gained from the sea . . . the law is held to be, that if this gain is little by little, by small imperceptible degrees, it shall go to the owner of the land adjoining." But suppose the gain was artificially induced, or the result of a sudden storm: what rules should then obtain?[113]

Waterfront development on the other side of town would bring these questions to court. East of Harford Run, between Plowman's Addition and Fell's Point, remained a mud flat, washed by the tides and ready to be wharfed out or filled in. Its potential for development had been recognized almost one hundred years before when, in 1695, John Oulton included the submerged land in his patent for Bold Venture.[114] Title to the adjacent fast land had been settled in the 1750s and 1760s. Thomas Sligh consolidated ownership to what had once been Mountney's Neck to the west, and the Fell Family perfected their claim to Fell's Prospect to the east. John Cornthwaite succeeded Thomas Sligh's interest and in the 1770s was busily subdividing the waterfrontage into town lots. The Fell family was likewise selling ninety-nine year ground leases in lots along Bond Street on the western shore of Fell's Prospect.[115]

The lot holders were intent on improving over the wetlands into the navigable water. Such projects had the encouragement of the Act of 1745, which offered ownership of the improvement as a reward, but the plain geometry was such that there was bound to be conflict.

In 1786 developers undertook to extend the Mountney's Neck waterfront. In that year owners of lots along Wilks Street (successors in title to John Cornthwaite) received permission to extend their ground into the water to a line marked on the plats as the port warden's line, along which logs were planted. The area, however, also lay between Bond Street and the Basin, and lessees of the Fell lots on the west side of Bond were likewise expanding into the water. Logs were planted, fences were built, and the washing from Harford Run and Caroline Street was carried into the containment area.[116]

Eventually the cove south of Wilks and west of Bond filled up and became dry land. The filled area lay at the juncture— but outside the original boundaries— of Mountney's Neck and Fell's Prospect. It was in front of both the Cornthwaite lands and the Fell lands. The Act of 1745 provided no mechanism for dividing the space



Map 13. East Baltimore, 1785.

between them. A half-century later they would still be litigating entitlement to the landfill (Map 13).[117]

The arrival of Capt. John O'Donnell from China in 1785 indirectly worked to fix the Town's eastern boundary. He brought with him the first cargo of silks, tea, and spices ever imported to the port of Baltimore. It made his fortune, and he used part of it to buy twenty-five hundred acres of land. Essentially he bought all the Patapsco waterfront between Fell's Prospect and the Chesapeake Bay. O'Donnell called his huge estate Canton, after the Chinese port from whence he came[118] (see Map 13).

On the Waterfront. The commercial zone of expansion was on the waterfront. Cole's Harbour was not deep. If the shipping merchants were to do business they had a choice either of dredging a channel in or building a wharf out. Otherwise, all of the merchantmen would dock at Fells Point.[119]

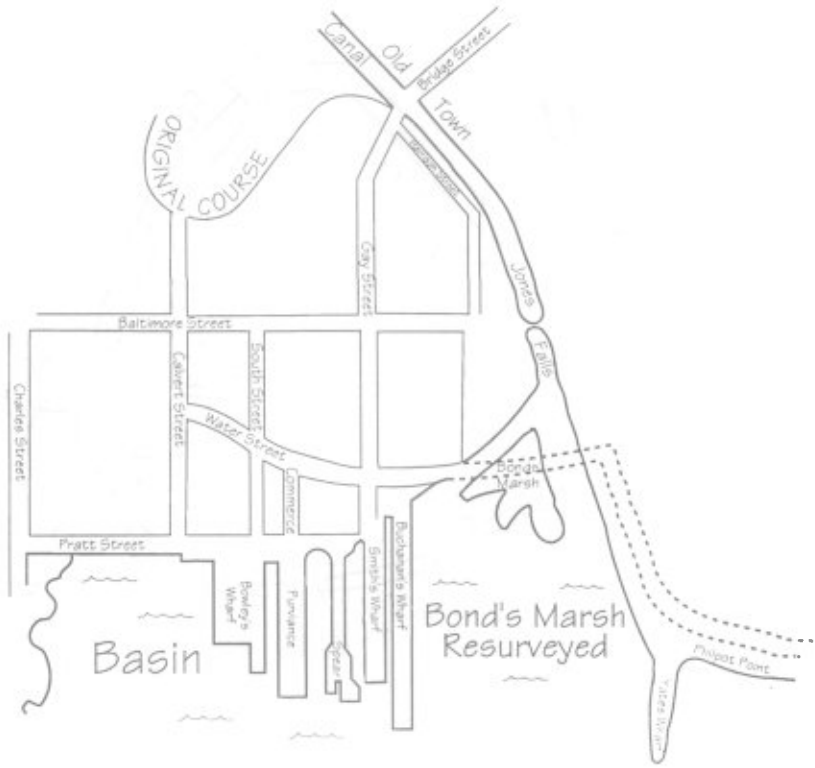
Consideration was given to deepening the basin. The assembly pondered construction of two enormous ox-driven dredges on the Dutch plan which could cut a channel. But, all things considered, wharfing out seemed a more practical solution than such a "mud machine."[120]

The first projects were modest in size. A county wharf had existed at the foot of Calvert Street since before mid-century. Thereafter a bulkhead was constructed along the waterfront, and behind it was dedicated a Water Street which followed the meander of the shoreline between Calvert and Gay streets. East of Calvert, Jonathan Lindson had added a short pier[121] (see Map 14).

Map 14. Baltimore Waterfront, 1780.

In 1771 brewer James Sterett, a newcomer from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who owned a waterfront lot at the corner of Water Street and Gay Street, looked to take advantage of the Act of 1745 on a larger scale. He deposited five hundred scow loads of sand in the navigable water and marsh which abutted his property while wharfing out into the basin. Sterett considered his project authorized by the Act of 1745, but the Maryland Court of Appeals disagreed. The court affirmed recovery by Thomas Harrison in a nuisance action for damages for the diminution in value of his adjacent land and ruled that the Act of 1745 did not justify interference with Harrison's access to navigable water.[122] A settlement was reached following the litigation. Harrison agreed to release his claim to damages in return for Sterett's vacation of the site. Soon thereafter the properties passed into the hands Sterett's Presbyterian co-religionists, Col. Samuel Smith and William Spear, who by 1780 developed on the site two wharves projecting two hundred feet out into the basin from Water Street[123] (Map 14).

Larger projects were to follow in the 1780s. The Scots-Irish were cornering the market on the waterfront. At the southeast corner of Water and Commerce streets Samuel Purviance built a wharf that served his distillery. William Spear extended his wharf one thousand feet out to a small island, where he erected a bakery. Daniel Bowley placed his dock at the foot of South Street. And Col. Sam Smith built two one-thousand-feet-long wharves out into the basin. Gradually fill was placed



Map 15. Baltimore Waterfront, 1787.

between the land ends of the wharves. Tree trunks were used, and when the tide fell it exposed a slime that gave off foul-smelling vapors. A causeway took Water Street across the Falls, and the waterfront moved a block south to the newly extended Pratt Street, which ran an east-west route[124] (see Map 15).

When Thomas Harrison died in 1782 he left the land bordering the mouth of the Falls, still undeveloped and still a nuisance. But economic conditions had changed; the marsh was now ripe for reclamation. All that was needed was a clear title.[125]

The assembly in 1782 confounded the problem of clearing titles with an act providing that the land office should no longer issue fresh patents for lands "reserved for the use of the late Lord Proprietor." In 1768 the Lord Proprietor had reserved all land within five miles of the town of Baltimore. Hence it seemed that private development of the mouth of the Falls was foreclosed.[126]

There were, however, some pre-existing private claims. John Bond had obtained a patent to the island delta itself in 1766; he called it Bond's Marsh. And Thomas Yates, as the successor in title to William Rogers (who had obtained an escheat patent to Bold Venture in 1759) had a plausible claim to the mouth's lower lip, called Philpot's Point. Yates had plans to wharf out into the basin, and to extend Wilks Street so that it connected his tract to the causeway leading to Baltimore

Town.[127] The configuration of Bond's Marsh and Philpot's Point is shown on Map 15.

Developmental pressure on the port prompted a legislative initiative. In 1783 the General Assembly appointed ten wardens for the port of Baltimore and charged them with the task of preserving the "navigation of the basin and harbour." Samuel Smith, Daniel Bowley, John Sterett, and Samuel Purviance were among the first appointees; the establishment of a "line . . . beyond which improvements shall not extend" was among their first actions. The port wardens retained the power to grant or deny permission for wharves or other beneficial improvements within or without the line.[128]

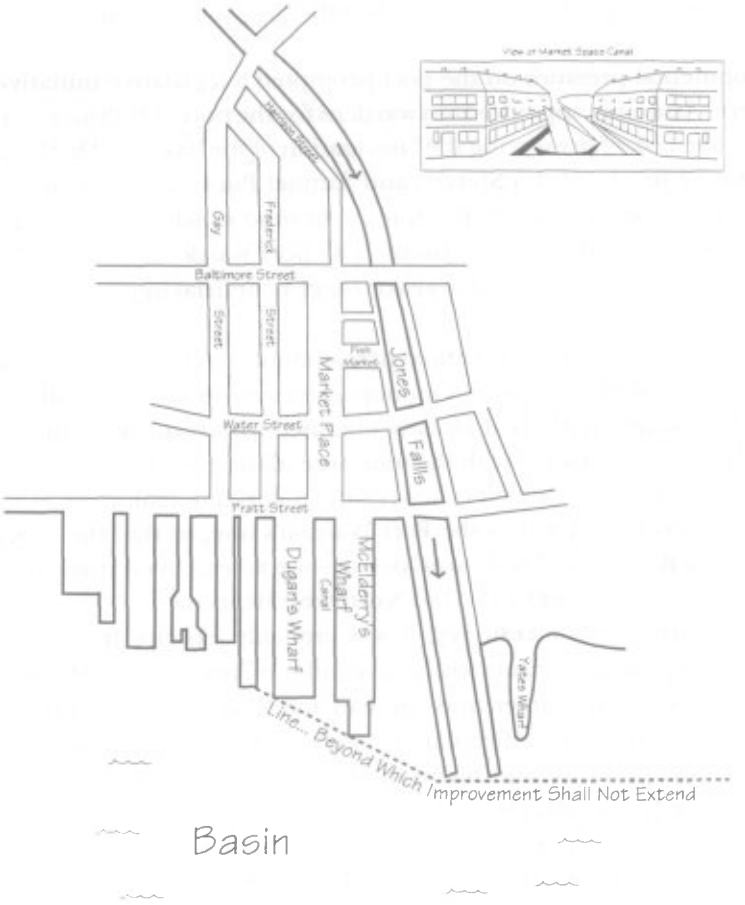
Samuel Purviance, who was named president of the port wardens, immediately seized the opportunity to capture a monopoly on the mouth of the Falls. His trading partner, Nathaniel Smith, had already obtained a warrant of resurvey (1783) to Bond's Marsh. Not satisfied with the four-acre island contained within the ancient metes and bounds, they added to it seventeen and one-half acres of vacant land contiguous thereto and within the Port Warden's line, so that the 1783 patent to Bond's Marsh Resurveyed embraced twenty-one acres, covered and uncovered by the confluence of the Jones Falls and Northwest Branch.[129]

Since the patent was a resurvey, it was arguably exempt from the legislative prohibition against new grants within five miles of Town. Since the patentees did not disclose that the seventeen and one-half acre contiguous vacancy was beneath navigable water, the land office had no qualms about issuance of the patent. It appeared as if Purviance and his partners had finagled exclusive rights on the entrance to the Jones Falls (Map 15).

It was not to be. In 1783 Thomas Yates applied to the Port Wardens for permission to wharf out from Philpot's Point into the basin. Over president Purviance's objections, Yates was granted a license. Purviance claimed title to the land beneath Yates' wharves and fought Yates' plans every step of the way. The issue was finally resolved in Yates' favor when the Court of Chancery found the patent to Bond's Marsh Resurveyed had been obtained through misrepresentation, fraud, and deceit; it was annulled as contrary to the rules of the land office.[130]

In 1784 the General Assembly made yet another effort to promote the improvement of Harrison's Marsh on the lip of the Falls. In that year it passed an act providing for the establishment of a new city market "opposite Harrison Street, beginning in Baltimore Street, and running thence south, parallel with Gay Street, of the width of one hundred and fifty feet to Water Street, with the privilege of extending the same to the channel." The market houses were constructed forthwith, but they remained unconnected with the basin and the marsh fringing the mouth of the Jones Falls remained a nuisance.[131]

In 1794 Thomas McElderry and Cumberland Dugan proposed to make a canal and to extend the market space to the basin at their own expense. The Baltimore town commissioners accepted on "[e]xpress condition that the said Canal, wharves and streets on Each side of the said Canal be a Common high way and free for the Public use."[132]



Map 16. Baltimore Waterfront, 1797.

In 1795 Dugan and McElderry built sixteen hundred-feet-long wharves out to the very limits of the pier line established by the port wardens. Between them ran a canal that connected to the market center. The design was modeled after the docks of Liverpool with rows of three-story brick warehouses fronting on the enclosed water. The port wardens set the width of the Falls at eighty feet south of the Baltimore Street Bridge and sixty feet to the north[133] (Map 16).

In 1796 the General Assembly passed a law authorizing the extension of Light Street to the south so as to join it with Forest Street into one, new Light Street. Once extended and filled behind, Light Street would be the second leg in the conversion of the harbor basin into a rectangle. Venture capital to accomplish this was not forthcoming until after Baltimore was incorporated as a city.[134]

The Incorporation of Baltimore City. The Maryland General Assembly incorporated Baltimore City in 1796. The mayor and city council became the governing body, assuming control over matters of sanitation, and police and fire protection for the

twenty thousand inhabitants. The port wardens were abolished as the municipal corporation took charge over port development.[135]

By 1796 there were about three thousand five hundred dwellings. Yellow fever epidemics in Fell's Point determined that original Baltimore Town would be the preferred residential growth area.[136]

Once builders discovered the excellence of local clay, Baltimore became a bricks and mortar town. Wealthy merchants constructed distinctive townhouses along Calvert and Gay streets, and speculative builders built rowhouses all around the basin. Economies of scale and of space saved rowhouse builders up to 25 percent of the construction cost. The ground upon which most of the new middle-class and working class houses were built was leased for ninety-nine years, renewable forever, subject to an annual rent. Thomas Harrison's innovation had taken root.[137]

John Eager Howard, still the largest landholder in town, owned hundreds of ground rents and continued to develop lands west of town. Governor of the state between 1786 and 1792, he lived in his Belvidere mansion, built between 1786 and 1792 on his Howard Park estate. The estate was located on a hill north of town in the farthest reach of the parcel that had been patented to Edward Lunn in 1673 as Lunn's Lott.[138]

NOTES

41. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 437–39 (Md. 1844); J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (1881; [repr.] 2 vols; Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1971), 1:54–55.

42. 1732 Md. Acts (July) ch. XIV [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland*, 37:533. *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town 1729–1797* (Baltimore: 1905), pp. xiii–xv; Scharf, *History*, 1:54–57; Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1912), 1:15.

43. Scharf, *History*, vol. 1, p. 55; Hall, *History*, 1:15.

44. *First Records*, pp. 11–17; Scharf, *History*, 1:55–56; Hall, *History*, 1:15.

45. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 437–39, 451–57 (Md. 1844); Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland 1720–1765* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1913), pp. 28–31. William Fell, Island Point, 1734: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber 56 folio 203, Maryland State Archives (hereafter MdSA).

46. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes 1 Gill 430, 453–54, 459–60 (Md. 1844); J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, (1874; [repr.] 2 vols; Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., 1989), 1:18; Scharf, *History*, 1:59–60; Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1980), p. 8.

47. 1745 Md. Acts (August) ch. IX [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland*, 44:214. *First Records of Baltimore Town*, pp. xvii–xxiii; Scharf, *History*, 1:54–56; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:32–37; Hall, *History*, 1:16.

48. The other commissioners were Dr. George Buchanan, Col. William Hammond, Capt. Robert North, and Capt. Darby Lux. See *First Records*, p. 20.

49. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:36–37; Harrison, Thomas, biofile 00653, MSA SC 1138-001-610, Maryland State Archives; Charles Carroll of Annapolis to Thomas Harrison, Records of the Provincial Court (Deeds) Liber EI no. 8, folio 293, MdSA.

50. *First Records*, p. 22 indicates that the bluff overlooking the bend in the Jones Falls was the property of Alexander Lawson in 1747; documentary evidence in Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J 195 at 196 shows that Carroll did not transfer title until 1757. Likewise the *First Records* attribute ownership of the Jones' Town waterfront to Sligh and Sheredine in 1747, while the case of Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 438–39, shows the partnership formally taking title in 1750.

51. *First Records*, p. 22.

52. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 438–40 (Md. 1844); Scharf, *History*, 1:57. Scharf erroneously indicates that only eighteen acres were purchased by Sligh and Sheredine; the original documents abstracted in Casey's Lessee v. Inloes show that the transfer was for what was left of the three hundred acres which Hurst had acquired from James Todd in 1701. See Map 3.

53. Scharf, *History*, 1:57; 1750 Md. Acts (May) ch. XI [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; *Archives of Maryland* 46:463.

54. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:46; Lewis Mayer, *Ground Rents in Maryland* (Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friedenwald, 1883), pp. 49–51; Harrison lease to Commissioners of Baltimore Town, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber B no. L, folio 253 (1763) [Maryland State Archives]; 1773 Md. Laws (November) ch. VIII [W. Kilty, vol. 1], confirms the validity of the lease.

55. Edward Lunne to George Eager, Lunn's Lott, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber RM no. HS, folio 254, MdSA; Robert W. Barnes, *Baltimore County Families, 1659–1759* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988), pp. 194–95.

56. Barnes, *Baltimore County Families*, pp. 194–95, 342–43; George Eager's Power of Attorney to Cornelius Howard, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber TB no. C, folio 674, MdSA; Cornelius Howard, Lunn's Lott Enlarged, 1763: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber BC&GS no. 18, folio 28, MdSA; Helm's Lessee v. Howard, 2 H. & McH. 57, 59, 79–81 (Md. 1784); John Eager Howard: "Deduction of Title" (personal note) and John Eager Howard: "Sketch of Life" (first draft): Bayard Papers, MS # 109, MdHS; Map 277, "Baltimore 1600's–1759," Prints and Photographs, MdHS; "John Eager Howard," Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

57. Harry W. Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry: A Genealogical History of Some Early Families of Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (3 vols; Annapolis: 1971), 2:250–54; see Map 226, "Ridgely's Addition, 1783: Part of Howard's Timber Neck," Prints and Photographs, MdHS. It is important to note that there were several distinct families of Howards in the region. While Timber Neck adjoins Lunn's Lott, owned by the Eager - Howard clan, this John Howard was not directly related to these Howards. Further connections between Howards may be found in genealogical records in Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry*, Barnes, *Baltimore County Families*, or the Bayard Papers (MS # 109), Howard Papers (MS # 469), Howard Family Collection (MS # 2232), and Howard-Gilmor Papers (MS # 2619), MdHS.

58. Scharf, *History*, 1:290.

59. John Giles, Upton Court, 1731: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber PL no. 8, folio 97; Scharf, *History*, 1:290; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:239; Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 250, 254 (Md. 1801); Map 277, "Baltimore 1600's–1759," Prints and Photographs, MdHS.

60. Scharf, *History*, 1:290.

61. Scharf, *History*, 1:290; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:8, 188–89, 239; Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 250, 254 (Md. 1801); Map 277, "Baltimore 1600's–1759," Prints and Photographs, MdHS.

62. Richard Gist, Gist's Inspection, 1732: Baltimore County Land Records (Patents) Liber PL no. 8, folio 540, MdSA; Giraud's Lessee v. Hughes, 1 G. & J. 249, 255–56 (Md. 1829). It is unclear why the concurrent owners of Lunn's Lott did not challenge the Gist claim to this valuable waterfront property. We do know, however, that in 1732 George Eager owned Lunn's Lott; that in 1738 Cornelius Howard married George's sister, Ruth (who presumptively inherited Lunn's Lott from George when he disappeared at sea); and that three of Cornelius' sisters married three of Richard Gist's sons. See Barnes, *Baltimore County Families*, pp. 257–58, 342–43.

63. Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 250, 253–54 (Md. 1801); Scharf, *History*, 1:50; Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 5; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:19, 188–89.

64. Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 250, 254–55 (Md. 1801). See also Stanley N. Katz, "Republicanism and the Law of Inheritance in the American Revolutionary Era," *Michigan Law Review*, 76 (1977): 9–11; Richard B. Morris, "Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America," *Columbia Law Review*, 27 (1927), passim.

65. Scharf, *History*, 1:57–58.

66. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 437–42, 493–94 (Md. 1844). In this instance and many others there are discrepancies when working with the number in the "ancient metes and bounds." An original call in the patent for Mountney's Neck in 1663 was for "a line drawn north-north-east running into the woods, for length, three hundred and twenty perches. . . ." In the 1734 deed from Carroll to Sligh the overall length of Mountney's Neck unaccountably has shortened to three hundred perches.

67. Scharf, *History*, 1:59. Scharf suggests that the streets were built in the 1760s, but the best evidence is George Gouldsmith Presbury's "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town" (1786), figure 201, in John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), p. 288. See Figure 8.

68. Scharf, *History*, 1:59; Helms v. Howard, 2 H. & McH. 57, 59 (Md. 1784).

69. *Helms v. Howard*, 2 H. & McH 57 (Md. 1784).

70. Scharf, *History*, 1:59. The original spelling of Camden Street is taken from Presbury, "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town" (1786), figure 201, in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 288. On A. P. Folie's, "Plan of the Town of Baltimore and its Environs" (1792) [Figure 202 in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 291], the spelling was changed to Cambdon. It has long since been standardized as Camden.

71. Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors: 1783–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), p. 4; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:66–67.

72. *First Records*, p. 22; Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195, 196–99 (Md. 1821).

73. Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195, 196–99 (Md. 1821); Scharf, *History*, 1:54. Scharf indicates that the 1759 grantor to Steiger was Dr. William Taylor. This is assumed to be a mistake since Browne v. Kennedy, the earlier, more primary source, fixes ownership in 1757 in Dr. William Lyon, and a search suggests the non-existence of a Dr. William Taylor.

74. *First Records*, pp. 39–40; Scharf, *History*, 1:60–61; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:62.

75. 1766 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXII [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; *Archives of Maryland*, 61:253.

76. Plats of Harrison's Marshes, Baltimore County Land Records (Plats), 1784, MdSA.

77. 1766 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXII (secs. III, IX) [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland*, 61:253.

78. 1766 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXII (sec. VII) [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland*, 61:253.

79. Mayer, *Ground Rents*, pp. 49–51; 1766 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXII (preamble) [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland*, 61:253.

80. 1779 Md. Laws (November) ch. XX [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; Sherry Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 12–13; see Plats of Harrison's Marshes, 1784, note 76.

81. Scharf, *History*, 1:59–60; Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 452–55, 494 (Md. 1844).

82. Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 460–64 (Md. 1844).

83. Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, pp. 10, 24–25; J. Kilty, *Land-holder's Assistant*, pp. 232, 271–72.

84. Scharf, *History*, 1:59–60.

85. Ibid.

86. Mayer, *Ground Rents in Maryland*, pp. 49–53; Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 464–65 (Md. 1844); Scharf, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 71. See, e.g., Ann Fell to John Bond: Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber AL no. A, folio 186, MdSA.

87. 1773 Md. Laws (June) ch. IV. [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:71–72; Scharf *History*, 1:59–60.

88. Scharf, *History*, 1:59–60; Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 12.

89. Scharf, *History*, 1:59–60, 185; Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 12; Paul Kent Walker, "The Baltimore Community and the American Revolution: A Study in Urban Development, 1763–1783" (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina 1973), pp. 91–94, 119.

90. Frank Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), pp. 35–40; Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 13–15.

91. Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 14–15; Scharf, *History*, 1:290–91.

92. Mason, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton," pp. 9–14; "John Eager Howard," Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library; Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, pp. 4–11, 35–42; Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 10–16.

93. Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 250, 255 (Md. 1801); Olson, Baltimore, p. 16; Katz, "Republicanism," pp. 14–25.

94. 1782 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXIII [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; Howard v. Moale, 2 H. & J. 250, 254–57 (Md. 1801). See also Katz, "Republicanism," pp. 14–25.

95. Mason, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton," pp. 9–14.

96. As previously detailed, in 1711 the grandfather, Charles Carroll the Settler, sold thirty-one acres to Jonathan Hanson; in 1729 the father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, subdivided sixty acres for the establishment of the first Baltimore Town; in 1734 he apparently quitclaimed his interest in fifty submerged acres to William Fell; in 1757 he sold seven and one-half acres bordering the Falls on the south to Alexander Lawson, thirteen and one-half acres north of the Falls to Dr. William Lyon, and thirty-two acres on the western outskirts of town to Joshua Hall; in 1759 the northeasternmost one hundred fifty acres of the tract were transferred to Thomas Sligh. Taking into account the inadequacy of descriptions and the vagaries of surveys, it is impossible to say for certain, but virtually all of the parcel first transferred from James Todd to the Settler in 1701 (recall Map 3) seems to have been disposed of prior to the death of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, in 1782.

97. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:62–63.

98. Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195, 197, 198 (Md. 1821); Scharf, *History*, 1:61. Scharf dates the diversion of the Jones Falls to 1781, but the 1786 date taken from Browne v. Kennedy seems more reliable.

99. Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195, 199 (Md. 1821).

100. 1773 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXI [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; 1781 Md. Laws (November) ch. XXIV [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; 1782 Md. Laws (November) ch. VIII [W. Kilty, vol. 1]. Though the legislation spells the name "Stigar," all other sources conclude the proper spelling to be "Steiger."

101. "Historical Growth of Baltimore," Map of Baltimore City (Bureau of Plans and Surveys, 1933); 1782 Md. Laws (April) ch. II [W. Kilty, vol. 1].

102. 1782 Md. Laws (November) ch. VIII [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; 1782 Md. Laws (April) ch. II [W. Kilty, vol. 1].

103. Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 1, 10–11, 18–19, 25.

104. Natalie Shivers, *Those Old Placid Rows: The Aesthetic and Development of the Baltimore Rowhouse* (Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1981), p. 21; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:288–90; "John Eager Howard's Addition; Part of Lun's Lot," Map 209 (1782), Prints & Photographs, MdHS.

105. 1745 Md. Laws (August) ch. IX [W. Kilty, vol. 1], *Archives of Maryland*, 44:214.

106. Compare "John Eager Howard's Addition; Part of Lun's Lot" Map 209 (1782), with "Land Transaction Between John E. Howard, Hans Morrison, John Meekle, and John McDonough" [on reverse] Map 246 (1786), Prints and Photographs, MdHS.

107. Sidney Homer, *A History of Interest Rates* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963), p. 278; Gary Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 12. See also John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899), pp. 163–68.

108. Porter to Hughes, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber WG no. K, folio 3, MdSA; Hughes to Harbaugh, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber WG no. L, folio 500, MdSA.

109. Giraud's Lessee v. Hughes, 1 G. & J. 249, 252–55 (Md. 1829).

110. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, 14 December 1789.

111. Giraud's Lessee v. Hughes, 1 G. & J. 249, 252 (Md. 1829); *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, 14 December 1789.

112. The question of whether land under navigable water could be transferred by the proprietor was eventually settled in Browne v. Kennedy, 5 H. & J. 195, 203 (Md. 1821). There the court determined that the 1700 transfer of Todd's Range effectively transferred the bed of the navigable stretches of the Jones Falls to Charles Carroll, the Settler, subject to the right of the public to fish and navigate.

113. Such questions were still before the Maryland Court of Appeals two hundred years later. See Board of Public Works v. Larmar Corp., 277 A. 2d 427 (Md. 1971).

114. Attorneys were still fact-finding concerning Bold Venture one hundred fifty years after the fact. In Peterkin v. Inloes, 4 Md. 175, 177–78 (Md. 1853) probate records were belatedly rediscovered which indicated that John Oulton and his wife Mary died in 1709. The court left it an open question as to whether an escheat had occurred, however.

115. See Peterkin v. Inloes, 4 Md. 175, 177 (Md. 1853); Wilson v. Inloes, 6 Gill 121, 147 (Md. 1847); Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430, 442–45, 465 (Md. 1844).

116. Wilson v. Inloes, 11 Gill & J. 351, 352–54, 359–60 (Md. 1840.

117. In its final analysis, the Maryland Court of Appeals avoided the issue. It refused to grant ejectment to either the successors in interest to Mountney's Neck or Fell's Prospect reasoning that title was apparently in a third party, the unknown heir to Bold Venture. Wilson v. Inloes, 11 Gill & J. 351 (Md. 1840); Casey's Lessee v. Inloes, 1 Gill 430 (Md. 1844); Wilson v. Inloes, 6 Gill 121 (Md. 1847); Hammond v. Inloes, 4 Md. 138 (1853); Peterkin v. Inloes, 4 Md. 175 (1853).

118. Scharf, *History*, 2:928; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:238; Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors*, p. 15.

119. Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors*, p. 26. When Chancellor James Kent, a distinguished jurist from New York visited in 1793, he estimated that the harbor was only five or six feet deep.

120. *First Records*, p. xxii; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:208.

121. Presbury, "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town" (1780), figure 201, in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 288. The name of the pier owner is difficult to decipher; "Jnn. Lindson" is a best guess but since that name does not otherwise appear in Baltimore history it may be in error. The wharves are described in *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors*, p. 5.

122. Harrison v. Sterett, 4H. & McH. 540 (Md. 1774); Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, pp. 4–11.

123. Provincial Court Records (Judgments) Liber DD no. 19, folio 594 (1774), MdSA; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:207–8; Presbury, "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town" (1792), figure 201, in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 288.

124. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:52–53, 56–57; Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors*, p. 5. In his *Chronicles*, 1:207–8, Scharf dates the first long piers to the 1760s, but a review of the maps from that era suggests that construction began about 1781.

125. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:206.

126. 1782 Md. Laws (April) ch. XXXVIII (sec. VI) [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; State of Maryland ex rel. Yates v. Nathaniel Smith, Robert Purviance and Samuel Purviance, Chancery Court (Records) 1668–1807, Liber 14, folio 357 (1784); Smith and Purviances v. Maryland, 2 H. & McH. 244, 246 (Md. 1788).

127. Smith and Purviances v. Maryland, 2 H. & McH. 244, 244–46 (Md. 1788); *First Records*, p. 48; Richard and Elizabeth Cromwell to Thomas Yates, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber WG no. T, folio 363; Bryan Philpott to Thomas Yates, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber WG no. T, folio 366.

128. 1783 Md. Laws (April) ch. XXIV [W. Kilty, vol. 1]; Giraud's Lessee v. Hughes, 1 G. & J. 249, 258 (Md. 1829); Garitee v. Baltimore, 53 Md. 422, 434–35 (Md. 1880); A.P. Folie, "Plan of the Town of Baltimore and its Environs" (1792), figure 202, in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 290.

129. Smith and Purviances v. Maryland, 2 H & McH. 244, 247–52 (Md. 1788); Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:207–8.

130. Smith and Purviances v. Maryland, 2 H & McH. 244, 250–52 (Md. 1788).

131. Scharf, *History*, 1:206.

132. Dugan v. Baltimore, 5 G.& J. 357, 358–61 (Md. 1833); *First Records*, pp. 88–89.

133. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:287; Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 38; Dugan v. Baltimore, 5 G.& J. 357, 358–61 (Md. 1833).

134. 1796 Md. Laws (November) ch. XLV [W. Kilty, vol. 2]; Warner & Hanna's "Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore" (1801), figure 203, in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 291.

135. 1796 Md. Laws (November) ch. LXVIII [W. Kilty, vol. 2].

136. Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 35–36, 52.

137. Ibid., pp. 35–36; Shivers, *Those Old Placid Rows*, p. 21.

138. Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:238–42

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Map 2. Contiguous Tracts claimed byJames Todd in 1701. Adapted from Baltimore County Land Records (Plats), no. 217, "Elizabeth Casey's Lessee v. William Inloes et al.," MdHS.

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Map 16. Baltimore Waterfront, 1797. Adapted from Warner and Hanna, "Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore," 1801, Library of Congress.

Notes on Antebellum Easton

HAROLD W. HURST

Many small towns in nineteenth-century America were more important than their modest population or physical appearance suggested. Not a few communities with only one or two thousand inhabitants became places of consequence by serving as regional or trading centers or thriving market towns strategically located on navigable rivers, turnpikes, or rail lines. Other villages gained prominence as state capitols or as the sites of state universities or prestigious private colleges. County seats, especially in the rural South and West, always were places of periodic importance.[1]

During the antebellum years, and even later, Easton served as a classic example of a place whose small population belied its role as the public and private center for a large rural area—in this case the eight counties of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.[2] Located in the middle of that region and easily accessible by water to Annapolis and the bustling port of Baltimore, Easton was the home of the principal bank, the leading hotel, the best private school for boys, and the most influential newspapers in the eastern counties of the state. With a population of only 1,413 in 1850, it was nevertheless the largest town on the Shore. Serving as the county seat of the wealthy, planter-dominated Talbot County, its chief buildings consisted of a large and majestic courthouse, a market place, a jail, a bank, four or five churches, and a substantial private academy.[3]

Easton's relative importance was further magnified by its proximity to the great estates of some of Maryland's most prominent and powerful landholding families. Just a few miles to the north lay Wye House, the magnificent ancestral home of the Lloyd family. Edward Lloyd VII (1825–1907), proprietor of this estate during the pre–Civil War years, owned several thousand acres and 346 slaves in 1860. Goldsboroughs, Harringtons, Hambletons, Hollydays, Hughletts, Martins, Spencers, and Tilghmans occupied lovely mansions and maintained a style of life akin to that of the leading planters of Virginia and South Carolina. This coterie of powerful families exercised a dominant hold on the political, economic, and social life of the town and the surrounding area. They controlled the Easton bank, the agricultural society, the Easton Academy, the local newspapers and the town's Episcopal church. More importantly their political influence extended far beyond the boundaries of Easton and Talbot County. Schooled in statesmanship and nurtured in leadership traditions, they formed a large proportion of the men who represented the Eastern

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Shore counties in Annapolis and Washington. In brief, their presence helped to make Easton a center of influence.[4]

For nearly three-quarters of a century the Farmer's Bank of Easton was the principal financial institution on the Eastern Shore. Opened on 24 September 1805, it was at the time one of the two Maryland banks located outside of Baltimore. The Farmer's Bank, later designated simply as the Easton Bank, occupied a two-story brick building at the corner of Washington and Goldsborough streets.[5]

Although the founders of the Easton Bank were intent on guarding the residents of the Eastern Shore from the dominance of the Baltimore "monied interests," the institution itself was controlled not by ordinary dirt farmers but by rich agriculturists. The bank's first president, Nicholas Hammond, was born abroad on the Isle of Jersey and later educated in Philadelphia. After moving to Easton he joined the ranks of the local gentry by marrying Rebecca Hollyday of Ratcliffe manor. Rich men who headed up the bank during the 1840s and 1850s included William Hughlett, a shipbuilder who owned large tracts of land in Talbot County and adjacent areas, and William Groome, the proprietor of a flourishing dry goods business in Easton. The board of directors during the pre-Civil War years included notables from the Goldsborough, Hambleton, Hammond, Harrison, Hughlett, Kerr, Martin, and Tilghman families. The Easton Bank prospered under cautious and prudent leadership. During its early years loans were granted for sixty days only, and two endorsers with "sufficient real estate" were required. Long-term deposits brought 4 percent interest while demand deposits paid 3 percent. The Easton Bank survived the Panic of 1837 and, despite a few short sluggish periods, continued to prosper during the 1840s and 1850s. The 1854 inventory revealed that the bank's money supply amounted to $248,800, most of it in notes or gold, while demand deposits totaled $141,774. Loans during the antebellum era, besides to planters and farmers, also went to transportation enterprises such as the Maryland Steamboat Company and the Delaware and Maryland Railroad. The Easton Bank remained the chief mainstay of the Eastern Shore economy until 1885, when a second bank appeared in Easton.[6]

Talbot County in 1860 was a rich agricultural area containing 908 farms of over three acres in size and boasting of 110,483 acres in improved farm lands.[7] Eastonians had always been interested in agricultural improvements, and it was hardly accidental that the town became the headquarters of the Agricultural Society of the Eastern Shore as early as 1818. The organization's founders consisted of such notables as Edward Lloyd, Henry Hollyday, Perry Benson, Robert H. Goldsborough and Nicholas Hammond—the society's membership suggesting a sort of interlocking directorate between itself and the Easton Bank. The agricultural society encouraged diversified farming, crop rotation, soil conservation, the development of fruit farming and livestock breeding, better drainage systems, and the use of guano for fertilizer. It sponsored the Eastern Shore's first cattle show, which was held in Easton in 1822. Gen. Tench Tilghman's estate Plimhimmon near Oxford became a model farm for many of the society's agrarian experiments. General Tilghman was a leading light of the society throughout the antebellum era and was the first

landowner on the Eastern Shore to purchase a reaping machine as well as to use Peruvian guano in the culture of wheat.[8]

Easton's commercial district, like those of other small towns serving the needs of large rural areas, contained numerous wholesale and retail establishments. Washington and Goldsborough streets were lined with emporiums that catered to local residents as well as customers who came to the town by carriage or steamboat from distant parts of the Shore. Newspaper advertisements of the 1850s revealed the wide variety of goods sold by Easton's diversified mercantile firms. C. H. Mackey and Sons sold agricultural implements; Nichols Hardware Store supplied its customers with cutlery, spikes, farm implements, and pistols. Samuel B. Hopkins was the town's chief vendor of carriages and coach harnesses. A. B. Pritchets specialized in cabinets and coffins. Family gas lamps were available at the firm of E. H. Anderson and Company. In 1853 Vinson and Hardy purchased the old Frampton foundry and resumed the manufacturing of ploughs, farm implements, and castings of all types. Charles Keilhoz opened a foundry in the 1850s which produced stoves and iron castings while also importing items from the Baltimore market.[9]

Clothing and dry good stores served a wider market, advertising a wide assortment of goods for both sexes and all classes. Probably the best known store of this type was that of Goldsborough and Dawson, which carried ladies' goods, gentlemen's suits, and a large variety of "English, French, German and American" dry goods. One of this firm's chief competitors was Thompson and Kersey, whose store on Dover Street sold clothing, carpets and other items shipped in from Philadelphia and Baltimore. John Satterfield advertised his shop as a "fine clothing and fashionable tailoring establishment." Anderson and Campbell, like modern drug stores, supplied all sorts of household necessities, including drugs, medicines, paints, dye-stuffs, perfumes, candies, cornstarch, and oranges and lemons. William T. Hardesty retailed groceries, hardware, and liquors in his shop at the north end of Washington Street. Women who operated millinery shops included Mrs. Kate Plummer, Mrs. Susan Bennett, and Mrs. E. A. Mason. The latter's shop, located near the court house, sold dresses, hats, and "mantuas." The appearance of the commercial district was greatly enhanced in 1859 when Henry H. Goldsborough completed a three-story brick building at the corner of Dover and Washington streets. The Easton *Star* announced that the first floor would include a dwelling while the second and third floors would house a reading room and Masonic lodge. It further noted that the new structure "added much to the appearance of the town."[10]

Slave traders used Easton as a rendezvous for their infamous activities, largely because the town was situated so close to some of the area's largest plantations. In 1853 William T. Harkin announced in the *Star*: "I wish to inform the slaveholders of Talbot and adjacent counties that I am in the market for purchasing Negroes for the Southern markets." During the same year he advertised that he wished "to purchase Negroes that are slaves for life," further noting that he could be found at Hall's Hotel. Local planters and merchants like James Dawson and James L. Martin also sold slaves in the Easton market. The latter gentlemen proclaimed on one

occasion that he had "thirty Negroes of both sexes who were of good families and character."[11]

Excursionists, visitors, commercial agents, and slave traders all patronized Easton's bustling hotels. The Easton Hotel—sometimes known as the "Brick Hotel"—was the leading hostelry on the Eastern Shore from its establishment in 1815 until the latter years of the nineteenth century. Occupying a rambling two-story brick structure on Washington Street (a third story was later added), the hotel served as both a traveler's haven and a meeting place and social center for local residents. During the late 1850s this famous inn advertised the availability of "choice liquors from the Philadelphia market," dinners for 37 ½ cents, and board for $1 a day. The Union Hotel operated by Thomas P. Wollaston also featured fancy liquors; it further announced that "particular attention is paid to the stables."[12]

Easton provided an important stop on the Chesapeake Bay steamboat itinerary. The first such vessel to operate on the Eastern Shore was the *Maryland*, built by the Maryland Steamboat Company and owned by the Easton Bank. Beginning in 1819, the *Maryland* plied the Chesapeake between Baltimore, Annapolis, and Easton Point on the Tred Avon River. During the 1820s and 1830s the shrill whistles of the steamboats became an increasingly familiar sound on the bay and its tributaries as these popular vessels provided increased services between Baltimore and the Eastern Shore towns. During the pre-Civil War decade the *Hugh Jenkins* was the chief steamer connecting Easton with other bay points. It left Baltimore every Tuesday and Friday at 7 A.M. for Annapolis, West River, Cambridge, Oxford, and Easton. The round trip fare from Baltimore and Easton was one dollar. In 1860 a new vessel, the *Easton*, began service between Baltimore and Easton Point.[13]

The economic hub of the Eastern Shore, Easton also supplied much of the region's educational, religious, and social activities. Although Washington College in Chestertown was then the only institution of higher learning on the Shore, the chief private secondary school for boys was located in Easton. Incorporated by the Maryland assembly in 1799, the Easton Academy's founders included Nicholas Hammond, William Kennard, and other leading citizens of the eastern counties. Located on Hanson Street, the academy's two-story brick building dated from about 1820. The school's rigorous curriculum embraced English, Latin, Greek, mathematics, algebra, and such "miscellaneous studies" as natural history, rhetoric, bookkeeping, chemistry, geology, botany, and meteorology. The president during the 1850s was Samuel Hambleton, who sternly rejected innovations and facile learning methods, claiming in his newspaper advertisements for the school that there was "no railroad to knowledge." The Easton Academy merged with the town's first public high school which opened on 1 October 1866.[14]

The church scene in antebellum Easton reflected the religious landscape of the Eastern Shore. In colonial times the majority of the people nominally had been members of the Anglican church, although the Quakers enjoyed considerable support in some areas. In the 1780s and 1790s, however, a Methodist awakening swept over the peninsula and transformed its denominational composition. Revivals conducted by powerful preachers like William Watters, Joseph Cromwell,

Freeborn Garrison, and Joseph Hartley led to the conversion of thousands of persons, many of whom had never before entered a church in their lives. By the end of eighteenth century Talbot County was one of the largest Methodist circuits in America. Thriving congregations appeared in St. Michaels, Easton, Wye, Oxford, and Trappe. Methodism flourished because of "its adaption to the religious wants of the people, who found it an aid to holy inspiration, a contentment of their religious yearnings, and a rule of righteous conduct in life."[15]

During the 1820s and 1830s Methodists in America split when a group of radicals who eschewed bishops and favored more lay control in church affairs established the Methodist Protestant Church. The reformers founded Calvary Church in Easton in 1828, thereafter offering stiff competition to the long-established Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church. Both congregations flourished, however, probably because their camp meetings attracted large crowds and won new converts. In 1859 a series of revivals and high gatherings resulted in adding forty persons to Calvary Church and seventy-four others to Ebenezer Church.[16] Meanwhile the Society of Friends, which had enjoyed a fairly large following in the eighteenth century, dwindled in numbers until in 1845 it claimed only twenty-one families and fourteen "parts of families" in the Talbot area.[17]

Easton's church buildings in the 1850s were among the most substantial on the Eastern Shore. Three structures adorned the town's central area. Members of Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church worshipped in a large, stone edifice on South Washington Street. The Calvary Methodist Protestant Church occupied a new sanctuary in 1853 at the cost of the then sizeable sum of $8,000. Fronted by Corinthian columns, it accommodated three hundred people and claimed a gallery and a pulpit "built in the most modern style." Three Sunday School rooms were located in the basement. The Episcopal church made a comeback during the early antebellum years and was sufficiently wealthy to erect a new church during the 1840s. Designed by the well-known architect William Strickland, Christ Church was described by one writer as the "jewel in the crown of the Church in the eastern counties." A new eight-hundred-pound bell, designed by a Philadelphia company, was purchased in 1859 for $300. The 1850s also saw the completion of Christ Church's majestic rectory, by architect Richard Upjohn, designer of Trinity Church in New York City.[18]

Social life in Easton resembled that in other small towns in nineteenth-century America. Sunday School picnics, masonic dinners, holiday celebrations, and military balls added variety to a scene still largely centered about the home. Traveling lecturers, musical groups, and circuses often stopped for a brief stay in Easton. The Driesbach Menagerie and Circus Company unfolded its tents on the edge of town in 1853, drawing nearly two thousand spectators to one of its shows. Exhibitions featured 120 horses in addition to lions, tigers, bears, a rhinoceros, and a wide variety of birds. Exclaimed the *Star*: "It will be worth a quarter to witness the thrilling performance of the famous lion tamer, Herr Driesbach, with the savage charges of the forest."[19] The Easton Glee Club furnished more sedate entertainment, as did the Easton Coronet Band and local church choirs. In 1859 James E.

Murdock, a distinguished tragedian, lectured on Hamlet at the Easton Y.M.C.A. and delivered a rendition of Pope's *Messiah* which, according to the *Star*, was "an intellectual treat seldom enjoyed by the denizens of an inland village." In May 1860 the town's intellectual residents crowded the lectures of a certain Professor Hemstreet of New York, who delivered at the town hall a series of lectures on the science of phrenology.[20]

Militia companies enlivened the social and fraternal life of Easton. In 1859 the Home Guards, Easton Guards, Talbot Blues, and Trappe Military Cadets all added luster and military fervor to the town's Fourth of July celebration. Their members participated in the parade and later helped to consume fifteen kegs of lager beer served at a collation held on the courthouse lawn. The Home Guards, Easton's chief militia company in this period, were under the command of Henry J. Strandberg, captain of the steamboat *Champion*. Described as "a large and handsome company," the Guards wore uniforms that included blue pantaloons with yellow stripes. On Thanksgiving Day in 1860 the Guards desported themselves at a "turkey shoot" somewhat to the annoyance of the *Star*, which felt that the day "should be observed as the Sabbath."[21]

Early Easton supplied important newspapers on the Eastern Shore. As early as 1790 James Cowan published the *Maryland and Eastern Shore Intelligencer*, and the paper remained the area's chief voice for many years. During the 1820s the town's fourth estate produced three papers, each representing a different political faction. In the 1850s two rival newspapers campaigned for readers' attention and allegiance—the *Star*, the organ of the Democratic Party, and the *Gazette*, a Whig publication. The *Star*, under the aggressive editorship of the rabidly pro-Southern Thomas K. Robson, championed states' rights, slavery, and the secessionist movement. The *Gazette* reflected the nationalism and moderate sentiments of the Whig Party. The *Star*'s readership embraced planters, politicians, and military men whose ardent pro-Southern views matched those of the Deep South "fire brands." Among such were Gen. Tench Tilghman, who believed in the "equality of the states and the inequality of the races," and other prominent Southern-style Democrats such as Dr. Samuel Harper, Col. Samuel Hambleton, Edward Lloyd, Thomas P. Williams, James L. Martin, and Henry Cook Tilghman. The *Gazette*, on the other hand, was the voice of moderation and, after 1861, the defender of the Union cause. In these ranks could be found such native Eastonians as Henry Holliday Goldsborough, a supporter of the Unionist government of Maryland during the Civil War; William Groome, president of the Easton Bank; and Harvard-graduate John Bozman Kerr, chargé d'affaires to Nicaragua in the early 1850s and a judge of the federal court of claims in the 1860s. The *Gazette*'s political views also reflected the sympathies of many workingmen, small farmers, and merchants in Easton, Talbot County, and the Eastern Shore.[22]

Easton was a beehive of political activity during the presidential campaign of 1860. One of the largest gatherings ever held on the Shore took place in the town when a Democratic rally supporting Breckinridge drew a crowd of two thousand people. The *Star* beat the drums for the pro-Southern Breckinridge, warning its readers that

"a vote for Bell is half a vote for Lincoln—the only way to defeat Lincoln is to vote for Breckinridge and Lane."[23] Easton and Talbot County gave Breckinridge and the Southern Democrats a majority in the presidential election and also supported the states rights candidate for governor, Benjamin Chew Howard, in the fall of 1861. The Easton *Gazette*, which supported Bell and the Constitutional Union Party in 1860, the majority of members of the board of directors of the Easton Bank, and some of the town's leading merchants were pro-Union or neutralist in their sympathies. Easton remained a town of split loyalties throughout the long years of fratricidal strife.[24]

Afterward Easton and Talbot County embraced a new era of progress. Internal improvements ended the town's isolation from the outside world. The railroad arrived in Easton in 1869, followed shortly by the telegraph. A new market house opened in 1879. Yet overall economic progress was disappointingly slow. The march of industrialization which swept over some other parts of the Eastern Shore bypassed the little town on the Tred Avon. Cambridge and Crisfield grew and prospered as seafood processing centers. Salisbury became a thriving lumber town and railroad terminus. By 1900 Easton had become the fourth largest town in peninsular Maryland. It was no longer the hub of the Eastern Shore.

NOTES

1. A well-known study of small towns in America is Richard Lingeman's *Small Town America: A Narrative History, 1620 to the Present* (New York: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1980). For a study of Queenstown, see Harry C. Rhodes, *The Social History of a Small American Town* (Queenstown, Md.: Queen Anne Press, 1985).

2. Histories of Easton and Talbot County include Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, 1661–1861* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1967 repr.); Dickson J. Preston, *Talbot County, A History* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1983); and Norman Harrington, *Easton Album* (Easton: Historical Society of Talbot County, 1986). Social as well as architectural history can be found in Christopher Weeks, *Where Land and Water Intertwine: An Architectural History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). The Eastern Shore of Maryland consisted of eight counties until 1867, when Worcester County was formed.

3. R. S. Fisher, *Gazetteer of the State of Maryland* (Baltimore: James S. Water, 1852), p. 98.

4. Biographical material on prominent families in Talbot County can be found in Tilghman, *Talbot County*, and Weeks, *Where Land and Water Intertwine*. See also Prentiss Ingraham, *Land of legendary Lore: Sketches of Romance and Reality on the Eastern Shore and the Chesapeake* (Easton, Md.: Gazette Publishing House, 1898).

5. Elliott Buse, *150 Years of Banking on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Schneidereith and Sons, 1955). See also Harrington, *Easton Album*, p. 52.

6. Buse, *150 Years of Banking*, pp. 38–92, Harrington, *Easton Album*, p. 52.

7. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, ed., *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 213.

8. Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (3 vols; New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1950) 1:493–94; Buse, *150 Years of Banking*, pp. 28–29.

9. See various editions of the Easton *Star* published between 1853 and 1860.

10. Easton *Star*, 8 and 15 March, 1 and 26 April, 3 May, and 5 November 1853; 25 January, 4 February, 8 March, and 11 October 1859; 7 and 14 February and 29 May 1860. On the Goldsborough building, see ibid., 22 November 1859.

11. Easton *Star*, 8 March, 26 July, 29 November, and 3 December 1853; 8 February 1859.

12. Harrington, *Easton Album*, p. 82; Easton *Star*, 4 and 11 January and 27 September 1859.

13. Preston, *Talbot County*, pp. 169-70; Easton *Star*, 5 April, 10 July 1853; 1 March 1859; 11 September 1860.

14. Harrington, *Easton Album*, p. 92; Easton *Star*, 22 March, 12 April 1853; 13 and 27 January, 4 October 1859; 7 and 28 February 1860.

15. Tilghman, *Talbot County*, 11:400. The best coverage of Methodist developments on the Eastern Shore can be found in E. C. Hallman, *The Garden of Methodism* (1949).

16. Easton *Star*, 11, 25 January, 1 March 1859.

17. Kenneth L. Carroll, *Three Hundred Years and More of Third Haven Quakerism* (Centreville, Md.: Queen Anne Press, 1984), p. 53.

18. Harrington, *Easton Album*, pp. 64–67; Preston, *Talbot County*, pp. 157–61. For the dedication of Calvary Methodist Protestant Church see *Star*, 3 and 17 May 1853; on the new bell in Christ Episcopal Church, see the *Star*, 12 July and 13 September 1859.

19. Easton *Star*, 26 April, 3 and 10 May 1853.

20. Ibid., 8 February 1859; 1 and 8 May 1860.

21. Ibid., 10 July 1859; 8 May, 27 November, and 4 December 1860.

22. Preston, *Talbot County*, chap. 9, contains a fascinating discussion of the local scene before and during the Civil War. See also William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1860 to 1861* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

23. Easton *Star*, 10 April, 1, 15 and 22 May, 26 June, 3 July, 14 August, 2 and 16 October, and 6 November. The rally is described on 2 October, the quote appears on 16 October. The Talbot County vote in the 1860 presidential election: Breckinridge, 897; Bell, 792; Douglas, 98; and Lincoln, 2.

24. Preston, *Talbot County*, pp. 206–28.

The Approach of the Civil War as Seen in the Letters of James and Mary Anderson of Rockville

GEORGE M. ANDERSON, S.J., Ed.

James Wallace Anderson was the son of Dr. James Anderson, who practiced medicine in Montgomery County in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Dr. Anderson owned a farm of more than 1,200 acres near Rockville. His relative affluence enabled him to send his eldest son to Princeton, but young James spent only two years there.[1] On his return home, he studied law, first under Augustus Taney, brother of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, and then under Attorney General William Wirt. In the *Maryland Journal* of 13 June 1826 he appears on a list of lawyers practicing in Montgomery County. After Dr. Anderson's death in 1836, the farm divided among eight heirs.[2] James called his portion, some 250 acres, Vallombrosa. In 1830 he married Mary Minor, daughter of Col. George Minor of Fairfax County, Virginia. Seven of the couple's children survived infancy.[3]

James rose to county registrar of wills in 1839 and ten years later became chief judge of the Montgomery County Orphans Court. In 1850 he was one of two Democrats chosen to represent Montgomery County at the 1850–51 constitutional convention in Annapolis. Because the convention brought him into close contact with some of the most influential men in the state, James hoped that his presence there might lead to political advancement. His hopes, however, were not realized.[4] Part of the reason may have been the "extreme diffidence," which, if one can believe the local newspaper's comment after his death in December 1882, "prevented him from reaching the front ranks of his profession as a brilliant advocate."[5]

James was not in sufficiently comfortable circumstances to remain unemployed. His own share of his father's estate was comparatively small, both in land and in other assets. As listed in the 1850 census for Montgomery County, the value of his real estate amounted to only $3,750. Nor did law practice—augmented by the sale of produce from the farm—provide for the needs of his growing family. Through the influence of two prominent Montgomery County citizens—Francis Preston Blair and his son, Montgomery Blair[6]—James early in 1854 obtained a clerkship in the U.S. Treasury Department.

James's position carried little prestige. Soon after he began work, Mary described

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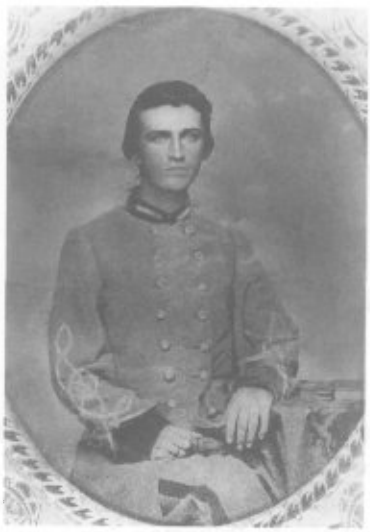
George M. Anderson, of Rockville, contributes frequently to these pages.



Capt. James Anderson, CSA, son of the resigned Treasury Department clerk, James Anderson of Rockville, and his Virginia-born wife, Mary Minor Anderson (Photograph courtesy of George Anderson.)

for him the tacitly condescending attitude of his brother, Dr. John Anderson, and his family:

> I have not seen any of John's family since you left us. They do not think your office worthy of congratulation. If you had been unsuccessful, I know I should have had their condolence before this.[7]

The clerkship did bring in $1,200 a year, however—a sum large enough to supply not only necessities but even a few amenities, as suggested in James's letter to Mary dated 19 April 1854:

> Don't let yourself or the children suppose that it is out of the question to get anything for them. The very thing that reconciled me to coming here was to get the means to provide for all the little wants of the community.[8]

The salary became increasingly important through the 1850s as the children grew older. By 1860 new financial pressure appeared. James owed his widowed sister, Catherine Ann Gantt, a considerable sum of money; the debt was apparently connected with the settlement of their father's estate years before. In failing health and pressured by her n'er-do-well son, Edward Gantt, Kit—as the family called Catherine Ann—began to press for payment. She went so far as to begin legal proceedings.

Against this background, the letters of James and Mary late in 1860 began to reflect a new concern—the approach of the Civil War. The first sign of disruption in the economy appeared in the banks, which in November 1860 stopped making payments in specie (i.e., gold or silver).[9] Virtually everyone in the Rockville area read the *Montgomery County Sentinel*, and to a considerable extent it reflected the political sentiments of a majority of area residents. Its strongly pro-Southern outlook helped to explain its frequent allusions to the Confederacy's strength and

resources. James and Mary, Southern though they were in sympathies, more and more worried about the dissolution of the Union. In December the *Sentinel* noted that Governor Hicks had called upon the people of Maryland to observe 4 January 1861, as "a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, in view of the perilous condition of the country."[10]

From early 1861 until James's dismissal six months later for refusing to sign the loyalty oath demanded of all federal employees, his letters to Mary—and hers to him—often reflected the tension between their loyalty to the South and reliance upon his threatened clerkship. By early June, when the *Sentinel* complained of oaths and tyranny in the federal capital,[11] James had returned home, jobless. Until then, his letters shed light on the situation that prevailed in Washington; Mary's writing provided glimpses into the feelings of pro-Southerners in Rockville. As war broke, Montgomery County residents who kept their federal posts by signing loyalty oaths faced resentment from many families. Among the Andersons, Edward[12] stayed at home while James and Mary's eldest son, James, crossed the Potomac and enlisted in the 35th Battalion of Virginia Cavalry.[13] Expressions of fear and hope alternate in the following letters, interwoven with the comings and goings of daily life.

[Editor's note: Readers should be aware that the owner and editor of these letters has modernized spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing. For the preferred editorial method, see *MdHM*, 82 (1987): 241]

Washington Nov. 15, 1860

My dearest love,

. . . You cannot help knowing that it is utterly impossible for me, in the way we are hampered, to raise money upon the security of anything I have, unsettled as it is. . . . How can I sell any of the servants? Which should I select for sacrifice? I had rather leave it to others, if it must be done, even at a loss. I will enclose you a few lines to Kit, which you can add a postscript to, if you think fit, though to what good purpose I know not. . . .

Write often and tell me how the crop looks and how the corn turns out, and whether the hogs are put up, and about everything. Oh, how I wish I could be all the time with you. Maybe I may after a few months; it is thought by many that the Union will be dissolved, though I am not fully satisfied as yet that it will be. . . . Your affectionate Jas. W. Anderson

Washington 23rd Nov. 1860

My dearest love,

I have been somewhat remiss in not writing to you since I received your fragmentary epistle written without date postmarked the 10th. . . .

It looks more like secession and a separate southern republic. The banks are all stopping specie payments, and I am afraid there will be some difficulty about our pay after the next pay day; so we will all be very economical. . . .

I hope Mary's face is all straight by this time. It would be a pity for her to have a scar on it. I expect she may enjoy herself some this winter here while the government lasts; and if it survives, and if I am kept in for the next four years, we shall all enjoy ourselves here some. . . . Your affectionate Jas. W. Anderson

Washington Dec. 11th, 1860

My dearest wife,

I received your letter with sad feelings. Anyone with proper fortitude can bear the ordinary evils of life, but who could bear to live if they are escaped through means that would make life itself an intolerable burden? . . . Before I would use the means or attempt it that you suggest, I had rather all the negroes on the place should be given away to any good master that would take them. If such a thing were known, the sheriff might use his power and take them at once and keep them in jail at my expense and put it out of our power to make any arrangement of any kind. Your father has no right that I know of to take possession of any of them, nor do I believe he would meddle with it if he could. I should certainly feel compelled to resist any such attempt.[14]. . .

I see no way that I can raise the money without selling. I can only supply small sums which would have answered if it had been done regularly until we could do better. They say we shall be paid next month in Treasury notes which will be worth but little until the present difficulties are settled, which I hope may be shortly.

I worked all day Sunday and every night, and shall maybe get out by continuing the same course. I hope to see you all shortly. I am proud of you all and love you all and hope nothing can occur to lower the high standing of you all in the community. It is now 3 and I must conclude by giving my love to all.

Washington Jan. 1st, 1861

My dearest love,

Here I am in the office at my desk this New Year's Day at work, when all the world are running round, drinking and making merry. . . . There have been such constant meetings of the Cabinet that I have had no chance to call upon Secretary Thomas. . . . Nobody seems to have much hope of the Union, although all sorts of plans are proposed by almost everybody. We must live in hope, the last and only thing always left to the miserable. As it is always darkest just before day, we may yet have a speedy deliverance by some miracle. . . .

We were paid off in brand new gold of 1860 yesterday, and my only grief is that I shall be able to hand you so little of it. . . . It seems doubtful when we shall get any more; it is so difficult to get money on the faith of the government. . . .

I must now close, hoping that you will write more and more often. . . . With love to all, Your affectionate Jas. W. Anderson

Washington 1st Feb. 1861

My dearest wife,

I was glad to hear that you are about again and hope you will continue to enjoy

your usual health. . . . It is probable that upon the further action of some of the southern states, that vacancies will occur in the offices, and by proper energy some of our boys might get in and probably remain, if there is any government left. . . . I shall see you as soon as I can and hope you will be well. Write soon and often. Love to all.

Washington Feb. 12th, 1861

My dearest wife,

I received your letter some days ago and was glad to hear that the sick people are generally recovering. I hope Mary is relieved of the gathering in her ear and hope she will not be afflicted with earache. I had been indulging hopes of seeing her here before the close of the session.

The city is filling up quite fast in anticipation of the 4th [Lincoln's inauguration day] and all its parade. I don't know that there is a single room vacant in our house, but Mrs. Weed tells me that two ladies leave today or tomorrow, whose husbands are in Fort Sumpter. . . . There has been no dancing for some time, and there seems to be a general suspension of the cordiality that prevailed most of the winter. . . .

I have endeavored to apprise you of the state of public affairs through the papers and have sent the *Sun* every day and the *Ledger* today, but there have been no speeches lately worth reading and have therefore not sent the Globes. There seem to be less hopes of a re-union, and I think it probable there will be a pretty general union of the northern states into a separate confederacy. Nobody knows anything about it and we must wait to see what we shall see. I hope for the best. I hear of scarcely a resignation and suppose that most of the officeholders will suffer [and] wait for the headman.

It would be well for any of the boys to be here awhile to await events. The only objection would be the expense. If my pockets were full, they should all enjoy whatever gratification a sojourn here of a few weeks could afford. I have $1.50 remaining till payday, when we may receive money or not, just as it happens. Some say it is doubtful, as the Treasury is threatened with collapse. . . .

Rockville Feb. 14, 1861

My dear husband,

I received your letter yesterday and was pleased to hear from you. It seemed an age since we had a letter before. We are all well now with the exception of Mary. She had a gathering in her ear and suffered a great deal. It broke and she seemed well and was getting ready to come down, but this morning it seems her ear is gathering again. She says, however, she hopes to be down to see the fun on the 4th and to be there some days before. . . .

I hope you will not lose your office directly, for I do not know what we should do without it. The boys are all for going south. Ed is very anxious and says he will go anyway. I think that is the reason he is so anxious to make his cousin from Alabama's acquaintance.[15] James is going to take this to the office, so I must conclude. Lily

says I must give her love to you. We all want to see you. I will send the coat down soon; it has never been worn. Your wife, Mary

Washington Feb. 18th, 1861

My dearest love,

I received yours of the 14th, and am pleased that you are all comparatively well. . . .

If I had the means, I would have come after Mary and brought her. I am indeed very sorry that I am so out of pocket, for during Mary's stay I should like to have a little party for her. All my specie at present in pocket is 51 cents, after this letter and the *Living Age* and *Sun* are put into the [post] office, and the balance will get the *Living Ages* and *Suns* till payday, if even then we get any money. The opinion is that we shall not, and then, if we shall be turned out, I shall have to walk home. I should have been much pleased if Mary could spend a week before the 4th here. After that our satiety may entirely suppurate; it is likely that most of those I care about may then be gone. The city is filling up very fast and every available shack will be engaged very soon, and I hope Mary will lose no time if she is coming at all.

Nobody knows here what we are to come to. I hope for the best. If everything goes well and the union is restored, I may remain in, probably. However, say nothing about that. I have wood enough to make one more fire and that must serve me till I get some money. I was anxious to get *Harpers* yesterday but had not the means, though there is not much in it. I am glad that all the children can amuse themselves; that is the right way. Nothing more but Your affectionate J. W. Anderson

[Rockville] Feb. 20th [1861]

My dear husband,

I was distressed by the tone of your letter of yesterday. Indeed, I feel really uneasy about you. I do not know what you will do if you do not get this month's pay. If you do, I want you to get a nice suit of clothes the first day of March. Mary has been suffering very much and she is yet far from well. . . . I think she will be down on Monday next, but if I find she will not be able to come, I will let you know again this week.

We are all well and did think of commencing ploughing today. The thrashing machine will be here in a day or two. Ned talks of taking down a load of hay soon. . . .

The people about here are speculating as to whether you will be turned out. I hope you may stay in as long as the government holds. I do not think it will hold long. I enclose you a 2.50 [gold piece] and hope you may get it safely. I would have sent you back a ten dollar gold piece but had to spend a good deal and keep some for Mary in case she goes to Washington.

You must not be without wood. You must get some as soon as you get this letter and keep good fires. . . . I expect all the boys will be down on the 4th. Write soon. I want to see you very badly and hope to do so before long. Your wife, Mary

Washington Feb. 21, 1861

My dearest love,

I received yours this morning with its enclosure,[16] for which accept my thanks. I shall use but little, if any of it, so that it will be ready for Mary to get little things she may want. The lady that was expected has not come, and likely she may be here today to attend the 22nd tomorrow's parade, which it is expected will be quite fine. . . .

No one knows yet whether we will get our pay, but I suppose we shall get something which can be converted into money. Who has been speculating on the probabilities of my remaining in office? I hope none of you would talk to anyone out of the family on the subject. You know that talking about a thing of the kind leads to a result least wished. . . . Yours affectionately, Jas. W. Anderson

[Rockville] Feb. 23, 1861

. . . . I will add a few words to Mary's epistle, to let you know that I am all the time thinking of you. I want to see you very much. I was mortified to hear that anyone from Virginia should ask office at this time, though I don't know that there is any harm in it.[17] I think from old Lincoln's speeches, he must be a most foolish old man.

There is no news of consequence in the neighborhood. . . . We want you to come up soon for we are all anxious to see you, but I do not want you to come home until the weather gets so that we can walk about. Write soon. Your wife, Mary Anderson

[Rockville] March 6th [186]

My dear husband,

I write a few lines this morning to let you know that Edward got home safely last [night] about sundown. . . . Mary has been sick ever since she got home [from the inauguration] with a sore throat. She thinks she took cold going to Mount Vernon. The rest are all well.

I reckon you will miss your southern friends. You will, I suppose, be utterly surrounded by those from the North at the boarding house and at the office, even if you are not turned out. Tom was at Rockville yesterday and says the people there say the inaugural means coercion if it means anything. He says his uncle Tom[18] was cursing the Blairs and seemed to think precisely with that English writer in the last *Living Age*, Cowly, as to the cause of the difference between North and South, and blames Webster for the whole of it. He says Calhoun saw it all and tried to avert it.

Miss Pattie Hunter[19] was here yesterday. I have not seen Mr. England[20] for months. Henry Somers[21] says he (Mr. E.) has fallen off fifty pounds owing to the disturbed state of the country. About 10 or 11 last night I heard a firing of guns and sent down to wake James up to enquire if he could think what it meant. Will told me this morning that he heard last night that a parcel of negroes collected at Tom Rabbitt[22] with arms and that Tom R. came up for the company[23] to come down and disperse them. I don't know how much truth there may be in it. I tell it just as I heard it. I expect we shall have trouble with them.

I want to see you very much and shall expect you on Saturday if the weather is good and unless it is, you must not come. . . .

[Rockville] March 13th [1861]

My dear husband,

I write a few lines this morning to let you know how we are coming on. Most of the colored children have sore throats and fever, but I do not think it anything serious. The first taken are getting well.

James asked me yesterday to write to you urging you to write to Mrs. McWillie directly asking if practicable to procure a situation in the southern confederacy for him. He says you can safely vouch for his competency in almost any of the departments, particularly the land office.[24] He says he feels more like this being a tide in his affairs which, if taken advantage of, may lead to good results. He says he is very anxious to go south as the climate or something else seems propitious to those of his name. . . . A desire to get south seems to have taken entire possession of him. . . .

I hope, my dear husband, you will not be removed, and you must look about you and not neglect our interests. . . .

[Rockville] March 29th [1861]

My dear husband,

As Tom is going to church this morning, I will write a few lines. We are well and sowing oats. . . . We all feel great anxiety to know whether you will be kept in. James heard that Blair had promised offices to all of the forty that voted the Republican ticket in his neighborhood. He can hardly keep his promise to all. I would see him, however. I believe that was the elder Blair. We look very particularly at the appointments and removals in the *Sun*. I saw a day or two ago that Lawrence[25] was reported to have resigned. You must write and tell me the news of your house, who you have there and how Mr. Addison's health is, and what are his prospects for keeping his place. . . .

[Rockville, spring 1861]

My dear husband,

I received your letter today and feel more uneasy than I have ever done in regard to your office. I think if you could see Blair, you would not be removed. I hope you have done so by this time. Let me know the result as soon as you know it or have seen him. . . .

You say I must write you something cheerful. I can only say to you that we love you very much and come what may, we will all cling to you and love you all the same. We would miss your salary very much and I hardly think you would be disturbed unless Blair overlooks you, which you must not let him do. . . . I feel more anxiety tonight about you than I have felt before. I always felt so secure from the fact of your being in the same building with Mr. Blair.

James was riding up the road from Rockville last night after dusk when a rifle ball

whizzed by his head a second or two before he heard the crack of a rifle. He then came on two boys belonging to the company[26] who were practicing. He asked what they meant by shooting in the road. They said they shot in the air, but it was not so. What do you think of it? . . .

Washington April 24th, 1861

My dearest wife,

I was truly gratified to hear from you and am at all times, particularly now when things are at their worst; perhaps they may mend. I was sorry I could not get any expression of opinion from you, as I do not like to take any step without at least asking your advice. It was confidently said yesterday that the head of our department would not require us to take any additional oath, and it seemed to gratify many persons. It is, however, said this morning that the oath will come down to us yet, the majority having overruled the head of our department. I know nothing about it, nor can anyone know until it is upon us. My mind was made up not to take it the moment I read it; and consequently, upon refusal, shall be dismissed. I just understand that it will be submitted in the form of a proposition, and we are to subscribe our reasons for refusing if we don't sign it.

It is important to receive my money, but don't know whether I shall get it or not. I have just reserved 1.25 to pay my stage fare and have about 15 cts. over. If I am turned out, I shall immediately come home if possible.

I cannot get any newspapers, neither *Ledger* nor *Sun*. I am in a hurry and it is almost raining and near 3, and brought no umbrella, so must run home. The 7th Regiment has not got here yet. Be particular what you write in your letters, as they might in these troublesome times fall into other hands. I just give you a hint. Your affectionate Jas. W. Anderson

[Rockville, ca. April, 1861]

My dear husband,

I received your letter of yesterday, together with the three sums, and was greatly pleased to hear from you. . . . I am pleased that no oath will be submitted to you, as I would not have you take it for any consideration. George Patterson[27] is talked badly of for taking it, and I believe some have said that you had taken it. Mullican[28] said yesterday old March said in his shop that you had. I told M. the first time he heard March or anyone else say it, to knock them down and charge it to me. Sam Crown[29] was here yesterday and said he knew you would never take it in God's name.

I think the mad ones of our village are cooling down somewhat . . . and I do hope that mild measures may be pursued. Several northern families here left hurriedly, but I believe of their own free will. Some may have felt fear, but most, I reckon, from guilty consciences. . . . It is reported that a convention will be called by the legislature for the 30th of May, and I see no cause why you should resign while Maryland stays in. There will be another month before the convention meets, and

by that time we may have peace and there may be no necessity for your coming at all.

We are very quiet. I am sorry I could not go to Fairfax. I am afraid Father will be angry, but James seemed to think there might be danger in it. If you see him, say to him that we heard we could not pass the bridge, and that we will be over very soon. Mary will write to him today. I doubt about the mails. You must stay some days when you come, and go about among the people and talk to them, but I see no necessity for your resigning. . . . I want to see you very much.

[Rockville] May 11 [1861]

My dearest husband,

. . . There seems to be less excitement here and we may hope that the political atmosphere is clearing somewhat. If that oath is not brought to you, there may be a chance of your staying in for awhile. I hardly think there will be any attack on Virginia by the government forces and I feel sure if there is not, we shall have a truce until congress sits and then we may possibly have peace and you then keep your place honorably. . . .

I think if you would manage rightly, there will be no necessity for your leaving Washington. I do not think additional oath would bind you any more closely to your duties, and so all your friends there would think if they were consulted about it. However, if you are obliged to come home, Washington will lose your society and we shall be the gainers by it. . . .

[Rockville spring 1861]

Dear husband,

. . . I should have been down this [week] if I had been well enough. I have been really sick all the week, though I have kept about. I thought so much of the situation of affairs in Virginia last night that I did not sleep at all until after four o'clock, and feel badly today. What is our country coming to? My spirits are bad; I feel as though some great calamity was about to befall us as a family. That has already happened as a community.

I have not determined whether I shall come down in a carriage to stay a day or two or in the stage and stay two or three, as Lily is very anxious to come with me, always provided you are not removed. Charly [Rozer] is waiting. Your wife, Mary

Washington May 20th, 1861

My dearest love,

This is perhaps the last letter you may receive from me from this village. The long expected test oath was presented to each of us at our desks this morning and I let it pass. Some fifteen in this bureau also declined it. A great number, it is said, in other bureaus of the treasury department will also require it. The consequence will be resignation or dismissal. It is therefore probable that you may see me at home in a few days. I am sorry you could not come down to get the things you wanted, and hope you will send me particular directions, measures, etc. for what you may

want, as it is likely I may be here long enough to attend to them before the final catastrophe. . . .

Troops are arriving here, as you may see by the papers, and if there is to be any fighting, it is thought by some that it will be soon. I have hopes yet there will be none, as I never could see any necessity for it. Mr. Addison and his son in this bureau both declined to take the oath.

I send the *Sun*, that you may see the news. What shall I subscribe for, in case I leave here, in the reading line? What do the children want? If shoes, you must send the measures. You see I am anxious to provide for you all as well as I can, and you must not neglect this request. I don't feel much like writing, so conclude with love to all. Yours affectionately, Jas. W. Anderson

Rockville May 25th [1861]

My dearest husband,

I received your letter of yesterday's date and was very glad to think that you would remain even until the end of this month. We shall miss your assistance when you leave and none more than yourself. You will miss the work more than anything except Mrs. Holmead's fine table. I certainly wish you could retain your place with honor, not without. . . . James said some days ago that he saw Uriah[30] in Rockville and he said he had taken the oath and would stay as long as Maryland stayed in the Union. He seemed to speak as though people in the village were laughing about it and had no great confidence in Uriah. That was the inference I drew from his conversation. He is not at home this morning [or] I would ask him more about it.

It would, of course, be a great thing for us all if you could keep your place, yet I would not for any amount that you would do anything to compromise yourself in the estimation of others (though I consider others of mighty small importance, only you have to live with them), or in the least degree forfeit your self respect. Yet if I could, by using generalship or any fortunate circumstances keep my place, I would do so.

We finished planting corn last evening, I hope in very good time. . . . Mr. Bouic was here yesterday morning and asked Thomas how he would like to go to Marlborough to nominate a member for congress. Tom told him to mention it to James. Maybe he would go. I have heard no more of it. Tom was saying it would be a nice thing if you could get the nomination provided you were removed. I reckon Bouic is looking for it, though I have never heard. . . .

Doc Hunter[31] was here this morning. He is just from the camp at Lynchburg. He does not speak very enthusiastically of troops there. He has been through Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia on his way from Arkansas. He seems to fear for the South. I have not written to Jinny yet and do not know what to say. My strawberries will soon be ripe, and I hope to make something out of them and can't leave them. Your wife, Mary

Washington May 29th, 1861

My dearest wife,

You may be with me before this reaches your post office, but I consider it so uncertain that I drop you these lines. Nothing has happened to us recusants yet, though we are in daily expectation of marching orders. It is probable we may catch it the last of this month and if so, I hope our pay also, though it is said there is nothing in the treasury now. If you don't come, you must send your instructions, for I don't want to stay long after I am turned out. I suppose a day will be enough to execute all your commissions.

I called to see Momson who married Cassy Newstoad, who is now a clerk in a room two doors from me, and he told me that your father was at the chain bridge for fish a day or two ago and some soldiers there asked him some questions and he told them he was a secessionist and voted for secession; they told him he must consider himself their prisoner. He stayed with them about a half hour, when they released him. They took William Joseph, who was tight, kept him one night, and carried him to Georgetown and finally released him. You will see by the *Sun* of today that Frank [Minor] was also arrested here, so you see you are all getting famous. . . .

NOTES

1. According to records in the Princeton University Library, James was expelled for frequenting taverns. In a letter from Dr. Anderson dated 14 May 1814 James is told: "Use all the economy and industry you are master of; attend strictly to the rules of college, to your moral deportment, etc., that you may ensure to yourself a respectable standing there." All Anderson family letters referred to herein are in the editor's possession.

2. The children of Dr. James Anderson and his wife, Elizabeth Wallace Anderson: James W. Anderson; Thomas Anderson, a Rockville lawyer who for a time served in the Ohio senate while living at Zanesville; Dr. Robert Anderson, of Rockville; Dr. John Anderson, of Rockville; Edward Anderson, who died shortly after completing his college studies; Katherine A. Anderson, who married Edward Gantt of Florida; Elizabeth Anderson; and Eleanor Birckhead Anderson.

3. James (1831–1920); Mary Edith (1834–1910); Thomas (1835–1900); Richard (1837–1855); Frances Virginia, known as Jimmy (1839–1913); Edward (1841–1917); Lily (1850–1868); and Minor (1856–1927). Colonel Minor had commanded a regiment of militia in the War of 1812.

4. On 29 December 1851 James wrote to his convention friend, Henry E. Wright of Queen Anne's County, "I am now entirely out of public office, and hardly know how to dispose of myself."

5. *Montgomery County Sentinel*, 5 January 1883.

6. On 2 February 1854 James wrote to his wife: "It was through them no doubt, that the place was given to me."

7. Mary Anderson to James Anderson, 9 February 1854. James and his brother

owned adjacent farms near Rockville. The relationship between the two families was at times strained.

8 By 1859 James's salary had been raised to $1,400 a year. See *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States* (Washington, 1859), p. 19.

9. "The banks of Baltimore city suspended specie payments yesterday. This proceeding in itself, says the Baltimore *Sun*, will not be regarded as any additional cause of excitement, and will probably be temporary, as a settled policy prevails in political affairs. Those who have heretofore derided the South, and treated lightly both the provocation to which it has been exposed and its results, will realize the fact that the mere suspension of trade with the North, and the concentration by the South of her interests within her own territory, has already caused a very serious embarrassment in the monetary affairs of the North. These indications prove that the strength is with the South and in her resources; and identified with the South the interests of our citizens will be secure, and our position at once honorable and prosperous" (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 23 November 1860).

10. Ibid., 21 December 1860.

11. "For several days past, large numbers of people have passed through our village, most of whom are fleeing from arbitrary power and unlawful oaths, imposed on them by the Lincoln government at Washington. These oaths are exactly on the plan of those used for ages by the government of England, to oppress those who could not in conscience agree with the ruling powers in religious. In this way, Lincoln may get a first–rate gang of officials, who are ready to take any kind of an oath for money" (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 26 April 1861).

12. Edward Anderson followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, Dr. James Anderson, and studied medicine. He was at the University of Maryland Medical School for two years, 1873–74 and practiced medicine in Rockville from 1875 until his death in 1917. He lived in a large frame house which still stands at the southeast corner of West Montgomery Ave. and South Adams St. He married Alice Lawn Thompson, widow of Dr. Lawn Thompson. The couple had one child, Edward Anderson, who died in California. A stepdaughter, Noma Thompson, continued to live in the house after Dr. Anderson's death. She wrote a history of Rockville entitled *Western Gateway to the National Capital* (Rockville, Maryland) (Washington, D.C., 1949).

13. See "A Captured Confederate Officer: Nine Letters from Captain James Anderson to His Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 62–69.

14. Mary evidently believed her father might claim possession of the Anderson slaves, thus preventing their sale for debt.

15. Kitty McWillie, an Alabamian, was visiting Washington.

16. See Mary to James, 20 February 1861. Mary sold produce raised on the farm.

17. Lafayette Somers, Mary Anderson's cousin from Virginia, seemed to be job hunting in the federal capital.

18. James Anderson's brother Thomas, aged sixty in 1860.

19. The Hunters' farm lay adjacent to James Anderson's. Pattie, a daughter, often visited the Andersons.

20. Maj. John G. England served two terms in the Maryland House of Delegates and for many years was a member of the board of trustees of the Rockville Academy. He died at the age of seventy-six (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 2 February 1883).

21. Henry Somers was a brother of Lafayette Somers.

22. The 1860 census listed Thomas Rabbitt as a hotel keeper, age forty-five. His property, according to Martenet and Bond's 1865 map of the county, was located on the Rockville Pike between Rockville and Bethesda, near Montrose Road.

23. William Veirs Bouic (1817–96) had organized a militia unit "made up of the most prudent and energetic of our citizens, and if the emergency ever arises when their services will be needed, will be as efficient in preserving the rights and protecting the interests of our people, as the exigencies of the crisis will demand" (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 30 November 1860). Bouic was briefly detained by Union troops during the war.

24. James and Mary Anderson's son James was earning his living at this time as a surveyor. Surveying was included in the curriculum of the Rockville Academy, which young James attended and at which he taught for a brief period as assistant principal. Because of his surveying skills, young James felt competent for a position in the Land Office of the Interior Department.

25. "R. S. Lawrence, of Virginia, a $1200 per annum clerk in the Census Bureau, is said to have resigned" (Baltimore *Sun*, 26 March 1861).

26. Presumably Bouic's company of volunteers.

27. George Patterson (1813–89), eldest son of Dr. Thomas Patterson, was a physician and also librarian of the U.S. House of Representatives. He obtained his law degree but did not practice, preferring instead to apply for his father's place on Capitol Hill. He later served several terms in the Maryland House of Delegates. He owned a farm near Gaithersburg (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 8 March 1889).

28. John Mullican appeared in the 1860 census as a Montgomery County blacksmith, age thirty-four. According to Martenet and Bond's 1865 map of Montgomery County, he lived and worked about a mile northwest of James Anderson's farm, on the road between Rockville and Gaithersburg.

29. Sam Crown died at the age of eighty-seven at his home near Hunting Hill (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 29 June 1888).

30. The 1850 federal census for Montgomery County listed Uriah Forrest as a Virginia-born lawyer, forty-four years old. Eight years later, at a local meeting, he introduced a resolution protecting the rights of slave owners (Minutes, Montgomery County Agricultural Society, 8 July 1858). He served as a clerk to the Montgomery County commissioners (*Montgomery County Sentinel*, 5 August 1859).

31. Dr. John Hunter, evidently either the father or older brother of the Pattie Hunter mentioned in Mary Anderson's letter of 6 March 1861.

Henry Kyd Douglas: Reconstructed Rebel

DANA SHADEL

It had been nearly seven years since Gov. Oden Bowie of Maryland began the project, and now, with ceremonies scheduled for 15 June 1877, the Washington County Confederate Cemetery was to be formally dedicated. Located just south of Hagerstown, this tract of land had become the final resting place for 1,721 Confederate soldiers who lost their lives on the Sharpsburg battlefield. Ceremonies were under the direction of Henry Kyd Douglas, a Hagerstown resident whose wartime accomplishments included eight months' service on the staff of Gen. Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson. Another Confederate warrior, Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, nephew of Robert E. Lee, attended as orator of the day.[1]

Fitz Lee, who had gained a reputation as a gifted cavalry commander under Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, belonged to a postwar southern movement that harkened back to the values and traditions of the antebellum period and the war's first year.[2] Appropriately enough, his speech emphasized the glory of the wartime South and the brilliance and honor that belonged to General Lee and his men:

> Surely we can keep tenderly in our memories the cross of St. Andrew with its stars and bars which floated over a hundred glorious battlefields. . . . Neither the land of Wellington, or Marlboro, or Gustavus Adolphus, or of Napoleon can boast of nobler or purer statesmen or braver soldiers. I can almost see marching before me the solemn phalanx of the army of the dead, on phantom steeds with death cold arms and rigid sabres.

Before Lee's speech, a sixty-member choir sang an anthem whose lyrics Douglas had written. Its last stanza struck a peaceful and conciliatory, rather than militant, chord:

> Bless thou these dead! and speed the day
> When Blue and Grey unite;
> And on each tomb his foe shall write,
> God only knows which one was right!
> They both shall write in words of light,
> God only knows which one was right![3]

Douglas's sentiments were genuine; he wanted Americans on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line to put the darkness of the war behind and unite again as one people.

A resident of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the author received her M.A. in American Studies from Pennsylvania State University.

Born in Shepherdstown 3 September 1840, the son of the Reverend Robert Douglas and Mary (Robertson) Douglas, Henry Kyd graduated from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1859. He then studied law at Judge John Brockenbrough's private school in Lexington, Virginia, and in the office of Judge Weisel of Charles Town. Douglas gained admission to the bar in 1860. When in April 1861 he learned that Virginia had adopted an ordinance of secession, he quickly offered his services to his home state.[4]

Former Confederate Henry Kyd Douglas as a Maryland militia colonel after the war. (Washington County Historical Society.)

Enlisting in Company B of the 2d Virginia Infantry, he quickly rose in rank to captain. He joined Jackson's staff in April 1862 as assistant inspector general and assistant adjutant general. From this position he observed Stonewall during the Valley Campaign, the Seven Days' battles, and the Second Manassas and Maryland campaigns. He was wounded on Culp's Hill on 3 July 1863, captured and later transferred to Johnson's Island Prison. He was paroled and exchanged in March, 1864. Participating in the third battle of Winchester, he was cited for conspicuous bravery and distinguished service. During the last stages of the siege of Petersburg he was promoted to brigadier general and given command of the Light Brigade, leading it to the end at Appomattox.[5]

For two years following the war Douglas lived in Winchester, Virginia, where he established a law practice. In November 1867 he moved to Hagerstown. With a population of less than six thousand in 1865, the city after the war developed into the state's second largest manufacturing city in terms of value of product. In 1867 a spur connected Hagerstown to the main line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. By 1910 the town's population had reached 16,080.[6]

Settled in Hagerstown, Douglas soon achieved distinction, becoming one of the town's leading and most colorful citizens. Socially he was, in one contemporary's words, "without question the most charming, the most sought after, the most flattered dandy of the town. Yet none of the ladies could turn his head in her exclusive direction." In 1878 he purchased the mansion located at the corner of North Potomac Street and North Avenue. Containing twenty rooms on three floors with seven baths and four fireplaces, the house certainly suited someone with a penchant for large social gatherings. It was from this location that Douglas departed for regular morning walks.[7]

Having grown up near Hagerstown, Douglas had many friends in the area. Just after college he had been principal at the Hagerstown Academy. In Hagerstown he strove to establish himself as a significant member of the community. Most of the people who met Douglas found him to be a charming, courtly gentleman whose manner and wit matched his good looks. Most remembered him as having been courteous, kind, and proper; always displaying a background of good breeding. Meticulous in appearance, he was "a striking figure, an imposing presence with aquiline features and a tall and slender military carriage."[8] As in Winchester, Douglas established a law practice, but the amount of time devoted to the concern is uncertain. He eventually served as the attorney for several corporations, including the Norfolk and Western Railroad. Douglas also involved himself in various land development schemes in Virginia.[9]

Douglas quickly became drawn to local democratic politics, his first foray being the state senatorial primary of 1871. True to his southern heritage, he supported the revived Democratic party and ran on its ticket in 1875 and 1888. The Democratic party of Washington County had divided during the gubernatorial administration of Oden Bowie (1868–1872) into two factions—one led by U.S. Senator William T. Hamilton, the other by James C. Clark, whom Governor Bowie had appointed to the presidency of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. Clark had much power at his command, for the canal was a powerful political machine. Direction of political conventions for towns adjacent to the canal was possible through the bosses Clark employed; they could exert a powerful influence among the canal laborers, lock-keepers and boatmen and over the storekeepers in the area. Hamilton's arena of influence included voters who lived in or near the towns and villages north of the canal: Hagerstown, Boonsboro, Rohrersville, and Keedysville among them. Clark put forth Douglas in the primaries as candidate for the state senate from Washington County, but Hamilton's choice, Zachariah S. Clagett, a prominent member of the bar, prevailed.[10]

In 1875, having won his primary bid as a Clark-faction Democrat, Douglas lost the Washington County state senate election to Republican David H. Newcomer by 281 votes. Douglas and all other Democratic candidates statewide, except for gubernatorial candidate John Lee Carroll, suffered from voter dissatisfaction with the abuses that unrestrained power had encouraged among Democrats. Republicans carried most of the counties; Washington County voters elected every Republican on the local ticket.[11]

Douglas's 1875 candidacy received little if any notice in the local Democratic newspaper, the Hagerstown *Mail*, then a weekly publication under the editorial control of Edwin Bell and T. J. C. Williams, both members of the Hamilton wing of the party. In the late 1870s and 1880s the local paper found it more difficult to ignore Douglas because of the increased state and national attention he attracted through his writing, lecturing, and sundry state militia positions.[12]

Douglas was a fine public speaker, delivering many addresses on his Civil War experiences and close-hand observations of renowned southern generals. His popularity on the Civil War–veteran lecture circuit grew during the mid 1880s to

the point where he was periodically asked to deliver addresses before the Union veterans' Grand Army of the Republic. In the winter of 1886 he was asked to deliver one in a series of twelve lectures on "the Confederate Volunteer" to the Massachusetts Military Society. Douglas began his talk describing how, upon arriving in Boston, he felt that perhaps some symbolic act of repentance should be performed for having rebelled against the United States government. Consequently, that morning he climbed the Bunker Hill Monument and thereby arrived at his conclusion that "If I had to choose again between repeating that performance and rebelling again, you may rest assured, I will rebel every time." Several years later, Douglas was honored by being one of two Confederate officers asked to speak at the April, 1888, banquet celebrating former President Ulysses S. Grant's birthday at Delmonico's in New York City. The *Mail* claimed Douglas was the first Confederate soldier from Maryland invited to speak at gatherings of the Grand Army of the Republic and proudly noted that Douglas had made more speeches to the GAR than any other Confederate soldier from the state.[13]

Meanwhile, Douglas thrived as a Maryland militia officer. In 1875 Governor Carroll appointed him his aide on military affairs in Western Maryland. In this position Douglas participated in the suppression of strikers during the B&O unrest of 1877. The *Mail* reported that, upon his arrival at Cumberland, Douglas telegraphed the governor that the strikers, whose numbers were difficult to assess, were prepared for trouble and supported by sympathetic citizens, canal men, and miners. He believed that local civil authorities were paralyzed in the face of such unprecedented opposition and therefore that several hundred troops, properly armed, were necessary to put down the strikers.[14]

In the fall of 1880 Douglas was elected captain of the Hagerstown Light Infantry and in 1881 appointed lieutenant colonel of the 1st Maryland Infantry, composed of the militia of Washington, Frederick, and Baltimore counties. Douglas commanded this unit when it attended the Yorktown Centennial Celebration of October 1881, and indeed he represented all southern units at the gathering.[15]

Entering the sixth-district congressional race of 1888 against incumbent Louis E. McComas, Douglas became a local advocate of Democratic President Grover Cleveland's attempts at tariff reform. Cleveland asked Congress in his 1887 annual address moderately to reduce the high tariff rates, claiming such action would relieve some of the financial hardships the current rates imposed upon those of moderate means and eliminate the treasury surplus. Cleveland made this issue a focal point of his campaign against Republican challenger Benjamin Harrison (Republicans had blocked a lower tariff bill in Congress). The Hagerstown *Mail* applauded Douglas's support of Cleveland's position; a reduced tariff was in "the best interest of the great masses of the people of the country alike for the commercial and industrial classes and for the relief of the agricultural interest," the *Mail* declared. It charged McComas with favoring protected monopolies. The issue, the paper explained, was "combines and trusts against a healthy competition in trade. The interests of the masses against the interests of the classes." Douglas himself stated that "he stood

for home markets but also in world markets. The tariff ties our hands and will not let us sell where we will. From this the farmer is the greatest sufferer."[16]

Local party organizations described themselves in the summer and fall of 1888 as Cleveland, Thurman, and Douglas clubs (Allen G. Thurman of Ohio was the vice-presidential candidate). Their meetings featured ninety-foot-high, red, white and blue poles topped by Cleveland, Thurman, and Douglas streamers. When the area's Republican newspaper, the Cumberland *Daily Times*, questioned Douglas's fitness for office because of his service in the Confederate army, the Hagerstown *Mail* published a seven-paragraph reply to the charge. The *Mail* admitted that Douglas had a strong predilection for the military. But the bipartisan composition of his regimental staff demonstrated that Douglas had accepted the verdict of Appomattox. The paper noted the many endorsements Douglas had received from famous Union generals, proof that "No Union soldier . . . will find fault with a Confederate soldier to whom these great Generals, since the war, have given their confidence and friendship."[17]

In early September Douglas sent an open letter to his opponent, proposing a series of debates or "joint discussions" on the important campaign issues to be held in each of the district's counties: Allegany, Garrett, and Washington. The letter displayed mastery of the art of political humility, acknowledging that McComas's experience in Congress combined with his skill at debating put Douglas at a disadvantage. He remained hopeful that their personal relations of some years would prevent the discussions from being "marred by unpleasantness of any kind." Strangely, the incumbent McComas agreed.[18]

The first debate was held on 22 October at Frederick. It was, as the oldest inhabitant of the town at the time recalled, the first such debate to be held there since the 1850s. Speeches were limited to one hour each, after which Douglas, who opened this first debate with a full sixty-minute address, received fifteen minutes for rebuttal. In his opening remarks, Douglas said:

> We come today to discuss an issue that makes none of the heart-burnings of the past. It contains no sectionalism; we know in it no North, no South, no East or West. Whatever we democrats may claim, there is no greater credit due President Cleveland than for making the tariff the great living issue of the campaign, while dropping the curtain upon past animosities.[19]

The majority of the debate centered on the pros and cons of the Republican high-tariff policy, each candidate drawing a simple picture of his party's position. At the end of his opening speech, "a bevy of beautiful Frederick girls" submerged Douglas under a deluge of flowers. Douglas responded to this display of affection saying: "I only regret I cannot be a Mormon and make my own proposals in any number I please."[20]

Between 22 and 27 October, daily debates were held at the sixth congressional district's county seats. In his speeches, Douglas attempted to portray himself as one who (despite his role in the B&O strike of 1877) shared the concerns of both urban and rural workingmen. Democrats depicted tariffs as a tool of large monopolies

that enjoyed the protection of the Republican party. Douglas said he believed that "such trusts and combines, when permitted and encouraged, unduly enrich the few that continue to rob our citizens by depriving them of the benefit of natural competition."[21] His campaign mirrored in many ways President Cleveland's focusing on the tariff issue. Yet the president's veto of the Dependent Pension act in 1887, a measure that would have awarded large sums of money to Union veterans, alienated them and reminded them and others of the Democratic party's past ties with slavery and the war-time Copperhead movement.

Despite admirable efforts, Douglas went down in the nationwide Democratic defeat. His strongest support came from Hagerstown. *Mail* editors Bell and Williams declared the Democratic "campaign of education," if not a winner, "not a failure." The paper went on to note that everywhere in Maryland Republican majorities had declined in 1888. More than five million voters nationwide had rallied in support of Cleveland's tariff reform. Douglas earned credit, said the *Mail*, having "made a splendid fight—conducting his campaign on a high and dignified plane of principle. His evident personal popularity gave a sense of satisfaction to his friends and was ample vindication of the Democratic convention which nominated him." Douglas entered the fourth judicial circuit election of 1891, but lost to the Republican candidate, Edward Stake.[22]

In 1892 Douglas was appointed adjutant general of Maryland and headed the Maryland militia during the coal strikes in Allegany County of that year. Douglas's empathy with the threats workers faced to their livelihoods must have had its limits. Notwithstanding his Boston remarks after visiting Bunker Hill, he had no patience with those who sought relief outside established, legal channels. He was, to all appearances, a willing tool of the government in its attempts to crush strikes, regardless of the legitimacy of the workers' grievances.[23]

Douglas's lecture-circuit activities coupled with thorough knowledge of military matters prompted President McKinley in 1898 to offer Douglas a commission as major and adjutant general of Maryland volunteers in the war against Spain. He perhaps spoke for many Confederate veterans in an inscription he placed on the back of a picture of himself which he sent to a northern friend, Henry P. Goddard: "Once in the gray—now in the blue. But in either and always, tender and true." Offended by the president's initial offer, Douglas continued to hope for a field commission, not a staff assignment. The president did tender him a new appointment as brigadier general of volunteers, but Douglas could not accept because of health problems—the tuberculosis that led to his death on 18 December 1903.[24]

Throughout his post–Civil War career, Douglas displayed a readiness to eulogize the soldiers who gave their lives for a South that was never again to be. Many New South men who became active in social and business affairs expressed contempt for both the slave South and the pre-war elite, whose scions—like Fitz Lee at the 1877 cemetery dedication in Washington County—tried to defend the past and restore their vanished social stature. Douglas sought a middle ground. He wanted to memorialize men of both sections who died for their beliefs. But he did not mourn the passage of the Confederacy. In a short article published in the Philadelphia

Weekly Times in 1877, Douglas wrote that "Stonewall Jackson could not have saved *that* South and it was merciful that he should perish first."

NOTES

1. Hagerstown *Mail*, 15 June 1877.
2. See Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 55–58.
3. Hagerstown *Mail*, 15 June 1877.
4. Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall*, ed. by Fletcher M. Green (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), pp. 17, 334–35; Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County Maryland* (2 vols.; Hagerstown, Md.: John M. Runk & L. R. Titsworth, 1906), 1:421.
5. Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall*, p. 334.
6. Williams, *Washington County*, 1:367–72, 401–2.
7. Douglas Bast, untitled address delivered 7 February 1983, Washington County Free Library, Hagerstown; Henry Kyd Douglas File, Washington County Historical Society, Hagerstown (hereafter cited as Douglas File). Mr. Bast has in his possession the personal papers of Henry Kyd Douglas, including the handwritten draft from which *I Rode With Stonewall* was published.
8. Williams, *Washington County*, 1:421.
9. Douglas Bast's written reply to author's written questionnaire, in author's possession.
10. Williams, *Washington County*, 1:411.
11. Ibid., 1:410–13; Hagerstown *Mail*, 12 November 1875.
12. Williams, *Washington County*, 1:413.
13. Hagerstown *Mail*, 28 September 1898; *The Cracker Barrel*, vol. 6, no. 8 in "Douglas File," Washington County Historical Society.
14. Hagerstown *Mail*, 27 July 1877.
15. Ibid., 28 September 1888.
16. Ibid., 31 August 1888 and 7 September 1888.
17. Ibid., 28 September 1888.
18. Ibid., 7 September 1888.
19. Ibid., 26 October 1888.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 31 August 1888.
22. Cleveland received 95,713 votes more than did Harrison but lost with 168 electoral votes to Harrison's 233; see also Hagerstown *Mail*, 9 November 1888 and Williams, *Washington County*, 1:421.
23. Williams, *Washington County*, 1:421.
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Maryland History Bibliography, 1992: A Selected List

ANNE S. K. TURKOS AND JEFF KORMAN, Compilers

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Book Reviews

Perry of London–A Family and a Firm on the Seaborne Frontier, 1615–1753. By Jacob M. Price. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992. Pp. xi, 191. Appendices, bibliography, notes, index. $30.)

Historians of early America have focused increasingly in recent years on transatlantic connections and influences. Studies abound of the European origins of immigrants and the continuing interplay of religious, cultural, and political ideas and institutions. To date, far less has been explored or written about business and economic connections, in large measure because of the paucity of surviving records. Jacob Price, a dean of economic historians, attempts in this slender volume to address that lacuna. His subject is the Perry family, who for approximately a half century led the firm that dominated the tobacco trade between the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland and the metropolis of London. Price's challenge is daunting, for although the names of the Perrys recur frequently in the contemporary records, neither as individuals nor as a business firm did they leave any appreciable papers. Price has had to piece together the history of the family and firm from very scattered and fragmentary materials. Consequently, many gaps remain, and the reader finishes the 101 pages that form the narrative of this book with many questions unanswered and a desire, at the least, for more such miniature studies to help illuminate the larger history of transatlantic trade and the influence that a major merchant might exert.

This study examines four generations of Perrys, three of which engaged in the tobacco trade. Ancestor Richard Perry began the family's interest in the New World as an early settler of New England and a founder of New Haven. He returned to England in 1651 or 1652 but did pursue interests in colonial trade. It was his son, Micaiah, who in about 1665 embarked on trade with Virginia and by 1673 had entered a partnership with Thomas Lane, an important individual who actually figures very little in Price's account. By the mid-1690s Lane and Perry had outstripped their competitors. Following Lane's death in 1710, Perry continued to lead the most successful firm engaged in the tobacco trade. The business entered a period of decline following Micaiah's death in 1721. A year earlier his son Richard also had died, and control of the business descended to two young grandsons, Micajah II and Philip. The enterprise collapsed in financial difficulties in 1753.

Price's most interesting chapter explores the ways the Perrys—and other companies—conducted their trade. He argues that the factor system was more important than any consignment trade for most of the years of the firm's existence. Skillfully drawing on bits and pieces of information, Price reconstructs the business dealings and likely profits, which he believes were at their zenith in the years 1697–99. The firm's trade always centered more on Virginia, whose tobacco was more appreciated than the Orinoco leaf grown in Maryland; the Perrys usually re-exported Maryland

tobacco to the Continent, where it was more popular.

Price devotes a separate chapter to "The Public Role of Micaiah Perry I." From a powerful position in the mercantile community, Perry was solicited by colonists and bureaucrats for his knowledge, advice, and actions as an intermediary. He served as financial agent for both Virginia and Maryland in the 1690s and represented numerous persons in the two colonies, most notably Francis Nicholson (who served as governor of both Virginia and Maryland), the Carters, and William Byrd. Perry was obviously one of the most important figures in London with respect to Chesapeake affairs. It is here that Price's book is somewhat disappointing. In other chapters the author has creatively built upon his impressive knowledge of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century economic affairs to flesh out the business activities of the Perrys; when attention turns to the political and social arenas, however, Price appears not as well grounded and provides a less rich picture of Perry's influence. For example, an account of Perry's significant role in the selection of Maryland's first royal council in 1691, not discussed here, could considerably amplify the importance of Perry's knowledge of Chesapeake figures, the impact of his endorsement or rejection of a candidate or policy, and the weight his influence carried in providing critical introductions and access to prominent people in England.

The last chapters primarily sketch the life of Perry's grandson and namesake, whose social and political ambitions as a London alderman and member of Parliament diverted attention and resources from the family business at the very time the tobacco trade was changing and required skilled management. As valuable real estate along the Thames was sold to ease financial straits, ruptures also emerged with highly placed figures in the Chesapeake world. The Perrys' reputation shifted from that of a valuable ally of tobacco planters to being an unsympathetic exploiter. The tobacco trade was unkind to many companies in these years, but especially when control devolved to a generation less astute or committed to what had been the lifeblood of their predecessors' affairs.

Price's book hints at many topics worthy of further exploration. For example, the Perrys and their main competitors rarely owned or chartered whole vessels. In 1719, as an illustration, the Perrys used fifty different ships, holding shares in some and simply chartering others. It would be interesting for someone to concentrate more directly on these ships, their owners, and captains. These people merit the same interesting discussion Price has given in this book to the factors or agents on land. Also, occasional observations about the Perrys' relations with William Byrd and other colonials leaves the reader wondering what additional insights might be made into the personal lives of these business figures.

For years many historians have acknowledged in passing the influence of Micaiah Perry and his partner Thomas Lane. Jacob Price is to be commended for this industrious effort to draw together the first extended account of Perry and his firm since a biographical sketch by Elizabeth Donnan appeared in 1931 in the *Journal of Economic and Business History*.

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Chesapeake Bay Schooners. By Quentin Snediker and Ann Jensen. (Centerville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1992. Pp. xi, 252. Appendices, notes, glossary, index. $44.95.)

In selecting the data to be included in *Chesapeake Bay Schooners*, the authors have taken the term *schooner* to mean a vessel rigged with two or more masts carrying fore and aft sails without regard to the shape of the vessel's hull, or its size, or the use for which it is designed. This inclusive approach avoids the many sub-classifications used so frequently by maritime historians and permits the presentation of an easily understood discussion of the origins, development, and ultimate uses as they occurred in the Chesapeake Bay. Because no documentation has yet been found recording the specifics of this evolution, the writers lean heavily on previously published data, and the text at times bristles with technical terms which can, for the most part, be understood using the rather complete glossary provided. The necessities of the day have in nearly every instance directed changes in the fabric of the schooner. If piloting is the use to which it is to be put, then speed is essential; if privateering is the use, then speed, maneuverability, and size are needed; but for cargo-carrying, size (the quantity that can be carried) is the prime objective. As the United States gained sea power and war subsided in the Atlantic, the fast, agile, unstable Baltimore Clipper schooner evolved into the packet boat, the slaver, and the yacht. Finally there emerged the *pungy* schooner, possibly the last descendant of the Baltimore Clipper, distinctly a development of Chesapeake Bay shipbuilders. The text on the pungy schooner is of special interest as it brings together the work of many experts on pungies and quotes unpublished data not readily available to the casual reader. The design of the pungy is an adaption to meet current needs, but it did not have adequate carrying capacity nor could it operate in shoal waters. In the 1840s bay shipbuilders commenced using the centerboard to permit a vessel to traverse both deep and shallow water and widened the hull to increase freight capacity. The result is the craft referred to as the Chesapeake Bay schooner, a handy, fast, sailing vessel with improved cargo capacity.

The Chesapeake Bay schooner became the workhorse of the bay country, hauling lumber, cordwood, cans, oysters, produce, grain, coal, fertilizer, pineapples, logwood, and the occasional passenger. The authors have made extensive use of personal interviews conducted in the late 1980s, newspaper articles, and monographs related to schooner operations, management, the skippers, crews, and cargoes. There is an intimate quality to the text as a result. The evolution of trade practices in the bay country called for more burdensome craft needed to compete with steam-powered vessels, railroads, and motor trucks. Rigs were extended to three, four, and more masts, and hulls were lengthened. The resulting vessel was the ram schooner, and the authors include some interesting details of construction of their long wooden hulls. The ram schooner *Jennie D. Bell* was the last sailing freighter on the bay, although she is survived by *Edwin and Maud* (renamed *Victory Chimes*). But the usefulness of the freight-carrying schooner continued to fade, and the final demise was hastened by casualties due to collisions, war, wear, worms, worn

sails and the practice of sheathing the hull with metal. Many schooners were converted to power boats; a few were put in the summer cruise business. No new Chesapeake Bay schooners were built after 1924 except for *Pride of Baltimore*, a Baltimore Clipper; *Lady Maryland*, a pungy; and *Pride of Baltimore II*, a modified clipper.

The scope and quality of the numerous illustrations and their detailed titling is a very important feature of the book. Many photographs are here published for the first time, having been selected from numerous private and museum collections. Ship lists arranged by schooner subtypes and drawings and plans of eleven schooners and two yawl boats are included in the appendices, as well as a brief statement on the influence of economic trends on schooner construction.

This book is a capsule history of an important type of commercial vessel with a reasonably determined beginning and a certain conclusion. As such, it is a welcome addition to Chesapeake Bay historical literature.

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The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America. By Robert F. Ensminger. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Pp. xiii, 238. Appendices, glossary, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

The Pennsylvania Culture Area (PCA) has been identified by several scholars, most notably Fred Kniffen, Wilber Zelinsky, Robert D. Mitchell and Henry Glassie as a crucible of "Pennsylvanianess," a particular cultural form which has been identified through various factors such as architecture, food ways, town organization, and language patterns. Now, another determiner of Pennsylvania culture joins the list: the Pennsylvania barn. Robert F. Ensminger offers a detailed examination of this distinctive structure.

By most definitions the PCA covers southeastern and south central Pennsylvania and the central section of Maryland, with a long tail swooping to the southwest down the Great Valley of Virginia. The area's outline reflects settlement patterns and migration routes outward from Philadelphia, the port of entry of most of the PCA's settlers. *The Pennsylvania Barn* and other works dealing with the PCA interest students of Maryland's history because as much as a third of Maryland lies within the PCA, and the multiplicity of cultural traditions characteristic of this area offers a fascinating contrast to the more purely English traditions of Maryland's tidewater region.

Professor Ensminger sets out to construct a barn typology, a classification system for the various types of barns found in the PCA, and then traces the use of these various types to other areas of North America. In the author's words the book "represents the first scholarly attempt to integrate and update the relevant research about the Pennsylvania barn's origin, development, and diffusion—those aspects that have produced the distinctive agricultural landscapes that are characterized and sometimes dominated, by its presence" (p. xvi). He begins the process with a

detailed introductory chapter exploring the origins of the Pennsylvania barn. He traces its ancestry to European forebay prototypes in the Alpine regions of central and eastern Switzerland. After evolving in Europe, the Swiss forebay bank barn "came to America, where its versatility and adaptability were ideally suited to the rapidly developing frontier agriculture. Its establishment in Pennsylvania as the log Sweitzer barn set the stage for continued evolution and diffusion across the United States and Canada" (p. 50).

Ensminger then constructs an elaborate classification system for Pennsylvania barns, arranged chronologically and by characteristic beginning with the Sweitzer Pennsylvania Barn, 1730–1850, and followed by the Standard Pennsylvania Barn, 1790–1890, and the Extended Pennsylvania Barn, 1790–1920. The three classes with numerous subtypes have in common the overhanging forebay, the identifying feature of the Pennsylvania barn. Ensminger traces the various barn types through North America, pointing out the correlation of concentrations of Pennsylvania barns with migration routes from Pennsylvania, and with Amish, Mennonite and German Brethren communities as far west as Oregon and Washington. He sums up his thesis as follows:

> The vigor of the Pennsylvania barn tradition is demonstrated by its survival through 250 years of movement and change in Canada and the United States. If its origins in Graubunden, Switzerland, are added to the chronicle, the forebay bank barn can be traced for 7,000 miles and 400 years. This is an amazing record indeed. Barns, in general, are practical, functional structures, and they resist the influence of changing styles. In the case of the Pennsylvania barn, loyalty to the forebay tradition was deeply embedded in the minds of Pennsylvania-German culture groups. In addition, the barn's versatility helped preserve its fundamental form even while it underwent functional changes (p. 180).

The sheer size and range of Professor Ensminger's sampling of sites and the breadth of sources consulted are impressive, and he leaves readers few points over which to quibble. Certainly the many references to "Swisser" barns in nineteenth-century records in Frederick and Washington counties, Maryland, which lie squarely in the PCA, leave little doubt as to those barns' origins, at least in the minds of nineteenth-century recorders. Readers of *The Pennsylvania Barn* are left, however, with a few unanswered questions. What about the other cultural groups that have contributed to the PCA's rich heritage? Did these other groups (principally English and Scots-Irish) abandon their own barn types for the Swiss forebay bank barn? If so, why? The author does discuss the English Lake District stone bank barn (which does not have a forebay) and its use in the southeastern section of the Pennsylvania barn core area, and ways in which these barns were adapted to include Swiss forebay overhangs. This adaptation process is explained as reaction to greater grain and hay production that developed in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Pennsylvania and the forebay barn's superior design for storage of agricultural products. Yet it is not clear why this transition to the Swiss-derived barn type seems so

complete. Perhaps a brief discussion of other barns used outside the PCA would help to answer these questions and enhance the distinctiveness of the Pennsylvania barn.

Another question is sure to arise from students of the architectural history of the PCA. For many of the barns illustrating the text, construction dates are given but without reference to how those dates were determined, such as date tablets, written records, physical analysis, or local tradition. A short parenthetical comment or footnote explaining the construction dates given would strengthen the concept of the evolutionary process set forth in the book. An example in chapter 3 is a photograph of a small log barn identified in the caption as an early log forebay barn, circa 1740, ten miles west of Chambersburg in Franklin County (p. 110). The caption explains that the barn combines various Swiss features relating directly to Swiss prototypes from Pratigau. Franklin County is located on the state line, just north of Washington County, Maryland. A circa 1740 barn would be an extremely rare find in Franklin County since almost no buildings dating from before the French and Indian War have survived. Readers familiar with the architectural history of the area will immediately question the accuracy of the date attribution and possibly some of the other date-based assertions in the book.

The sheer volume of information presented, the vast number of barns cataloged, and the careful analysis of a range of European types provide a comprehensive view of the Pennsylvania barn and certainly outweigh the book's few shortcomings. Readers are certain to come away with a new appreciation for these landmark structures that help to define and characterize the PCA and places it has influenced. *The Pennsylvania Barn* is generously illustrated with photographs, maps and charts, and contains a glossary, extensive bibliography, and index.

PAULA S. REED
Hagerstown

Junius Brutus Booth: Theatrical Prometheus. By Stephen M. Archer. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Press, 1992. Pp. xiv, 346. Appendix, notes, works cited, index. $32.50.)

On 19 August 1822 a young English actor named Junius Brutus Booth made a down payment of $265.50—one third of the purchase price—on 150 acres of land three miles east of Bel Air in Harford County, Maryland. The farm was densely wooded and adjoined an even denser woodland where, according to the actor's daughter, Asia Booth Clarke, "arrowheads of every dimension, axe-heads and tomahawks and curiously cut stones" were abundantly in evidence (p. 79). Today what Booth later intended to make his retirement home on this original site, Tudor Hall, has become a living memorial to the entire Booth clan. Unfortunately we are not privy to the reasons why the Englishman chose Maryland as his home, but possibly he had consulted with his cousin in this state who was married to a Harford County girl.

Because John Wilkes Booth was the penultimate of his many children and barely

a teenager when his father died aboard a Mississippi steamer in 1852, the author can do little more than wonder helplessly how such and such an attitude or action of his father's might have affected this younger son. Nonetheless, readers cannot fail to appreciate the terrible irony that the father of one of the world's most famous assassins was a vegetarian and a respecter of life who would not allow his children to kill flies and who once nursed to health a snake injured by the plow on his Harford County farm.

Junius Brutus Booth did not encourage his sons to become actors. Indeed he would have wished them in more healthful work, anything that was, as his son Edwin put it, "true" rather than in that unreal world where "nothing is but what is not" (p. 235). But act they did, and each of the three carved for himself his own sphere of popularity: Edwin in the North, Junius II in the West, and John Wilkes in the South. It seems fair to surmise, therefore, that John Wilkes Booth's fiery commitment to the Confederacy was probably due more to his associations and popularity in the South than to his upbringing or to the example of his parent.

Although English actors often inherited the acting tradition from their families, Junius Brutus Booth came from a line of lawyers and silversmiths and owed his first two names to the fervent republican sentiments of his lawyer father. A persistent but untrustworthy legend—according to Archer—claims that a seventeenth-century ancestor was a Jew named Ricardo Bethe or Botha who had been expelled from Spain for writing inflammatory pamphlets against the royalist government. Junius Brutus Booth was precocious, and sexual experience came early to him. A paternity suit was filed against him when he was seventeen, and a similar indictment seems to have been made when he was not yet even thirteen!

After an acting tour of Belgium, he eloped with Adelaide "Mimi" Delannoy, the daughter of his Brussels landlady who was from the same family as the mother of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The couple was married on 18 May 1815; their first child was born five months later. Five years later Booth fell in love with Mary Ann Holmes, an attractive eighteen-year-old who sold flowers at the Bow Street Market. Although they were unable to legitimize their union until 1851, it was she who was the mother of the Maryland Booths. Incredibly, Adelaide Booth suspected nothing of her husband's Maryland family until their son Richard joined his father on his American tour and was one day called a bastard backstage. Richard investigated, found out the truth, and begged his mother to come to America to champion his legitimacy. Adelaide answered his call and, once settled in Baltimore, decided that although she would do nothing to prevent her husband from making money on his current acting tour, her lawyer would "fall on his back like a bomb" (p. 178) once he returned to the city. She obtained her divorce in 1851 and remained in Baltimore until her death in 1858.

Meanwhile, by 1840 Booth had decided to move to Baltimore proper. Perhaps he had found farm life too taxing. Certainly living in the city would be more convenient for his professional travels and would allow his children to be better educated than in remote Harford County. In 1845 he purchased a home at 62 North Exeter Street and two years later bought the adjoining back yards, knocked down

the fences between them, and settled down to a new domesticity with a reduced performance schedule.

Since the author of this book is a historian of the theater and is in fact professor of theater at the University of Missouri, his biography leans heavily to the specifics of the stage. The most exciting portion of his work chronicles the dead-heat competition of the upstart Booth with the reigning favorite of the London stage, Edmund Kean. After Booth appeared as Richard III at Covent Garden, Kean recognized him as a potential rival and arranged for him to play Iago to his own Othello. The showdown occurred on 20 February 1817. Kean won, and London theatergoers never again considered Booth the equal of Kean.

Booth emerged from the showdown still able to command a substantial audience and supplemented his income by lucrative forays into the rest of England. Nonetheless, Booth soon abandoned England for America, where he is often credited as the founder of our country's tradition of tragic acting. Though blessed with a resonant voice and a wide gesticulatory range, he lacked the discipline to polish his acting. Moreover, he exhibited a weakness for alcohol and a streak of madness that appears to have persisted even unto his grandchildren's generation, when in 1912 Junius Brutus Booth III shot his wife in England and then turned the murder weapon upon himself. The personal library of the elder Booth with its volumes of Shakespeare, Milton, Locke, Racine, Alfieri, Tasso, and Dante demonstrates a more sophisticated taste than was common among actors of his time, a "pewter age" (p. 238) as Archer calls it, of diluted and rewritten Shakespeare, when drama was seen as brute entertainment rather than intellectual stimulus.

From February 1817 onwards, Booth played almost three thousand performances in sixty-eight cities on two continents. Archer's painstaking analysis of the roles he played reveals that three-quarters of his professional life involved only ten different characters (e.g., 579 performances as Richard III, 182 performances as King Lear, 148 performances as Iago). But few as these roles may have been, they were memorable. Theater history rather than social or family history, this biography represents a timely updating of a portion of the material that Stanley Kimmel treated in his *Mad Booths of Maryland* half a century ago. Even though Junius Brutus Booth died at a time when the name of Abraham Lincoln was unfamiliar to the vast majority of Americans, the crime of his younger son can never be far from the modern reader's mind. Perplexed and troubled, we are left with the nagging question of how the good-hearted Englishman, the man who mourned the loss of his dog while on tour in Pittsburgh, spawned a son who put a bullet into a similarly good-hearted man who otherwise might have rewritten history.

JACK SHREVE
Allegany Community College

Annals and Memorials of the Handys and Their Kindred. By Isaac W. K. Handy. Edited by Mildred Handy Ritchie and Sarah Rozelle Handy Mallon. (Ann Arbor: William I. Clements Library, 1992. Pp. xxxv, 817. Illustrations, apper dix, charts, name and subject indices. $63.)

Beginning in 1851 the Rev. Isaac Handy sent out letters to hundreds of Handy descendants seeking information on the origins and descendants of the Eastern Shore family. First the Civil War and later his death prevented him from publishing the vast amount of material he had collected from letters, deeds, church records and tombstone inscriptions.

Almost 150 years later, two family members have brought his work up to date and published a book which covers eleven generations. The book is rich in biographical data concerning the early members of the family and is interspersed with illustrations and quotations from letters and family papers.

Because descendants of daughters as well as sons are traced, the book is an invaluable resource for anyone researching Eastern Shore families. Dr. Handy may not have been trained in modern methods of historical research, but he has brought together an impressive collection of family papers and primary sources, and the editors have added annotations (in addition to their material on the earlier generations). Material added by the editors is in a different typeface, making it easily recognizable. The appendix contains wills and letters to Dr. Handy.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

Before Antietam: The Battle for South Mountain. By John Michael Priest. Foreword by Edwin C. Bearss. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Company, 1992. Pp. xxi, 433. Appendix, notes, bibliography, maps, index. $34.95.)

Long hidden within Antietam's pervasive shadow, the South Mountain and Crampton's Gap battlefields have languished for want of comparable scholarship. Historians are only now beginning to realize that the probable turning point of Confederate fortunes in the fall of 1862 was the untimely discovery of the legendary "Lost Dispatch" with which Gen. George B. McClellan thwarted Gen. Robert E. Lee's first invasion of the North. Ultimately the Maryland campaign would prove to be the infant Confederacy's best and last hope for foreign diplomatic recognition and intervention, and thereby Southern independence. No such favorable opportunity presented itself at Gettysburg the following year. Armed with the "Lost Dispatch," McClellan marched into the Middletown Valley intent upon intercepting Lee's army in mid-stride, its elements divided across the breadth of Maryland from Hagerstown to Harper's Ferry. To employ a boxing metaphor, McClellan's strong right arm mercilessly pounded Lee's rear guard under Gen. D. H. Hill at South Mountain (Turner's and Fox's Gaps) while his left, William B. Franklin's VI Army Corps, administered the coup de main to a scratch Confederate force hastily assembled at

Crampton's Gap six miles to the south, back door to Harper's Ferry then under siege by "Stonewall" Jackson. This latter stroke effected McClellan's mandate to "divide the enemy in two and beat him in detail." His characteristic lethargy prevented a truly detailed beating and quite probably an end to field operations east of the Alleghenies. Here is the stuff of which high drama is made.

Antietam's mind-numbing concussion, three days after South Mountain, all but erased these eventualities in the minds of participants and historians alike, conveniently allowing key commanders on both sides to slip quietly off the hook of culpability. Indeed, these two comparatively small actions warrant inclusion in the catalog of historical milestones—and soon. Both battlefields lie largely unprotected in ever-increasing jeopardy due to habitual failure to recognize their importance.

Before Antietam is the first attempt at an in-depth study of these actions in and of themselves. In his acknowledgements, the author credits this reviewer with providing his "first real tour of South Mountain Battlefields." He apparently paid very little attention. From the outset, this work clumsily lumps South Mountain and Crampton's Gap together as joint operations, when they were not. Each requires and deserves separate scrutiny akin to that afforded Chancellorsville and Salem Church. Thereafter the work descends into misinformation and misconstructions too numerous to measure, assuming the reader can wade through turgid, lackluster prose. Virtually every sentence is erroneous in content and/or context, betraying minimal adherence to traditional academic disciplines.

One could easily create another volume recasting the errors of the first. Space not being available herein, analysis is confined to misconceptions exhibited in the Crampton's Gap section, it being that with which the reviewer is most intimately familiar, though reflective of South Mountain's treatment.

We initially read how a preliminary fracas at the "Quaker School House" (p. 121, actually the Quebec Schoolhouse) near Burkittsville ensued because a Confederate wagon train, pursued halfway across the valley by federal cavalry, was really of too little interest to "mess with." The fight itself, we are told, involved a rebel battery actually parked over a mile away at the time (Chew's Battery) and the Confederate horsemen took their Union opponents completely unawares by charging them on an open road in full view.

In another pre-battle clash on Catoctin Mountain, we learn that Col. William H. Irwin's brigade fought its way through Jefferson Pass on September 13, when in fact it accompanied the balance of its parent VI Corps unopposed through Mountville Pass the following day, as outlined in Irwin's itinerary published in *Official Records*, vol. 19, part 1, p. 379, a standard reference the author claims to "correct." We are also led to believe that the VI Corps "spent the night on both sides of Jefferson" contrary to that same source and many others besides listed in his bibliography.

The battle for Crampton's Gap itself is described in such hallucinatory terms that one scarcely knows where first to place the red pencil. Units are scattered incoherently across the landscape far from their true positions, individuals are mis-assigned by organization, and the author's own sources are so brazenly ignored as to bring into question the level of reading comprehension employed. Civilian-

occupied structures are also mis-labeled, explaining why senior officers' headquarters are sited within an enemy's lines. And so on.

For someone intensely familiar with resources far in excess of those consulted in this work, the reasons for such embarrassing conclusions seem twofold. The author used as a basis for his inquiry the *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records*, plate 27, map 3, wherein the two battles are depicted. Drawn from field work done by U.S. topographical engineers a decade after the fact, with minimal reports in hand, this map is utterly useless for all but generalities. Far more reliable alternatives are available in the *Isaac Bond Map* (1858) and *D. V. Lake Atlas* (1873), both of Frederick County, and the Thomas Taggert Map of Washington County (1859), all of which can be cross-referenced to local land records with surprising accuracy. This framework dovetails nicely with all corroborative participant accounts and can be further used to explore civilian war claims filed at the National Archives. By this method we establish that Franklin's headquarters, after Crampton's Gap and prior to Antietam, were at the Pleasant Valley home of John E. Crampton, not that of Martin T. Shafer, east of Burkittsville, which Franklin abandoned when the gap fell to his possession. It should be added that the *Atlas* was also used to create this book's eye-straining tactical maps, graphics obviously done with felt-tip pen, typewriter, and scissors.

The second reason for gross confusion is the unreliability of sources. The author seems never to meet an erroneous account he does not like, using the words of non-participants at face value without bothering to cross-reference. Here one becomes somewhat scandalized (and irked) at paper-thin research. The unsettling words "assume," "estimate," and "probably" appear throughout the work with annoying regularity, while irrelevant details are fatuously pursued to unsupportable ends. Crucial information is conveyed via conversations of the author's manufacture, and a few sources are so liberally used word-for-word they invite charges of plagiarism. Salient personalities evince a two-dimensional, cardboard quality and are frequently attributed to the wrong company, regiment, or locality.

All this amounts to irresponsible scholarship to an inexcusable degree, which will be impotent enough when devotees find opportunity to properly refute it, a process already underway. Desirable though it may be, we will have to wait a bit longer for incisive coverage of these pivotal but overlooked battles. For now James V. Murfin's *The Gleam of Bayonets: The Battle of Antietam and Robert E. Lee's Maryland Campaign, September, 1862* (1965) and Stephen W. Sears' *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (1983) must suffice as accurate, dependable overviews.

Burdened with renewed haste to make up for lost time, local scholars and preservationists—committed to thorough, honest inquiry—will undoubtedly find themselves repairing the damage wrought by this book for countless years to come.

TIMOTHY J. REESE
Burkittsville

We Were Always Free: The Story of the Maddens of Virginia, A Free Negro Family. By T. O. Madden, Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992. Pp. 169. $19.95.)

Not since the publication of Alex Haley's *Roots*, has there appeared such a gripping historical novel as *We Were Always Free*. The Madden text tells the story of the descendants of Mary Madden, an eighteenth-century Irish American who broke the conventions of the day to give birth to a "mulatto" child. Her precise origin is unknown; she appeared in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in 1758, "pregnant and alone" (p. 2). Mary that year gave birth to Sarah, who embarked on an odyssey unknown to most people—black or white—in eighteenth-century Virginia. Although Sarah gave birth to eleven children, she beat the odds against her success. In order to succeed Sarah did two things: she worked as hard as she could, and she provided services and consumer goods for sale. Sarah Madden was a business woman; from her, a business tradition among the Maddens blossomed into the twentieth century.

Willis Madden was among her children. Born in 1799, he led a life that illustrates American social history during the next century. Like all good black histories, the saga of the Madden family is more than the story of this family, or of Negroes, to use the term preferred by the author. This book tells the story of the people of Virginia, and its promises and failure during the 1800s. It tells the story of our nation, which made slavery and discrimination possible. And it tells the story of "mulattoes"—forgotten children of interracial sex. Virginia law proscribed free Negroes. Living in a region where slavery was legal, free Negroes needed "free papers" to prove their status. State law denied them formal education both because they might become models to enslaved Negroes who desired freedom and because skilled Negroes competed in the work place for jobs. "An 1831 petition of the Virginia legislature . . . cited Negro-dominated trades such as blacksmithing, shoemaking, masonry, plastering, milling, and carpentry and demanded that Negroes, both slave and free, be prohibited from serving as apprentices or learning trades, to prevent competition with white tradesmen" (p. 53).

State law notwithstanding, Willis Madden managed to become a successful businessman. "Ambitious by nature, he was intent on setting up his own business and determined to succeed in life" (p. 54). He found ways to circumvent the laws. Madden owned a tavern, among his other ventures. He provided food and shelter for travelers, some camping out on his land while others stayed in his home. He also wanted to sell spirits, but state law denied Negroes that privilege. Willis Madden never sold whiskey, but he entertained his friends a lot—and served them liquor. Sometimes his guests were generous in showing their appreciation for Mr. Madden's hospitality. The proprietor, however, never sold them alcohol. This subterfuge could only have worked in a community where influential whites respected Willis Madden. By 1850 he was the wealthiest Negro in Virginia.

Technology and the Civil War ruined Madden's tavern business, his primary enterprise. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad transformed travel and trade in Virginia. The railroad offered an alternative to herding cattle and driving wagons laden with cargo. It was the dawn of a new era. The railroad took away some of

Madden's employees; it also took his customers. The Civil War drove the last nail. The "area around the tavern became a hotbed of military activity" (p. 75). Rebel and Union soldiers—unwittingly or not—destroyed Madden's business. The federal government paid a measly $879 for damage done to his property during the war. This sum was only a third of the appraised value of property destroyed primarily by Union troops. Willis Madden never recovered. He was now too old.

Thomas Obed Madden, Jr., Willis's great-grandson and the author of this book, was raised in a family proud of its history. T. O. benefited from oral history. The stories heard since his boyhood days would probably have remained in his family had he not discovered a hidden treasure: a trunk full of family documents. These documents, supported by oral history, are the cornerstones of this book.

Sarah and Willis Madden will probably find their rightful place in the history of Virginia and the nation. Their lives embodied the kind of stuff from which history books are written. T. O. Madden, Jr., has done his part to introduce them. Scholars will probably discover much more to place them in our national experience. *We Were Always Free* is delightful to read and easy to understand. Scholars may be disappointed that it is not indexed or documented. Excerpts from family documents and commentary on Virginia history make its historical accuracy inescapable.

STEPHEN MIDDLETON
North Carolina State University

The Fire-Eaters. By Eric H. Walther. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. Pp. xviii, 333. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. $39.95 cloth; $12.95 paper.)

Surprised by how little has been written about "the leaders of secession" (p. 1), Eric H. Walther has sought to fill the gap. Walther's fire-eaters welcomed, rather than dreaded, Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860. They anticipated that it would force South Carolina and other Deep South states to abandon the Union at last, and they hoped that Virginia, Maryland, and other slave states would follow suit. Earlier, they had looked to various other contingencies to occasion a split in the Union. Fire-eaters identified only two lines of action for southern states: submit or secede. Walther asserts (more than he demonstrates) that the fire-eaters' differences on other issues fostered acceptance of their central message. Whatever those differences, they shared one objective: secession followed by establishment of a Southern Confederacy. "I long for the union of the South," Robert Barnwell Rhett once exclaimed. "I care not what may be the measure that produces it" (p. 137).

Walther focuses on nine southern radicals, all of them committed to secession by 1852. Each gets a chapter (two share one). Three are the usual suspects: Rhett of South Carolina, Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, and William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama. The other six are Nathaniel Beverley Tucker of Virginia, John Anthony Quitman of Mississippi, James D. B. De Bow of Louisiana, Laurence M. Keitt and William Porcher Miles of South Carolina, and Louis T. Wigfall of Texas (by way of South Carolina). Yancey had the median year of birth, 1814; Ruffin, the median year of death, 1865.

Walther points out that those born in the 1810s and 1820s had never known a time that questions of slavery and states' rights had not been central to political discourse. They grew up hearing the older generation of fire-eaters (Tucker and Ruffin) denouncing the North and federal power and calling for resistance.

Walther clarifies the linkages among state sovereignty, slavery, and secession. Doing so, he elaborates the work of his mentor, William J. Cooper, Jr., relating southern liberty to southern slavery. More than a major form of property or the bulk of the labor force, slaves and slavery—according to the "mud-sill" theory of society and politics—provided the basis for republicanism among white southerners (here one recalls Edmund S. Morgan's work on eighteenth-century Virginia). Walther emphasizes that, for white southerners in general and the fire-eaters in particular, slaves—theirs or anyone else's—served as constant reminders of the horrors of loss of autonomy. Moreover, to keep slaves in slavery, they insisted, control had to remain in the states; lose that control, they warned, and the slaves would exchange places with their owners.

This reader's take on the central theme: Submission, to fire-eaters, meant emancipation for blacks and slavery for whites, while secession, Rhett advised, would "accomplish our emancipation, instead of that of our slaves" (p. 138). Keitt proved typical in articulating this dual relationship between resistance or submission and slavery; he saw in 1860 that Lincoln's election would force him "to choose whether I will be a traitor or a slave" (p. 185). For Ruffin, election day 1860 and its aftermath would "serve to show whether these southern states are to remain free, or to be politically enslaved—whether the institution of negro slavery, on which the social & political existence of the south rests, is to be secured by our resistance, or to be abolished in a short time, as the certain result of our present submission to northern domination" (p. 263). Thus indeed was slavery at the heart of the fire-eaters' crusade through the 1850s and eventual success in the winter of 1860–61. And thus Ruffin's meaning when, soon after the news of surrender came from Appomattox in 1865, he wrote in his diary that he was now "only a helpless & hopeless slave" (p. 228), denounced "Yankee usurpation . . . for the now ruined, subjugated, & enslaved Southern States" (p. 230), and shot himself so he could die with the Confederacy.

Walther's subjects repudiated what Miles, for one, characterized as Thomas Jefferson's "monstrous and dangerous fallacy." As Miles retorted, "Men are born neither free nor equal" (p. 277). Thus southern leaders engaged in what, to a late-twentieth-century ear, sounds like tawdry prattle more than high-minded principle. The interests of "minorities" must be safeguarded, or "majorities" would ride roughshod over them. Slavery was good, even indispensable, in that it fostered material well-being and political democracy among white southerners and protected them from northern-style wage slavery. In these and other ways, blacks subsidized whites. As a reward for their indispensability, blacks gained rhetorical invisibility. "Southerners," and "the people" of the South, all had white faces. Such use of the language persists in this otherwise fine book.

PETER WALLENSTEIN
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series one. Speeches, Debates, and Interviews. Volume 5, 1881–95. Edited by John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992. Pp. xxix, 702. Appendixes, index, $85.)

As the speeches and interviews in this superbly-edited volume illustrate, Frederick Douglass maintained an amazingly active pace during his last years. From 23 February 1881, until his death on 20 February 1895, Douglass delivered approximately 250 speeches in the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Egypt, and Haiti. The volume under review prints forty-seven (roughly 19 percent) of these speeches. It also includes eight of the sixty-six interviews Douglass gave the press during the final fifteen years of his life. Editors John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan make this rich documentary material accessible by providing researchers a calendared table of contents, a brief introduction, and a partial itinerary of Douglass's speeches, 1881–1895, and interviews, 1876–1895. Concise document introductions, detailed annotations, eight appendixes (including précis of alternate texts and letters), and a complete index render volume five of *The Frederick Douglass Papers* a model documentary edition.

Brilliant, independent, outspoken, and determined to crush racism throughout his long life, Douglass attracted controversy like a magnet. For example, his marriage in 1884 to Helen Pitts, a white woman, outraged many whites as well as blacks. Whereas many blacks of his day stressed race pride as a defense against white racism, Douglass deemphasized the importance of skin color. Interviewed in the *Washington Post*, Douglass explained: "I conceive . . . that there is no division of races. God Almighty made but one race. I adopt the theory that in time the varieties of races will be blended into one. Let us look back when the black and the white people were distinct in this country. In two hundred and fifty years there has grown up a million of intermediate [persons of color]. And this will continue. You may say that Frederick Douglass considers himself a member of the one race which exists" (p. 147).

Later, in the 1890s, as one southern state after another passed proscriptive Jim Crow laws, Douglass urged blacks not to define all questions in terms of color. In one of his last speeches, Douglass argued that "the colored people and their friends make a great mistake in saying so much of race and color." Speaking at the dedication of the Colored Industrial School at Manassas, Virginia, in September, 1894, Douglass said that such emphasis on skin color impeded, not furthered, the cause of racial justice and self-improvement. Those who stressed race, Douglass said, "put the emphasis in the wrong place. I do now and always have attached more importance to manhood than to mere kinship or identity with any variety of the human family. Race, in the popular sense, is narrow. Humanity is broad." Black leaders erred, Douglass explained, in commending "race pride, race love, race effort, race superiority, race men and the like" (p. 625). Looking back on the antislavery struggle, a contest to which Douglass had contributed so much, he said: "That great battle was won, not because the victim of slavery was a Negro, mulatto, or an Afro-American, but because the victim of slavery was a man, and a brother to all

other men, a child of God. . . ." (p. 626).

In 1889 Douglass was appointed U. S. minister resident and consul general to the Republic of Haiti. Throughout his last years he championed Haitian history and culture, linking American blacks to their brothers and sisters in the Caribbean and in Africa. Aside from economic ties, which Douglass emphasized in his official capacity, he also sought to convince Americans of the historic importance of Haiti to black liberation. In 1893, speaking at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, Douglass explained why Americans generally had treated Haiti with scorn and distrust. "Haiti is black," Douglass informed the audience, "and we have not yet forgiven Haiti for being black . . . or forgiven the Almighty for making her black. . . . In this enlightened act of repentance and forgiveness, our boasted civilization is far behind all other nations. . . . In every other country on the globe a citizen of Haiti is sure of civil treatment. . . . In every other nation his manhood is recognized and respected. . . . Vastly different is the case with him when he ventures within the borders of the United States. . . . Besides, after Haiti had shaken off the fetters of bondage, and long after her freedom and independence had been recognized by all other civilized nations, we continued to refuse to acknowledge the fact and treated her as outside the sisterhood of nations" (pp. 511–12).

By the 1890s, then, Douglass's intense lifelong commitment to his race had not diminished. It simply had changed focus and definition. He remained America's most powerful symbol of black achievement and the triumph of the human spirit.

JOHN DAVID SMITH
North Carolina State University

Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials. By Eleanore Bushnell. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. Pp. x, 380. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $42.95.)

In *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes* Professor Eleanore Bushnell draws a series of portraits of the impeachment trials of twelve federal officers that occurred between 1799 and 1986. (This precluded any extended study of Richard Nixon, who resigned the presidency before a vote on impeachment could occur, and the more recent impeachments of two federal judges, discussed briefly in an epilogue.) Professor Bushnell's aim is to evaluate the "contribution to good government made by the existence of the impeachment mechanism" (p. 6). As she notes, impeachment's significance rests on more than the cases that have come to trial before the U.S. Senate. The investigations of over fifty federal judges for impeachable offenses convinced many of them to resign. Since the Constitution grants federal judges life tenure during good behavior, the impeachment process (or the threat thereof) remains the principal check on judicial misconduct.

The Constitution vests the power to impeach federal officers for "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors" in the House of Representatives. The Senate is given the power to try all impeachments. But the Senate must convict by a two-thirds vote of the members present (Art. I, sec. 3, cl. 5 and 6; Art. II, sec. 4).

The principal utility of the impeachment process is to remove the officers from their official positions. The Constitution further permits the Senate to disqualify a convicted official from holding federal office. However, conviction does not immunize the guilty from further prosecution in the ordinary course of law (Art. I, sec. 3, cl. 7). Interestingly, in light of ex-President Bush's recent pardoning of top executive branch officials, the Constitution's only restriction on the pardon power is in cases of impeachment (Art. II, sec. 2, cl. 1).

Professor Bushnell finds that the "impeachment mechanism has served its purpose as a protector of the general welfare" (p. 23). Aside for the observation that impeachment is a political event, she finds that the history of impeachment defies easy generalization. Unlike much of constitutional law, where the federal courts have evolved coherent doctrine, the Senate has failed to produce a "jurisprudence" of impeachment. Each trial stands on its own. Successive Senates debate and decide anew the rules under which they hear and decide impeachments. Their decisions are not treated as precedents in a formal sense. The failure of senators to provide extensive written justifications for their decisions leaves a paper record that leads up to the moment of decision but rarely beyond. Try as she might, Professor Bushnell is forced to admit that each case she studied is unique. "[O]ne cannot trace the course of impeachment practice in the same sense that swelling and diminishment of presidential authority or activism and passivity of the Supreme Court can be traced" (p. 13). Even the definition of "high crimes and misdemeanors" remains unclear. Officials have been impeached for misconduct that ranged from the political to the personal. For each case Professor Bushnell studiously identifies the party and regional affiliations of the House and Senate leaders and the make-up of the final Senate votes. While some votes were openly partisan, others were not. The most likely explanation is that where the House managers (who act as prosecutors) failed to prove their case in legal terms, the ensuing Senate vote followed party and regional lines.

The twelve stories that Professor Bushnell tells bring to the historical stage some of the lesser known personages of American history—William Blount, the first officer impeached; federal district court judges John Pickering, James H. Peck, West Humphreys, Charles Swayne, Robert W. Archibald, Harold L. Louderback, and Halsted L. Ritter; and Harry E. Claiborne. The impeachment record often reveals men trapped by conduct that was criminal or whose behavior showed them unfit, or whose decisions offended powerful political adversaries. Only Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson bear immediate recognition.

The stories unfold in similar fashion. The trial record provides the principal evidentiary base for Professor Bushnell's studies. For each one she summarizes the House investigation and vote, then the conduct of the Senate trial. Here she summarizes the articles of impeachment, explores the proofs and defenses, and discusses the rhetorical summations made by both sides. Using the same method for each trial leads to stylistic repetitiveness, and at times she seems to offer detail for detail's sake alone. Since each case is relatively unique, these offerings do not provide the reader any deeper insight into the impeachment process.

The almost exclusive reliance on the trial record creates another problem. For example, in discussing the impeachments of Pickering and Chase, she uses some material from the congressional memoirs of William Plumer and John Quincy Adams but does not refer to the correspondence of other political figures of the time. Using such correspondence, however, George Haskins, in his chapter on the impeachment of these same two officials in *Foundations of Power: John Marshall, 1801–1815*, his magisterial contribution to the *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*, puts these early (and pivotal) impeachment proceedings into a sharper light as related political events that were part of an overall Republican strategy to purge the federal judiciary.

From Professor Bushnell's study the reader learns that the impeachment process is long and cumbersome. Many of the cases took several years to complete. The House managers were usually long on oratory ("oceans of repetitive speeches," [p. 177]) and short on legal ability. Some of the accused, who were allowed the luxury of hiring the best legal talent available, escaped conviction. Senators' attendance at the evidentiary portions of the trials was sporadic, their votes subsequently based on a limited exposure to the evidence, which may explain the partisan verdicts: Senators simply voted along party lines.

In the three most recent impeachments the Senate has attempted to streamline the process by creating a twelve-member Impeachment Trial Committee to hear the evidence and to submit its findings to the full Senate. The rest of the Senate is expected to view the proceedings on videotape and to listen to summations by both sides. While Professor Bushnell seems to applaud this procedure as more efficient than the traditional Senate approach, federal courts have recently ruled that it is unconstitutional (Alcee Hastings *v.* U.S., 61 *U.S. Law Week* 2170, 1992). Professor Bushnell concludes that even with its limitations, the impeachment process makes a significant contribution to good government. Her study makes available to historians clear retellings of the impeachment trials that have occurred in our history.

ANDREW J. KING
University of Maryland School of Law

Draw! Political Cartoons from Left to Right. Ed. by Stacey Bredhoff. (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1991. Pp. ix, 134. $10.95.)

Bicentennials pop up so frequently these days that a person might easily overlook an important one. The National Archives prevented a possible lapse of this sort in 1991 by arranging an exhibition of political cartoons to celebrate the Bill of Rights. In the words of Don W. Wilson, archivist of the United States, these drawings provided "visual expression to the freedom of speech" (p. v). *Draw! Political Cartoons from Left to Right* contains drawings from that exhibition. The pictures at the exhibition, many of them the original drawings signed by the cartoonists, came from the presidential libraries under the administration of the National Archives: Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Ford,

Carter—and the Nixon and Reagan presidential materials staffs. More than half of these cartoons, more than thirty-eight hundred, reside in the Lyndon Johnson library because he had a staff person solicit original drawings about his administration. In addition to the above collections, the National Archives Still Pictures Branch contains many political cartoons, including 850 found in the files of J. Edgar Hoover.

An anthology drawn from such political repositories has both strengths and weaknesses. Its main strength stems from the wide variety of cartoons available, some of which appeared in smaller, regional newspapers. The book's greatest weakness lies in lack of historical depth. Only six cartoons, five by Thomas Nast, come from the years before 1920. Since this lack of antiquity precluded historical arrangement, the cartoons were organized thematically. Bredhoff explains that this method allows "the drawings to explain each other with a minimum of interpretive text" (p. 2).

Within each thematic division, a certain chronology exists. In the "War and Peace" section, cartoons about Vietnam provide contrast for earlier ones about World War II. "Balance of Power" contains cartoons about the strife between Congress and Presidents Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Ford, and Carter. "Political Corruption" has the famous ones of Nast exposing Tammany Hall in 1871; cartoons about Teapot Dome, Watergate, and the recent Housing and Urban Development malfeasance complement Nast. Presidential caricatures, civil rights, economic, and security issues comprise other themes. A minimum of text supplies necessary explanation. The cartoons do seem to explain each other. Each drawing receives an identification tag of cartoonist's name, newspaper, date of appearance (when known), and its present location. A checklist of the exhibition, explaining the medium of each drawing, serves as a sort of appendix. The checklist contains 136 cartoons, several of which do not appear in the book, probably because of copyright. For example, the checklist contains four titles by Herb Block, but, unfortunately, not one Herblock cartoon appears in the book.

Daniel Fitzpatrick of the St Louis *Post-Dispatch* leads with nine cartoons. Bill Mauldin of the Chicago *Sun-Times* has six. Joseph Parrish of the Chicago *Tribune* and Pat Oliphant of the Denver *Post* each have four. The reproductions on the slick paper are excellent, and the printed text is unobtrusive. Books on cartooning often spend a lot of time discussing the relative merits of woodcuts, lithographs, and photographs. When the books do take up subject matter, they have to supply considerable detail about the events that precipitated a cartoon. Consequently, these books run more to words than drawings. The thematic arrangement of this collection can serve as a model for other books of political cartoons. American history, when presented episodically, often appears fragmented. But when studied thematically, more unity appears. Grouping material by themes, such as this book does, can help us see the forest through the trees.

WILLIAM R. LINNEMAN
Illinois State University

Books Received

Fertile Ground: Two Hundred Years of Jewish Life in Baltimore accompanies an exhibit that surveys the first families in the city, the flowering of the late-nineteenth-century German-Jewish community concentrated on Eutaw Place, the development of merchant houses, rise of the garment industry, arrival of "Russian" Jews, and such other important themes as religious life, the organization of charity, and the flight to the suburbs. The book's author, Barry Kessler, served as curator of the exhibit, whose images and time line the booklet employs to good effect.

Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, $4

In 1642 Thomas Holme left the Lancashire Lake District and enrolled in the service of Cromwellian forces against King Charles I, Lord Baltimore's erstwhile patron. First a Roundhead officer then a Quaker minister, author, and administrator, Holme traveled to Ireland and then to William Penn's Pennsylvania. There he became a successful merchant whose practical skills Penn drew upon in naming Holme first surveyor general of the province. As such Holme laid out the city of Philadelphia, whose court square and parks became famous in the American colonies. In *Thomas Holme, 1624–1695: Surveyor General of Pennsylvania*, Irma Corcoran has explored Holme's life and career in a nicely done volume that includes maps and illustrations.

American Philosophical Society, $40

Volume 25 of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* covers the period 1 January to 10 May 1793, when the cabinet-level conflict between Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton began to heat up over issues like the secretary of the treasury's conduct in office (Hamilton favored a national bank, a funded debt, a federal excise tax, and other policies based on implied constitutional powers) and the position the United States should take toward the war between monarchical (though familiar) Great Britain and republican (though violent) France. Secretary of State Jefferson convinced Washington to hold a neutral course, but French attacks on U.S. shipping greatly discomfited the former American minister to Paris. Models of careful scholarship, these volumes repay (and humble) everyone who refers to or simply sits down and reads them. Twenty-three illustrations accompany the papers in this volume.

Princeton, $56.50

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

I would like to respond to several assertions made by George Green Shackelford in his review (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* vol. 87, no. 3) of my book, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740–1789.*

First, he states that I do not recognize the accommodation between Anglicans and Presbyterians and notes the presence of the latter group on the western Virginia vestries and even in Anglican ministerial positions. Although the term "accommodation" may suggest a somewhat more settled connection than I see, I do in fact discuss the relationships of Presbyterians and Anglicans and their respective institutions (pp. 36–7 and elsewhere).

Second, Shackelford says that I offer "only statistics of landownership to differentiate the frontier elite from their common folk neighbors." In fact part of the first chapter discusses the distribution of other material possessions as revealed in 418 Augusta, Botetourt, and Washington County estate inventories from the 1740's through the 1780's. Among the categories of goods discussed are several which relate to the involvement in economic exchange of different classes of settlers.

Third, without getting into the relative virtues of Arthur Campbell and William Preston, I would note that my book discusses both the separatist activities of the former and the support of the latter for the patriot cause, as well as the rumors of Preston's disloyalty to which Shackelford alludes.

Finally Shackelford suggests that the Montgomery militia's forceful intervention in a 1792 election on behalf of Francis Preston suggests continued deferential behavior by popular groups. Actually the incident occurred in 1793, and the soldiers in question were not militiamen but rather members of a company commanded by Preston's brother Billy, a captain in the U.S. army. More importantly, Preston's opponents not only protested the soldiers' actions in petitions to Congress but also used the affair as a campaign issue in later elections. I certainly do not argue that the culture of deference completely disappeared in the Revolutionary era. But the reaction to the Montgomery disturbance does suggest the direction of change in the political culture of the region.

Albert H. Tillson, Jr.
University of Tampa

Dear Sir,

I thought well of Professor Tillson's book *Gentry and Common Folk* and recommended it to your readers. I am sorry that he mistook my picky for major criticisms.

George Green Shackelford

Notices

Maryland Historical Society Book Prize

Each year the Maryland Historical Society awards a prize of $1,000 to the author of a book, published during the preceeding two years, which makes an unusual contribution to our understanding of Maryland history and/or culture. The prize recognizes original scholarship, fullness of interpretation, and high literary quality. This year's prize has been awarded to Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh for *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute for Early American History and Culture, 1991).

Eighth Annual Maryland Historical Magazine Prize

In 1984, as part of the state's 350th anniversary, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society established an annual award of $350 for the most distinguished article to appear in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* during the previous year. The prize for the 1992 volume goes to Elizabeth Fee for "Public Health in Baltimore: Childhood Lead-Paint Poisoning, 1930–1970" (fall issue).

Snow Hill Heritage Weekend

Historic Snow Hill offers an antiques show and sale, art show, historic house tours, excursion train rides, antique cars, river cruises, model train exhibits, heritage craft demonstrations, and food. The Heritage Weekend is scheduled for 25 and 26 September. For further information, contact Ronna Carmean at (410) 632-2950.

The Blues Project

Hosted by the Prince George's Community College, the Blues Project is an eight-month program (April to November) devoted to the music, origins, evolution, and legacy of the blues. All events are free and open to the public. For general information, call (301) 322-0600.

Southern Association for Women Historians Call for Papers

The Southern Association for Women Historians invites proposals for the third Southern Conference on Women's History to be held 2–5 June 1994, at Rice University in Houston. Proposals for individual papers, complete sessions, panel discussions, roundtables, and media presentations are welcome. Write Prof. Joan

Cashin, Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210 or call (614) 292-2674.

Fellowships in History of U.S. Hispanic Catholics

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism is offering three summer research stipends for the summer of 1994 and three dissertation fellowships for the 1994–95 academic year in the History of U.S. Hispanic Catholics. For further information write Jay P. Dolan, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, 614 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556, or call (219) 631-5441.

Grants Available for Irish-American Studies

Grants ranging from $1,000 to $5,000 for scholars of all disciplines whose work examines the Irish-American experience are available from the Irish-American Cultural Institute (IACI), an educational foundation base in St. Paul, Minnesota. Deadline for proposals is 16 August 1993. For further information write IACI, 2115 Summit Ave, #5026, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105, or call (612) 962-6040.

Change upon the Land: The Impact of a Mill

A new interpretative permanent exhibit at the Newlin Grist Mill in Glen Mills, Pennsylvania, will open 12 June 1993. It re-lives the social and economic influence of water-powered mills in Early American life. Phone (215) 459-2259 for more information.

Kingman Army Air Field Reunion

The third annual reunion of the Kingman Army Air Field will be held 1–3 October 1993. Static displays, an air show, a BBQ dinner, and a Big Band dance will be featured. Former military and civilian personnel, their families, and the general public are welcome. Please contact Kingman Army Air Field Reunions, Inc., 6000 Flightline Drive, Box 3, Kingman, AZ 86401, telephone (602) 757-1892

Correction

In the winter issue, reprinting the *Washington Post*'s account of the legend of "Lee's Spurs," we misidentified William Joshua *Cartwright* and his wife, Martha Ann Maddox *Cartwright*, whose daughter, Virginia Lee Cartwright, married William Preston Lane, Sr. Gov. William Preston Lane, Jr., was Mrs. Virginia Hendrickson's *uncle*.

Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by dating and identifying this Prince Georges County scene. What town is this? What street?

The spring 1993 Picture Puzzle depicts the east side of North Street in Elkton, looking north. The Opera House, now called the Clayton Building, stands just beyond the Singerly Fire Company Building, not part of Elkton Town Hall.

The following people correctly identified the winter 1992 Picture Puzzle:

Mr. Wayne R. Schaumburg; Ms. Ruth B. Mascari; Ms. Patricia Parkent; Joseph A. M. Lettre, MDDF, Ret.; Mr. Randall Greenlee; Mr. Mark N. Schatz; Ms. Judy Dobbs; Mr. Howard E. Elliott, Jr.; Mr. Raymond Martin; Mr. Donald T. Fritz; Mr. William G. Wilson; Ms. Sylvia Kemp Sard.

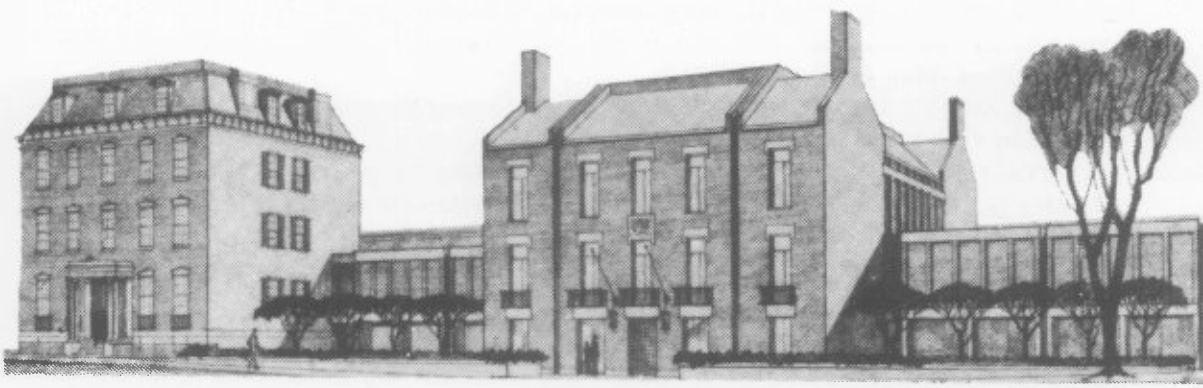
Send your answers to:

Picture Puzzle
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Maryland Historical Society Publications List
Best Sellers

* CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. $4.50 ($4.05)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy, 1760–1820.* 139pp. Illus. 1981. (paper) $15.00 ($13.50)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. $9.50 ($8.05)
* ELLIS, DONNA, and STUART, KAREN. *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* 202pp. Illus. 1989 $17.95 ($16.15)
* FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. $30.00 ($27.00)
* HAW, JAMES; BEIRNE, FRANCIS F. and ROSAMOND R.; and JETT, R. SAMUEL. *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase.* 305pp. 1980. $14.95 ($13.45)
* HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum.* 31pp. Illus. 1984 $3.00 ($2.70)
* KAHN, PHILLIP JR. *A Stitch in Time The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades.* 242 pp. Illus. 1989 $25.00 ($22.50)
* KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning.* 352pp. 1984. $17.50 ($15.75)
* KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979 $3.00 ($2.70)
* KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)
* MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland.* 47pp. 3rd printing,1981. $3.00 ($2.70)
* *The Mapping of Maryland 1590–1914: An Overview.* 72pp. 1982. $6.00 ($5.40)
* MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . . (Reister and allied families).* 251pp. 1975. $15.00 ($13.50)
* *Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial.* Ed. by J. B. Boles. 253pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $7.50 ($6.75) (hard cover) $15.00 ($13.50)
* *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINES.* $6.00 per issue.
* MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland– A Guide.* 4th Ed. 1992. $12.00 ($10.80)
* *News and Notes* of the Maryland Historical Society. $2.00 an issue.
* *(Peale Family) Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 187pp. Illus. 1975. $4.00 ($3.60)
* PEDLEY, AVRIL J. M. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Supplemented by # 13 390pp. 1968. $20.00 ($18.00)
* PORTER, FRANK W., III. *Maryland Indians Yesterday and Today.* 26pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)
* RUSSO, JEAN B., *Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage.* 110 pp. 1991. ($6.95).
* STIVERSON, GREGORY A. and JACOBSEN, PHEBE R. *William Paca: A Biography.* 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $4.95 ($4.45) (hard cover) $7.95 ($7.15)
* WEEKLEY, CAROLYN J.; COLWILL, STILES T., et al. *Joshua Johnson, Freeman and Early American Portrait Painter.* 173pp. Illus. 1987. $25.00 ($22.50)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740–1940 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 344pp. 1984. $37.50 ($33.75)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. and GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F., *Classical Maryland 1815–1845: Fine and Decorative Arts from the Golden Age.* 185pp. Color illus. $37.50 ($33.75).
* *Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History.* 24 titles, 1945–1962. Important for schools; $.50 each, $10.00 set.

Members of the Maryland Historical Society may take the 10 percent discount in parentheses above. Prices subject to change. All orders must be prepaid. Maryland residents add 5 percent state sales tax. Include postage and handling charge of $3.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item. *Address orders to:* Publications Marketing, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.



Maryland Historical Society
Museum and Library of Maryland History
201 W. Monument Street
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