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KONIG GOBLET ACQUIRED BY THE SOCIETY 1952

Made by Amelung at the New Bremen Factory.

Photo Courtesy Corning Museum of Glass

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

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AMELUNG AND HIS NEW BREMEN GLASS WARES

By HARRIET N. MILFORD

IN the troubled period immediately following the Revolution Maryland, in common with the rest of the new world, was not always kind to those who pioneered within her borders. Many saw failure of their highest hopes, yet there were those who left behind them work that was to shed glory on the land where those hopes were shattered beyond repair. Such was the fate of John Frederick Amelung, son of old Germany, who, at the age of 44, landed in the port of Baltimore in 1784, to establish his "glass-manufactory" in the new republic. Ten miles from Frederick he established the New Bremen Glass Manufactory on the banks of Bennett's Creek. This plant operated with varying success for a decade. When his business failed Amelung went to live with his son-in-law, Peter Volckman, on Bank Street in Baltimore, where he died soon afterward.[1]

[1] The origin of the plant was described in Amelung's pamphlet, *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass-House near Frederick-*

Amelung was almost forgotten. His famous presentation pieces remained unknown for more than a century except in a few families who valued them as heirlooms without realizing their historical importance. Recent attention to Amelung resulted from the acquisition of the Bremen pokal in 1928 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This large covered drinking vessel, shaped like a goblet, was found in Bremen, Germany.[2] This piece is clear with a greenish cast in the thicker portions. The knopped and inverted baluster stem supports a large semi-oviform bowl. The domed foot with broad base gives the whole an appearance of perfect balance. The inverted baluster on the stem and the finial atop the cover are similar in shape and each has the air bubble or tear. On the obverse, or front, above the arms of the City of Bremen is inscribed, "Old Bremen Success and the New Progress."[3] The copper wheel engraving of the central motif with its artfully designed embellishments was undoubtedly the work of a master craftsman. The reverse has the words and date which must have thrilled the discoverer of this unique piece, "New Bremen Glass Manufactory 1788—North America, State of Maryland." Thus intense interest in Amelung was first aroused among students of early American glass. Libraries were searched anew, history conned, museums, collectors and dealers set on the trail for more of these treasures. While some reasoned that the goblet might have been made in Bremen, Germany, for presentation to the Maryland factory, most students concluded that it was made at New Bremen.

The Ghequière covered flip was the second wheel engraved and inscribed piece to attract the attention of the experts. It had been lent for exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art by Dr.

Town in the State of Maryland, 1787. For a general account see Dorothy M. Quynn, "Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII (September, 1948), 155-179. Occasional articles about glass have been printed in the *Magazine Antiques*, the *Antiquarian* and the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. The books of George S. and Helen McKearin, *American Glass* (New York, 1941) and *Two Hundred Years of American Blown Glass* (New York, 1950) give much reliable data on Amelung and his wares.

The Maryland Historical Society has arranged an exhibition of early American glass in which the products of New Bremen are featured. It opened March 11 and will continue through May 31—EDITOR.

[2] Announcement of this acquisition was made in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* for June, 1928 (Vol. 23) pages 166-167. It was further reported in the *Antiquarian* for December, 1930 (Vol. 15) pages 58-60.

[3] A toast is implied. The sense seems to be "Success to Old Bremen and Progress to New Bremen."

Charles G. Fenwick who inherited it from his great grandfather Charles Ghequière. It was an original presentation piece and unquestionably was produced at Amelung's plant. Aside from the beauty and importance of this piece, it also proved the authenticity of the Bremen pokal.[4]

All doubts of the skeptical vanished. Students agreed that, so far as is known, the inscribed presentation glass from the New Bremen Glass Manufactory merited acclaim for two firsts:

(1) the first inscribed pieces made in the United States by any factory, and

(2) the first copper wheel engraving, worthy of the name, in America.

Amelung's fame began to spread — slowly and steadily, beyond the first small circle that had been searching for additional facts to reveal the true story of this man and his enterprise. These authenticated products of New Bremen may do as much for Maryland's fame as Stiegel's beautiful glass did for Pennsylvania's. As yet only four or five of America's leading museums and historical societies own any of these treasures.

The König goblet now exhibited by the Maryland Historical Society, which has just acquired it as the gift of interested members, is a typical Amelung piece. The height is 7 3/4 inches, width 4 1/8 inches. The symmetry of the bowl and the balance between bowl and base are apparent in the photograph. The high dome of the base as well as its width are characteristic of Amelung pieces. The color is a slight smoky gray, usually found in authentic pieces. The fine craftsmanship of the wheel engraving may be seen in the picture. It consists of conventional scrolls, florets and foliage, ending on one side in a bearded head of wheat. These devices duplicate those in several other Amelung pieces, though the pattern as a whole is different. In fact, no two engraved Amelung patterns, so far discovered, are identical.

In the center of the garland is the name "A. König," for

[4] A flip is shaped like a tumbler and varies in size from a pint to a half-gallon. The Ghequière piece is now in the du Pont Museum at Winterthur, near Wilmington, Delaware. It is described as being 12½ inches tall and in some parts of a smoky hue. On the front there is an elaborate wreath enclosing the name "Charles Ghequière" and near the top the words "Floreat Commercium" ("May Commerce Flourish"). The reverse is engraved "New Bremen Glassmanufactory, the 20th June, 1788." The slightly domed top is encircled by an engraved wreath and has the characteristic Amelung finial and tear.

August König, great great grandfather of Mrs. Edmond H. Morse (Ethel Luisa Dannenberg) of Baltimore from whom the goblet was acquired. August König is listed as a merchant in the Baltimore directory of 1796 and in the succeeding issues (1799 and 1800) as a toy or "Noriemburga ware merchant." [5] Whether König was a friend or business associate of the glass maker is not known. Undoubtedly, as a member of the close-knit German colony in Baltimore at this time, he would have known Amelung. The goblet was most probably a presentation piece from the Amelungs or possibly made by them on order of König's family. It was inherited by Mrs. Morse through her father, Frederick Koenig Dannenberg (II) his father, Frederick Koenig Dannenberg (I) and the latter's mother, Dorothea König Dannenberg, daughter of August König. The König goblet is the only known piece from New Bremen that is owned by a Maryland museum.

Some years ago, while in a small antique shop near Washington, I was casually examining an odd looking bottle. The dealer, noting my interest, remarked, "That's Amelung." "What is Amelung?" There! Without realizing it, I had asked the question that has consumed an ever-increasing amount of my interest and time these past twenty years.

In Frederick a few months later, I thought of looking for the plant. After making many inquiries and receiving as many different directions, I finally found the road that led to the side road, that led to the lane, that led to the bottom of a long hill — and to what was left of the village of New Bremen.

It was a beautiful fall day. As I stood gazing about, the place seemed to come to life. There was no Gray or Goldsmith to describe the scene, but those who like old places, old things, know the nostalgic feeling that came over me.

Amelung had located his plant where the lovely little Bennett's Creek valley widens to a meadow. The village was laid out German fashion, with the houses perched along the main thoroughfare called Fleecydale.[6] Only a few cellar holes remained. I revisited the place at long intervals. For some years the search

[5] Presumably the compiler of the directory meant *Nuremberger* ware, that is, merchandise imported from the city of Nuremberg, Germany, especially toys and novelties.

[6] On a land plat owned by Mr. Harry D. Shankle, of Buckeystown, Md., the Fleecydale road is shown as a recognized thoroughfare. Fleecydale was also taken as its name by a Masonic Lodge which flourished at New Bremen. Information from Mr. Raymond H. Bussard, of Frederick, Md.

for glass was casual, more like an excuse to visit a loved spot. Surface search and shallow excavating with a trowel produced interesting cullet and tailings, most of it in the common green. From this I progressed to an interest in colored fragments. Finding a few bits of blue or amethyst was reward enough for a long day's work. Then I read a book, *Early American Glass,* by Rhea Mansfield Knittle, published in 1927. There was a whole chapter on the New Bremen glass house. This forward-looking writer dared to predict that many of the richly colored specimens attributed to Stiegel were probably made at the Maryland factory.

My excitement grew. Now there was a purpose in the search. The trowel gave way to the spade. Sullivan, who doubled at home as cook, was an enthusiastic wielder of the mattock and pick. We found rich color in quantity — Stiegel blues that looked purple where the glass thickens, amber in many shades, amethyst so dense that it only showed color around the edges when chipped off in thin sheets — all of these in a wide range of shades. The fiery opalescent was found in sufficient quantity to convince us that it was an Amelung product and not an accident of too much lime or soda in the batch. The range of greens in coarse and fine quality was astounding — citron, olive, jade, yellow, green, streaked with magenta, puce, pale amethyst, pinkish amethyst, amber, and many others too numerous to describe.

The cullet showed interesting patterns. Ambition grew — we must go deeper. There was a waste dump with trees growing from the center. We reasoned that this might be the foundation of the first ovens. If we could get below the two large trees, we might find proof of much we suspected. Our objective now was to locate the site of both plants, to find some moulds as well as engraved glass. We hesitated to use a bulldozer; however, there seemed no other practical way. Armed with permission from the owners of the fields and private road, we arrived with a bulldozer.[6a] The trees came up, albeit with great reluctance. We spot tested by hand below the tree roots. There had been an extensive fire. The site appeared to be that of the original building. Tree roots had grown through the crevices of charred wood and slag. Broken pots showed evidence of having been full of a good quality of molten metal when the disaster occurred.

[6a] Without the kind cooperation of Mr. Charles Smith and Mr. Yingling, we could not have proceeded.

We found no clear engraved flint and no moulds (though there was a quantity of iron and nails). It was very frustrating. By now I hoped to contribute some new proof in the way of varied engraved designs as well as blown and expanded patterns — evidence to substantiate the claims, or rather, hopes of those who owned interesting decanters, celery vases, flips and such. I had to content myself with arranging exhibits of the fragments for various museums and historical organizations. It seemed the only way to preserve these for posterity. I remembered the inaccessibility of the remaining Stiegel fragments to the rank and file collector.

The following year Sullivan was digging near a location that had not yielded fragments before. He called me to see what he had struck. It was a sizable cache of pot clay evidently prepared and never used. It seemed unimportant, but we spied a bit of glass. It was engraved. There was more, some with plain panels, wines with engraved swags and tassels, bow knots and that characteristic flower Amelung's artisans favored for the presentation pieces. The most meticulous archaeologist could not have criticized our tender treatment of that clay. We dissolved it in water bit by bit till the tiniest pieces of cullet were extracted. There was very little of this treasure. Here is the place to say I had found fragments of a wine glass in the foundation of one of the houses. The pattern was wheel engraved, but I doubted its being cullet from the glass works. Except for scratches it showed little signs of oxidization or earth stains. Being in the crevices of loosened foundation stones might account for this. Another similar find and the fragments imbedded in the clay convinced me none of these can be labeled "picnic glass." [7]

Another waste dump below the road has also yielded quantities of interesting cullet — diamond quilted patterns, diamond cut wine stems, plain cut wine stems, solid wine and goblet stems, some cotton stems, folded rims in clear, green, blue, and amethyst, for large bowls, goblets and wines; bases of tumblers in several sizes, bases of jars and pitchers, rims folded, welted, scalloped, and plain, in various sizes and colors, folded or turned feet in blue, green and clear in various sizes, interesting finials, patterns in ogival, vertical, ribbed, panel and other designs.

[7] By this I mean glass thrown away by hunters, fishermen or picnic parties at any time after the plant closed.

All through the excavations the story of Amelung's struggle to produce the brilliant clear glass is plain to see. The deep smoky ore gives way to black streaked, clear and smoky, then off-tones of faint smoky purple and muddy pink. Then, in small quantities, the brilliant clear — proof that Amelung achieved his goal.[8]

What of the chemical make-up of Amelung's product? Owners may well ask whether science can determine differences between it and other glass. There were only two types of metal (lead and non-lead) for making glass in early times. The best tests today are the fluorescent and the acid methods, but they are not conclusive. Heretofore experts have stated that all Amelung glass is non-lead, that is, the soda-lime type.[9] By the methods named above the fragments we have taken from 4 to 12 feet below the surface at New Bremen are sometimes lead, more often non-lead. Fluorescent tests of known Amelung pieces have usually confirmed the non-lead claim.[10]

Altogether there are now nearly twenty pieces that are conceded by experts to be from the Amelung works at New Bremen. Most of these will be included in the Historical Society's spring exhibition — the largest group that has yet been brought together. Thus a clearer picture of Amelung glass will no doubt be seen. It is hoped that Maryland housewives will re-examine pieces that they have inherited and perhaps discover additional examples.

At all events, we have abundant evidence of the varied kinds of glasswares being manufactured at New Bremen. Amelung in 1787 published a pamphlet, entitled *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass House near Frederick-Town in the State of Maryland,* which was intended as a plea for a protective tariff on glass. In the back of the only known copy of this pamphlet Amelung in 1790 wrote:

This Pamphlet was published 2 Years after my Arrival. Since that time a great [deal] of Alterations happened and a Capital of 7 to 8000 £ more

[8] It is easy to imagine the concern of those responsible for the formulas in trying to get rid of the grayish tint and achieve clear glass to match that imported from Europe. To win wealthy patronage a crystal clarity was required.

[9] For full description of glass manufacture in the 18th century see McKearin, *American Glass,* Chapter 2.

[10] Mr. Donald Hubbard of the U. S. Bureau of Standards informs me that a new method of testing glass is being perfected. Although it is merely a proposed method and has not been tested, it is described as a spectrochemical procedure which will yield a non-destructive chemical analysis. Research on this project has been postponed indefinitely because of the national defense program.

expended. Yet the Value of the Manufactory has increased 3 times this sum, not only in regard to the Number of the People, as also in making all sorts of Glass Ware and which is increasing every day.

I also have purchased one Thousand Acres of Land more and erected another new Glass House on the Spot, all of which is paid.

The quality of my Glass is coming to perfection from degree to degree, almost every Month, owing to the experience I have acquired since these 6 years past which enabled me to be better acquainted with the materials here, consequently making a better use of it then [sic] in the beginning, and therefore do not in the least doubt if a moderate Assistance should [be] given me, the glass made here will exceed the Imported in a Short Time. At the same [time?] wi[ll] be soon known more from Boston to Charlestown in Carolina.

Joh Fr. Amelung

Jun. [?] 1790.[11]

Advertisements of the period in the Baltimore newspapers under Amelung's name offer not only window glass, tumblers, and wine glasses, but also decanters and "any sort of table glass. He also cuts devices, cyphers, coats of arms, or any other fancy figures on glass, and in time hopes to be able to furnish looking-glass of all sizes." [12]

He further states that he has established a warehouse in Frederick for the sale of glass and has appointed Abraham Faw as his manager there.

Through the influence of friends such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Maryland legislature in 1788 granted Amelung a loan of £1,000 and a tax exemption for five years.[13] When fire swept through Amelung's manufactory shortly afterwards, the legislature also granted an extension in the dates of the loan repayment.[14] In the meantime the new Federal Congress was considering its first protective tariff act. Elias Boudinot of New Jersey and Daniel Carroll of Maryland were quick to note the

[11] The pamphlet is known to have been in the Boston Athenaeum Library since 1831. From it and from abundant evidence elsewhere it is obvious that Amelung was a cultivated man of the world. He was not a glassblower or operator of any kind, but the business head and proprietor, possibly the designer.

[12] Account books of John and Samuel Davidson, merchants of Annapolis, in the Society's library show twelve purchases of glass from Amelung between May, 1787, and February, 1791, including two entries in 1790 which seem to show indebtedness to Charles Carroll (of Carrollton?) for "assorted glass" from Amelung. The total amount of purchases for the four years was £591. The Carroll entries together came to £254. The meager descriptions include "Sugar dishes £3. 7s," "3 cases hollow glass £10 10s," many boxes listed only as "glass," "2½ barrels white glass" besides boxes of "window glass."

[13] *Laws of Maryland*, May session, 1788, ch. VII.

[14] *Laws of Maryland*, November session, 1790 (Resolution.)

omission of glass among the dutiable articles. When the Act was passed in 1789, it included a duty on glass which, on a long term basis, would have been beneficial to Amelung, but his losses by fire made immediate financial assistance imperative. He therefore, petitioned Congress for aid in 1790. A Senate committee reported favorably on a secured loan not exceeding $8,000 for Amelung, but the House did not concur and Amelung's appeals to the federal government came to naught.[15]

Many reasons have been advanced for the failure of the New Bremen plant — lack of patronage, disastrous fire, economic crisis. Although he raised £10,000 in Bremen, supplemented by American subscriptions of £11,000 to £12,000, he had to support for more than a year his original company of 68 artisans and their families. There can be no denying that Amelung as the head of a great enterprise had expansive ideas for the time, in addition to his vision of an ideal community. His home, Montevino, was built on a large scale and adorned with fine paneling. His school masters and dancing masters suggest a seignorial outlook. Perhaps he hoped for a wealthy patron. Even more likely, he hoped for a thriving business resulting from American demand for his entire production. Continued appeals to the Government went unheeded. Amelung was obliged to create mortgages and make personal loans which only hastened the end.

The taking of great risks was almost universal. Shipping merchants, manufacturers and commercial houses all felt the uncertainty of the times, the weakness of the new Government and the risky nature of their operations.

It is rewarding to pursue a theory and prove it a fact. We have taken approximately 18,000 fragments from the ground to depths ranging from the surface to fourteen feet and in all this lot we have found an infinitesimal percentage of wheel-engraved lead and non-lead metal. Until proof to the contrary is found it seems likely that Amelung made very little lead glass and most of that near to the close of the plant.

We are mindful of the many undisclosed facts of Amelung's life in America, — of Stiegel, Bamper, Wistar and many others who as late as 1900 were barely a name to the small band of glass students.

[15] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Congress, 2nd session, pp. 1629-1632, June 3, 1790.

A word of caution to the inexperienced collector might not be amiss. The large number of wheel engraved decanters, celeries, pitchers, and bowls attributed to Amelung could more likely have been made at a later period. Some types were made abroad, indeed the tassel and swag pattern I found at New Bremen was made in England and Ireland as well as at our own Pittsburgh. This and other engraved designs are believed to have reached Pittsburgh via Amelung's artisans when the Maryland plant closed. There is a vast difference between a piece with many of the characteristics of Amelung but lacking date, inscription, or a name to trace its pedigree, and an inscribed and dated piece. It is safer to speak of the former as Amelung type.[16]

Amelung left more to posterity than his glass. Today his products are admired for their fine quality. It is the rarity of authenticated Amelung glass that has caused the fabulous prices for such pieces. The intrinsic beauty of design, the delicacy and exquisite nature of the engraving have been the inspiration of leading designers who have incorporated in their fine patterns such typical Amelung features as the domed foot, the folded or turned foot, the knopped stem, and the contours characteristic of Amelung.

Little by little, by patient research and healthy controversy (and the pursuit of theories) we have a clearer picture of the early glass industry. Who knows from what half forgotten diary or bundle of letters may come facts that we so fervently wish to know — the last chapter in a long-continued story. For many of the details of Amelung's great Maryland venture we must await further discoveries and future research. The man built his monument of glass — but glass that bids fair to outlast many another made of marble.

[16] The genuine pieces by Amelung have been authenticated by (a) inscriptions on the glass itself, (b) by contemporary records identifying the piece and (c) characteristics in the glass itself identical with those of proven pieces.

THE GREAT BALTIMORE WHIG CONVENTION OF 1840

By ROBERT GRAY GUNDERSON

AT daylight on Monday, May 4, 1840, the roar of cannon awakened "the young men of half a Continent," who, according to the testimony of *The Log Cabin Advocate*,[1] had assembled in Baltimore to honor William Henry Harrison and John Tyler, Whig standard-bearers in the Log-Cabin and Hard-Cider Campaign.[2] In the grandiloquent language of the president of the convention, "Every mountain sent its rill—every valley its stream—and lo! The Avalanche of the People is here!"

Since December when William Henry Harrison was nominated for the presidency at Harrisburg, his Whig supporters had been preparing for this great ratification meeting. A local committee of arrangements, it was announced, had made preparations for entertaining the gathering "upon a scale corresponding with its national character." A series of 48 orders were published to regulate the conduct of events; a chief marshal and 101 assistant marshals, resplendent in black silk hats, dress coats, and white pantaloons, had been trained to maintain order; and local engraving firms had printed an ample supply of handsomely embossed badges with Whig mottoes appropriate to the occasion. In the streets, the Baltimore *Patriot* reported, there was "an army of banners."

[1] *The Log Cabin Advocate* (Baltimore), May 9, 1840.

[2] The symbols of the log cabin and hard cider in the campaign of 1840 resulted from the chance remark of a Whig who was disappointed in the nomination of Harrison and suggested that if the Hero of Tippecanoe were given a pension and barrel of hard cider he would retire to his log cabin and forget about the presidency. The Democrats tried to exploit the remark as an admission of Harrison's mediocrity, but the Whigs cleverly turned it into a proof of their candidate's democratic background. The result was that the Whigs, spiritual descendants of Hamiltonian-Federalism, stole the thunder of the Jacksonian Democrats whose candidate, President Martin Van Buren, was pictured as a gilded aristocrat.

The *Sun* and *American* refer to the gathering as "The Young Men's National Convention."

The entrance to the convention grounds had been "embellished with a triumphant arch surmounted with the American flag and festooned with laurels." A pavilion had been built to provide reserved seats for ladies and visiting clergy. Baltimore editors had proffered the hospitality of every Whig home in the city and warned delegates "to look out for pickpockets." [3] The Congress of the United States voted to recess during the proceedings; and Millard Fillmore had persuaded Boss Thurlow Weed of New York to send an impressive Empire-State delegation. "I think this important," Representative Fillmore observed cryptically, "the steam must be kept up." [4]

All this display was a new departure for the normally sedate and aristocratic Whigs, who for the first time, adapted their campaign to the political realities of an expanding suffrage, as the Jacksonians had done in 1832. The conservatives at last realized that political events could no longer be controlled merely through caucuses in paneled drawing rooms. An appeal had to be made to His Majesty, the Voter. Consequently, newspapers with limited circulation were supplanted by the penny press; and polite, argumentative oratory before genteel audiences gave way to the rough-and-tumble speaking of the stump. Thus the noisy campaign of cabins, coons, and cider heralded the rise of the common man in politics. As one Whig leader observed, "Some men of the highest culture did not disdain at times to 'go down to the people.'" [5] Despite their eagerness to oust Martin Van Buren from the presidency, conservatives of the aristocratic tradition like John Quincy Adams viewed the new departure with alarm; but many people, incensed by the hard times that followed the Panic of 1837, eagerly stopped work to march in parades, listen to oratory, and sing campaign songs about Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

Newspapers gave varying accounts of the number who responded to the trumpet blast which announced the formation of Baltimore's "Grand National Procession." Democratic papers estimated as few as 8,000 in the line of march, while Whig papers boasted as many as 25,000—with another 100,000 spectators mill-

[3] Baltimore *Sun*, April 30, May 4, 5, 1840; *The Log Cabin Advocate*, April 25, May 2, 1840; Baltimore *Republican*, May 1, 1840.

[4] Millard Fillmore to Thurlow Weed, April 4, 1840, Frank H. Severance (ed.), *Millard Fillmore Papers* (2 vols., Buffalo, 1907), II, 209.

[5] Richard Smith Elliott, *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 127.

ing about the parade area.[6] A president, 26 vice-presidents, and 25 secretaries were required to administer the gathering, which claimed delegates from 21 states. Participants found no dearth of hard cider in the Monumental City, and the politically neutral Baltimore *Sun* noted that all "appeared to be in high spirits." "A heavy rain," reported the *Sun*, "rendered the air cool and exhilirating." Baltimore stores closed for the occasion, and a "large concourse filled the streets, and crowded roofs and balconies" all along the route to the Canton Race Track, scene of the oratorical festivities.[7] The *Sun* testified that it was "a spectacle such as has seldom, if ever before, been seen in Baltimore," while the more partisan *Patriot* exclaimed that "nothing was wanting—nothing left to be desired—the cup of human joy was full."[8]

At 9:30, a discharge of cannon proclaimed that the procession was about to move, headed by an open carriage and three pieces of artillery salvaged from the Revolutionary War. Distinguished guests of the day rode in nine open barouches behind the marshals. Included in the first barouche were the Mayor of Baltimore, S. C. Leakin, and the Senator from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster. Critical Van Burenites noted the absence of Henry Clay from the procession, and speculated that he had refused to ride with Mr. Webster. The Baltimore *Republican* reported that Reverdy Johnson "conducted Clay from Barnum's [Hotel] through his own back yard . . . [and] conveyed the Mill Boy to the race course . . . in his own carriage."[9] "Did the Kentucky Senator decline a station in the pageant because the precedence . . . was given to Mr. Webster?" asked the Washington *Globe*. "Or did he refuse to lend himself as a part of the ostentation in a Harrison

[6] Baltimore *Republican*, May 19, 1840; *National Intelligencer* (Washington), May 5, 1840; Cleveland *Axe*, May 14, 1840.

[7] The marshals were asked to report at 7:30 A.M., and the delegates were to line up on Cove (now Fremont), Pine, Greene, Paca, and Baltimore Streets at 8:00 A.M.

"The Procession will move down Baltimore street to Caroline street, down Caroline street to Bank street—out Bank street to Market street [now Broadway] (F[ell's]. P[oint].)—down Market street to Fleet—out Fleet street to Canton [near Boston and Clinton],—the place of the meeting." *American*, May 4, 1840, p. 2.

A lithograph picturing the race course and this convention is reproduced in *Canton Days* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 19.

[8] Baltimore *Sun*, May 5, 1840; Baltimore *Patriot* [n. d.] quoted in *Niles' Register* (Baltimore), May 9, 1840.

[9] Baltimore *Republican*, May 11, 1840.

parade?" [10] Whigs wasted little time on such questions, however, for stirring bands of music and three full miles of pageantry quickly diverted their attention from the possibility of an ominous split in their party.

The procession was an hour and a quarter passing a given point, and according to the *National Intelligencer*, "the broadcloth coat and the hunting shirt were seen arm in arm" throughout the line of march. One Whig banner, "WE STOOP TO CONQUER," epitomized a Whig spirit of condescension which Democrats were quick to note. To the *Ohio Statesman*, for example, this "insulting motto" of "city dandlings" and "starched-wasp-waisted demogogues" was "a disgrace to the cunning hypocrites" who were leading "the innocent and unsuspecting into a snare" baited by log cabins and hard cider.[11] Whigs provided a lavish bait, indeed, at Baltimore. Eight mobile log-cabin floats testified to the humble origins of the Whig candidate. The hard-fisted delegation from Baltimore County rode in a cabin drawn by six splendid white horses. Smoke ascending from the cabin led observers to deduce that a squirrel was being roasted inside, and a reporter for the *Patriot* noticed that members of the delegation occasionally "refreshed themselves from the barrel of hard cider which stood in front of the cabin door." A banner heralding "TIP, TYLER, AND THE TARIFF" whipped about wildly in the brisk northwest wind. Fayette and Green county (Pennsylvania) delegations had traveled for several days in their cabin which was "decorated with the skins of every kind of '*varmint*,' buck's horns, implements of husbandry, and evergreens." The discerning reporter for the *Patriot* again noted that it was "bounteously furnished with that inseparable appendage (hard cider) both within and without." [12]

A novel feature of the parade was the huge Harrison parade ball which had been rolled all the way from Allegany County. Henry Clay, in the vernacular of 1840, pronounced this ball, "Lion of the Day." Mottoes and couplets on the ball forecast the downfall of Martin Van Buren and extolled the praises of Harrison, the Cincinnatus from North Bend. Paraders chanted the inscriptions:

[10] Washington *Globe*, May 5, 1840.
[11] *Ohio Statesman* (Columbus), November 24, 1840.
[12] Baltimore *Patriot* [n. d.] quoted in *Niles' Register*, May 9, 1840.

Farewell, dear Van
You're not our man;
To guide the ship
We'll try Old Tip.

One tireless spectator counted a thousand banners—each flaunting a Whig slogan. As Horace Greeley modestly admitted, the Whigs "were far ahead of the Democrats in singing, and in electioneering emblems which appealed to popular sympathies." [13] Whig slogans demonstrated that Harrisonites appreciated the rhetorical effect of contrast and the persuasive value of appealing to basic wants. "MATTY'S POLICY," they proclaimed: "FIFTY CENTS A DAY AND FRENCH SOUP! OUR POLICY: TWO DOLLARS A DAY AND ROAST BEEF!"

Whig women took an unusually conspicuous—but passive—role in the mummery of their men. As the procession moved down Caroline street to Bank and out Bank to Market, the reporter for the *Patriot* observed that "graceful forms leaned eagerly forward from every window and balcony." [14] Not insensible to these charms, the gallant Republicans admitted that "women are the very life and soul of these movements of the people." Whigs everywhere were singing:

The beautiful girls, God bless their souls, souls, souls,
The country through,
Will all, to a man, do all they can
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

"From Maine to New Orleans," proclaimed one Whig paper, "our mothers, sisters, and daughters are now, as in the days of the Revolution, all Whig. Loco-Focoism and Fanny Wrightism find no response from them." [15]

Delegates became particularly noisy as the procession passed near Music Hall,[16] where 248 Democrats were quietly assembled to go about the melancholy business of re-nominating the rather colorless Martin Van Buren. In the imagery of one Whig caricature: "A Fox Replaced the Lion, Jackson." Democratic orators

[13] Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), p. 134.
[14] The full route is given in Note 7.
[15] Cleveland *Axe*, August 27, 1840.
[16] The Assembly Rooms, a classical structure which stood at the corner of Holliday and Fayette streets. See *Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, F. Lucas, Jr., 1832), pp. 191-192.

did not deign to interrupt their speechmaking, which continued in its interminable dullness, as Whig parade chants echoed through windows: "Van, Van, Van,—Van's a Used Up Man."

Once the procession was within the arch at the Canton Race Track, an oratorical marathon began. Seven major speeches consumed the daylight hours. After an address by the President of the Convention, John V. L. McMahon,[17] in which the Whigs were proclaimed the "Log-Cabin Party," Henry Clay arose to compare the gale which blew from the northwest to the popular voice of the assembled multitude. "This is no time to argue," shouted Clay to the 25,000 cider-soaked Whigs before him. "The time for discussion is passed. . . . We are all Whigs—we are all Harrison men. We are *united*. We must triumph."

Kentucky's dashing Sentator was succeeded by the godlike Daniel Webster, who was forced to begin with an apology. "The attempt to make himself heard," he feared, "would be a vain one." Nevertheless, Webster felt compelled to exhort those within his hearing to demand a change of national policy. "The time has come," he announced, "when the cry is change. Every breeze says change,—Every interest of the country demands it. . . . We have fallen, gentlemen, upon *hard times*, and the remedy seems to be HARD CIDER." John Sergeant of Pennsylvania followed Webster and asked that "they bring back to the people, through the log cabins of the country, the neglected and lost Constitution." William C. Preston of South Carolina urged them "to wash the ermine and purify the seats of government." Henry A. Wise of Virginia protested that he could not possibly address 25,000 people in the open air. "I have worn out the best pair of lungs Heaven ever gave so narrow a chest," he shouted hoarsely, "in exposing and denouncing the corruption of our iniquitous Van Buren Administration."[18]

At last, darkness called a temporary halt to the speechmaking, and the crowd returned to Baltimore for the evening festivities. After delegates had hurriedly consumed their evening meal, thir-

[17] McMahon (1800-1871), lawyer and historian, was born in Cumberland. He represented Allegany County and later Baltimore in the State assembly. Subsequently he declined nominations to seats in the House of Representatives and Senate and refused appointments in the Harrison and Tyler cabinets. He was the author of *Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (1831) and was elected the first vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society.

[18] National *Intelligencer*, May 5, 1840; Cleveland *Axe*, May 14, 1840; Albany *Rough Hewer*, June 18, 1840.

teen more long speeches (and numerous shorter ones) were declaimed from two different speaking stands at Monument Square by such orators as Hugh S. Legaré, John J. Crittenden, Ogden Hoffman, Leverett Saltonstall, Caleb Cushing, and "other distinguished gentlemen." Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and William J. Graves honored the crowd with repeat performances. Unimpressed by Whig laryngeal stamina, the Democratic *Republican* told its readers that Whig spokesmen were "men so delicate that they . . . required a silk umbrella to protect them from the rays of the sun and the dews of evening." [19]

On Tuesday, May fifth, the oratorical bedlam began again and continued until eleven in the evening, when at last the convention adjourned "to the fourth of March, 1841, at Washington, then and there to witness the inauguration of the People's President." [20] *Niles' Register*, inadvertently perhaps, delivered a negative verdict on the importance of Whig speechmaking when it devoted fifteen closely printed columns to a description of the procession and but a few sentences to each of the speakers. From what one can perceive from the brief accounts, speeches were delivered in a flamboyant fashion, with much mimicry and histrionics to amuse the noisy crowds. Content was a curious mixture of the grandiloquent, the coarse, and the vituperative. Imagery was alternately crude and classical, while both praise and damnation came only in superlatives. Language was vivid—as well as plentiful. Though logical argument was not wholly neglected, the predominant quality of the thinking was expressed in the couplet:

> Without a why or wherefore
> We'll go for Harrison therefore.

As one might suspect on such an occasion, there were diversions other than parades and oratory. These activities included a balloon ascension, a fancy dress ball at Washington Hall [21] (promoted by Mr. Charles Spies, who promised "an extraordinary galaxy of beauty," including "fair delegates from other cities"), numerous games of chance, two drownings, one murder, and an unspecified number of assaults with intent to do great bodily harm.

[19] Baltimore *Republican*, May 9, 1840.
[20] *The Log Cabin Advocate*, May 9, 1840.
[21] Located on East Baltimore Street, adjoining the bridge (now East Baltimore and the Fallsway). See advertisement in *Matchett's Baltimore Director, for 1840-1*, opposite title page.

After pointing out that a million dollars was "wasted in a miserable attempt at manufacturing popular enthusiasm," the *Republican* complained the Whigs had substituted "the exhibition of flags, flagons, and log cabins" for "deliberation and exposition—the usual business of conventions." [22] Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, explained that Whig leaders "were afraid to attempt . . . any Address, because this motley multitude, like the monstrous image of Nebuchadnezzar, is made up of such heterogeneous and ill-sorted materials, that they have no great principles on which they can agree." [23] With some insight, the Loco-Foco *Rough Hewer* concluded that "in America, aristocracy is obliged to . . . disguise itself under the forms of democracy. . . . Hence declamation and slang, instead of argument—hence pageantries and shows [instead of reason]." [24] From the quiet of his study in Washington, elder statesman John Quincy Adams saw "a revolution in the habits and the manners of the people." [25] The common man had arrived, somewhat noisily, in American Whig politics.[26]

[22] Baltimore *Republican*, May 11, 1840. See also, Washington *Globe*, May 5, 1840.

[23] Richmond *Enquirer*, May 12, 1840.

[24] Albany *Rough Hewer*, April 30, 1840.

[25] Allan Nevins (ed.), *The Diary of John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1928), recording for May 6, 1840, p. 509.

[26] The Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore issued a pastoral letter urging his parishoners "to avoid the contaminating influence of political strife." *Niles' Register*, July 4, 1840.

"The pageantries & parades of profligate and unprinciple parties" fell "fainter and fainter" on the ear of John Greenleaf Whittier, who announced his support for the first abolitionist candidate, James G. Birney. Whittier to "My Beloved Friend" [Gerrit Smith], August 30, 1840, R. C. Fabian (ed.), "Some Uncollected Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier to Gerrit Smith, *American Literature*, XX (May, 1950), 162-163.

FOUNTAIN ROCK, THE RINGGOLD HOME IN WASHINGTON COUNTY

By Edith Rossiter Bevan

SPRING was at high tide when Samuel Ringgold and Maria Cadwalader were married on the 3rd of May, 1792. He was the eldest son of the late Thomas Ringgold, a wealthy merchant of Chestertown. The sixteen-year-old bride was the daughter of the late General John Cadwalader of Kent County and granddaughter of Edward Lloyd of Wye, Talbot County. The young couple soon started on their long journey to Washington County where they planned to settle. Land was plentiful in that newly created county, and Ringgold became the owner of some 17,000 acres known as Conococheague or Ringgold's Manor. Probably the young bride felt they had moved to a wilderness, which it was, compared to the older counties of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland. But the house which Ringgold built for her was as large and as fine as the houses in the bay counties. Soon she was too busy with household cares to worry about the lack of neighbors for twelve children were born to Samuel and Maria Ringgold before she died in 1811 at the early age of thirty-five.[1]

Ringgold knew fine houses. He was born in 1770 in "The Abbey," or Ringgold house in Chestertown.[2] This house his grandfather, Thomas Ringgold, Sr. (1721-1772), created by connecting two brick dwellings which he purchased from Dr. Murray into a long L shaped house. It had finely paneled drawing rooms and a superb antler type staircase in a separate stair hall. Thomas Ringgold made his will four years before he died.[3] It strongly suggests that the house was given to his only child, Thomas, Jr.,

[1] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1023 *ff.* See also, Baltimore *Sun*, July 14, 1912.

[2] See Raymond B. Clark, Jr., "The Abbey or Ringgold House, at Chestertown, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (June, 1951), 81-92.

[3] Sarah E. Stuart, *Kent County Calendar of Wills*, I, 166.

when he married Mary Galloway, daughter of the great Quaker merchant, Samuel Galloway, of "Tulip Hill," Anne Arundel County. He left to his wife his plantation on the Eastern Neck and "the use and occupation of the Tenament Houses, Lott and ground and garden which I bought from Dr. Murray in Chestertown in which my son now lives." Without much doubt it was Thomas, Jr., who in 1771 ordered the beautiful carved woodwork and overmantel in the drawing room, now installed in the Maryland wing at the Baltimore Museum of Art and thought to be the work of the master carver and architect, William Buckland.

Ringgold did not long enjoy his beautiful room for he died in 1776 leaving a widow, four sons, and a daughter. He left a large estate for those days for his father-in-law and Joseph Galloway, brother-in-law, were sureties for £50,000 sterling for the Testamentary Bond.[4] Mentioned in his will was land in Frederick County.[5] Whether Ringgold's land lay in the new county is not known. Possibly it was to investigate or take over this property that his son, Samuel Ringgold moved to Washington County and settled there.

The site Ringgold selected for his home was the brow of a low hill about six miles south of fast-growing Elizabeth-Town (renamed Hagerstown in 1814). Soon he started to build a stately mansion. He called his home "Fountain Rock," after an ever-flowing spring, long known to the Indians as Bai Yuka, or Fountain Rock, which gushed forth from the base of a great rock a short distance below the house site.

Like most of the early houses in that section of the country it was built of native limestone and was covered with stucco. It measused 150 feet from wing to wing;[6] the house was 60 feet deep with a shallow two story bay at the center of the rear of the house.[7] It is said that it took eight years to complete this noble mansion — one year longer than it took to build "Hampton," the home of the Ridgely family in Baltimore County.[8] The house was seven bays

[4] Testamentary bond, Thomas Ringgold, Jr., dated January 3, 1777, for £50,000 sterling, John Galloway, acting executor, with Samuel Galloway and Joseph Galloway, sureties. *Ibid.*, I, 178.

It is worth note that a bond of but £10,000 was required of those who settled the estate of his father.

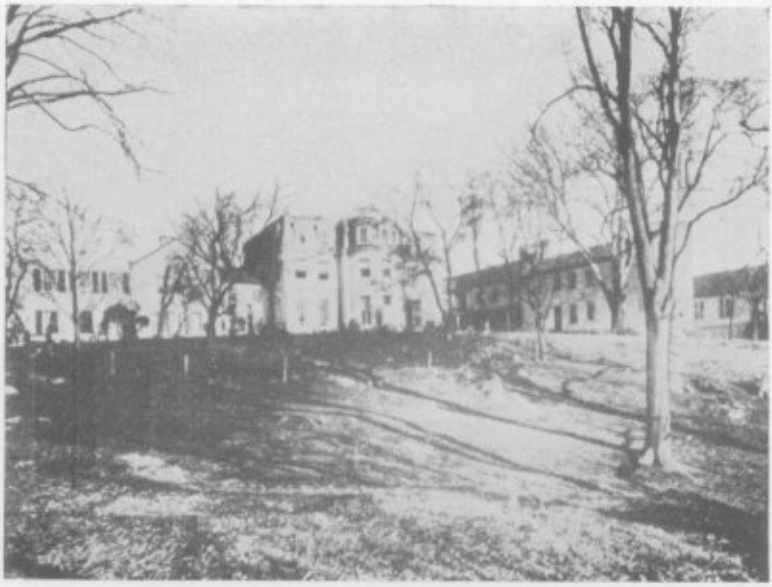
[5] E. B. Matthews, *The Counties of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 557.

[6] *Bai Yuka* (1914 Yearbook of St. James School).

[7] See illustration of rear view of house.

[8] See John H. Scarff, "'Hampton,' Baltimore County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII (June, 1948), 101-102.

Sketch used as frontispiece in George Hay Ringgold's book, *Fountain Rock*.



REAR VIEW OF FOUNTAIN ROCK

After mansard roof was added, showing enlarged east wing.

MAIN HALLWAY LOOKING SOUTH TOWARD THE BAY

wide with an entrance door in the center which was reached by a flight of wide steps from a terrace below the house. It was two stories high with an attic. The hipped roof, which was slate, had dormer windows at the sides and an oval window in the triangular pediment over the entrance door. The windows were taller than average, for the rooms throughout the house had unusually high ceilings. Recessed passageways led to balanced wings which were two stories high with a lunette (half-moon window) in the gable. The wings were appreciably lower than the main house.

Although the front façade of the house was imposing, largely due to its size and excellent proportions, it was the interior of Fountain Rock that was considered outstanding — the graceful unsupported circular stairway, the pillared hallway with fine cornice and moulded (some say hand carved) frieze and the handsome stuccoed ceilings. It was on the rooms of the first floor of the house that Ringgold lavished his wealth and the architect showed his skill in design. The entrance door opened on a central hall, thirty feet wide, with a notably fine cornice and Greek frieze which ran the depth of the hall and around the semi-circular bay at the rear. Three very tall windows in this bay overlooked the lawn or garden area at the rear of the house. This hall, magnificent but unheated, may have been a cool retreat in the sultry days of summer, but must have been a frigid passageway when winter came to Washington County. The hall was separated into two parts by a colonnade with entablature. Why the columns which faced the entrance door were a form of Corinthian and those in the rear, Doric, is not known. Above the columns the Greek cornice and frieze extended the width of the hall to engaged columns which flanked arched doorways on both sides of the hall. The door on the left opened on a large square stair hall, lighted by the two windows on the west side of the entrance door. A hanging staircase curved to the left; an elaborate stucco rose of great beauty crowned the high ceiling. At the rear of the stairhall and opening on it was a large square room with fireplace on the inside wall. Probably this room was used as a bedroom or possibly as a dining room. The stairhall also gave access to the passageway to the east wing.

The arched doorway on the right side of the entrance hall opened on a large room which could also be entered from a door at the rear of the main hall. Midway between the doors was a

large but inadequate fireplace. Opening off the hall at the front of the house was another large room, with a fireplace — possibly used as an office, which gave access to the west wing. On the other side of the hallway, directly opposite, was a false door, placed there perhaps for the sake of symmetry or possibly it was walled up if and when the circular stair case was added at a later period.

George A. Hanson, the historian of Kent County, considered Ringgold's mansion " the most elegant private residence in Maryland . . . adorned with beautiful stucco work and elaborate wood carving " and stated that " in many particulars it resembled the President's house in Washington." Hanson knew Fountain Rock well, for as a student at St. James College he lived there for six years, graduating in 1848.[9]

The President's house that Hanson referred to was the second home of the chief executive. The original house, designed by James Hoban in 1792, was built of gray sand stone from quarries at Aquia Creek, Virginia. This house was gutted by the British in the War of 1812, and only the smoke-scarred walls remained standing. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1766-1820), one of the architects of the Capitol, was the architect employed for its reconstruction. In 1809 he had collaborated with Dolly Madison in the purchase of furniture and decoration for the president's house. Six thousand dollars was the princely sum allowed by the Government to completely equip the house, but the result was quite magnificent and Dolly Madison's stately rooms with their classic touches soon became the criterion for the fast changing taste of the nation. Latrobe followed the original plan closely in the reconstruction, but the outward appearance of the house was quite different. The smoke stained walls were painted gleaming white. Before long the home of the President was known as the White House.

Latrobe is often credited with being the architect of Fountain Rock and tradition handed down by Mrs. Henry (Mary Latrobe) Onderdonk from her father, B. H. Latrobe, Jr., confirms this tradition, though positive documentary proof is lacking.[10] If

[9] *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 67.

[10] Adrian H. Onderdonk to writer, March 4, 1949, and undated letter (autumn 1951). However, Professor Talbot Hamlin in a letter to the writer dated February 6, 1952, states, " I have at last found another Latrobe reference which gives some support to the idea that Latrobe worked on Fountain Rock. This is a letter of July 19, 1806 to Samuel Ringgold at Hagerstown sending him information with

Scharf is correct in indicating that the house was started in 1792, Latrobe could not have designed it.[11] The pillared hallway, the wall inches, and the unsupported staircase strongly suggest Latrobe's work. It seems highly probable that he designed some of the notably fine interior of the house some years after it was built. Ringgold may have wished to bring his home up-to-date, just as his father presumably employed William Buckland to design the beautiful drawing room in his home at Chestertown, many years after that house was built.

Without question Samuel Ringgold knew Latrobe in Washington. They would naturally move in the same social circle. Frances Cadwalader, a young half-sister of Mrs. Ringgold, was the wife of David Erskine, British minister to the United States, and the Ringgolds doubtless often visited there before he represented Maryland in Congress in 1810.[12] With his engaging personality and great wealth Ringgold had long been a popular leader in Washington County.[13] He was a member of the House of Delegates in 1795 and State Senator from 1801 to 1806, when he became Judge of the Levy Court of Washington County. Active in organizing the State militia, he was appointed a brigadier general in 1810, and served in the War of 1812. From 1810 to 1815 he represented Maryland in the U. S. Congress and again from 1817 to 1821, driving to and from Washington in his coach and four with liveried out-riders. Legend tells that his hospitality was unbounded and that he entertained many of his political associates, including Presidents Madison and Monroe, in a lavish manner at Fountain Rock. Henry Clay is said to have been a frequent guest there. Gambling was a favorite pastime in those days and both

regard to the price of an iron roof for his house. On the basis of $280 per ton of the iron sheets, the price of material would work out to $25 to $30 a square. Latrobe adds that he has made a conditional contract for this iron in Ringgold's name, if Ringgold approves.

"This certainly indicates a connection between Latrobe and the Ringgold house and lends at least circumstantial support to the idea that Latrobe was Ringgold's architect, for this is precisely the kind of thing an architect would do. There is, however, in this year no other Ringgold correspondence existing to verify the fact; perhaps their arrangements were largely verbal, and in any case, few of the letters to Latrobe have been preserved."

The Onderdonk and Hamlin letters have been presented to the Maryland Historical Society.

[11] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1023.

[12] Anne H. Wharton, *Salons, Colonial and Republican* (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 195.

[13] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1740.

Clay and Ringgold were inveterate gamblers and played for high stakes. Tradition has it that a large room on the second floor of the west wing was known for many years as the General's gaming room.[14]

In 1816 Ringgold was appointed a commissioner to erect a new Court House for Washington County at Hagerstown. Benjamin Henry Latrobe was the architect selected to design the building. The Court House he designed — a fine example of his ideals of simple and monumental design — was destroyed by fire in 1871, but two of his original drawings of the building hang in the present Court House in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court. Recently much correspondence between Latrobe and Ringgold relative to the Court House has been found in the Latrobe papers in the possession of the family.[15]

Ringgold's wife died in 1811. He must have desperately needed someone to care for his younger children and take on the heavy duties of hostess at Fountain Rock. Within a couple of years he married again. The bride was Marie Antoinette Hay, daughter of Judge George Hay of Virginia and Washington.[16] Legend tells us that the wedding took place at the President's house. Though proof of this is lacking, it would be characteristic of that great lady, Dolly Madison, to offer her home for this occasion. Without doubt she knew Miss Hay whose father had married (2nd) Eliza Monroe, eldest daughter of James Monroe, then Secretary of State, and she must have known Ringgold also for he was an ardent supporter of President Madison.[17]

Although Ringgold was reputed to be a man of great wealth, his last years were clouded with financial worries. " Probably no man ever lived in Western Maryland who exerted a wider influence or enjoyed a more unqualified popularity," [18] but he lived in an extravagant manner and at last his riches took wings and flew away. Though large families were the order of that day, the problem of clothing and educating 15 children as befitted their station must have been increasingly difficult. Three of his sons had distinguished careers. Major Samuel Ringgold (1796-1846) was

[14] Scharf, *op. cit.*
[15] Courtesy Mr. Hamlin who is preparing a biography of B. H. Latrobe.
[16] Hanson, *op. cit.*
[17] " Hay Family," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, VIII (1927), 277-278; Hanson, *op. cit.*
[18] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1023.

mortally wounded in the battle of Palo Alto, Mexican War.[19] Cadwalader Ringgold (1802-1867) rose to the rank of rear admiral, U. S. Navy.[20] Col. George Hay Ringgold (1814-1864) was paymaster in the army and saw service in the Mexican and Civil Wars. Ringgold would have been proud of his sons. His daughter, Virginia, married John Ross Key, a son of Francis Scott Key. Ringgold died in 1829, at the home of his daughter, Ann Cadwalader Schley, wife of William Schley, a prominent lawyer of Frederick.

Many years later Colonel Ringgold who was " a gifted scholar, an accomplished draughtsman and an amateur poet " recalled his happy boyhood home in a long romantic poem entitled *Fountain Rock*, which was published in 1860.[21] In memory, he again visits the home he loved as a child.

> Now, as of yore, the peaceful scene
> Extends a loveliness serene;
> The white-walled mansion, stretching wide
> Its airy wings on either side;
> The slated roof, the dormers grey,
> Touched by the morning's misty ray;
> The stately poplars, lifting high
> Their mitred heads against the sky;
> The oval plot, the road around
> That served us for our racing ground,

In true Victorian fashion he visits the rustic bower, the dingle by the spring. He roams the meadow where once he played among the tents of new mown hay; again he sees the bleating sheep and hears the shepherd's whistle sweet and clear. He picks the luscious fruits of every hue — " the blushing peach, the damson blue, the gage, the ripe and juicey pear." He views the garden neat, like chaste embroidery at his feet and darting through the flowers he hears the green enameled humming bird. But the house he does not enter.

> . . . strangers now thy portals fill,
> Now within thy saddened hall
> Strange voices speak — strange footsteps fall

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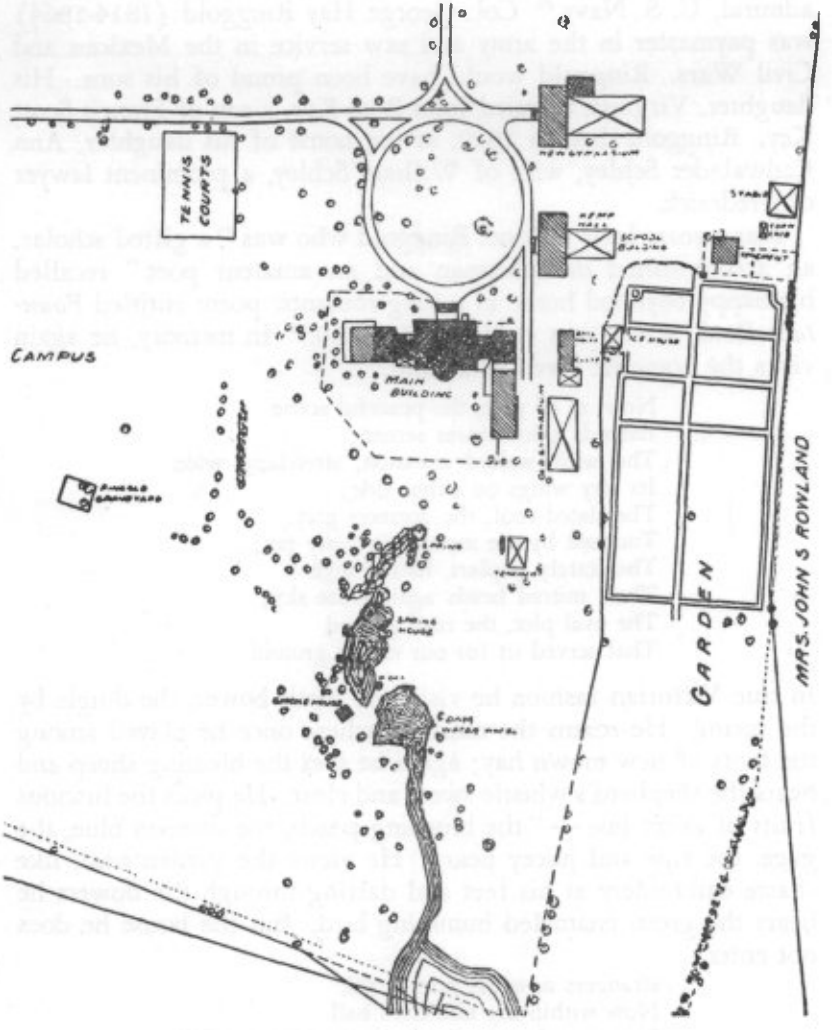
[19] See James Wynne, *Memoir of Major Samuel Ringgold* (Baltimore, 1847) [Maryland Historical Society pre-Fund publication No. 7].

[20] *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 616-617.

[21] *Foundtain Rock, Amy Weir, and Other Metrical Pastimes* (New York, 1860). The only known copy is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. A microfilm copy of the poem describing Fountain Rock is now at the Maryland Historical Society.



PLOT OF GROUNDS OF ST. JAMES' SCHOOL

Showing former Ringgold Mansion, family burial ground, and the spring.

Fountain Rock was sold to liquidate General Ringgold's debts. The mansion and 700 acres were advertised for sale at auction by Schley in the Hagerstown *Torch Light and Public Advertiser* on August 9, 1832.

> Fountain Rock [the advertisement reads] is supposed to be unsurpassed, in its attractiveness of any estate of equal size in Maryland, either as a country residence or a mere farm. The soil is of the first quality of Strong Limestone land. It is in a good state of cultivation. The Mansion House is convenient, capacious and admirably built. The improvements consist, in addition of an Overseer's House, a quarter, a large Barn, &. &. It is finely watered: — its name has been taken from a large never-failing spring which issues from the Rock on which the house has been erected and which is of sufficient strength to operate a mill at some distance from the source.

It was purchased by Col. Jacob Hollingsworth of Anne Arundel County.[22] He made quite a fortune selling some of the land and soon moved to Hagerstown to live. Several times Fountain Rock was purchased by people who soon found it too expensive to maintain and allowed the property to deteriorate.

In 1842, it was again on the market. That year the house and 20 acres of land was purchased for $5,000 by the Protestant Episcopal Church for a school for boys which opened that fall as St. James Hall with fourteen pupils.[23] Two years later it was incorporated as St. James College. The school prospered, drawing many students from the Southern States as well as Maryland. It is of interest to find that three grandsons of Benjamin Henry Latrobe were enrolled there in the early days of the college.[24] Some necessary changes were made to convert a private dwelling, soon called Claggett Hall, to a boarding school. The west wing was enlarged to become the home of the headmaster and rector, the Rev. Mr. John B. Kerfoot. The east wing was greatly extended to provide a large dining hall for the students and General Ringgold's gaming room on the second floor was enlarged to become the chapel of the school. Later the hipped roof of the main house was raised to a mansard to provide cubicles for 35 students, but the rooms on the first floor remained unchanged.[25] Due to conditions

[22] Scharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 1025-1036.

[23] Kerfoot, J. B., *Three Addresses Delivered at the Commencements of The College of St. James, Washington County, Maryland, in 1846, 1847, and 1848* (1848), p. 8 ff.

[24] *Register of the College of St. James . . .* (1847?), p. 26.

[25] Adrian H. Onderdonk to writer, July 18, 1951. This letter has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society.

arising from the Civil War the college closed in 1864. In 1869, with Mr. Henry Onderdonk as headmaster, it reopened as St. James School and as such continues today.

The old Ringgold mansion was destroyed by fire the winter of 1926.[26] For many hours the ever faithful spring supplied fire engines from Hagerstown with water, but the historic building was doomed. Gradually the various out-buildings and old slave quarters, all built of native stone, fell into decay or were demolished to make way for modern improvements to the school property. Even the old family burial ground surrounded by a high wall of stone has disappeared. Nothing now remains of General Ringgold's famous estate except the old spring and a giant poplar tree in the circle in front of the present Claggett Hall, a handsome modern building which stands on the site of old Fountain Rock.[27]

[26] Baltimore *Sun*, March 6, 1926.

[27] It is not easy to mentally construct a house that no longer exists, and it would have been impossible without the aid given by Miss Eleanor Bevan (former St. James staff member), who well remembers the old building. I am also greatly indebted to the members of the staffs at the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library, who tirelessly assisted me in every possible way; to Mr. Vernon B. Kellett, Headmaster, St. James School, who furnished most of the illustrations in this article, to Mr. Adrian Holmes Onderdonk, former headmaster at St. James School, who kindly gave a detailed description of the rooms on the first floor and drew a rough floor plan; and to Mr. Henry Chandlee Forman for valuable comment.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND EDUCATION IN MARYLAND

By W. A. Low

KNOWN popularly as the Freedmen's Bureau, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was established to serve the needs of persons who were displaced or dislocated by the Civil War. The act of establishment, passed slightly more than one month before Lee's surrender to Grant, gave broad powers to the Bureau to control all subjects " relating to Refugees and freedmen from rebel states, or from any district or county within the territory embraced in the operation of the Army under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the Bureau and approved by the President." [1] Specifically, the Bureau was established in order to care for freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands of the South; to issue food, clothing, and fuel; and to administer to the medical needs of freedmen and refugees.

The powers of the Bureau were further enlarged by a congressional act of July 16, 1866. At this time the Bureau was legally empowered to make self-supporting citizens of all loyal refugees and freedmen " as speedily as possible " by using or selling Confederate property in order to provide for the " education of the freed people." [2] This act also directed the Bureau to cooperate with private " benevolent associations and with agents and teachers accredited by them "; to rent or to lease buildings whenever teachers could be obtained without cost to the Federal Government; to provide schoolhouses; to serve as a coordinating agency for the administration, direction, and supervision of education for freedmen. It seems clear that the broad bases for public education of the Negro are traceable to the influence of the Bureau and

[1] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Vol. 13, p. 507.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 174.

its cooperation with private and religious philanthropies. Writing the first comprehensive history of the Bureau, Paul S. Peirce gave a definitive appraisal and description of the Bureau's role in education: [3]

> It inaugurated a system of instruction, though it did not perfect that system nor assure its continuance. It gave central organization, encouragement, protection, and financial support to the efforts of philanthropists, freedmen, and states. By affording protection and encouragement, it induced more teachers to engage in the education of Negroes. By extending government supervision and sanction, it inspired philanthropists with increased confidence in the work of the benevolent and religious societies.

This description by Peirce is applicable to the Bureau's work in Maryland. Although the State was not one of the "military districts" established to administer the "insurrectionary" or "rebel" states (for Maryland did not secede from the Union), the Bureau was very much in operation within the State despite the fact that states of the Lower South claimed its major efforts. Unlike states of the Lower South, however, the Bureau's work in Maryland did not extend to medical and food services or to the care and disposition of "abandoned" Confederate property. With the exception of the settlement of veteran bounty claims, the work in Maryland was concerned largely with problems of education and the administration of justice.

Problems of education and justice were closely related because in attempting to solve the problem of education in Maryland the Bureau was faced with the problem of releasing school-age youths from illegal apprenticeship. Following quickly in the wake of the legal collapse of the slave system, the system of apprenticeship carried the stamp of its slave origins and background, binding many Negro youths to former masters. The apprentice system was more completely accepted and adopted by pro-slave interests when it became apparent that there would be no compensation for former slaveholders after emancipation of slaves, that Negro youth could be readily apprenticed in some areas of the State with consent and sanction of local authorities, and that the Federal Government acting through the Bureau could not always enforce its program of emancipation and civil rights. Making allowance for the number of cases that were not reported and

[3] Paul S. Peirce, *The Freedmen's Bureau; A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction* (Iowa City, 1904), p. 83.

the prevalence of the system on the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, it may be that about ten thousand Negro youths were bound out as apprentices between 1864 and 1867.

The Bureau's attack upon the apprentice system was successful. By 1867 the system had begun to crumble. For example, General Edgar M. Gregory, commissioner for Maryland, pointed out in a report that the Orphans Court in Washington County had refused to bind any more Negroes and that only one Negro apprentice remained in Dorchester County. He further stated that "reports from the counties show that the system had begun to yield to the continual pressure brought through this office and the legal solicitors of the State." [4] By the summer of 1868 the apprentice system had been practically destroyed.[5] It was expressly forbidden by the Maryland Constitution of 1867.

The system of apprenticeship was an encumbrance to the education of Negro youths. It appears that younger children were less molested by former masters than older children who were invariably sought for field or household work. A universal complaint that former masters made against the establishment of schools for Negroes was that children would be taken away from the fields.[6] Thus, in its fight against the apprentice system, the Bureau gave indirect encouragement to the education of Negro youths. Moreover, the Bureau gave direct aid to the establishment of the first school system for Negroes in Maryland. Materials, equipment, and funds were given for the construction, rental, or repair of schoolhouses. Protection and transportation were provided for teachers who were supplied by civic and religious organizations. Encouragement and cooperation were given to freedmen and persons or agencies interested in the education of the Negro.

The work of the Bureau came at a time when state support of education was non-existent for Negroes and in its infancy for whites. While the Bureau was busy in establishing Negro schools throughout Maryland, no material provision for Negro education

[4] Records of the War Department, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, MS report to Edward Ketchem dated April 11, 1867. All MSS in this paper, cited as Record Group 105, have reference to this group.

[5] Record Group 105, Report by Horace M. Brooks to O. O. Howard, May 29, 1868; letter from Brooks to Howard, July 29, 1868.

[6] Record Group 105, Report by George J. Stannard to O. O. Howard, June 30, 1866.

was being made by the State itself. The atmosphere of Reconstruction politics, the historic attitude of Marylanders toward public or Negro education, and the scarcity of state funds were some of the factors that prevented the State from embarking upon a program of Negro education in the years following the close of the war. It is true, however, that the State made legal provisions for a uniform system of free public schools in its constitutions of 1864 and 1867, but Negro education was ignored or denounced at official levels.

The first annual report of Reverend Libertus Van Bokkelen, Maryland's first superintendent of public schools, recommended that the State should provide separate schools for Negroes in "every district where 30 or more pupils will regularly attend."[7] But further on in this report Van Bokkelen, a former president of St. John's College, Annapolis, frankly admitted that nothing "has been done for this class in the State." In fact, it may be said that the State gave practically no material support to Negro education during the first five years following the close of the War. For example, according to annual reports of the State Board of Education, the amount of aid to "colored schools" for the entire State, excluding Baltimore, was only $4,580.31 in 1870;[8] about $20.00 was added to this amount in the following year. In other words, the amount that the State was spending in 1870 on Negro education was not one-fifth of the amount being spent annually by the Bureau in 1867.

As in other states, private and religious philanthropy came to the aid of Negro education, putting forth an effort that was comprehensive, decisive, valuable, and permanent in the history of Negro education in Maryland. Prominent among these groups were the Baltimore Association, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Missionary Association, and the Freedmen's Union Association. All except the Baltimore Association were national groups established to provide for the relief of freedmen. Many of the first Negro schools in the State were founded and supported by these organizations.

The work of the Baltimore Association was by far the most impressive. In fact, it may be said that the Association's cooperation with the Bureau was instrumental in the establishment of the

[7] Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual Report* (1866), p. 64 *et seq.*
[8] *Ibid.* (1870), p. 6.

first state-wide system for Negro schools. The Association was a non-sectarian, civic group with its offices in two rooms of the Bible House, 25 North Charles Street in Baltimore. Founded in December of 1864, the Association obtained its support primarily from local sources, but by 1867 financial difficulties forced it to seek out-of-state support. The search was in vain, and by 1869 the treasury was depleted, preventing the Association from sending its representatives, as usual, throughout the State for purposes of examining and supervising Negro education.[9]

Perhaps jealous of its dominant role, the Association resented subordination to the Bureau which, in turn, decided to remain "an independant power ready to work with, as well as protect all associations who are engaged in the same work . . . as well as teachers and school houses of the Association." The Bureau seemed determined to cooperate fairly with all religious and civic groups interested in the education of freedmen "to encourage the work of education and to push it on to its fullest completeness." [10] In return, the Association and other groups recognized and depended upon the Bureau as a central agency through which all could appeal for material aid, transportation, information, and protection.

The Bureau kept data on all Negro schools and made regular monthly reports to officials in Washington. These manuscript reports, together with many papers and letters, are the best sources of data for a study of the first school system for Negroes in Maryland but have been almost inaccessible until recent years. The Bureau's reports on Negro schools are thorough in detail and show (on printed forms after 1866) such headings as "Location and Name of School," "Societies and Patrons," "Number of Schools sustained by Freedmen," "Number of Schools sustained in part by Freedmen" and "Number of School Buildings Furnished by Bureau." In addition, for each school listed there is a statistical break-down for such items as number of teachers by color, number of pupils by sex, student attendance, age of students and number who were free before the War. Generally, all of the required information for all schools and pupils is listed. Such

[9] Record Group 105, Report by Charles McDougall to Edward C. Knower, March 5, 1867.

[10] *Ibid.* This report, sustained by higher headquarters, was critical of the Baltimore Association which was cited as being jealous of the efforts put forth by other groups in behalf of Negro education.

thorough and detailed reports can only mean that the Bureau was the main agency in the State for the collection and dissemination of information, sharing and accepting the confidence that various agencies placed in it.

An examination of some of the reports on schools shows the extent of the Bureau's work of coordination—as well as the post-War education of Negroes. For example, a report for the year ending in June of 1866 (the first general report shown in the records) shows that there were 51 Negro schools in 13 counties and Baltimore City; 27 white and 42 Negro teachers; about 3,000 "scholars."[11] A further examination of this report shows that the Baltimore Association is listed as fully supporting nearly half (23) of the schools and partly supporting two other schools; societies in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania provided for the support of the remainder of the schools. Another report for the following year (October, 1867) shows that many changes had taken place. The number of schools had increased from 51 to 81; the number of Negro teachers had practically doubled, increasing from 42 to 81, but the number of white teachers declined to 24. A total enrollment of 4,000 "pupils" is given. Thirty-seven of all schools listed were being supported by the Baltimore Association, an increase of 14 over the previous year.

Other interesting data in the reports throw light upon the extent of the Negro's own contributions. The monthly report for October of 1867, for example, shows that 55 of the 81 schools were being partially maintained by freedmen; and 42 schools were listed as being owned solely by freedmen. Two of the schools were being maintained in Baltimore from a legacy left by Nelson Wells, a Negro who had acquired a considerable amount of property in Baltimore during the slave period. Wells' legacy was known to officials of the Bureau who in one report stated that Wells left all of his property in 1845 for the founding of a school for Negroes. Amounting to $7,000, his legacy was entrusted to John Needles, Edward Jessup, and Isaac Tyson.[12] But apparently the

[11] Record Group 105, Report by Stannard, *op. cit.* Counties in Southern Maryland on the Western Shore, not being under General Stannard's jurisdiction, were not listed in this report. Consolidated statistics for the State show that at the time of this report there were 86 Negro schools, 101 teachers, and 8,144 "scholars." See John W. Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands* (Washington, 1866), p. 19.

[12] Record Group 105, Report by McDougall to Knower, January 9, 1867.

fund that Wells set up was nearly exhausted by 1868, for two of the Trustees wrote to General Horace M. Brooks, the last commissioner in Maryland, asking for a donation of $60.00 " to pay our annual rent and for six desks; as the amount left by the said Wells is not sufficient to pay our teachers a fair compensation for their services." [13] One of the schools was located at Hanover Street and Cypress Alley in Baltimore.

Indeed, it was well known to officials of the Bureau that Negroes heartily supported the cause of education even from the depths of their poverty and ignorance. The records of the Bureau show that officials often praised such sacrifices as shown in an excerpt from a report by Captain Samuel I. Wright, the Bureau's Quartermaster officer in the State, to Colonel William H. Wiegel, Maryland's Assistant Adjutant General: [14]

> The friends [of Negroes] have great cause to rejoice in the work, which has accomplished all that the most sanguine can expect; when we think of the homeless, landless race who have been crushed by the laws of the land and society—kept as the horse and ox were kept—and now turned out to make their own way in the world, subject to the will and caprice of a people who seek every opportunity to retard their progress, and for slight causes turn them out of their little cabins, for which in many cases they are required to pay a heavy rent, while they receive but meagre pay for their hard day's labor, and then see them coming up to support of the schools, paying their fifty cents or dollar, or more, as the case may be, per month, to help build school houses—and then sending their children paying from ten to fifty cents a week for the board of the teacher—I think we have great reasons to rejoice.

It has been estimated that Negroes in Maryland contributed about $10,000 for the support of their schools in 1866.[15] On many occasions Negroes obtained lumber from the Bureau and constructed buildings from their own labor. Many of these schoolhouses were the first Negro schools in some counties, particularly on the Western Shore in Southern Maryland.[16]

It is highly probable that in late 1865 or in early 1866 the Bureau began its work of supplying materials for the construc-

[13] Record Group 105, Letter to Brooks, February 12, 1868.
[14] Record Group 105, Report by Wright to Wiegel, July 10, 1867.
[15] Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual Report* (1866), p. 64. The Superintendent admitted that his statistics came from the Baltimore Association, but is probable that the Association had already obtained this information from the Bureau.
[16] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report* (1869), p. 14.

tion of Negro schools in Maryland. It is not definitely known, but it is likely that the first lumber came from dismantled barracks in Baltimore, perhaps from Hancock Barracks. In one of his earliest printed reports (1866), the Bureau's national superintendent of education, John W. Alvord, made a brief statement that thirty-four schoolhouses were to be built in Maryland from Government lumber. The date of Alvord's report would seem to indicate that the lumber was given in 1865 or early in 1866. It is known, however, that in a letter to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, dated September 28, 1866, the actuary of the Baltimore Association stated that " Out of the Old Barracks already turned over to us the colored people have built or are building Thirty Four (34) School Houses, and we have applications for much more from those sections of our state yet unsupplied." [17] Thus, there is the indication that the lumber had been granted earlier than the date of this letter.

This letter from the actuary to Stanton requested more lumber from the Bureau. The actuary enclosed a clipping from a Baltimore newspaper advertising the sale of Hicks U. S. General Hospital by the Quartermaster Department. Stanton sent the letter to General Oliver O. Howard, national commissioner of the Bureau, who gave his consent for the use of the hospital for purposes of Negro education.

Accordingly, the hospital was dismantled, and school houses, blackboards, and desks were made out of lumber from the structure. Two reports by Captain Wright to Baltimore headquarters indicate that by June of 1867 the hospital had been practically demolished and some of the lumber had already been shipped from Baltimore. One report by Wright for June, 1867,[18] shows that $20.00 was paid to William Stone for watching the lumber; that in April three carpenters were paid a total of $54.00 for tearing down some of the buildings; that Lewis Brown, a teamster, was paid $14.50 for hauling some of the lumber on June 5 and June 18; and that William A. Ferguson, the owner of a schooner, was paid $60.00 for taking some of the lumber to Potter's Landing. In the other report [19] Wright summarized the work of his department, showing that some of the materials for building

[17] Record Group 105, Letter from F. Israel to Howard, September 28, 1866.
[18] Record Group 105, Report by Wright on persons and articles employed and hired at Baltimore during the month of June, 1867.
[19] Record Group 105, Report by Wright to Wiegel, June 30, 1867.

Negro schools had been obtained from the demolition of the hospital. An excerpt from this report is shown below:

Under the direction of the Asst Commr [General Gregory] my attention has been principally given to purchasing and shipping materials for the erection of School Houses for freedpeople. Materials have been shipped to 27 School Houses, 16 in Maryland and 11 in Delaware. The principal part of these materials was taken from the 16 Hospital Wards purchased of the Q. M. D. [Quartermaster Department] last October. From 3 to 7 carpenters have been employed in the demolition of these wards from April 4 to June 15. Only one ward now remains standing, which is used for a Colored Old Women's Home. The expenses for the erection of most of the School Houses is borne by the Freedpeople. Nails have been purchased for 17 of the School Houses and lumber and other materials have been purchased for those at Elkton, Easton, Denton, and Potter's Landing, Md. Ten of the School Houses have been furnished through the Baltimore Association for the Colored People, the rest by the Bureau directly. A large stone building has been purchased in Howard Co. Md. for a large school there. This building was formerly occupied by the Warfield Academy.

The remainder of this report consists mainly of statements of expenditures, persons, and items transported. Every three months the Bureau spent about two-thirds of its appropriations (bounties excluded) for the rent, construction, or repair of schoolhouses.[20]

In addition to the usual appropriations for Maryland, the national Bureau gave special funds for the establishment of a "Colored Normal School." This was not unusual; the Bureau set up a normal school in each state where it operated. The Baltimore Association requested $10,000 for the purchase and repair of a building located on Courtland and Saratoga streets in Baltimore. General Howard approved the request and granted $2,000 in addition on February 21, 1868. Accordingly, the Association purchased the building from a Society of Friends and began to carry on instruction. Several years later the school began to receive some financial support from the State. Eventually (1911), the school was removed to Bowie, becoming the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, later the State Teachers College, Bowie.

There was resentment against the Bureau and its educational

[20] Record Group 105, Report by Wright, December 31, 1866. From a total appropriation of $5,377.48 for this quarter, "repairs and rent of school houses" amounted to $3,354.00 according to this report. The remainder of the appropriation went for maintenance and salaries. Altogether, $25,000 was alloted for schools and asylums in Maryland for 1866-1867.

program. During the year immediately following the close of hostilities, Negroes in some communities of Maryland were not permitted to attend school; some teachers were not permitted to teach; sometimes a schoolhouse would be burned. Teachers and students were sometimes intimidated, insulted, or assaulted. Everywhere the tense atmosphere of Reconstruction surrounded the early efforts of the Bureau in Maryland. A portion of Alvord's report for 1866 summarizes the attack against Negro schools: [21]

> The educational work in Maryland has had much opposition, such as 'stoning children and teachers at Easton,' 'rough-handling and blackening the teachers at Cambridge,' 'indignation-meeting in Dorchester county, with resolutions passed to drive out the teacher,' and the 'burning of a church and school-house at Wilmington, Kent county'; 'a guard to be placed at the school-house in Annapolis'; etc. Colored churches have been burned in Cecil, Queen Anne [sic], and Somerset counties, to prevent schools being opened in them, all showing that negro hate is not by any means confined to the low South.

Indeed, local resentment against the Bureau and its program was quite evident in Maryland during the Bureau's first year of operation. In its attempts to destroy the apprentice system and build Negro schools the Bureau was far from popular and Negroes frequently became the scapegoats of the resentment. Reaction was strongest in the areas of the old slave belts, principally the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland on the Western Shore. There were some rumors that the Klan would be formed in the State, but these dark rumors did not come true. Although reaction was often violent within the State, resentment never burst into the full blown conflict that characterized some aspects of Reconstruction in the Lower South. There was no widespread looting, plundering, or violence against the Negro community or Negro sympathizers. But there is evidence of various overtly hostile acts. For example, on Thursday, August 30, 1866, some whites attacked Negroes at a religious "camp meeting" held at Shipley's Wood (near Annapolis) in Anne Arundel County. It was believed that the attack was planned and instigated by "rebel" sympathizers, according to a report made by Thomas H. Gardner, whom the Bureau sent to investigate the disturbance.[22]

While serving as an inspector in Talbot County, Lieutenant

[21] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report* (1866), p. 13.
[22] Record Group 105, Report by Gardner, October, 1866.

Bailey S. Wells observed that resentment against Negroes in Easton was such that he thought it advisable not to hand out copies of the controversial civil rights law sent to Maryland headquarters for distribution on June 28, 1866.[23] Wells also observed that there was a great deal of prejudice against the Bureau. Other agents of the Bureau had occasion to make similar observations and reported their findings to headquarters in Baltimore.

It must be remembered, however, that early reports by the Bureau on resentment and violence came shortly after the cessation of hostilities when memories and scars of the War were still fresh. Hostility against the Bureau, the Negro, or Negro schools began to subside even before the Bureau closed its headquarters in Baltimore as shown in later reports by officials; opposition became less violent and virulent. As the years passed, much of the bitter opposition to Negro education passed from the political stage of action as the problems of Reconstruction receded into the background. In some Maryland communities sympathy and support began to take roots and grow as it became more and more apparent that Negro schools, churches, court witnesses, or voters constituted no threat to the orderly ways of community life. The brief but vigorous existence of the Bureau was soon forgotten as the State and local communities began to show interest in public education. However, when the Bureau was abolished in 1872, its efforts in establishing Negro schools passed into history, adding another chapter in the story of Reconstruction and serving the Maryland Negro in his critical transition from slavery to freedom.

[23] Record Group 105, Report by Wells, July 16, 1866.

THE CITY HALL, BALTIMORE

By Bennard B. Perlman

BALTIMORE'S City Hall, dwarfed by some of the larger downtown buildings, is the result of a struggle which extended over the first 75 years of the city's corporate existence and which involved scores of its most capable and energetic citizens. No longer surrounded by similar stylistic structures which have been destroyed or were burned in the Great Fire of 1904, the City Hall, as viewed from across the War Memorial Plaza, is a jewel of architectural ornateness which seems content to nestle in its 20th century surroundings.

Baltimore's fight for a city hall began almost immediately after its establishment as a city, more than 150 years ago. On December 31, 1796, the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act by which Baltimore-Town was erected into a city. Shortly thereafter, the subject of the construction of a city hall arose, and in 1801 the first of a long series of ordinances was passed. It conferred upon an appointed Board of Commissioners, which included such notables as Elias Ellicott and Nicholas Rogers, the authority to purchase a lot of ground and to erect upon it a suitable building for a city hall.[1] The sixth section of this ordinance authorized the board to procure an appropriate house to accommodate the city council and office of mayor until the new city hall could be completed. There is no evidence that the Commission ever submitted a report upon the subject of a new city hall; in any case, the building was not erected.[2]

Until that time—from 1797 to 1801—the city council had met at the house of James Long, on Front Street. Upon the failure

[1] *The City Hall Baltimore. History of Construction and Dedication* (Baltimore, 1877), p. 9.

[2] "The City Hall of Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *The Sun*, October 26, 1875. From the Address by Mayor Joshua Vansant.

of the Commission to purchase a site and have a city hall constructed upon it, Mayor James Calhoun issued the following proclamation on September 24, 1801:

> Whereas it appears to me that the public good of the citizens of Baltimore requires the deliberation of the city council at this time: I, therefore, in persuance of the power invested in me, summon the said council to meet at the buildings belonging to Maryland Insurance Company, on South Street, at three o'clock this afternoon. . . .[3]

The following year, the mayor and city council suspended all action under the original ordinance for a period of three years, and in 1806 the erection of a city hall was indefinitely postponed by passage of an act which repealed the Ordinance of 1801.[4]

The South Street building of the Maryland Insurance Company was occupied for municipal purposes until 1810 or 1812, at which time the mayor and city council purchased a building at the corner of Holliday Street and Orange Alley. This structure was used as a city hall until December, 1817, when the Baltimore Dancing Assembly Rooms, at the northeast corner of Holliday and East (now Fayette) Streets were acquired. The property was occupied in February, 1818, and was utilized by the city council and other municipal officers until March 20, 1823. At that time the city entered into an agreement with the Baltimore Exchange Company, leasing offices from it for a period of five years, at $800 per annum. The lease was renewed and these offices were occupied until the year 1830.[5]

The Baltimore Exchange Company was located at the northwest corner of Gay and Water (now Lombard) Streets in a four-story edifice built in 1817. The building contained an attractive rotunda and dome designed by Benjamin H. Latrobe, architect of the U. S. Capitol. The remainder of the structure was planned by Colonel Jacob Small, a local architect, who became mayor of Baltimore a dozen years later.[6]

Having made no progress thus far in the direction of erecting a city hall, the idea was abandoned, and in 1830 the City of Baltimore purchased Peale's Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts to be

[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 9.
[5] " The City Hall of Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *op. cit.*
[6] *Program of Exercises Incident to Closing Old Custom House Building, Baltimore, Md., December 29, 1900*, p. 5.

used for that purpose. The three-story structure on Holliday Street had been designed by Robert Cary Long, the elder, and built in 1813 at a cost of more than $14,000. It was constructed for artist Rembrandt Peale as a museum devoted to the arts and sciences, even though Charles Willson Peale, his father, had advised against the undertaking, after having directed a similar venture in Philadelphia. In 1822 Rembrandt sold the museum to his brother, Rubens Peale, but because of continued financial losses, Rubens abandoned the project in 1830. In that year arrangements were concluded by Mayor Jacob Small to purchase the building for use as a city hall.[7]

The acquisition of Peale's Museum by the city only temporarily eliminated the necessity of building a city hall, for as Baltimore expanded geographically and commercially, the need for larger municipal quarters became apparent. In 1853, with interest renewed in the erection of a new structure, a committee was appointed to select a site for the proposed city hall.[8] The following year a "very neat drawing" was submitted to the committee by Mr. Alexander Murdock, Treasurer of the First Presbyterian Church. Since the committee's instructions had been only to select a site for the building, they did not feel obliged to report on the merits of the plan submitted by Mr. Murdock.[9] They did, however, investigate the site which he suggested, and it was the one eventually chosen.

The intention was to close what was then Orange Alley and extend Lexington Street through to Holliday Street. The building would form an oblong square measuring approximately 234 feet by 151 feet, bounded by Lexington, Holliday, Fayette, and North (now Guilford Avenue) Streets.[10] The committee pointed out that a structure proposed for this site could only receive light from two sides and that an excavation of 12 feet would be necessary,[11] due to the fall of the land from the southwest to the northeast corner of the lot.[12] Despite these undesirable elements, an

[7] Richard Carl Medford, "Baltimore's Municipal Museum," *The Municipal Museum Bulletin*, VI (February 1, 1945).
[8] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 10.
[9] Archives of the City of Baltimore, for the year 1854, document 707. Hereinafter referred to as City Hall Archives followed by year and document number.
[10] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 30.
[11] City Hall Archives, 1854-707.
[12] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 126.

ordinance was passed on May 11, 1854, approving the purchase of this property as the site for the proposed city hall.

Following acquisition of the land, no further action was taken until April 13, 1860, when Mr. Edward Spedden introduced a resolution in the First Branch of the City Council. It directed the city commissioners to advertise in the daily newspapers of the city for a suitable city hall plan. The drawings and specifications were to be submitted on or before June 20 of that year, and the sum of $400 paid to the architect or architects whose plan would be chosen by Mayor Swann and the City Council.

The day after the deadline for receiving the entries, Mayor Swann wrote to the City Council as follows:

> I beg leave to transmit herewith four plans of a City Hall, prepared in accordance with a resolution of your honorable body, approved April 25th, 1860. The details and estimates of the several architects will be found to accompany these drawings.
>
> Upon careful examination of these plans, I deem it my duty to suggest that such alteration in the details may be authorized by your honorable body as will dedicate the entire space of the third floor of the building to the purposes of a grand hall for the meeting of the people on occasions of great public interest. This can be done without interference with the accommodation of the various offices required for the use of the city, and perhaps with decided advantage in many respects.

The four plans which accompanied the Mayor's communication had been submitted by William T. Marshall, William T. Murdoch, John J. Husband, and Thomas and James M. Dixon.[13] All of the plans proposed a basement story of stores or offices which would be rented, thus providing a source of income for the city, in addition to creating greater elevation for the building.[14]

On June 28, 1860, both Branches of the City Council adjourned " at an early hour " for the purpose of examining the plans for the new City Hall, and hearing explanations by the architects.[15] The plans were then referred to the Joint Standing Committee, whose report the following month indicated that " the design, plan and specifications submitted by Mr. William T. Marshall are the best adapted for the wants of this community." [16] The

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[14] " The New City Hall," *The Sun,* June 22, 1860.
[15] " Proceedings of the City Council," *The Sun,* June 28, 1860.
[16] Resolutions approved July 17 and July 20, 1860, by the First and Second Branches of the City Council, respectively. City Hall Archives, 1860-946.

resolution approved of the selection and provided, in addition to $400 for Mr. Marshall, the sum of $300 to each of the other three competitors as remuneration for their "considerable time and labor." [17]

The winning plan of William T. Marshall, as described in *The Sun* of July 18, 1860, specified that the building would be 242 feet 3 inches by 152 feet 4 inches, and would front on Holliday and North streets. The exterior order of architecture was to be pure Corinthian, placed upon a rustic basement which formed the ground story. The foundation was to be of granite and the rest of the building of brick, faced with polished white marble. The two main façades were to be adorned by a portico of six Corinthian columns, flanked by pilasters, two antae, and two columns.

On the interior there were two open courts situated on either side of the rotunda basement. A dome, 36 feet in diameter and raised to the height of 154 feet, was to have capped the rotunda. The lantern was surmounted by a personification of Peace, who held in her hand the laurels of victory and who wore the liberty cap. At each of the four corners of the building were octagonal cupolas measuring 18 feet in diameter, each one being crowned by a flag-staff.

The dome was graced by a colonnade 50 feet in diameter, formed of iron Corinthian columns, supporting a light entablature. Above the colonnade was a balustrade, upheld by iron brackets over a paneled attic. Another balustrade was planned for the top of the dome, so that from either vantage point an observer could view the city and surrounding countryside. The dome itself was fluted, and in the alternate spaces between the ribs there were windows which opened to a bell story.

The first floor was designed as a series of fireproof rooms and vaults for the mayor, various other city officials, and boards. The other rooms on the first floor, as well as the entire sub-basement, were designed as private offices to be rented. One large apartment was to be set aside for the city library.

On the second floor were rooms which housed the two branches of the City Council, the entire wing on Fayette Street being appropriated for their use. In each of the Council Chambers there was a gallery which could be entered from the floor above. The re-

[17] *Ibid.*

mainder of the second floor, except for that portion occupied by the city commissioners, afforded additional office space.

The third floor, at the Mayor's suggestion, was designed as a general armory and large hall. The armory consisted of six double and two single rooms. The hall, having a capacity of four or five thousand people, was to be used for conventions and town meetings. The two apartments were connected, so that when the need arose for additional space for drilling, benches which filled the hall could be hoisted up to the ceiling and stored in a room above.

The rotunda under the dome rose from the second floor to a height of 75 feet. Light would pierce the rotunda through large windows in each of the open courts, and through 12 smaller windows in the drum of the dome. The drum and peristyle was situated above the roof of the building. The rotunda contained eight Corinthian pilasters, which were of the same height and supported an entablature similar to that which appeared on the exterior of the structure. Between the dome of the rotunda and the outer dome there was a large room designed to house a massive alarm bell. Beneath the crypt of the dome was to be located the apparatus for supplying either steam or hot-water heat to the new city hall building.[18]

On July 23, 1860, the City Council authorized the building of a city hall to cover the block-square site which had earlier been proposed. The ordinance stipulated that the structure had to be fireproof and faced with white marble. No limit was set as to the cost, although it was estimated at $1,000,000, half of which was to be borrowed from the McDonough Fund.[19]

The McDonough Educational Fund had been left by John McDonough " for the establishment of an institute for the education and maintenance of poor boys." In order to facilitate the erection of a new city hall, the ordinance called for a loan of these funds, rather than their permanent investment in securities. The amount of the loan was not to exceed $500,000, it being secured by a mortgage upon the ground and building to be constructed.[20]

Although the ordinance was passed, a question arose concerning the issuing of City Hall stock for the money borrowed from

[18] " Local Matters—The New City Hall Project," *The Sun*, July 18, 1860.
[19] City Hall Archives, 1861-286.
[20] *The Sun*, July 12, 1860.

the McDonough Fund. Two months earlier Mayor Swann had appointed a commission to select and purchase the site for a proposed public park.[21] The McDonough Fund was also to have been used to enable the issuance of park stock. If authority were claimed under the ordinance to arrange for financing the City Hall with the amount borrowed from the McDonough Fund, what became of the right to issue stock for a public park? [22]

The controversy over use of the McDonough Fund was short-lived, for in Mayor George William Brown's annual communication to the City Council on January 7, 1861, he revealed that the lowest bid received for the construction of the entire City Hall building was $648,693.58, almost $150,000 more than appropriated by the ordinance. Separate bids had also been submitted for the various parts of the work. Since these did not include the marble, the architect's estimate was used for this, but the total still exceeded the appropriation.

> For this and other reasons, [wrote the Mayor], no contract has been made by the Commissioners, and in the present condition of the affairs of the city, I recommend that the erection of a City Hall be postponed, and that the ordinance creating the Board, and the supplement thereto, be repealed.[23]

Although Mayor Brown might not have shared his predecessor's enthusiasm for erecting a new building, certainly the impending conflict between the North and South had some influence upon his decision.

In accordance with the Mayor's recommendation, the City Council repealed the act which had provided for a new City Hall and also the borrowing from the McDonough Fund. The repeal ordinance was approved by Mayor Brown on April 18, 1861,[24] just six days after the attack on Fort Sumter had touched off the Civil War.

Previous to the repeal, William T. Marshall, the architect, had made additional drawings and estimates. For his services and for money expended by him, a resolution was approved on March 21, 1862, stipulating that he be paid the sum of $5,000, on the condition that he deliver all of his detailed drawings, specifica-

[21] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 273.
[22] City Hall Archives, 1861-286.
[23] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 27.
[24] *Ibid.*

tions, and estimates to the Mayor. In a letter under the same date, Mayor John Lee Chapman certified that he had received from the architect the material that was in question.[25]

It seems doubtful that the city hall project received any consideration by the City Council during the early, chaotic months of the War. William T. Marshall, the winning architect, who had come to Baltimore in the late 1850s,[26] evidently left the city sometime during 1862 or 1863. Although he is not listed as a member of the Union or Confederate Army during the great conflict, his name no longer appears in the Baltimore city directories, after its initial insertion in the year 1860.[27]

The inability of the winning architect to carry out his City Hall plan by acting as Consulting Architect during the building's construction would appear to be the most plausible reason for a second City Hall competition to be held in 1863. On June 15 of that year, a resolution was adopted authorizing the city commissioners to advertise in the daily newspapers for a suitable plan. The drawings had to be submitted by September 1, and $400 was to be paid to the architect or architects whose plan was accepted.[28]

This second city hall competition was proposed during Baltimore's darkest hours. At this time, the city was threatened with invasion by Confederate troops, and the ensuing weeks were filled with the tense aftermath of the Battle of Gettysburg. The movement of armies through the state during these months must have been the underlying reason for the failure of the second City Hall competition, for apparently not a single plan was submitted.

In Mayor Chapman's annual communication to the City Council, in 1864, he recommended that a third competition be held. The stipulations of his proposal, including the amount of money to be paid to the winning architect, were identical with the previous competitions. The deadline for entries was July 1, 1864.[29]

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Paper delivered by George A. Frederick, Fellow and Associate Member of the American Institute of Architects, to the Baltimore Chapter, p. 29. His notes of the talk are dated October 10, 1912, and the reference states that "Marshall (first name forgotten) established himself here about 1861 or 2." In view of the fact that William T. Marshall is listed in the City Directory in 1860, one assumes that Mr. Frederick's dating should be several years previous.

Frederick's notes are in the possession of Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler, of this city.

[27] *Wood's Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 247.

[28] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 28.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

His proposals, in the form of an ordinance, were passed but not fully carried out, so on January 3 of the following year Mayor Chapman firmly set the subject of erecting a city hall before the City Council. He mentioned the immediate need for the structure, and the fact that the architects' plans had been submitted and were awaiting selection.

A Joint Special Committee from both Branches of the City Council met for the purpose of choosing the winning design. Two plans had been submitted by architects Thomas S. Goodwin and G. A. Frederick and the Committee selected Frederick's design as being best suited for the proposed city hall. A resolution which would have paid Mr. Goodwin $200 " in consideration of the labor bestowed upon [his drawings]," was not acted upon.[30]

In June, 1865, the city commissioners were requested to advertise for sealed proposals in accordance with the plans and specifications furnished by Frederick. The contracts would be awarded to the lowest bidders of known integrity. The measure also provided for the appointment of an architect who would furnish all of the general and detailed working drawings required for the building's construction. He was to receive two percent of the cost of the work as it progressed, payable monthly.[31]

On September 18, 1865, Mayor Chapman was requested to send Frederick's drawings to the City Council, and the architect was summoned to explain and correct his plans.[32] The changes were apparently made, for on October 7 the Registrar was directed to pay to Frederick the sum of $400 for his plans and drawings of a new city hall. The $200 for Thomas S. Goodwin, the unsuccessful competitor, was also appropriated at this time.[33]

The winning architect in the third city hall contest, George Aloysius Frederick, then 22, was born in Baltimore on December 16, 1842. His primary education had been received at the School of the Christian Brothers in Baltimore. In 1858, when 16, he entered the architectural firm of Edmund George Lind and William T. Murdoch, where he received his early training.[34] The partnership of Lind and Murdoch, which had begun about 1856,[35]

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[32] City Hall Archives, 1865-761.
[33] *Ibid.*, 1865-762.
[34] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* IX (New York, 1899), p. 334.
[35] Paper delivered by George A. Frederick to the American Institute of Architects, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

was dissolved two years after Frederick began his apprenticeship. At that time Mr. Murdoch formed the firm of Murdoch and Richards with William T. Richards, the chief draftsman of the old firm, and E. G. Lind continued on by himself.[36] Frederick furthered his study with one of the two new firms during the period from 1860 to 1862.[37]

The city hall plan of William T. Murdoch, with whom Frederick was associated until 1860 or later, was one of the four submitted in the first city hall competition. Whether Murdoch's unsuccessful attempt, or the nature of his plan, in any way influenced George A. Frederick in his drawings, is not known.

The winning design of architect Frederick called for a building fronting on Holliday and North Streets, 238 feet by 149 feet, just slightly smaller than the earlier proposed structure by William T. Marshall. The style of architecture is French Renaissance of the Second Empire rather than Classical, but the characteristics of the building do not appear to have any exact European prototypes. Although the structure is stylistically similar to the contemporary parts of the Tuileries, the Louvre, and the Hôtel de Ville, all in Paris, it seems to be more directly related to some of the first American examples in this style.

The façade of the City Hall closely resembles the central section of a proposed building for Vassar College, designed by James Renwick, Jr., about 1860 and executed with slight modification the following year.[38] Minor similarities are also found in the Boston City Hall of 1862.[39] Neither of these buildings, however, is capped by a cupola. For this detail it seems likely that the dome of the United States Capitol served as a model for the smaller, more elongated example on the City Hall. Construction of the Capitol dome had begun in 1856,[40] just eight years prior to the final city hall competition. The 30 cast-iron columns of the Capitol dome, like the 12 on the City Hall, were made in Baltimore.[41]

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[37] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, op. cit.*, p. 334.
[38] McKenna, Rosalie Thorne, "James Renwick, Jr. and the Second Empire Style in the United States," *Magazine of Art* (March, 1951), p. 100.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[40] Bannister, Turpin C., "The Genealogy of the Dome of the United States Capitol," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (January-June, 1948), p. 8.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The design for the City Hall consists of a center structure four stories high, surmounted by a dome and flanked by three-story wings connected laterally to the main element. The center is finished with a plain pediment, originally designed to contain a frieze representing Trade, Commerce, and the Arts, but never executed.[42] The other portions of the building are capped by a mansard roof. Each story is well marked by strong projecting cornices, as well as a broken balustrade, which forms horizontal divisions between the stories and at the base of the roof.

The exterior foundation walls, which are five feet six inches thick, are built of Falls Road bluestone to within 18 inches of the ground. All of the interior walls are of dark red or arch brick, varying in thickness from two feet six inches to seven feet. The widest dimension occurs at the base of the dome where the foundation walls support the central mass.

Above ground, all of the exterior walls are faced with Baltimore County marble, a type of white magnesia limestone referred to as Beaver Dam Marble.[43] The stone was obtained from the John B. Connolly quarries, located near Cockeysville. The basement story is heavily rusticated, and contains four sets of four double-recessed, arched windows. The center section was designed to include five doorways, but at present only the middle one is in use. Bronze doors had been planned by the architect, but the building committee decided upon the use of less-expensive mahogany.[44] The doors were designed and carved by J. M. Sudsberg,[45] with the center one bearing the seal of Baltimore and the Battle Monument. The bronze doorknobs also feature the city seal.

The first, second, and third stories are relieved by projecting pilasters, and fully-detached columns which flank each of the deeply recessed windows. The windows are surmounted by semicircular archivolts and elaborate keystones. The mansard roof, which is of slate secured by iron purlins,[46] contains dormer windows constructed of marble. Three dormers are grouped on each wing of the main façade, the larger central ones having

[42] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 128.

[43] "Exterior Walls of City Hall Have Been Neglected," *Municipal Journal*, July 28, 1928. The report of H. F. Lucke, Jr., Supervising Engineer, to Charles F. Goob, Chief Engineer, dated July 17, 1928.

[44] Carroll Dulaney, *Baltimore News-Post*, June 4, 1936.

[45] "Made City Hall Doors," *Baltimore News-Post*, June 12, 1936.

[46] "Exterior Walls of City Hall Have Been Neglected," *op. cit.*

arched windows, while the others form the shape of elongated ovoids. The corners of the roof on the projecting wings are crowned with ornamental posts which emphasize the vertical element in the structure.

The basement floor of the central section of the façade contains a portico, above which are six fluted composite columns with pilasters of the same order behind them. The columns on the Holliday Street façade are monoliths [47] and support a cornice and balustraded parapet, which forms a spacious balcony on the second story.

The base of the tower, which rises behind the central section of the main façade, is constructed of marble to the height of the colonnade. From this point to the finial of the dome iron was employed, and 12 cast iron columns support the dome on the interior. Housed within the uppermost portion of the dome is a massive alarm bell. The first one, nicknamed "Big Sam," weighed 6,000 pounds,[48] but in 1889 it developed a crack and was replaced in September of that year by "Lord Baltimore," the present 7,403 pound bell.[49]

On the interior of the building all of the first floor offices are designed with lofty ceilings, giving the illusion that they are two stories in height. The second floor, rather than the third as in Mr. Marshall's plan, was designated as a grand hall, later becoming an armory for the National Guard.[50] Rising through the center of the structure, the rotunda has a diameter of 44 feet at its base and a height of 119 feet three inches. In its uppermost portion, four figures representing Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Arts are colored on glass which fits into the interior dome.[51] Horizontal divisions of the rotunda agree with the heights of the different stories, with walls on each floor being divided into eight parts. The architectural order of the first story is Roman Doric; of the second, Roman Ionic; and of the third, Roman Corinthian. The rotunda is made of Scagliola, a type of hard, polished plaster work imitating marble. It is also of different

[47] Carroll Dulany, *Baltimore News-Post*, June 8, 1938.
[48] Hans Marx, "Baltimore's Big Ben," *The Sun*, April 28, 1946.
[49] "Caster Settles Old Dispute Over Name of City Hall Bell," *The Sun*, September 18, 1929.
[50] *The Sun*, November 14, 1944.
[51] "Cleaning of City Hall Dome Reveals Art Glass Window," *The Sun*, October 25, 1928.

varieties, with that of the first floor simulating marble from Tennessee; the second, Lisbon; and the third, Siena.[52]

After the city hall design had been approved, and bids based on these plans had been advertised, a Building Committee was appointed by Mayor Chapman in the spring of 1867.[53] One of the first acts of the Committee was the selection of Frederick as Consulting Architect, to assist in carrying out his own plans. On October 18, 1867, the cornerstone was laid with elaborate ceremonies, and during the following year the cellar was excavated, some of the foundation walls erected,[54] and the new City Hall seemed well on its way to completion.

But in the summer of 1869, the ugly charge of "fraud" was publicly hurled at the Building Committee, and on September 28 of that year the members of the committee were asked to resign their positions.[55] This action followed a thorough investigation of the charges, which had to do with the awarding of the building material contracts for marble, brick, lumber, and cement.[56]

In at least one case the architect was consulted, and found partially to blame for confusion in the contract awarding. The investigating committee determined that the firm of F. and H. Wehn, with whom arrangements had been made to supply bricks at $12.26 per thousand, was not the lowest bidder.

The difficulty arose through Frederick's erroneous use of the term "common red" brick, when he was actually referring to arch or hard brick. The contract was awarded for red brick, although according to the testimony of the superintendent and head bricklayer, not a single red brick was used or intended for use in the structure. When the bids were compared with estimates on arch or hard brick, which was the type really employed, the bid of Mr. John A. Allens was $1.20 less per thousand than the contract awarded, the total overpayment for the bricks alone being $8,188.

The Building Committee against which the fraud charges had been placed was unable to account for the mistake, except upon the theory that they were misled by the incorrect designation of

[52] *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, pp. 125-135.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[54] "The City Hall Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *op. cit.*
[55] City Hall Archives, 1869-941.
[56] Report of the Joint Special Committee of the City Council, Appointed to Investigate Certain Charges of Fraud, September 29, 1869, p. 15, City Hall Archives.

terms by the architect.[57] In an attempt to avoid such difficulties in the future, the new Building Committee was to include three members who were practical mechanics.[58]

Under the new committee work progressed without interruption, and the dedicatory ceremonies were held on October 26, 1875. Speaking for the people of Baltimore, John H. B. Latrobe, eminent citizen, declared: "We now have an absolutely fireproof City Hall, whose architecture while ornate, offends no canon of good taste, and which in all its detail corresponds with those models whose beauty has made them classic." [59] Praise for the new structure was not limited to the taste of the local citizenry, for an article in *Harper's Weekly*, prior to the building's completion, referred to it as "the finest municipal structure in the United States." [60]

Most impressive of all the statements made on the day of its dedication was the one concerning the cost of the City Hall. The total expenditure, including ground and furnishings, had been $2,271,135.64 out of an appropriation of $2,500,000. This left a surplus in excess of $200,000 for the city,[61] and gave Baltimore the distinction of having the only public building of comparative size ever to be erected within its appropriation.[62]

During the 75 years since its completion, the appearance of the City Hall has remained relatively unchanged. The only extensive repairs were executed in 1928,[63] after an inspection of the building had disclosed the total disintegration of a number of marble balusters, dentils, and other small ornamental pieces. The damage was attributed to a strong cleaning acid which had been used on the exterior of the building some years before.[64]

The City Hall's existence was endangered in 1904, when the Great Fire came to within a block of the building. It was threatened even more recently when the City Comptroller, in 1944, suggested that a new City Hall be erected on the same site.[65]

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[58] City Hall Archives, 1869-941.
[59] "City Hall: Tastes Change," *The Sun*, December 10, 1939.
[60] "New City Hall, Baltimore," *Harper's Weekly* (May 1, [1869?]).
[61] "The City Hall Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *op. cit.*
[62] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
[63] "Cleaning of City Hall Dome Reveals Art Glass Window," *The Sun*, October 25, 1928.
[64] "Exterior Walls of City Hall Have Been Neglected," *op. cit.*
[65] *The Sun*, November 14, 1944.

However, it seems likely that the present City Hall building will remain in use, and as a Baltimore landmark, for some years to come just as it exists today—a monumental tribute to the persistence that gave it form, after a struggle which lasted three-quarters of a century.

Since this article was set in type, announcement has been made in the daily press that the Baltimore Planning Commission, in its long-range capital improvements for the city, has proposed the construction of a modern city hall to be erected on the site of the present structure. Persons interested may refer to "Modern City Hall Proposed by Planning Commission," *Evening Sun,* January 21, 1952.

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1951

WITH this issue the editors introduce what, it is hoped, will become an annual feature in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. In previous years some attempts have been made to call attention to articles, pamphlets, and books on Maryland history beside publications reviewed. An effort is here made to present a systematic and comprehensive bibliography of all references that treat of some phase of Maryland history published in the calendar year 1951. Excepted only are materials which appear in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the *Maryland History Notes*, current governmental publications such as the *Laws of Maryland* and the *Journal of Proceedings of the City Council of Baltimore*, undocumented newspaper articles, and references that have not come to the attention of the compilers. Significant omissions that are brought to their attention will be included in the next annual compilation. Certain works included are by Maryland historians even though their publications do not necessarily relate to Maryland history. Some entries of publications with marginal Maryland interest are included in the hope that the compilers err on the side of completeness; a few words of comment have usually been added to such entries explaining their probable interest to Marylanders. The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under three headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; III. Articles. (Entries under the last heading are listed alphabetically *by publication.*) A limited number of reprints of this article may be purchased from the Society.

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[1] Copyright date. Publication date: January 17, 1952.

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Impressions Respecting New Orleans. By BENJAMIN HENRY BONEVAL LATROBE. Edited by SAMUEL WILSON, JR. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951. 185 pp. $8.75.

This handsome volume with scholarly notes and fine offset reproductions of Latrobe's own drawings, maps and sketches, is valuable partly for its comprehensive picture of early nineteenth century America, but chiefly for the insight it gives us into the still far too little known personality of the author.

In 1818 when Latrobe began the first of the seven note books that were to record these last two years of his life, New Orleans was approaching the end of its first hundred years, and had grown from a French provincial town of 8,000 to a bustling port of 40,000. To the original settlers were now added a great influx of Americans, chiefly merchants or traders, and a large number of new French and Spanish refugees.

Among the many travellers who recorded their visits to this kaleidoscopic community with its urbane culture, its dignified public buildings in the French manner, its insidious infiltration of lawlessness and disease from swamp and river, no one has ever quite equalled Latrobe in ability to see, to evaluate, and to express impressions in words. He had been educated in Germany and had travelled on the continent; he had an attractive personality, and numbered some of the leading men in the nation among his friends. Something in his background therefore, or perhaps in his own character seems to have enabled him, even in these last months of a life that had known much of hardship and disappointment to see the world about him in a sort of philosophic perspective.

He had kept diaries all his life, and according to his own account had also destroyed many parts of them. A volume of extracts, now out of print that appeared in 1905 called *The Journal of Latrobe,* contained many passages interesting in themselves, but so rearranged and curtailed as to lose much of their value. This new volume, dealing only with the 1818 and 1820 visits to New Orleans and the journeys back and forth, two by sea, one overland by wagon, sleigh and steamboat — gives this part of the journal in its original form. Full and excellent notes by the editor, Samuel Wilson, a New Orleans architect who has been interested in Latrobe for the past twenty years, add greatly to what is the diary's particular charm — its revealing picture of Latrobe's own serious and sensitive personality.

Everything is of interest to him, not only the surface appearance of

things, which he notes as an artist, not only how things function, which he notes as an engineer, but also, and above all, human behavior. His entries deal with practically everything — navigation, the appearance of birds and fish, the foibles of his fellow travellers, the sights, sounds, smells of the city, French manners, American dwellings, Indian customs, Catholic burial rites, education, morals, religion, superstition, art, poetry, the Battle of New Orleans, numerology — and so forth. The French women he finds beautiful, but, due to the climate, as pale as marble, and tales he hears of their cruelty to their slaves, lead him to distrust them. Yet slavery, for all its inherent viciousness he concedes " must last long, perhaps forever " in this community. Of mosquitoes and yellow fever he writes often, connecting both with the drainage of the city, which he hopes to correct by his waterworks. So absorbed is he to the last in the world around him that he gives no hint of any apprehension for himself; his final entry, just before his own death of the fever deals merely with details of the many funerals that have come to his attention while working at the Cathedral.

In matters of architecture, which are of course his chief concern, he continually shows his awareness of both past and future. Quick to criticise whatever he considers either crude or amateurish, he is also quick to admire any detail of the colonial plan or construction that seems to him to promise a valid contribution towards the architecture of the future. " It would be a safe wager," he says " that in a hundred years not a vestige will remain of the buildings as they now stand." And again " we shall introduce many grand and profitable improvements but they will take the place of much elegance, ease and some convenience." Because his occasional prophecies are usually so acute, one among them (though made elsewhere), might again be noted here. He wrote in a passage, otherwise full of self-depreciation, that he believed that somehow or other he would " never while the arts exist in America hold a mean place among the men to whom merit is conceeded."

MARY FOWLER

George Washington: A Biography. [Vol. III, *Planter and Patriot;* Vol. IV, *Leader of the Revolution.*] By DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1951. xxxviii, 600; viii, 736 pp. $15.

In these days of precise monographs and short interpretative historical studies, serious question has often been raised as to the purpose served by the multi-volume biography. Skeptics maintain that books are written to be read, and who, except the specialist in the field, will read tomes replete with excessive details which often blur or confuse the main facts rather than clarify and explain their significance? Perhaps the encyclopedic volumes of another day, lacking interpretation, and filled with little but reams of facts loosely held together by the mortar of footnotes, merit no defense today. But there is always a need for history written on a broad canvas, particularly by those who are capable, well-equipped, and willing

to do it. It is well that we have men of this caliber in Dumas Malone and Douglas Southall Freeman, who are giving us the full biographies of two of our greatest leaders, and in such a way that they will be read and re-read.

Dr. Freeman is tying together the great mass of material dealing with Washington into a meaningful, well-written portrait. With the publication of these two volumes he has reached the half-way mark in his projected monumental study of George Washington. His objective is to complete the other four volumes by 1954.

In these two volumes the young Washington steps into manhood; he comes forth as the not-too-successful planter, local patriot, and leader of the revolutionary cause on the battle field. In them Freeman is at his best as a military historian.

Briefly, Volume III covers the years 1759 to 1775. It begins with the marriage of Washington to the well-to-do young widow Martha Dandridge Custis in January, 1759, and ends with a somber note on the last day of the year, 1775, when General Washington is surrounded by the disillusion of defeat and the remnants of a melting army in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The bulk of the volume is devoted to Washington's life as a Virginia planter, burgess, and substantial citizen of the colony. Volume IV deals with Washington the military man and leader of the American cause in its time of adversity from January, 1776, to April, 1778. Here Freeman treads paths that have been well-marked by others. He covers with exacting detail the battles and maneuvers of the American forces, Washington's vexing problems of administration, the jealousies and intrigues among his fellow officers, the burning frictions created by the demands of foreign officers (few of whom Washington found useful), and the overwhelming task of keeping together and supplying a fighting force. The volume closes with the news that on February 6, 1778, France signed a treaty recognizing the independence of the United States.

As Dr. Freeman himself has remarked in his introduction to Volume III, the portrayal of Washington in these volumes is marked by a restrained style, though it is clear throughout that Freeman greatly admires his fellow Virginian. Freeman does not hesitate to criticize when necessary, but criticism is carefully balanced with praise. No compromise is made with the Washington legend. The Washington that emerges from these pages is not a great soldier or strategist. But what is perhaps more important, he is depicted as the man who "knew how to make an army out of a congeries of jealous colonial contingents" (IV, 69). Also, except for rare occasions, seldom does "the demigod show himself to be human"; Washington the man is difficult to discern. This is no fault of Dr. Freeman who has plowed through and used the source materials as no one before him has done.

Freeman's study, based upon a meticulous sifting of prodigious amounts of source material, is a model of scholarship. He succeeds admirably in his objective of presenting the fullest account of Washington yet published. The footnotes will be mined by scholars. Yet, the very strength of this

biography as a work of factual scholarship may prove trying to the general reader. The great minuteness of detail, particularly the extended accounts of military campaigns, may seem tedious to the non-specialist and difficult to digest, but the general reader is oftentimes assisted by careful summaries. Freeman has hewed to the line of presenting only the life of Washington and the events immediately connected with it. This also may appear difficult for the general reader as it leaves little room for interpretation or the placing of events in their full historical context. These are matters of judgment, not faults. The work is a splendid contribution to historical scholarship in its best sense. Let us hope that nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of the completion of Dr. Freeman's magnificent labors, which are doing much to bring about a better understanding of George Washington and his achievements.

ALEXANDER DECONDE

Whittier College

George Washington and American Independence. By CURTIS P. NETTELS. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. 338 pp. $5.

It has been the fashion among historians to deprecate the issues that tore the fabric of empire in the 18th century and to portray the American Revolution as the unfortunate result of Britain's failure to develop early enough the commonwealth of nations idea to which she found her way in the nineteenth century. Professor Nettels revives the animus of old controversies as he blasts this interpretation. He emphasizes that a change had come over British politics with the accession of George III. The new king gradually freed the crown from the domination of Whig leaders who represented the liberal forces in Britain and with the aid of his personal supporters, increased the royal power over Parliament and the country.

The attempt to extend to the colonies the reactionary principles which were gaining ground in Britain produced the American Revolution, according to Professor Nettels, who goes so far as to suggest that the ministry deliberately provoked resistance in Boston so that an occasion might exist for settling the colonial question by force, once and for all. In resisting British measures, American patriots truly stood for liberty against tyranny, just as they claimed.

Most of the book is taken up with a development of this theme during the years from 1774 to 1776. The ministry is described as averse to compromise and determined on ruthless suppression of resistance. As one act after another unfolded this fact to the view of the colonists, American patriots abandoned hope of reconciliation and prepared to fight for independence.

Among those who accurately grasped the situation was George Washington, whom Professor Nettels represents as militant from the beginning and early convinced that reconciliation was impossible. Perhaps the most

interesting sections of the book show how military necessity induced Washington, as commander of the American forces, to take steps and recommend policies which in a practical way led to independence long before the idea was formally entertained by Congress or state governments. As the title of the book indicates, Professor Nettels enlarges on Washington's contribution to the movement for independence.

E. JAMES FERGUSON

University of Maryland

Jefferson and His Time: Volume Two, Jefferson and the Rights of Man. By DUMAS MALONE. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. xxiv, 523 pp. $6.

With this, the second volume of five, Dumas Malone has assured himself of his right to be named *the* Jefferson biographer of our generation. Since this is a generation blessed with an abundance of good Jefferson studies, Dr. Malone's is no mean accomplishment.

Both volumes of *Jefferson and his Time* bear the hallmark of scrupulous scholarship. In dimensions they compare with Marie Kimball's pioneer volumes, *Jefferson: The Road to Glory, War and Peace,* and *The Scene in Europe*; yet, despite obvious and acknowledged indebtedness, Dr. Malone has produced the more valuable study, his especial superiority laying in the roundness of his portrait. Jefferson can, of course, be studied from the personal level, but not for long. Completeness of understanding requires careful political scene setting from the very first, and this is ably supplied by both the Malone volumes that have appeared to date.

Like its predecessor, *Jefferson the Virginian,* Dr. Malone's *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* is a unit in itself, and yet has the rare and costly attraction that makes the reader look forward to the volumes that are to follow. This is not to suggest that the current book is a likely best-seller or a seductive episode in a fascinating serial story. Dr. Malone is writing the definitive biography — " monumental " is the publisher's blurb — and inevitably perhaps the first two volumes betray the weakness so often inherent in such a work. *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* certainly inclines to prolixity and has some passages so condensed as to bewilder the reader (see p. 62). Yet for sheer good writing one will go far to discover a chapter superior to Dr. Malone's delightfully delicate treatment of Jefferson's amorous dallying with Maria Cosway.

However, if the volume reveals some of the faults of the definitive biography, it also shows most of the virtues: a completeness and sureness of scholarship is one of the most transparent features of the book. Furthermore Dr. Malone deserves congratulations on avoiding the all-too-common fault of employing Jefferson's words at the expense of his own. To a somewhat jaded Jefferson student, this is particularly refreshing, in view of a known personal inclination to use the Virginian's words when they seem so completely apposite and superior to modern paraphrase.

The nature of *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* is such that it should attract a vastly wider audience than the preceding volume, confined as that was to Jefferson's essentially Virginian existence. The current volume is blessed with an abundance of material, whereas previously Dr. Malone's gift for hypothesis and creative imagination was seriously strained for lack of other substance in the early period of Jefferson's life. Consequently, many students of the French Revolution as viewed by Jefferson, of the establishment of the new government of the United States, and of the relations of Jefferson with Alexander Hamilton will be deeply satisfied with the enlightening content of *Jefferson and the Rights of Man*. Those who still believe Jefferson a naïve dupe of all things French, or a narrow selfish opponent of Hamilton, will gain much by turning to Dumas Malone's convincing pro-Jefferson treatment. Exposure to Thomas Jefferson can be exhilarating, as *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* amply testifies.

H. TREVOR COLBOURN

The Johns Hopkins University

The Letters of Benjamin Rush. Edited by LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1951. 2 vol., lxxxvii, 1295 pp. $15.

These two volumes pay off a debt long overdue to an eminent American patriot, humanitarian crusader, and physician. Although Benjamin Rush has been best known as a physician, medicine could not absorb all the energies of a man bent on ushering in a secular reformation in America, and in his militant drive against misery and ignorance he stirred up a succession of controversies: political, medical, and personal. His work had so divided his countrymen that towards the end of his career he wondered if his life had not been a vanity of vanities. He decided that those who came after him would have to judge as to whether he had added to the knowledge and happiness or to the errors and miseries of his fellow citizens. His heirs, however, were less interested in justifying Rush than in letting the issues of his life recede into the background of public memory, and it is only now with Lyman H. Butterfield's superlative gathering of evidence that it is possible for us to sit in on the judgment Rush expected.

The letters in these two volumes are presented in chronological order and cover the full sweep of Rush's life as medical student, patriot, physician and reformer, through to the rich years of reflection and philosophy. They are remarkably free from conventional platitudes and formalities. Rush wrote because he had something to say and he said it in a forthright and engaging manner. His cosmopolitan relationships and acute observations lend to many of the letters the importance of documents in political and social history. (Those interested in the role of the frontiersman, for instance, can still read with profit the account of the settlement of Pennsylvania which Rush wrote to Thomas Percival, Oct. 26, 1786.) The letters also bring to life the personality of their author, and if Rush was

often stubbornly wrong, harsh in his judgments of others, and too self-righteous, it is also true that he was kindly, generous, and "aimed well."

The final judgment on Rush will undoubtedly give him a prominent place in early American reform movements and the then closely allied medical fields of insanity and sanitation. (Rush's first major controversy took place in the medical department of the Continental Army where he was appalled at the neglect and suffering of American troops because of a lack of sanitation and medical care.) Rush pressed for the abolition of capital punishment and of slavery, treatment of the insane as medical rather than criminal cases, temperance, free schools, education for women, churches for Negroes, and numerous other humanitarian causes. That he was no fair-weather reformer, "*too good* to *do good*," is apparent in the remarkable series of letters written to his wife during the yellow-fever epidemics at Philadelphia. He worked tirelessly, though sick himself, tending rich and poor alike, spending his own money for medicine to treat the poor, and using his house as a refuge for the less fortunate when the streets of the city were deserted except for those seeking either a doctor or an undertaker.

The letters of Rush are informative, but Butterfield has made them doubly so by furnishing explanatory footnotes for virtually everything likely to be obscure to the reader. In addition, he has furnished brief digests of letters being answered; he has frequently presented evidence which conflicts with Rush's pursuasive arguments; and he has included three appendices giving objective treatment to important episodes in Rush's career. The only thing left to be desired, and space requirements probably made it impossible, would be the inclusion of letters received by Rush from correspondents such as John Adams. It is still necessary to consult the rare *Old Family Letters* and read Adams's replies to Rush to fully appreciate their correspondence.

FRANCIS C. HABER

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt: [Vols. III and IV] *The Square Deal, 1901-1905*. Selected and Edited by ELTING E. MORISON. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951. xvii, 710, viii, 728 pp. $20.

In the absence of a scholarly, multi-volume biography of Theodore Roosevelt, particular interest is centered on the publication of this selected collection of Roosevelt letters for the years of his first, and abbreviated, administration, 1901-05, and early months of the second term. Although the volumes under review pale in comparison to Julian P. Boyd's comprehensive Jefferson project — no incoming correspondence is included, and the outgoing letters comprise only a fraction of those TR actually wrote — they must be regarded as an important contribution. Within the limits established by financial and technical considerations the editors have achieved a high level of scholarship. Notably, the all-important selective process has been characterized by intensive study and mature judgment.

An obvious, and successful, effort to print broad groupings of letters bearing on major events such as the Anthracite Coal Strike and the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone has been made. Where few letters were available, as with conservation of natural resourses, an area which Roosevelt was not to apply himself to intensively until the second administration, practically all have been printed. The shifting nuances of TR's political attitudes are sufficiently revealed, and the incredibly rich warmth, vitality, and intellectual range of his personality are abundantly recorded. What is lacking is the type of material that confirms by repetition or fills out the last, and sometimes important, detail of a composite picture. In consequence, neither the Roosevelt biographer nor the historian of White House politics will be completely satisfied. But the attainment of the objective of representive selection means that social and intellectual historians, political theorists, and the general reading public, can use them with confidence.

It is clear that these two volumes will not resolve the challenging interpretive problem of whether in the final summing up Roosevelt was a genuine progressive or a sophisticated conservative. There is much material in the correspondence supporting either point of view, and a considered evaluation must await a comprehensive work that relates TR to his times and places the whole of his career in historical perspective. Nevertheless, this collection is expressively revealing of many of his attitudes and activities during the so-called Square Deal years. Whatever the ultimate interpretation, it is evident that Roosevelt's was a highly complex personality. He was inordinately self-centered; yet he was out-going, sympathetic, and sometimes humble. He was possessed an obsession for righteousness and an almost limitless capacity for self-delusion. He had a romantic attachment to the frontier; but his letters reveal him as an upper middle class easterner, distrustful and unable to understand Bryan and the southern and western agrarian elements which he represented. Even so, as Associate Editor John Blum's tightly drawn essay on Roosevelt's early disposition to reform the railroad rate structure indicates, TR was more amenable to the changing currents of the day than were most of his political fellows in the basically conservative Republican party.

The same superb craftsmanship which marked the earlier volumes has been maintained in these. A word by word check of fifty-odd letters in the Roosevelt Letterbooks housed in the Library of Congress, for example, turned up only one minor error. The annotations are helpful, especially as they identify lesser known correspondents. Roosevelt was in the main an expository writer, and it is usually possible to comprehend the nature of the incoming letter from his reply. In some cases, though, more extensive notes would have enhanced understanding. The division of each volume into five sections variously entitled "Changing the Guard," "A Square Deal for America," etc. may contribute to an already patently fine job of bookmaking, but is not always valid, for the correspondence cannot be classified so neatly. The index, although not explanatory, is accurate and complete, while a chronological table of Roosevelt's daily activities is informative.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

Northwestern University

Thomas Pownall: British Defender of American Liberty. By JOHN A. SCHUTZ. Glendale, Cal.: Athur H. Clark Co., 1951. 340 pp. $10.

Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) was as ambitious in politics as his biographer is in research. He enjoyed the distinction of being the outstanding "American expert" of his day in the British Isles. He was the familiar of Franklin, Pitt, and Burke, but he was never quite at their level in expressing himself. By this "expertness" he expected to reap great reward. In this he was disappointed, and because of personal pique in consequence, commingled with the unfortunate accident of ignoble birth, he never attained real greatness. However, he came just short of it. He was governor of three American colonies, Member of Parliament both as Whig and Tory, author of many books and pamphlets, member of the Antiquarian Society, and Fellow of the Royal Society. He finally realized part of his original ambition by marrying, at the age of sixty-two, a land-owning widow; he was thus, at last, a country gentleman, but his greatest political triumph at that time was no more than a sporadic intrigue on behalf of Francisco de Miranda, scapegoat of Latin American independence and of Chatham's diplomacy.

The subtitle, *Defender of American Liberty,* gives the theme of the book. Pownall spent most of his life in the American cause, not, as has been said, without hope of recompense, but nonetheless wholeheartedly. He fathered the idea of a commonwealth of nations under British protection a hundred years before it happened. He suggested an "Act of Union" with America in 1767. He publicly predicted American independence well before it took place. He anticipated modern political thinking to the point of advocating a world union for adjudication of disputes and for outlawing war. He published a very useful book on the eve of the Revolution embodying many of his ideas about America and including the famous map of North America by Lewis Evans. The second edition appeared in 1950. He was indeed, as Dr. Schutz calls him, "Secretary Extraordinary" to the American cause.

Besides being an adequate biography of a little known but important colonial figure, this work is unusually penetrating and free from the limitations of scholarly monographs. In it one sees the ideal of research and "the play of intelligence" over the materials. Dr. Schutz' late friend and teacher, Louis Knott Koontz, whose last task was proofreading the manuscript, was justly proud of his student's work.

JAMES HIGH

University of Washington

The Papers of Henry Bouquet. Volume II, The Forbes Expedition. Edited by S. K. STEVENS, DONALD H. KENT, and AUTUMN L. LEONARD. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951. xxxiii, 704 pp. $7.

Col. Henry Bouquet, a native of Switzerland, was one of the first great military figures in American history, one of the most colorful and successful soldiers of the colonial period. He played a leading role in England's effort to extend her rule to the lands beyond the Alleghenies. His part in the Forbes Expedition of 1758, which resulted in the capture of Fort Duquesne (on the site of the modern city of Pittsburgh), is pictured in this group of papers drawn mainly from the collections of the British Museum.

This second volume in the projected series is published before the appearance of the first chronological volume because it is hoped additional earlier materials will turn up to shed light on the more obscure phases of Bouquet's career. The present work covers the seven months of June-December, 1758, including preparations for the Forbes Expedition, its progress north and westward through the frontier area, and its occupation of the French fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. There are letters, reports, and allied items, all transcribed with great care; and in the numerous instances when Bouquet wrote in French, both the original text and excellent translations are provided. Complete footnotes are appended to each paper, not only clarifying individuals and places, but also relating the particular item to other documents in the series. In cases where letters are known to have been written, but have not been located, headings have been inserted, with abstracts or summaries indicating the probable nature of their contents.

Maryland figures little in the story, in spite of the fact that the success of the Forbes Expedition was so vital to the welfare of her western settlements. There are thirty-odd references to Governor Horatio Sharpe, and the one letter from Bouquet to Sharpe (dated June 13, 1758, and found in the Gilmor Papers at The Maryland Historical Society) is reproduced as the last of eleven illustrations.

This volume represents a high level of editorial scholarship. It makes available to students of the French and Indian War a vast store of important material. It is one more evidence of the superior work of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in gathering, preserving, and disseminating historical information.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College

Papers of Sir William Johnson, Volume X. Edited by MILTON W. HAMILTON. Albany: Univ. of the State of New York, 1951. 998 pp. $5.

Long recognized as a major collection of colonial Americana, the Sir William Johnson Papers have been substantially increased in size and value with the appearance of Volume X and the promise of two additional volumes in the future. Nearly a decade of work has gone into the collection of these documents which were taken chiefly from such depositories as the Huntington Library, the Canadian Archives, and the Public Record Office. The tenth volume covers the period from 1758 to 1763 with more than 400 documents that describe specifically Johnson's Indian policy and his relations with the commander-in-chief, Jeffery Amherst. More material is also available on the Pontiac Conspiracy, frontier land speculation and Indian trade, and the ever vital problem of colonial administration. These papers on Johnson's superintendency point up again the adroit way he handled his office and how great a need there is for a re-examination of his activities.

Dr. Hamilton has maintained the same high standards of editorship as his predecessors and deserves warm praise for his work in bringing Johnson's correspondence into more general use. His footnote references to letters previously printed will aid historians considerably in using the Papers until the long awaited index appears. The inclusion of twelve illustrations enhances the beauty of an already attractive volume.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

California Institute of Technology

The Life of Pierre L'Enfant, Planner of the City Beautiful, The City of Washington. By H. PAUL CAEMMERER. Washington: National Republic Publishing Co., 1950. xxvi, 480 pp. $10.

Dr. Caemmerer, a recognized authority on the history of our Federal City, prepared this volume for publication in 1950, the 150th anniversary of Washington. The book is "based on original sources" — a work of twelve chapters which took the author to France. It begins with an account of L'Enfant's father, Painter in Ordinary to the French King, member of a family of artists, and descendant of people of culture. L'Enfant in 1771 learned battle-scene and fortification drawing from his own parent at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and later seems to have come under the influence of Le Nôtre, greatest of French landscape planners.

In 1776 L'Enfant entered the American scene by volunteering as an officer in the Revolutionary War, in which he was wounded at Savannah and in which he became known as the "Artist of the Revolution." To George Washington he was "Captain Lanfan." Like one of the all-round men of the Renaissance, L'Enfant in addition to his military prowess could

design and execute medals (Cincinnati), buildings (Federal Hall), city plans (Washington), fortifications (Mifflin), landscapes (West Point), military badges (Purple Heart), seals (United States), and other works of art.

In his pages devoted to the Washington plan the writer makes his hero come alive in the various letters which are quoted. For the important work of designing a capital George Washington "chose" L'Enfant, who wrote with perhaps greater wisdom than he knew that "the plan should be drawn on such a scale as to leave room for that aggrandisement . . . which the increase of the wealth of the Nation will permit it to pursue at any period however remote." The preliminary sketch presents the germ of his idea and looks something like the canals on Mars. However, the author well brings out the debt which L'Enfant owed to great European city plans, like Karlsruhe. On the other hand Jefferson's scheme for a plan of Washington indicates the ancient, but unprogressive, gridiron, laid out on graph paper.

The book is loosely organized: Some chapters are broken up into sections which appear to be unrelated. For instance, the parts entitled "Land Bounty" and "Fête in Philadelphia," are tacked to the main part of the chapter about the Cincinnati. The last chapter is disrupted by nearly a whole blank page of text (359). Also, the author's theory that the plan of Canberra, Australia (1911) is derived from the L'Enfant plan is far fetched. If the reader compares each, Canberra will be found to form a series of cart-wheels and octagons laid out in irregular fashion, a scheme unlike Washington. Although inadequate in its analysis of city planning, this book is valuable for its presentation of new material.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Gail Borden, Dairyman to a Nation. By JOE B. FRANTZ. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1951. xiii, 310 pp. $5.

This book presents another story in the history of American ingenuity and entrepreneurial success. It tells the story of a frontiersman of great perseverance who tried a dozen enterprises before he succeeded in founding an industry. It relates the story of Gail Borden, founder of a business in America's food industry which today sells annually a half billion dollars worth of products.

Except for a sketch written a few years ago by Clarence R. Wharton, Borden has been neglected by biographers. Moreover, very little mention has been made of him in studies of American industrial history. Professor Joe B. Frantz of the University of Texas, therefore, renders an important service in presenting this well-written, documented work on the struggles and achievements of an important pioneer industrialist. With an easy and lively style he carries the reader to the England, Old and New, of Borden's ancestors, to his birthplace in the Chenango Valley, on to his

frontier peregrinations and the road to his leadership in political affairs of Mexican-held and independent Texas. He tells vividly how Borden during the Civil War achieved his greatest success in the condensing of milk and then a few years later laid the foundation for an enterprise which indeed made him "dairyman to a nation."

This biography shows tremendous research. The author strove to recreate the life and times of Borden by visiting every place where he lived and worked and by consulting numerous documentary sources in library and archival collections in Texas, New York, and Washington, D. C. Professor Frantz has succeeded in recreating an important figure long lost in American history.

HAROLD T. PINKETT

National Archives

Brooks Adams, Constructive Conservative. By THORNTON ANDERSON. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1951. xiv, 250 pp. $3.75.

This is not so much a biography as an analysis of the ideas and theories of a brilliant but erratic historian who came from a distinguished family. It is not easy to appraise the varied and iconoclastic writings of so unorthodox a thinker as Brooks Adams, but Mr. Anderson has done the job creditably, showing restraint, balance and objectivity. More details concerning the personal and professional career of Adams might have shed additional light on what conditioned the extraordinary pattern of thought which governed this self-styled conservative.

That Adams made a contribution to social theory cannot be denied, but his influence upon contemporary thought has probably been slight. His generalizations, supported more by intuition than by data, were usually tailored to serve some practical purpose. His theories on education were good, but more important was his explanation for the rise and decay of civilizations. Adams believed in the dynamic character of civilization, but as the years passed his optimistic faith in democracy yielded to one of black despair. He distrusted both the proletariat and the capitalists; and although opposed at first to socialism, he finally accepted some of its features as an alternative to revolution. He recognized the importance of a planned economy with public corporations for the utilization of natural resources. In his theories on administrative leadership there was an undertone of fascism. Adams was a staunch nationalist and imperialist, opposing the League of Nations and World Unity. His fear of the competitive threat which Asia held for the United States may not prove groundless. His admiration for military leadership and his unreasoning fear of feminism are among the strange quirks in the thinking of a mind that never lacked for ideas. Many are the facets in the thought pattern of Brooks Adams, but they are dispassionately and lucidly scrutinized by Mr. Anderson.

ALMONT LINDSEY

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 10, 1736-June 7, 1739. Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951. xii, 764 pp. $12.50.

Congratulations to South Carolina for this portly, readable volume, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina.* The Historical Commission and Mr. J. H. Easterby, their editor, had to do an enormous amount of work in order to put before us the Journal of the Commons House of Assembly from 1736 to 1738. Before the first volume could be published they must set the policy for the entire series. Although South Carolina is as wealthy in colonial records as she is in colonial history, she has, up to now, been rather unsuccessful in getting them into print. Naturally there were printings of the statutes, but, save for them, very little appeared before 1830. The Historical Commission, and its predecessor, the Public Record Commission, set up in 1891, completed the task of getting transcripts of the English records of the colony. In 1905 they were given the further duty of "publishing official records and historical material," and their first publications, "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly . . . September 20, 1692 . . . [to] October 15, 1692," and the companion journal of the Grand Council appeared in 1907. Both were edited by the all but indispensable Alexander S. Salley. Every state ought to have a Salley or a Dielman.

Recently the publication policy was re-examined and slightly changed. Now the plan is to publish first all the existing records of the Commons House, and to follow them with the Council records, transcripts in the Public Record Office in London, and the Indian Trade papers. It was decided to dispense with volume numbers, and to distinguish the volumes by the dates of the General Assembly. In fact, their statement of the way in which they plan to print the 1951 version is so well put that it must have extensive quotation, direct or indirect. Marginal summaries have been omitted. "Superior letters have been dropped to the normal line. The clerical symbols, &, y, and . . . [a specialized form of the letter *p*] have been rendered respectively and, th, and per, pre, or pro as the context required, except that in the combination &c., the ampersand has been retained. In such words as dutys, boundarys, and countrys, the y has been changed to i; otherwise the original spelling has not been altered. All abbreviated words, except those in common use, and those standing for the forenames of persons, have been expanded to their full forms. Punctuation has been added occasionally for the sake of clarity, and the lower-case initial letter of nouns has been capitalized wherever contemporary usage sanctioned the change. . . ." In short, their object was "to present the text as far as possible as it would have been presented by a contemporary printer."

Mr. Easterby, like this reviewer, who is editor of the *Archives of Maryland,* has had the help and counsel of a publications committee. Robert L. Meriwether put his knowledge of 18th century South Carolina at Mr

Easterby's service. The preface of this volume contains the indispensable information that the manuscripts appearing in it are in the custody of the Historical Commission in Columbia. Even with a text so carefully prepared as this one, some will want to see the originals.

The text of the proceedings of what Maryland would call the Lower House extend over 733 pages. It is obvious that a digest is neither possible — nor desirable. But some points made must be mentioned. Like Maryland, South Carolina assumed that the inhabitants had the rights of Englishmen, and that its Commons had the same rights in imposing taxes on them that the English House had over Englishmen. The resolutions quoted in full on pages 701-702 could have come straight from Green's *Votes and Proceedings*. It is interesting, too, to notice that our Governor Francis Nicholson was also Governor of South Carolina after he left Maryland.

The index does not fully unlock for the student the abundance of material in this record. There is a full list of all bills and all acts, which again shows the resemblance between Maryland and South Carolina. One bill established a ferry, another licensed hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen. It could be wished that some of the entries had been subdivided, for in many cases there are so many references after one name that the very abundance is discouraging. After William Bull, Jr., for instance, there must be more than a hundred, after John Dart there are over two hundred, and after Charles Pinckney and Benjamin Whitaker almost three hundred. But that is a minor objection.

Again congratulations to South Carolina; perhaps another volume will be proffered soon.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

Heavens on Earth, Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880. By MARK HOLLOWAY. New York: Library Publishers, 1951. xvi, 240 pp. $4.75.

Heavens on Earth tells the fascinating story of the hundred-odd Utopian communities that were founded in America — for the most part during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the origins of Utopia go back at least to Plato and to some of the early Christian mystics, it was the socialism inspired by the French Revolution and the growing dissatisfaction with industrialism that probably inclined some one hundred thousand Americans to adopt the communal pattern of life.

The American Utopias included the religious societies of the Shakers who, as Mr. Holloway points out, were " the first to show that communities could be prosperous, neat, orderly and of long duration," as well as the socialist communities maintained by the followers of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. But by mid-century the vogue of the Utopian communities was passing. Oneida, established by John Humphrey Noyes, the self-styled perfectionist and advocate of free love or complex marriage, and

the author of tracts on birth control and eugenics, was the last of the important Utopias. After 1880, the concluding date of Mr. Holloway's volume, Utopia became a literary fad and the subject of a host of novels, while the actual communities disintegrated. Although seldom a success, the Utopias contributed something of value to American life — especially in their example of reformist zeal and idealism. Mr. Holloway's book is not new in its interpretations nor exhaustive in research but is a popularly written narrative treatment which should prove interesting to a wide variety of readers.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

The French in America, 1520-1880. By the DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS. Detroit, 1951. 207 pp.

This catalogue for "an exhibition organized by the Detroit Institute of Arts to commemorate the founding of Detroit by Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac in the year 1701" is beautifully illustrated with over one hundred plates of paintings, drawings, maps, sculpture and *objets d'art,* contains a foreword by E. P. Richardson, director of the Institute; a concise essay by Paul M. Grigaut on "The French in America"; and extensive descriptive notes on the great exhibition. It is far more than a catalogue and is in fact an illustrated history of the French influence on American life worthy of a place alongside the larger works of Howard Mumford Jones, Gilbert Chinard, and others.

Maryland has deep and ancient ties with France, and this is well recognized in the catalogue. Mention is made of the celebrated Betsy Patterson and her romantic connection with Jerome Bonaparte, of Maximilian Godefroy and his work here as an architect, of the St. Mary's Seminary, and of other things, each in its proper perspective and with regard to its importance to the main story.

From our special point of view, however, there are some things which might have been added. The French training of John Carroll, the first Bishop of the United States, in the Jesuit school at St. Omer was certainly significant and might have been included in the chapter on "Some Americans in France." Also, the full influence of St. Mary's seminary might have been emphasized by pointing out that no less than five of the French Sulpician priests who founded the seminary in the 1790's were subsequently consecrated as Bishops. Godefroy's fine St. Mary's Chapel was chosen as an illustration of his architectural prowess, but his imposing Unitarian Church and splendid Battle Monument could just as well have been mentioned. Moreover, room might have been made for the accomplishments of the Huguenot-descended Latrobes of Baltimore. However, the great field covered by the exhibition required a strict selection and such omissions were undoubtedly matters of choice. Maryland and Baltimore can well be proud of its French background, and this booklet gives us full place in the annals of "The French in America."

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

Peale Museum

They Gave Us Freedom. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg and College of William and Mary, 1951. 66 pp.

This book forms a catalogue of an exhibition of works of art held in Williamsburg and is, according to the preface by the President of William and Mary College, "to be regarded not as inclusive but as selective, directing special attention to the part which Virginia and her capital city of Williamsburg played in the events of the years 1761-89." "In a sense," he continues, the collection is "a homecoming," because in that historic town were "nurtured" many of the leaders presented in the exhibition. Kenneth Chorley, president of Colonial Williamsburg, who wrote the foreword, calls attention to the fact that it is "the *ideas* which emanated from Williamsburg that gave it the enduring significance which makes it worthy of so much attention today."

The reader will find the text especially well integrated with the illustations, but on closer study will realize that here painting and sculpture are set forth as history, not as art. For instance, the explanatory text for the painting, "The Battle of Bunker Hill, by John Trumbull," commences with the words, "'To arms! To arms! The British are coming!' shouted Paul Revere . . .," followed by a description of the beginning of the Revolution. The Bunker's Hill illustration itself, as well as some others, is misty and dark. Clear reproductions could have been found, such as the Bunker's Hill picture in Virgil Barker's *American Painting* (1950).

This work forms a galaxy of pictures of the founders of our country, supplemented by historic documents, such as the Virginia Declaration of Rights. It well fits the Williamsburg pattern, "That the future may learn from the past."

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

The Bay. By GILBERT C. KLINGEL. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1951. x, 278 pp. $4.

Geologists tell us that the Chesapeake Bay is a "drowned valley" in the Atlantic Coastal Plain, a plain which stretches from the Piedmont country in the west to the Continental Shelf some seventy miles east of Cape Henry. They point out that the plain is composed of two sections, a "submerged" portion and a portion above water, but geologically speaking there is little difference between the two. In the same way, if we reflect a bit, the whole plain, above and below water is our natural habitat. The water moderates our climate, fosters industry and commerce, provides a magnificent harvest of unsurpassed food, offers pleasure to those who swim, boat or sunbathe, and disciplines our spirits with its rains, fogs, mosquitoes and jellyfish. The Bay is of the essence of life in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia and we are its children.

Unfortunately not many of us savor the full quality of our environment because we are too busy, and we take it too much for granted. Gilbert C.

Klingel is one of those who has tasted of the whole substance of the Chesapeake Bay country, and his delightful essay will open your eyes to the "universe of life above and below the Chesapeake." A naturalist by inclination, Mr. Klingel has walked the shores, waded the marshes, sailed on the broad waters, and even sat upon the very floor of the Bay in diving dress. His special knowledge of plants and animals has sharpened his perception beyond that of the casual inhabitant and this book reports what he has found. We are taken into the gloomy depths of the Bay and introduced to our submerged fields and their livestock, to the marshes and beaches where water and sky meet, and into the air to experience the free domain of duck and eagle. We are shown the mysterious "paths" through the water which the fish of the Bay follow for their own inexplicable reasons, the extraordinary life cycles of worms, sponges and oysters, the ridiculous fiddler crab, the sights, sounds, smells, colors, winds and tides of our country and many other things which you must read for yourself. The fine drawings by Natalie Harlan Davis add just the right amount of stimulation to your mind's eye as you travel with Mr. Klingel above, on and under the Bay. The book is permeated with a humble sense of the wholeness of all life from the smallest to the greatest creature, not excepting man; when you have finished, you will know more about yourself as one of the larger animals living in the Bay country, and you will have more respect for your neighbors, the innumerable flying, swimming, floating and growing things who share it with you. By all means read, *The Bay* before vacation time comes around — you have been missing half of the fun all these years by not knowing what was going on around you.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

Peale Museum

They Put Me Here. By IRMA ROHLFING ANGELL. Baltimore: Privately Published, 1951. 71 pp. $2.

Mrs. Angell has done here what few people have taken the time and trouble to do. She has delved into and written down in a very readable account something of her background and that of her ancestors. Mrs. Angell's claim of an ordinary background is certainly too modest. How many can claim as varied a heritage, so romantic an ancestor as Luigi Pipino, a mother who might have become a famous singer, or part of a childhood spent in a house later occupied by Wallis Warfield? Readers who enjoy personal narrative will find pleasant reading in this little book.

The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia. By FREDERICK L. WEIS. Lancaster, Mass.: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1950. 104 pp. $3.

This is the fifth of a series of publications of The Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy. In two of the previous publications Dr .Weis devoted his efforts to the colonial clergy and churches of New England and of the Middle and Southern Colonies. Dr. Weis has done a splendid job in the publication under review and must have spent a great deal of time in his researches.

For each of the colonies of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia he has included a brief sketch of every clergyman in the colonies from the time of settlement until 1776. The clergymen are listed alphabetically by name, followed by date and place of birth, education, churches served, denomination, and date and place of death. All denominations are included. In addition the author has included an alphabetical list of the churches in each of the three colonies (including Friends Meetings in Maryland) showing the date of establishment, parish, and denomination.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Weis failed to indicate his sources of information as they would be of great interest to most students of the colonial period. The reviewer has spent a considerable amount of time in research on the early Jesuit Fathers and Catholic institutions of Maryland and also has a nodding acquaintance with the early Anglicans, and, in his opinion, Dr. Weis has done a most competent job. There is no doubt that he has made a fine contribution to ensure the perpetuation of the memory of these Christian leaders of colonial times.

EDWIN W. BEITZELL

Genealogical Guide — Master Index of Genealogy in the Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, Volumes 1-84, 1892-1950. Washington D. A. R. Magazine, 1951. 137 pp. $4. (paper), $5. (cloth).

The Elizabeth Benton Chapter, Kansas City, Missouri, has performed a notable service to readers of the *D. A. R. Magazine* in compiling this *Genealogical Guide* to its first 84 volumes. The first and major section lists family names from "Aaron to "Zuver" with volume and page references. "Bible and Family Records" are separately indexed in the second section. The final index contains "Federal and State Records." Maryland is creditably represented with eleven entries. The *Genealogical Guide* is certain to enhance the usefulness of the files of the *D. A. R. Magazine.*

Ancestral Roots of Sixty Colonists Who Came to New England Between 1623 and 1650. By FREDERICK L. WEIS. (2 Ed.) Lancaster, Mass.: 1951. 160 pp. $3.

The appearance of this small book fills a long-felt need in the researches connected with the genealogy of New England families. For the first time a compact, concise and easy to use tabulation of the English ancestry of sixty New England settlers is available for interested searchers. The material is well-presented, and cross-references between the various lines are uniformly presented, thus making it easy for the searcher to notice inter-relationships and follow collateral lines, when they are relevant to the subject. None of the material presented is a result of original research, but extensive reference notes make it easy for those interested to locate the original source which Dr. Weis has used. He has incorporated in this book the most valuable results accruing from the latest foreign researches, particularly those which have been reported in the *New England Historic Genealogical Register* within the past few years. This has the value of widely distributing the latest and most relevant findings of present-day genealogists. It will thus be found that many previously obscure connections are accounted for, and some crooked lines are made straight. It is to be regretted that several discrepancies are noticable in the dates given; it therefore behooves the user to compare Dr. Weis' chronology with that of other authorities. It should also be noted that, apparently, free use has been made of Jordan's "Your Family Tree" whose vagaries are well-known. It is to be hoped that, in the cases where this is the only reference cited, Dr. Weis has carefully sifted the evidence in the light of more authoritative presentations. This book will furnish a valuable starting point for researches that can and should be buttressed by frequent references to collateral sources.

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

The Historical Society of York County

Impounded Waters. A Novel of John McDonogh. By MARION MURDOCH LAIRD. [Wilmington:] Hambleton Co., 1951. 114 pp. $3.

This book is a defense of one of America's merchant-princes and philanthropists by his great-great niece. The author says on page 26 that "this is not a historical novel in any way," and yet she will be unable to deny that her work falls into that classification. Touching on the Indian Wars, the Revolution, and the War of 1812 — that period in American history when our ships covered the world and land was bought for a song — she becomes deeply involved with history. From imaginary conversations and scenes and with the introduction of a love theme, the book may certainly be called a novel. Whether it is called a fanciful biography or a historical novel, the book does carry out its author's objective of conveying a very

much pleasanter impression of John McDonogh than that given in another recent biography.

McDonogh the business man, McDonogh the rejected lover, McDonogh the visionary educator of slaves, has had need of friends and defenders. McDonogh the philanthropist, whose whole life was disciplined to the making and the leaving of great wealth, spoke his own best defense when he wrote his voluminous will.

The average Marylander knows McDonogh only as the founder of McDonogh School, in the outskirts of Baltimore. He was born here and he is buried here but his fifty years residence in New Orleans would almost justify his being called an inhabitant of that place. However, regardless of which city claims him, Mrs. Laird, in this nicely published little portrait, makes us aware of John McDonogh as a man, a man surrounded by an aura of romance.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

Memorials and Portraits of John McDonogh. By ARTHUR G. NUHRAH. New Orleans: Gulf Publishing Co., 1951. 24 pp.

The growing literature concerned with the career and benefactions of John McDonogh of Baltimore and New Orleans is now enriched by a compilation recording known memorials and portraits of him. The sixteen illustrations include photographs of portraits and statues of McDonogh and scenes at the McDonogh School in Maryland. The accompanying text is brief and appropriate to the purpose of the pamphlet.

Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County. Carlisle, Pa.: Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1951. 388 pp. $3.50.

The reader acquainted with the ordinary run of souvenir booklets and country histories will be surprised and refreshed when he examines this one. In honor of the bicentennial year of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania (1950), and of its seat of justice, Carlisle (1951), a committee of the local historical society have assembled here 120 documents and 118 plates, for the purpose of narrating the social history of the community.

The quality of selection is high. Many of the documents are newspaper reports, and so it should be; letters, journals, diaries, memoirs and printed ephemera are also freely used. The plates do not illustrate the literary record but rather complement it. Such is the historical wealth of the community and such the taste and industry of the committee that every item used is a Cumberland County document contemporary with the matter it records. Though some readers will regret the omission of a basic text, others will be content to browse.

The materials are arranged chronologically in nine chapters, beginning

with "Plowshare and Tomahawk, 1731-1774," and closing with "The Trolley Car and the Flying Machine, 1885-1917." A modest 65 pages, or seventeen per cent of the book, was set aside at the end for "a brief historical sketch of each sponsor who would supply the material"; thus the financial problem, almost always embarrassing to local historians, was met with dignity.

Though this is consistently a Cumberland County book it is also one that may be scanned with pleasure by all who are interested in the older America, and it may be imitated with advantage by any American community. Years ago Professor J. Franklin Jameson proposed as an ideal for the work of county historical societies the motto "American history locally exemplified." In this volume the Hamilton Library and Historical Association attains that goal.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Pennsylvania Public Records Division, Harrisburg

The History and Background of St. George's Episcopal Church Fredericksburg, Virginia. By CARROL H. QUENZEL. Richmond: 1951. 124 pp. $1.50 (paper), $2.50 (cloth).

Dr. Carrol H. Quenzel, professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, has made a valuable addition to the growing study of the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. Works such as this one, on a local level, supplement the more extensive — and therefore less detailed — study of Dr. B. M. Brydon, the second volume of whose *Virginia's Mother Church* is soon to appear.

In the brief space of some seventy-three pages, Dr. Quenzel has interestingly set forth the history of St. George's Church from its colonial origins in the early eighteenth century to the present time. Following this narrative portion of the book, the author, in several appendices, lists the vestrymen, burials, and other facts connected with the history of the church — information that will be of value and interest to the historian and genealogist. A thorough index makes the book easily usable, while its heavy documentation attests to the scholarship of the author. Indeed, as Dr. Brydon has said, St. George's Church "has been fortunate in securing a trained historical student to search out, assemble and evaluate the facts of its past history."

KENNETH L. CARROLL

NOTES AND QUERIES

Governor Plater—There has been considerable disagreement concerning the burial place of Maryland's Governor, George Plater III, who served for a short term (1791-2). Those contemporary newspaper accounts which survive give varying reports of the elaborate funeral procession described in the article on "Sotterley," XLVI (September 1951), 173-188. Recent discoveries have thrown new light on the ultimate disposition of the Governor's remains which it might be well to relate in the hope of clarifying the issue.

According to James W. Thomas, who wrote *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland,* the Governor's remains "were attended by the . . . council and . . . citizens . . . to Sotterley . . . there to be deposited in the family vault." There was not and never had been any vault on Sotterley grounds. No other member of the Plater family had ever been buried there. George Plater II was buried in the church yard of the Chapel of Ease near Sandy Bottom, "the four mile run church."

Local tradition has it that the Governor was buried in open ground in the rose garden of Sotterley. Within recent years Mrs. J. H. Lilburn remembered that her grandfather, Dr. Briscoe, who was then owner of Sotterley, would not allow his children or grandchildren to play under the cherry tree near the garden because Governor Plater was supposedly buried there. Miss Maria Briscoe Croker recounts this memoir in her *Tales and Traditions of Old St. Mary's,* p. 36.

Actually this explanation came nearest the truth for in plowing up earth just beyond the garden wall near the said cherry tree, the overseer and field workers of Sotterley have recently uncovered the four corners of a coffin joined with the nails in common use in early 19th century. A careful search of the surrounding earth was made but yielded no other clue. It seems safe to conclude, however, from the evidence at hand in addition to the weight of traditional accounts, that this was the burial place of one of Maryland's early Governors.

Marian McKenna,
Scarsdale, N. Y.

John Gerard (Gerrard), Three Gentlemen of the Same Name—The following is submitted as a brief correction to the interesting and informative article, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-law," by Edwin W. Beitzell,

that appeared in the September number. John Gerard (see page 200 in article; No. 2 below) is the only grandson with the surname Gerard. Quoting Mr. Beitzell, "John died . . . leaving a son John" *correct.* An error follows, continuing—" and daughter Rebecca," *false*; John (p. 202, No. 9 and No. 1 of the text below) was not the father of Rebecca. Please refer to the text below, John Gerard No. 3, for the correct parentage of Rebecca Gerard, wife of Charles Calvert, Esq., Governor of Maryland.

Continuing with Mr. Beitzell's text: ". . . The second John had no sons and his only child, Elizabeth, married Benedict Calvert in 1748." Here the error is not only in identity but in generations. The "second John" of Mr. Beitzell's text and No. 2 below had no issue. Elizabeth, the wife of Benedict Calvert, was the granddaughter of John Gerard (No. 3 below) of Prince George's County. The following explains these relationships:

Dr. Thomas Gerard	?
John Gerard (No. 1), wife Elizabeth	John Gerard (No. 3), wife Elizabeth
John Gerard (No. 2), wife Jane	Rebecca Gerard m. Charles Calvert, Gov. of Md.
No Issue	Elizabeth Calvert m. her kinsman Benedict Calvert

Thomas Gerard, gentleman and doctor, "of Mohut in the Colony of Virginia formerly of Saint Clements Manor in the County of Saint Maries" named his young son, John Gerard, (No. 1 below) of Westmoreland County, Va., and his second wife, Rose,[1] executors of his will.[2]

For the sake of clarity we shall identify the following Johns numerically:

John Gerard [3] (No. 1) died in 1678 and was survived by his widow Elizabeth [4] and a son, John [5] (No. 2) of Cople Parish in Westmoreland County, Va., who died without issue in 1711, leaving a widow, Jane.[6]

John Gerard [7] (No. 3) is identified historically as the father-in-law of Charles Calvert Esq., governor of Maryland (1720-1727). Regretably, to date, no relationship has been established between him and the family of Dr. Thomas Gerard.

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[1] *Virgina Magazine of History and Biography,* XXXIII (1925), 302; XXXVI (1928), 296.

[2] Wills, Liber 23, 6, 45 *ff.*, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[3] Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 5, 37, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *William and Mary Quarterly,* Ser. 1, IV (1895), 80; XV (1906), 191.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV (1895), 36-37; V (1896), 142; XXIII (1914), 114-115; *Virginia Magazine,* XXXIII (1925), 300.

[5] *Ibid.*, XXIV (1916), 152; XXXIII (1925), 300; *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* IV (1922-23), 172; *William and Mary Quarterly,* Ser. 1, V (1896), 68-69; XV (1906), 191.

[6] Deed Bk. D No. 2 1710-1713, Land Office, Annapolis.

[7] Copy of Register of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County (St. Barnabus Church), p. 254, Maryland Historical Society.

John Gerard No. 2 and 3, were contemporaries, the latter's age is established ". . . as about 26 years . . ." in 1698.[8] He is designated gentleman, a member of the Episcopal Church,[9] apparently he had a knowledge of law[10] and is further described as merchant.[11] He is identified almost altogether with Prince George's County, Maryland, where he acquired large properties by purchase.[12] He resided in a six room house on a tract called "Cool Spring Manor" near Upper Marlboro in 1705.

John Gerard (No. 3) died in 1715[13] and was survived by his widow, Elizabeth,[14] and their only child Rebecca,[15] who married when she was 16, the Governor of Maryland, Charles Calvert, Esq.,[16] kinsman of the Proprietory, Charles Calvert Fifth Lord Baltimore.[17]

Governor Charles Calvert and Rebecca Gerard, his wife,[18] were survived by a daughter, Elizabeth,[19] who married her cousin, Benedict Calvert of Mount Airy, Prince George's County.

Eugenia Calvert Holland,
4713 Roland Ave., Baltimore.

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[8] Testamentary proceedings, Liber 17, fol. 162, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[9] Copy of Vestry Record of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County (St. Barnabus Church), p. 1 *ff.*, Maryland Historical Society.

[10] *Archives of Maryland,* XXVI, 533-534; Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 21, 52 and 267, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[11] Provincial Court Judgements, Liber PL No. 3, 432-434, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[12] Prince George's County Deed, Liber C, 146-148 and Liber E, 169, 173, Land Office, Annapolis; *Archives of Maryland,* XXXIII, 519, 534, 606, 618; XXXVIII, 272-273.

[13] Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 22, 479; Box 3-folder 57 (Bond 1715), Inventory Accounts (1715), Liber 37C, 1; *Ibid.* (1717-1718)—Liber 39C, 92, 126-127; *Ibid.,* Liber 38A, 122-123.

[14] See Note No. 13; *Archives of Maryland,* XXXIII (1717-1720), 212.

[15] Copy of Register of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County (St. Barnabas Church), pp. 250, 254, Maryland Historical Society.

[16] *Maryland Historical Magazine,* I (1906), 289-290; III (1908), 220, 321; XVI (1921), 317; XXXII (1940), 117-118, 128-134; *Archives of Maryland,* XXXIV, 486.

[17] *Ibid.,* 3-4.

[18] Warrants CC No. 9, 43-44, 117, Land Office, Annapolis; Calvert Papers, No. 882, Rent Rolls Calvert County (1651-1723), Prince George's County (1650-1723), p. 212, Maryland Historical Society. *Archives of Maryland,* XXXIX, 186, 309; J. Baldwin and R. B. Henry, *Maryland Calendar of Wills* (Baltimore, 1925), VII, 127; Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 30, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[19] Copy of Register of St. Anne's P. E. Church, Annapolis, 433, 450; Maryland Historical Society; *Ibid.* Vestry Record, 246-247; Probational Court Record, Liber EI (1744-1749), No. 8, 449, Hall of Records, Annapolis; R. Winder Johnson, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 23-24; S. H. Lee Washington, "The Royal Stuarts in America," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* CIV, 175, fn 4; *Archives of Maryland,* XLIV, 463, 538-539, 671-673; Accounts: Liber 14, 359, Liber 24, f. 178, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLV (1950), 274.

Associate Editor—Mr. Francis C. Haber, a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University and a part-time member of the Society's staff since July, 1951, becomes Associate Editor of the *Magazine* with this issue.

Western Maryland Issue—The next number of *Maryland Historical Magazine* will be devoted principally to contributions of Western Maryland interest. The publication of this issue will provide a fine opportunity for members to introduce the work of the Society to non-members in that part of the State. A few extra copies of the *Magazine* will be available for single sale.

Golts, Kent County—Request information about the naming of this village.

Ralph C. Golt,
3612 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind.

Harman Family Reunion—The first Harman Family Reunion will be held on June 15 at the Wesley Grove Methodist Church (on Dorsey Road between Route One and Harmans, Anne Arundel Co.). An all-day program is planned with a family picnic to follow a church service at 11:00 A. M. Organization and historical meetings will be held in the afternoon. Interested persons should address Mr. W. Gray Harman, 815 First Place, Plainfield, N. J.

Link (Linck)—Will pay $20. for information establishing parentage of Nicholas Link (Linck), born ca. 1750. In Frederick Co. 1775; in Augusta Co., Va., 1782. Died Va. 1816.

Mrs. W. R. Eckhardt, Jr.,
920 Hawthorne St., Houston 6, Texas.

Weakly—Request information concerning Otho Weakly, who married Eliza ————. Their children were Samuel (b. Sept. 3, 1814), John, Ann, and Leven. Moved to Ohio in 1824.

W. S. Hunter,
Brown Univ., Providence 12, R. I.

Webster—Desire information concerning descendants of John Webster who died in 1753 in what is now Harford Co.

Mrs. Webster Barnes,
Journey's End, Aberdeen R. D. 2, Md.

Archives and Genealogy Courses—The eighth *Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives* will open on June 16, and continue through July 11, 1952. In addition to lectures, the Institute provides laboratory experience in the National Archives, the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, and the Maryland Hall of Records. Special lectures and laboratory experience will be provided for those concerned mainly with the administration of current records. Ernst Posner, Professor of History and Archives Administration at The American University, will be director of the Institute.

The third *Institute of Genealogical Research* will be offered from June 16, through July 3, 1952. Under the direction of Meredith B. Colket, Jr., of the National Archives and Records Service, it will provide lectures on sources and methods of genealogical research and laboratory work.

Further information may be obtained from the Office of the Director, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, The American University, 1901 F Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

CONTRIBUTORS

MRS. WILLIAM ROBERT MILFORD, a keen and enthusiastic collector and student of glass, discussed products of Amelung's factory in one of the Society's Illustrated Afternoon Talks on American Arts and Crafts earlier this month. ☆ Associate Professor of Speech at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, MR. GUNDERSON is preparing a volume to be entitled, "The Log-Cabin Campaign." ☆ For her many contributions to the *Magazine* and frequent assistance to its editors, MRS. WILLIAM F. BEVAN could properly be called a "Contributing Editor." ☆ MR. LOW, since 1948 Professor of History at Maryland State College, Princess Anne, earned the Ph. D. degree at the State University of Iowa. He has published numerous articles and reviews in scholarly journals. ☆ MR. PERLMAN, an artist in his own right, and a candidate for the Ph. D. in fine arts at Johns Hopkins, is preparing a detailed study of George A. Frederick and his career as architect.