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# Maryland Historical Magazine



Annual Report 1977-1978  
Volume 73 Index

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The Maryland Historical Society  
Winter 1978

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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 73,  
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## CONTENTS

---

	Annual Report 1977-1978 .....	305
<i>Thornton Anderson</i>	Maryland's Property Qualifications for Office: A Reinterpretation of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 .....	327
<i>Alison K. Hoagland</i>	Deer Park Hotel .....	340
<i>Karel J. Kansky</i>	Augustine Herman: The Leading Cartographer of the Seventeenth Century .....	352
<i>Charles Scarlett, Jr.</i>	A Tale of Ratiocination: The Death and Burial of Edgar Allan Poe .....	360
<i>Edward E. Steiner</i>	Nicholas Ruxton Moore: Soldier, Farmer and Politician .....	375

---

<b>Sidelights:</b>		
<i>Ruth Kimball Kent</i>	The Convivial Dr. Beanes .....	389
<i>Alexandra Lee Levin</i>	A Wounded Confederate Soldier's Letter from Fort McHenry .....	394
<i>Susan Rosenfeld Falb</i>	Matthias da Sousa: Colonial Maryland's Black, Jewish Assemblyman .....	397

---

## Book Reviews:

<i>Carter, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Journals, 1795-1797, 1797-1798, by Elizabeth Hobbs Blackert • Michener, Chesapeake, by Drew Gruenburg • Fecher, Mencken: A Study of His Thought, by George H. Douglas • Douglas, H. L. Mencken: Critic of American Life, by H. George Hahn • Hammett, History of St. Mary's County, Maryland, by Lorena S. Walsh • Crowe and Tise, eds., The Southern Experience in the American Revolution, by Curtis Carroll Davis</i> .....	399
--	-----

---

BOOK NOTES .....	407
NEWS AND NOTICES .....	408
VOLUME 73 INDEX .....	409

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND  
Vol. 73,  
No. 4  
December, 1978  
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MARYLAND  
HISTORICAL  
MAGAZINE

CONTENTS



BALTIMORE CITY SPRING Number 6, DRAWN FROM NATURE BY AUG. KOLLNER  
LITH. BY DEROY — PRINTED BY CATTIER NEW-YORK & PARIS, PUBLISHED BY  
GOUPIL, VIBERT & CO. ENTERED... 1848 BY AUG. KOLLNER... NEW-YORK. \*\*  
Lithograph, printed with buff tint. 19.3x27.7 cm. From *Views of the Most In-  
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VBHo. Some copies are hand colored.

Book Reviews:

Center, ed. *The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe Journals 1784-1787 1787-1789* by Elizabeth  
Hobbs Blackwell • *Michigan: A History* by Fred Greenburg • *London, Missouri: A Study of Its  
Thought* by George H. Douglas • *Benjamin H. L. Mendenhall: Civil of American Life* by H. George  
Hahn • *Hammond: History of St. Mary's County, Maryland* by Lawrence S. Walsh • *Cross and Tree*  
ed. *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* by Curtis Carroll Davis

BOOK NOTES  
NEWS AND NOTICES  
VOLUME INDEX



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## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

One of the new sources of strength for the Society is the Board of Trustees. A year ago nine counties were represented on the Board. As a result of the efforts of J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board, there are now representatives of eighteen counties in addition to state and local representatives.

Our thirteen standing committees, consisting of more than 200 volunteer members, continue to contribute their expertise toward the day-to-day operation of the Society. Committee chairmen, along with the officers of the Society, make up the Council. Starting alphabetically with "A" for Addresses and ending with "W" for the Women's Committee, all the committees have taken on new and important assignments with enthusiasm—particularly the Women's Committee, which is involved in almost all of our public programming. These thirteen specialized committees of volunteers, advising a knowledgeable and extremely hard-working staff, have helped to produce the many changes in the Society which I applaud and know the membership approves.

I would like to note some of the innovations and unusual increases in services to members and visitors that have occurred in the past fiscal year.

The Education Department, with the help of dedicated volunteer guides, conducted 777 tours—easily a new record. A large increase in the number of visitors to the Library kept the Library staff busy assisting over 6,000 individuals.

The Society launched a state-wide program with the appointment of a part-time county coordinator.

A special gallery exhibit, entitled "The Enterprising Nineteenth Century," was mounted with the cooperation of the business community. Improvements in the Maritime Museum were realized and a program to upgrade our antique tool collection and its display was begun.

Major fund-raising events of the year included the Delta Queen trip resulting in a \$12,000 profit and 72 new members. A benefit auction was held in May which, in addition to being a great social success, netted approximately \$20,000.

Gifts-in-kind are an important part of our fund-raising program. An excellent example of this type of gift is our receipt and sale of the New Sherwood Hotel. This was a tremendous accomplishment managed by Richard C. Riggs, Jr. netting the Society \$76,000. The renovation and utilization of the house and collection received in the bequest of Miss Grace Turnbull is another example of the use of gifts-in-kind.

Some of the capital improvements implemented in 1977-78 included the installation of our first comprehensive fire detection and alarm system. As part of an on-going program to reduce energy costs, the windows in the Pratt House were insulated.

The accounting and budgeting departments were reorganized and updated, and all employees received salary and wage increases.

A real step forward in our Public Relations programs was realized. New methods in fund-raising and an increasing membership, stimulated by activi-

ties already mentioned, resulted in our income slightly exceeding expenditures for the second consecutive year—a balanced budget!

P. William Filby retired as Director of the Society on March 30, 1978. He will be missed by his many friends and associates. Mr. Filby served the Society as Director for six years and before that as Librarian for seven years. It is hard to envision the Society without him. I am happy to report that Mr. Filby continues to be active, providing his expertise as a member of the Library Committee and the Genealogy Committee and as a consultant to the Society.

Following Mr. Filby's announcement of his intentions to retire, a search committee was appointed to find a new Director. Over forty applicants were considered and after careful deliberation, Romaine S. Somerville was selected as the new Director, effective April 1, 1978. Mrs. Somerville joined the Society staff in 1972 and was Chief Curator and Assistant Director of the Society.

Some of the new programs and plans for the 1978-79 fiscal year include the exhibition, "In and Out of Fashion: Costumes and Customs 1750 to 1950." The grand opening of this exhibit on October 20 had to have been the occasion of the decade. With live models, live music, champagne and gourmet food added to the eighteen vignettes, it was truly a night to remember for the more than 600 guests.

Dr. Larry E. Sullivan has been appointed as our new Head Librarian. A part-time volunteer recruiter has been added to the staff in line with our continuing emphasis on the use of volunteers. Various seminars, ranging from genealogy to "Fads and Fashions," are being offered; the new *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy* has been added as still another benefit of membership.

Special projects included such events as "Clarence Miles Day" and a concert at Fort McHenry co-sponsored with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. A two-week trip to France is scheduled for May 1979 and plans are well under way for the first annual "Maryland Antiques Show and Sale" in February.

Our comprehensive security program is scheduled for completion in fiscal year 1978-79 and, as in the past, we will continue to hold the line on expenditures and once again balance the budget.

All this may not sound easy but, with the continued support of our members, volunteers and staff, we accept the challenge.

Leonard C. Crewe, Jr.

## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

The growing interest in local history coupled with a new appreciation of the scholarly and artistic accomplishments of the past provide an excellent climate for the current work of the Maryland Historical Society. As I assumed my duties as Director last April, I felt truly privileged to be given the opportunity to play a leading role in the continuing development of the Society at this exciting time. Therefore, it is in a spirit of optimism and pride in our accomplishments, that I submit to the membership a brief report on the activities of the Society for the year, 1977-1978.

### LIBRARY

While receiving and serving more readers than ever before, the library staff continued a rigorous program of cataloguing and reorganization as part of the second year of a three-year project funded by a challenge grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. This grant has channeled into library department activities a combination of \$46,727.19 in NEH funds and \$46,727.19 in matching funds raised by the Society. The expansion and development of all library collections continued, with particular strides being made in the prints and photographs collection. In the manuscripts division, Richard J. Cox resigned to accept the position of Records Management Officer for the City of Baltimore, and Cynthia Requardt was named Manuscript Librarian.

### MUSEUM

Funded by a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, the major exhibit, "The Enterprising Nineteenth Century," represented a study of local business and economic history. Several smaller exhibits rounded out the schedule for the year: "Maryland Portraits from 1710 to 1910"; "Who Done It," an exhibit of paintings by unknown artists (visitors to the gallery were invited to try their hand at identifying these artists); "Weathervanes, Carvings and Quilts"; a retrospective exhibit of the works of R. McGill Mackall, local portraitist and mural painter; "The Jewish Cultural Experience in America"; prints from the Robert G. Merrick Collection; and a review of the work of photo-journalist, Robert F. Kniesche. Material from the collections was also provided for exhibits outside the Society at the Baltimore City Hall and Cross Keys, in addition to an exhibit of Baltimore furniture of the Federal Period at the Eighth Annual Hunt Valley Antiques Show. As part of a new Art in Embassies Program aimed at making American art available to a wider audience, twenty-two items from the Society's collection were lent for display at the residence of the American Ambassador in Paris, France.

Other grants were received from the NEA to continue the painting and drawing conservation program and for the cataloguing of the furniture collection. A grant from the NEH funded the preparatory research for the major costume exhibit mounted this fall. Additional conservation work was completed with monies from the Baetjer Fund.

## PROGRAMS

In addition to the regular lecture series, programs which complemented the ongoing exhibits were presented, for example: a series of lectures, movies and dramatic productions in conjunction with "The Enterprising Nineteenth Century" and a movie demonstrating the installation of a mural in a local bank, at the opening of the Mackall exhibit. Ethnic programs, such as the celebration of the Chinese New Year, were very popular, and a colloquium entitled "Conversations with Jewish Artists" was presented in cooperation with the Jewish Historical Society. In March, the Society co-sponsored a conference on Baltimore history and a genealogy seminar.

In September of 1977, the Society began a year-long investigation of its public programs in the interests of improving its services to the Maryland public. This self-study, funded by a special grant from the NEH, covered the library, the museum, publications, education, public relations, lectures and special events.

## PUBLICATIONS

After several years of researching and preparation, the two-volume *The Green Spring Valley: Its History and Heritage* was published through the generosity of the Middendorf Foundation. *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1795-1798*, published in December of 1977, inaugurated a ten-volume selected printed edition of Latrobe's work. This publication was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.

## EDUCATION

The Education Department expanded and intensified their training program, adding a special series to prepare the volunteer guides for working with handicapped visitors.

The budget was balanced for the second consecutive year, and the administration has made a commitment to the Trustees, Council and Finance Committee to stabilize expenditures for 1978-1979 at the level of 1977-1978. This will not be an easy commitment to keep in the face of rising costs and ever-increasing demands for our services. However, steps have been taken toward this end. New accounting procedures have been initiated, and all department heads will receive quarterly reports and will be responsible for keeping their department budgets at the committed level. Three positions have been eliminated, resulting in a consolidation of duties and an ever-increasing reliance on the help of volunteers. Further, one member of the staff has been designated to oversee energy conservation in hope of cutting costs in that area of major expense.

I would like to take this opportunity to offer a special word of thanks to the volunteers—the many men and women who give so generously of their time and knowledge in serving on the board and committees, giving technical advice and assisting the staff in all areas of the Society's work. Without their help and interest, we could not continue to operate at our present high level.

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**General Fund**

**CONDENSED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES  
FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1978  
(Unaudited)**

**INCOME**

Dues .....	\$ 56,071	
Contributions and grants .....	314,709	(1)
Legacies and trusts .....	3,695	
Investment income .....	151,567	
Sales and service fees .....	65,161	
Other income .....	40,627	

631,830

**EXPENSES**

Museums and gallery .....	90,163	
Library, graphics and manuscripts .....	83,453	
Magazine and history notes .....	30,825	
Building operations .....	125,514	(2)
Administrative and general .....	229,566	(2)
Educational services .....	12,633	
Public relations and development .....	33,729	
Cost of merchandise sold .....	19,299	
Contributions to Special Funds projects .....	4,389	

629,571

Excess of income over expenses from operations ..... \$ 2,259

- (1) Includes grants from city, county, state and federal governments totaling \$53,500.  
 (2) Includes services rendered to the Library, Museum, Gallery, Latrobe Project, and other operating departments of the Society.

**Funds for Specified Purposes**

**ENDOWMENT FUNDS**

Income .....	\$ 76,658	
Expenses .....	19,697	

\$56,961

**PUBLICATION FUND**

Income .....	9,655	
Expenses .....	8,430	

1,225

**SPECIAL FUNDS**

Income .....	196,217	
Expenses .....	211,250	

(15,033)

**LATROBE FUND**

Income .....	95,563	
Expenses .....	96,545	

(982)

Note: This condensed report of income and expenses for the General Fund and Funds for Specified Purposes has been prepared by the Treasurer of the Maryland Historical Society. Detailed audited statements are available upon request to the Treasurer, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 21201.

# Maryland's Property Qualifications for Office: A Reinterpretation of the Constitutional Convention of 1776

THORNTON ANDERSON

**F**OR OVER A CENTURY IT HAS BEEN GENERALLY CONCEDED BY HISTORIANS THAT the constitution of 1776 was among the most conservative and aristocratic of the early state constitutions.<sup>1</sup> The five-year term of the Maryland senators was the longest term of any elected officials in the United States, and their indirect method of election removed them from popular control. Along with county sheriffs and members of Congress, they had to possess £1000 of property. The delegates to the lower house, and the electors of the senators, had to have £500, and the governor, £5000. No other state so thoroughly exploited the restrictive possibilities of property qualifications for public office.

John C. Rainbolt has argued that Maryland's constitution looks less conservative if it is compared, not with that of Pennsylvania, for example, but with the previous government of Maryland.<sup>2</sup> He shows, moreover, that the constitutional convention liberalized certain features of the original draft. Revisionist scholarship has also explored the role of the militia, and the sometimes successful efforts by militiamen to elect their own officers, as influences toward democracy. "The rising waters of democratic revolution," David C. Skaggs concluded, "swept through Maryland during the 1770's, and the restraints placed upon it by the Convention could not long endure."<sup>3</sup> Yet it remains the case that Maryland's property requirements survived the impact of Jeffersonian democracy. The "rising waters" were contained for forty years. And it is also the case that those leaders of the gentry most associated with radicalism, far from being democrats, were more interested in the containment than in the rising waters, for they participated fully in the establishment of the qualifications.

This study will undertake to look more closely at three aspects of these property qualifications: (1) how they originated, (2) how they were established, and (3) how severely restrictive, (a) statistically and (b) in practice, they were.

## ONE

The aristocratic "party" of Carroll and Chase, of Tilghman and Paca, was so completely in control of the earlier conventions of Maryland that it is easy to

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imagine that they could write their own ticket, and that any concessions toward democracy in the constitutional convention would originate in their own foresight as they anticipated the drift of the revolutionary situation and tried to recruit sufficient popular support to forestall expected challenges to their privileged positions. Similarly, safeguards for property and aristocracy would seem to them essential to counter the necessary concessions to democracy. Used judiciously together, safeguards and concessions should make their positions impregnable. However, this explanation is only partly correct.

In fact the challenges had already begun. The two deepest and most widespread grievances against the old regime were the revenue system, based on fees and on the poll tax, and the suffrage restrictions, the requirement of 50 acres of land or £40 sterling of property. Already the voting rule, going back to the seventeenth century, was breaking down under the impact of militia recruitment. Aid to Massachusetts made militia service a serious matter, and the recruits were quick to call for a voice in politics and a right to elect their own officers. Militiamen ineligible under the existing rules were, in fact, frequently permitted to vote for delegates to the conventions. The traditional leadership, however, retained the selection of officers and reimposed the old voting rule for the election of the constitutional convention in August 1776. This resulted in riots at polling places, and the militiamen were able to vote in large numbers or to stop proceedings in Frederick, Kent, Prince George's, Queen Anne's, and Worcester counties. Yet these elections were set aside and new ones held. In sum, the direct democratic challenge to the old aristocracy, widely scattered, was already decisively defeated.

A more traditional type of challenge had also been mounted from within the aristocracy itself in Anne Arundel County by the Hall-Hammond faction, and it was this, rather than the militia challenge, that influenced the constitution. Aably led by John Hall and the Hammond brothers, Matthias and Rezin, this group secured in June the endorsement of the county militia for its own plan of government. Then they secured the signatures of 885 freemen after the election instructing the county delegates to support the militia plan, a number greater than that of the voters in the election. This stimulated the resignations of three of the Anne Arundel delegates, who rejected such instructions: Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll, Barrister, and B. T. B. Worthington, the second of whom was replaced by Hall in the ensuing election.<sup>4</sup>

These two Hall-Hammond documents, the militia plan and the instructions, when compared with the draft constitution of the Tilghman Committee in the convention, show clearly the nature of the perceived threats which the aristocrats of the Chase-Carroll faction were determined to defeat, and the nature of their counter measures. The great danger, popular influence in the government, was to be prevented by three methods: property qualifications for voting and for office holding, long terms of office in both houses, and the indirect election of senators. The size and the role of the Senate were similar to the old governor's council which had been an appointive body. The terms of office, under the proprietary government, had not been fixed. Elections for the Assembly had been held in 1758, '62, '65, '68, '71, and '73, so that a three-year



tenure was not unusual. And the voting requirements went back over a century. Only the property qualifications for office were new. Where did they come from?

Four states had drafted constitutions by the time Maryland's convention assembled in August, 1776, and two of the four had continued the use of property qualifications for offices already long established. South Carolina, on March 26, had incorporated in her first constitution the rules of her election law of 1759 which required representatives to have a settled freehold of 500 acres with 20 slaves or £1000 proclamation money in houses, lots or other lands.<sup>5</sup> New Jersey, by an Act of 1709, had required 1000 acres or £500 in land and personal property for assemblymen, a rule derived from the recommendations of the proprietors of New Jersey to the Lords of Trade in 1701.<sup>6</sup> On July 2, 1776, the state required £1000 "proclamation money" of real and personal estate for members of its council and £500 for its assemblymen.<sup>7</sup>

This New Jersey constitution was published in the *Maryland Gazette* on July 25 and August 1, just before the Maryland convention. The "current money" of Maryland had approximately the same value as the "proclamation money" of New Jersey.<sup>8</sup> The Maryland convention borrowed the New Jersey scheme, even the exact figures; they liked the idea so well that they elaborated it to additional offices. Ironically, the anti-proprietary leaders of Maryland thus borrowed the ideas of the early proprietors of another colony.<sup>9</sup>

## Two

Having decided to use extensive property requirements for office holding, the Chase-Carroll faction had to get them through the convention. The Hall-Hammond faction, working from a different assessment of the popular pressures for change, had included no such requirements in their plan. They were the smaller faction, yet they were in a good position to bargain—primarily because there were a large number of "new men" in the convention which loosened "party" control. Out of a total of 76 delegates, 48 had never served in the Assembly under the proprietary government, 30 had not sat in any of the previous conventions, and 25 had served in neither.<sup>10</sup> Even among the experienced (23 had served in both), some were not firmly committed to any faction. B. T. B. Worthington, for example, signed the militia proposal of June 27, yet he resigned along with Chase and Carroll, Barrister, when the Hall-Hammond faction tried to instruct the delegation. The situation was, in other words, quite fluid, and Charles Carroll's frantic reactions,<sup>11</sup> so often quoted, mirrored the actual lack of control.

In these circumstances both factions had an incentive to bargain: if agreement could be reached, each side would have less to fear from the votes of the non-aligned delegates. The leaders of the two groups, all wealthy, had much in common. Aside from personal and family ambitions, they differed mostly as to the extent of the concessions necessary to contain the popular unrest. The militia draft and the committee draft can be compared with the final constitution to show that each side prevailed at certain points (see Table I). It was,

TABLE I

<i>Militia Plan</i>	<i>Tilghman Committee Draft (September 10)</i>	<i>Committee of the Whole Draft (November 3)</i>	<i>Constitution (November 8)</i>
Voting Franchise "right to legislate is in every member of the community" (Instructions: taxpaying freemen over 21)	50 acres or £40 sterling	50 acres or £30 current money	unchanged
House of Delegates elected annually by voters	elected by voters; 3-year term; blank property requirement	elected annually; £500 of property	unchanged
Senate elected annually by voters	elected for 7-year term by electors (Delegate's) property, chosen by voters; blank property requirement	elected for 5-year term by electors with £500 of property chosen by voters; £1000 of property	unchanged
Executive Council of 7 elected by and from legislature; 1 year term; no veto	governor elected by legislature; 1-year term; rotation (in 3, out 3 years); no veto; blank property requirement; council of 5 elected by legislature; blank property	governor elected by legislature; 1-year term; rotation (in 3, out 4 years); no veto; £5000 property, including £1000 freehold; council of 5 elected by legislature; £1000 of property	unchanged
Local Government county officials directly elected by voters	sheriff appointed by governor; 1-year term; rotation (in 3, out 3 years); all others appointed by the legislature or governor	sheriff elected by voters; 3-year term; rotation (in 3, out 4 years); blank property requirement; all others appointed by the legislature or governor	unchanged, except: £1000 of property
Taxation assessment proportioned to estate	Declaration of Rights: persons "ought to contribute . . . according to . . . actual worth"	unchanged; no provision in constitution	unchanged

then, not simply a matter of tightly disciplined factional voting. Yet the voting record does not show that an agreement was reached; nor does it show that there was none.

The problem is to penetrate, if possible, into the work of the committee of the whole, for which no roll call votes were recorded and in which most of the changes were made. Such an undertaking must be largely speculative, but the following of some logical criteria may improve the chances of success. For one thing, the delegates could not act without regard to outside opinion and the continuing economic and political context. This meant that the tradeoffs might reach beyond the constitution itself. For another thing, the motions made, and those *not* made, in the convention after the committee of the whole reported can shed much light on possible agreements in the committee.

The two factions, of course, had differing priorities. The Hall-Hammond group wanted a different system of taxation, a broader franchise, annual elections, a plural executive, and the election of local officials. The Chase-Carroll group wanted the new property qualifications for office, the old franchise restrictions, long terms of office, an indirectly elected senate, a single governor, and appointed local officials. Not all of these objectives were totally incompatible.

On the franchise issue, where the positions were incompatible, the Hall-Hammond faction inadvertently provided the compromise. Their instructions of August 27, in addition to the taxpaying qualification for native freemen, proposed that a "foreigner" with 50 acres or a visible estate of £30 currency also be allowed to vote. These amounts were adopted by the Chase-Carroll faction to defeat the broader taxpayer franchise, and applied in the constitution to all voters. However, this was not an element of the major bargain, since two attempts were made later in the convention to reopen this issue.

Regarding local officials, the obvious compromise was the election of some and the appointment of others; the practical version agreed in the committee of the whole was the election of the sheriff alone, the most important local official. This was not reopened in the convention—the only motion for the election of other local officials was not seconded. Yet this motion and the fact that the property qualification for the office of sheriff was left blank, indicates that this compromise also, like the one on the franchise, was not completely worked out in the committee of the whole.

A compromise on the length of the terms in the two houses of the legislature might be expected to give one house to each faction, providing annual election of one house and the long term for the other. This was not so easy, however, because the seven year term for senators called for by the Tilghman committee was so extreme. Moreover, two other elements were entangled with the issue of terms of office: the matter of the indirect election of senators, and the plural executive called for in the militia plan. Apparently, the Chase-Carroll faction gave up two years on the term of each house in order to preserve their indirect election and their governor. The Hall-Hammond faction gave up their plural executive and direct annual election of senators to reduce the term of senators and secure annual election in the lower house. It is difficult to estimate the rel-

ative importance of the different elements of this compromise, but not one of them was reopened—which indicated that they composed a cohesive package.

The analysis up to this point leaves two major issues to be decided, one from each plan: taxation, and the property qualifications for office. It is suggested that the two factions agreed to both. The qualifications would be written into the constitution without reduction, and assessments proportioned to property, vaguely approved in the Declaration of Rights, would be written into the law at the next session of the legislature. This was a major bargain struck between the factions in committee of the whole. As such, it puts the famous qualifications in a different light as the price exacted by the wealthy in return for their assuming a fairer share of the burden of taxation.

The evidence for such a bargain is persuasive though not conclusive. Being innovative and easily divisible, the qualifications could have been attacked by motions to reduce the stated amounts, to exempt the deputies, or to discontinue after a period of years; but no such motions are made. The convention roll call votes were to be recorded and published, and the votes on such motions would influence some voters in subsequent elections, so such motions would surely have been made in the absence of an agreement. Moreover, no taxing clause such as that in the militia draft was proposed. Nevertheless, the first session of the new legislature, composed exclusively of the wealthy, did enact a new system of taxation proportioned to wealth in place of the hated poll tax. Thirty-odd former members of the constitutional convention sat in that House of Delegates, and six of them, including Hall and Chase, were appointed to a seven-man committee to bring in the new tax bill. The committee's bill was amended only once<sup>12</sup> and passed without a recorded vote. Perhaps more indicative of the compromise was the approval of the bill by the senate where the very wealthy might be expected to kill it as a matter of course. Of the fifteen senators, nine were alumni of the convention, and all of them supported the new tax.<sup>13</sup>

### THREE

The property qualifications for office being thus established, the question remains, how restrictive were they? We need to know if large numbers of people could qualify, or only a few.

No discussion is recorded as to how restrictive the convention intended to be, and no data were presented as to the expected effects. An opinion had been expressed by the 885 freemen who signed the instructions to the Anne Arundel delegates that "near half of the free inhabitants" could not qualify to vote under the old requirement of 50 acres or £40 sterling.<sup>14</sup> The old requirement for office holding had been the same as for voting; the new requirement for office was at least seven times as high.<sup>15</sup>

To arrive at an estimate of the numbers who could qualify it is necessary to take a circuitous path through the marshy lowlands of statistical tabulations. First, the numbers of free white males of voting age will be calculated and presented in Table II. Then male property holdings of the required values will be

TABLE II  
NUMBERS OF FREE WHITE MALES OF VOTING AGE

	<i>Total Free Males</i>			<i>Tabulated Districts</i>		
	<i>Over 18 1782</i>	<i>% Black 1790</i>	<i>White Over 21 1782</i>	<i>As a % of the Total 1783</i>	<i>White Males Over 21 1782</i>	<i>Property Holders 1783</i>
Anne Arundel	2,229	6.29	1,895	100	1,895	1,976
Baltimore	3,165	2.77	2,675	68.9	1,843	2,974
Calvert	894	3.00	777	100	777	749
Caroline	1,293	5.61	1,080	100	1,080	1,220
Cecil	2,000	1.53	1,795	81.2	1,458	1,056
Charles	2,115	3.91	1,811	99.1	1,794	1,740
Dorchester	1,828	5.04	1,535	100	1,535	1,531
Frederick	3,785	0.75	3,296	19.2	634	666
Harford	2,243	6.37	1,889	100	1,889	1,657
Kent	1,394	8.72	1,133	100	1,133	1,072
Montgomery	2,160	2.38	1,884	98.7	1,860	1,804
Queen Anne's	1,742	6.96	1,446	98.6	1,425	1,203
Somerset	1,598	3.17	1,372	100	1,372	1,307
Talbot	1,478	12.85	1,136	97.9	1,112	1,060
Washington	2,579	0.42	2,310	100	2,310	2,083
Worcester	1,733	2.23	1,501	100	1,501	1,566

Sources: Tabulations from assessors' tax lists, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Data were not available for Prince George's and St. Mary's Counties. Those for Frederick were not available for 1783 and for Anne Arundel were less complete, so 1782 has been substituted for the tabulations of those counties.

Column 1: State summary of the 1782 tax list, Scharf Collection, Box 95, item 56, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Column 2: Computed from *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Maryland* (Washington, 1907), p. 9.

Column 3: Column 1 reduced by 4.5% of all white males, for ages 18-20, and by the percentage black (see note 19).

Column 4: White population of tabulated districts as a percentage of total white population reported in 1783.

Column 5: Column 3 reduced to correspond to the coverage of the tabulation.

Column 6: As tabulated from the detailed assessors' returns.

tabulated and their owners stated as percentages of the voting age white males in Table III. The actual paths taken to these tables and certain difficulties in the data are discussed in the footnotes.

This problem has been confronted by Ronald Hoffman,<sup>16</sup> with results that are included in Table III. There are no completely satisfactory data surviving from this period, but the best are the tax lists of 1783 which cover a large part of the state in great detail. The kinds, amounts, and values of most sorts of property are listed with the holder's name and the numbers in his family. The extraction of answers from these lists is very laborious and requires great care; even then the results may not be entirely accurate.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless it may be doubted that the sources of error, tending as they do in opposite directions, seriously erode the reliability of the figures. In any event, they are the best we have, and they also have the advantage of close comparability with the census taken by the assessors in 1782.

A different sort of problem arises from the fact that the assessors did not record the ages of the white population.<sup>18</sup> Fortunately a census was taken early in 1776 which recorded exact ages of the white population in several counties.<sup>19</sup> Another difficulty concerns the free blacks, who were taxed and listed along with the whites and rarely identified as such.<sup>20</sup> The constitution of 1776 did not expressly bar them from voting or even from office holding, yet it seems desirable in the interest of realism to adjust the pool of potential members of the legislature by excluding them.

By making these two adjustments, for those aged 18-20 and for the free blacks, the 1782 figures for free males over eighteen can give approximate figures for free white males over twenty-one in each county. Since the property data for 1783 are incomplete for some counties, however, it is necessary to make a third adjustment reducing these figures to correspond to the districts and hundreds for which property can be tabulated.<sup>21</sup>

The resulting figures can be used as bases for percentages eligible for the legislature. As presented in Table III these percentages speak directly to the original question as to how restrictive the new property requirements for office were. Although stated in terms of the legislature, they are equally applicable to other offices (except the governor) as indicated in Table I.

Several statements may be based on Table III. First, the percentages are quite small; in that sense the property qualifications clearly excluded about five-sixths of the white adult males. In only three counties were as many as one-fourth eligible for one house.<sup>22</sup> Second, they were three times more restrictive in some counties for the House of Delegates than in others, and for the Senate six times more restrictive in some than in others. These variations do not correlate, however, with the disturbances at the polling places in August 1776 mentioned earlier. Third, the numbers eligible as Delegates but not as Senators do not so greatly exceed the numbers eligible as Senators. In four counties, in fact, the numbers are about the same. At the other extreme, in Caroline County the former exceeded the latter four to one. Fourth, the percentages, both high and low, are fairly evenly distributed on the Eastern and Western shores.

TABLE III  
PERSONS ELIGIBLE FOR THE MARYLAND LEGISLATURE, 1783

	White Males Over 21 1782	House of Delegates			Senate		
		Number	%	Hoffman's %	Number	%	Hoffman's %
Anne Arundel	1,895	219	11.6	15.3	240	12.7	13.3
Baltimore	1,843	274	14.9	9.5	232	12.6	7.6
Calvert	777	65	8.4	11.3	63	8.1	11.1
Caroline	1,080	103	9.5	7.2	26	2.4	3.2
Cecil	1,458	124	8.5	11.2	94	6.4	6.2
Charles	1,794	172	9.6	14.3	169	9.4	9.7
Dorchester	1,535	135	8.8	9.1	85	5.5	6.2
Frederick	634	53	8.4	—	23	3.6	—
Harford	1,889	131	6.9	7.8	101	5.3	5.4
Kent	1,133	165	14.6	13.7	108	9.5	9.2
Montgomery	1,860	194	10.4	10.9	102	5.5	5.6
Queen Anne's	1,425	157	11.0	—	133	9.3	—
Somerset	1,372	170	12.4	12.7	107	7.8	7.4
Talbot	1,112	113	10.2	10.0	84	7.6	6.9
Washington	2,310	100	4.3	—	44	1.9	—
Worcester	1,501	122	8.1	8.2	54	3.6	3.8

Sources: Tabulations from assessors' tax lists, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Data for Anne Arundel and Frederick Counties are for 1782 (see note, Table II).

Column 1: Same as column 5, Table II.

Column 2: White males holding £500 of property, but not £1000.

Column 5: White males holding £1000 of property, or more.

Columns 3 and 6: Columns 2 and 5 as percentages of column 1.

Columns 4 and 7: Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1973), p. 180. Hoffman omitted Frederick, Queen Anne's and Washington Counties.



These results correlate at  $r=.75$  with Hoffman's findings, although the percentages are substantially lower than his. He did not, unfortunately, describe his procedures, so it is impossible to account for the discrepancies. For nine counties he used the 1782 figures for free males over eighteen without adjusting them for free blacks or for the 18-20 year-olds, but he also tabulated in nearly all cases substantially larger numbers of eligibles than the 1783 tax lists reveal after the elimination of the women.

#### FOUR

This objective evidence of the undemocratic character of Maryland's new government, prior to the abandonment of the property qualifications in 1810, needs, nevertheless, to be seen in another light. The question needs to be asked, were there other persons, lacking sufficient property, whom the people would elect in the absence of the constitutional restrictions?

The best measure of the practical effect (if any) of the new qualifications for public office is to be found by comparing the memberships of the revolutionary conventions elected in 1774-1776 with those new requirements. For members of the conventions there were no requirements, and even the old restrictions on voting tended to be relaxed as the revolutionary crisis approached. Then, if ever, it would seem, the people of Maryland had an opportunity to elect non-wealthy representatives.

To examine this possibility the last three conventions before the reimposition of the old voting rules for the constitutional convention, those of December 1775 and May and June, 1776, were studied. Some eighty-seven persons sat in one or more of these, including four future governors and over half of the first Senate. Many of them were later elected to the House or Senate under the constitution; others show up in the tax lists, the Deed Books, Debt Books, or other land records. Some of these give holdings by acres and not by value, and do not include personal property or slaves, so that for three of the eighty-seven men the values of holdings may have been below £500. Of these three, the one with the least land, Jeremiah Jordan of St. Mary's County, had 200 acres in 1768, and was assessed at £850 in 1793.<sup>23</sup>

It thus appears probable that every one of the members of these conventions would have been able to meet the new property qualifications. In this sense the new requirements were not at all restrictive on current practice. They were an exercise of foresight intended to prevent future dangers of democracy, to formalize and reinforce the existing dominance of the political class, and not to hold back a tide already strongly running. Had there been such a tide, could such provisions have been written into a constitution that was available to the public for seven weeks before it was formally adopted—without protest? The Tilghman committee draft, as published, contained blanks, but the intention to require property holdings was very clear.<sup>24</sup> Yet little or no public discussion ensued, to judge by the quite open columns of the *Maryland Gazette*, even after the final constitution was published.<sup>25</sup>



In summary, Maryland's anti-proprietary aristocrats entrenched their control in their new constitution by extending New Jersey's property requirement system to all important offices. They put it through the convention by compromising their factional differences and by accepting a new assessment method of taxation. Under this system about 7 percent of the white males over twenty-one were eligible for the Senate and another 9.7 percent for the House of Delegates. Restrictive as this may seem, it was no more so than the existing practices; yet until repealed the requirements prevented the practice from evolving.

The constitution was conservative and it reflected a conservative streak in the people of Maryland. They had had enough of rapid political change: the end of the proprietary, the enfranchisement of Catholics and Germans, the war and the break with England had all come upon them in the past two years. It is not surprising that many looked to the long-established political families to steer them through the uncharted seas ahead. The apprehensions of Charles Carroll, *mutatis mutandis*, must have been widely shared. Recognizing this popular trait, as well as the desire for a broader franchise, the leaders could, and did, divide into factions over the expedients that were thought necessary to contain the popular unrest, to preserve their customary dominance. But there is little evidence that any among them thought this would require concessions adverse to their continued control—much less that the aristocracy should be replaced by a democracy.

This suggests that the notion of an erosion of deference, under the impact of the collapse of the proprietary government and the approach of independence, can easily be overstated. The vessels *Peggy Stewart* and *Totness* were burned, of course, but Governor Eden's view that "All power is getting fast into the Hands of the very lowest of the People"<sup>26</sup> need not be taken too seriously. The change of government was not a change of class. The ruling families of Maryland cleverly made minimal concessions toward democracy—an extension of the franchise and tax reform—more than balanced by their indirect election of senators and their property qualifications, and thus rode the Revolution toward their own goals.

#### REFERENCES

1. See, for example, John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1831), p. 479; Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1943), chapter 1; Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats* (Chapel Hill, 1955), chapter 4; Herbert E. Klingelhofer, "The Cautious Revolution: Maryland and the Movement Toward Independence: 1774-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (Sept., 1965): 261-313, especially pp. 288-292; Jackson Turner Main, *The Upper House in Revolutionary America, 1763-1788* (Madison, 1967), pp. 101-114.
2. "A Note on the Maryland Declaration of Rights and Constitution of 1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (Winter, 1971): 420-435.
3. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753-1776* (Westport, Conn., 1973), p. 208. See also his "Maryland's Impulse Toward Social Revolution: 1750-1776," *Journal of American History*, 54 (March 1968): 771-786.

4. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 18 and August 22, 1776; reprinted as an Appendix in Skaggs, *Maryland Democracy*.
5. *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 4 (Columbia, 1838), 98-101. This refers to the proclamation of Queen Anne on June 18, 1704, fixing the Spanish dollar at six shillings, so the pound sterling equalled £1½ Spanish. Most of the colonies circumvented this rule. See Curtis P. Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies Before 1720* (Madison, 1934), pp. 242-249.
6. *Laws and Acts of the General Assembly of . . . New Jersey . . . in Divers Sessions*, ed. William Bradford (n.p., 1717) [Evans, 1915], p. 5; Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New-Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1758) [Evans, 8205], pp. 599-602.
7. New Jersey printed the words "proclamation money" on its paper in 1776. Henry Phillips, Jr., *Historical Sketches of the Paper Currency of the American Colonies* (Roxbury, Mass., 1865), pp. 77-78.
8. Maryland, early in 1777, set the pound sterling equal to £1 2/3 currency. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1777), Chapter 9 [Evans, 15393]. By Act of February 11, 1777, New Jersey set the Spanish dollar at £0/4/6 sterling or £0/7/6 "lawful money of this State," which is also 1½. *Acts of the Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, ed. Peter Wilson (Trenton, 1784), Chapter 10 [Evans, 18632], p. 7.
9. These constitutions are most accessible in Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal, and State Constitutions . . .* (Washington, 1909), Maryland, 3:1691-1701, New Jersey, 5:2594-2598, and South Carolina, 6:3241-3248.
10. Figures derived from Edward C. Papenfuss *et al.*, *Directory of Maryland Legislators* (Annapolis, 1974). Discussion of the convention is based on *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, Held at the City of Annapolis, in 1774, 1775, and 1776* (Baltimore, 1836).
11. For example, his letters to his father, August 23, October 4, October 10, etc. Charles Carroll of Annapolis Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
12. This amendment fixed pauper estates at £30. No attempt was made against the basic principle of assessments proportioned to property.
13. No dissent to the tax is recorded although Carroll, Tilghman, and others had entered dissents on other matters. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, February Session 1777 [Evans, 43275], pp. 49, 89; *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate*, First Session, 1777 [Evans, 15396], pp. 44, 48, 56-57, 61. The law itself is in *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1777), Chapter 21 [Evans, 15393].
14. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), August 22, 1776.
15. The lowest requirement, £500 currency, equalled £300 sterling. See above, note 8.
16. Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 179-180.
17. First, there may be certain characteristics that make us underestimate the actual numbers qualifying. (1) Even assuming equal diligence and objectivity among the various assessors, some among them may have underassessed to provide tax relief. Some kinds of property, such as slaves, were standardized at uniform rates, but the assessor had to judge the quality of the land and value it accordingly. (2) The assessors worked by districts or hundreds, and no attempt has been made to aggregate individuals' holdings in two or more districts or hundreds. Some persons not qualified by any single entry on the lists may have appeared on additional lists, with adequate total property, without being detected. (3) A few partnerships and business listings, counted as single units, may have qualified more than one person.

Second, certain characteristics may tend toward overestimation of the numbers qualifying. (1) Politically ambitious taxpayers with marginal holdings may have exaggerated their value in order to qualify. (2) Individuals with two or more large holdings, on different lists, may have been counted two or more times.

Third, some aspects of the data may introduce error, sometimes increasing and sometimes decreasing the numbers. (1) Simple tabulating errors. For example, since women were excluded from politics, but not from the tax lists, any error in detecting the gender of handwritten first names would be reflected in the figures. (2) Undivided estates were listed as "the heirs of . . ." The numbers, ages, and sex of the heirs being unknown, such entries were treated as though one male adult held the property. (3) Some data are simply missing: Prince George's and St. Mary's Counties, almost all of Frederick, and certain districts and hundreds in other counties. These data may have differed from those that have survived in

ways that undermine generalizations from the data we have. (4) Some figures may have been misread. Calligraphy was usually very clear, but worn margins or faded ink occasionally introduced uncertainty.

18. They used generally three categories: property holders, "single men," and paupers, and sometimes gave figures for "able bodied men." None of these coincides with the voting age of twenty-one, the age required for Delegates. Early marriage shifted men out of the ranks of single men into those of the property holders or the paupers. Conversely, others remained single after reaching twenty-one. In some counties many of the "single men" were free blacks. Thus all three tax categories contain some men both above and below the critical age, and some other means is needed for estimating their numbers independently.
19. The extant returns are published in Bettie S. Carothers (ed.), *1776 Census of Maryland* (Lutherville, Maryland, n.d.), and in Gaius M. Brumbaugh (ed.), *Maryland Records*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1915, 1928). Complete returns have not survived, but enough are extant to permit the calculation of the ratios of various age groups. Moreover, the assessors of 1782 have left us a summary statement of both white population and free males over eighteen by counties (Scharf Collection, Box 95, item 56, Hall of Records, Annapolis). The 1776 ratios can be used to remove those aged eighteen through twenty from the 1782 figures: from surviving data for over 10,000 males from five counties it appears that about 4.5 percent of them were in that age bracket. This low figure may result from absent militia members not being reported.
20. A census of 1755 reported separately free mulattos and free blacks by counties. At that time their numbers ranged from 0.1 percent of the males sixteen and over in Cecil County to 3.2 percent in Calvert, but these percentages surely changed by 1783. The census of 1790 distinguished, by counties, white males and females and "all other free persons." From these figures for all ages it appears that in several counties the free blacks had reached significant numbers—nearly 13 percent in Talbot County.
21. Although the parts of a county available for property tabulations may differ from other parts, the coverage, with a few exceptions, is so nearly complete that this method seems more reliable than the alternative of basing the percentages on the direct tabulations which contain unknown numbers of free blacks and men under twenty-one. However, the numbers of male property holders as tabulated are presented in Table II for comparison with the numbers derived as above.
22. The percentages for Baltimore County are probably too high. Between 1782 and 1790 the white population of the county grew by 73%, or about 7% per year. However, if the base of 1843 is increased by 7% the figures remain high: 13.9% and 11.8%.
23. *Proceedings of the Conventions* . . . , *op. cit.*, note 10, pp. 39, 125, and *passim*. On Jordan, St. Mary's Debt Books, 1768, folio 22, and the St. Mary's Tax Assessments of 1793, Hall of Records, Annapolis, There may have been other persons elected to the conventions, who did not take their seats and thus were not investigated, who held less property.
24. *The Constitution and Form of Government Proposed for the Consideration of the Delegates of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1776), Wroth 373, copy at the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
25. See, as an exception, the long poem based on the Tilghman draft in the issue of October 24, 1776. Nothing whatever appeared in the following eight months.
26. This figure (and others) for the Senate is slightly high since some who held enough property were below the age of twenty-five required for the Senate.
27. Robert Eden to Lord Dartmouth, October 1, 1775, in "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 2 (June, 1907): 101.

# Deer Park Hotel

ALISON K. HOAGLAND

**I**N THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, SUMMER RESORTS GAINED INCREASING POPULARITY. Accessibility to vacation spots was improved by the extended use of the railroad and the steamer. Travel became more pleasant and less expensive. Furthermore, after the Civil War a new leisure class arose. While America had always had its wealthy upper class, this Victorian upper class was larger and more inclined to travel and be seen at the proper places. By examining the rise and fall of one of these summer resorts, it will be possible to determine who established them and who frequented them and why. The very style of architecture employed speaks volumes about the attitudes of the users to vacations and to the real world.

Deer Park Hotel in Garrett County, Maryland, opened on July 4, 1873, was owned and built by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and was the brainchild of its president, John W. Garrett. Deer Park's attractions were its mountain air, spring water, and cool temperatures. It was an immediate success; annexes were built, and throughout the 1880s cottages were built on the grounds to be rented. In 1886 President Grover Cleveland spent his honeymoon in one of the cottages; Deer Park had arrived.

Before 1849, there was not a single city or town in what would soon be Garrett County; then the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad came to the county. In a frantic race with the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal to reach the Ohio River, the B & O Railroad was routed through western Maryland. By 1872 the county had the required 10,000 population to break off from Allegany County, of which it has been a part since 1789. The county acknowledged its debt of existence to the railroad when it took the name of the president of the B & O, John W. Garrett. When informed that a county might be named after him, Garrett promised to take care of it, and that he would make Oakland, the county seat, "a first class station, erect new and commodious buildings here and do everything in his power to assist the new county and seat."<sup>1</sup>

John W. Garrett was born in Baltimore on July 31, 1820, the son of Robert Garrett, a Scotch-Irish immigrant. He was president of the B & O from 1858 until his death in 1884, one of the longest reigns in the B & O's history. A man of iron will, he ruled the B & O with vision and ambition. In his 1860 annual report, he wrote:

The salubrious climate and beautiful country among the highlands of Western Maryland have elicited much attention during the past season; but the absence of

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adequate hotel accommodations has materially checked the tendency to seek these Glades for summer homes. Arrangements are being made for additional hotels; and a large population from the South, East and West will probably hereafter select this singularly picturesque and attractive region for summer resort. A considerable increase of local travel may be anticipated from this source.<sup>2</sup>

The Civil War forced him to postpone development, but on July 4, 1872, ground was broken for the Deer Park Hotel.

Another important figure in the Deer Park's history is Henry G. Davis, U.S. Senator from West Virginia, 1870-1882. Davis worked his way up through the B & O organization, then he left it and went into the lumber and coal business. Using his railroad knowledge, he built a tramway and owned extensive property in the Deer Park area, as well as founding the town of Deer Park. While his residence was in Piedmont, West Virginia, he built a large summer home at Deer Park in 1867. That same year, he sold the original "Peace and Plenty" tract to the B & O for the Deer Park resort. After the hotel was built, Davis built five summer cottages on his adjacent property, renting them out and eventually selling them to the railroad.<sup>3</sup>

The Deer Park Hotel, now no longer standing, was designed by architect Ephraim Baldwin of Baltimore. Baldwin had been associated with Bruce Price, the American architect credited with introducing the distinctive "chateau style" of railroad architecture to Canada.<sup>4</sup> Baldwin specialized in ecclesiastical work and built many stone churches in the Baltimore area. He also continued his work for the B & O Railroad after Deer Park, designing the central offices of the B & O in Baltimore. The structure was a Romanesque, mansard-roofed building of seven stories, completed in 1880.<sup>5</sup> In 1883, Baldwin formed a partnership with his former apprentice, Josias Pennington, and the firm of Baldwin and Pennington became famous for their work for the B & O Railroad. One example is the Mount Royal Station in Baltimore, which was designed by the firm, opening in 1896. It is an attractive Romanesque stone structure and is today used as an art school. Baldwin and Pennington are said to have designed most of the buildings at Deer Park.

The Deer Park Hotel (fig. 1) was in the Swiss Alpine style, which Garrett was said to have admired on a previous trip to Europe. Four stories above a raised stone basement, it was of native white pine and had a slate roof of contrasting colors, surmounted by a picturesque cupola.<sup>6</sup> Annexes to the east and west were soon built and an 1882 travel guide described them:

The main building at Deer Park has by the recent improvements been enlarged and the dining-room increased to double its former capacity. Flanking either side of the hotel are the new annexes—the architecture of the Queen Anne order—and their exterior adding greatly to the ornamental attractiveness of the place. They are connected by light and graceful passage-ways covered overhead, and so arranged so as to be closed on all sides in inclement weather. In the west annex is a ball-room—one of the most spacious and best arranged to be found at any summer resort.<sup>7</sup>

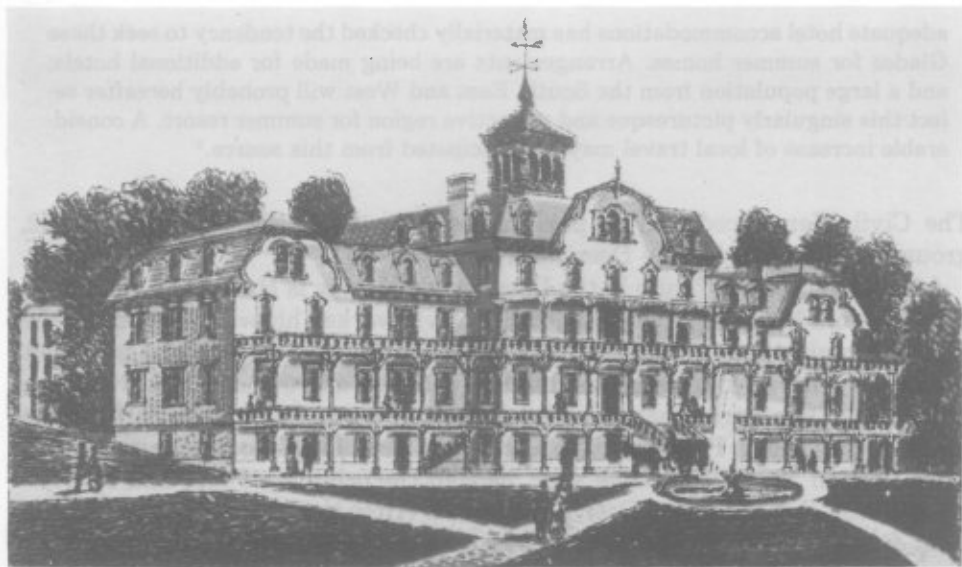


FIGURE 1.

The Deer Park Hotel shortly after it opened in 1873. The extensive verandahs show a welcoming of the countryside, while the barge-boardings and gables reflect a fanciful quality. Print made 1881, Wittemann Bros. Courtesy National Museum of History & Technology, Smithsonian Institution.

Other buildings were added, including, in 1887, a large glass-roofed building which housed two swimming pools, one for men and one for women.<sup>8</sup> In 1887, the hotel property covered about 4,000 acres.<sup>9</sup> Because of the immediate popularity of the Deer Park Hotel, the B & O built another hotel six miles away in Oakland in 1876. Their accessibility to the railroads was a drawing card, as neither hotel was more than 300 yards from the nearest railroad station. In 1882 it was noted that "Express trains from Baltimore reach Deer Park in less than eight hours, and from Cincinnati in eleven hours."<sup>10</sup> In 1896 a B & O publication advised, "The Washingtonian or the Baltimorean can comfortably traverse the distance separating his home from this gem of the Alleghenies while mastering the contents of his morning paper."<sup>11</sup>

By 1884, B & O had built five large cottages, numbered 1 through 5, and had acquired the five smaller Davis cottages.<sup>12</sup> These cottages were rented out furnished for the season, and tenants could dine either there or at the hotel. They were in a variety of styles, including one board and batten Downing-type cottage, with a polygonal wing and varied floorplan (fig. 2). The cottage owned by John W. Garrett for his personal use was built in 1881, and burned in 1939,<sup>13</sup> but it survives in pictures. It is in a fanciful stick style, board and batten with brackets and porches, and owes a debt to the Swiss Chalet style of which Garrett was so fond. Two remaining cottages are in the Shingle Style with central massing and deep verandahs (figs. 3, 4); one of these retains its imbricated shingles on the second level with clapboards on the first (fig. 3). Two other, finer cottages remain, and are significant for the names that are associated with them.





FIGURE 2.

Cottage No. 2 is now called the Cleveland Cottage (fig. 5), due to the stay of the President and his bride on their honeymoon. The Cleverlands were married at the White House on June 2, 1886, and left that night on the private car of Robert Garrett, who succeeded his father as president of the B & O. They ar-



FIGURE 3.



FIGURE 4.

rived early the following morning and spent a week at Deer Park before the hotel season opened. *The New York Times* described the cottage:

The cottage is two and a half stories high, and is constructed in a style resembling the Queen Anne as much as anything. It is of wood and is painted gray, with dark red shutters. The roof can be seen through the trees from the railroad station, although another cottage intervenes. . . . There is nothing pretentious or extraordinary about its appearance. It was built last Summer by the company and this is the first time it has been furnished, although a tenant used it for a little while toward the close of last season. There are seven rooms in the two stories and servants quarters above.<sup>14</sup>

The reporter goes on to describe the layout of the rooms, the Brussels carpets, and the furniture. The cottage features high pitched roofs, asymmetrical massing, deep porches, and large windows, and is well-integrated with its mountainous countryside.

In about 1892, Josias Pennington, now the partner of Ephraim Baldwin, built two new cottages near Cottage No. 5. Of these two 1892 cottages, one was for Charles K. Lord, vice-president of the B & O, and one was for Pennington, who took title in 1893.<sup>15</sup> Although the Lord cottage no longer stands, the Pennington Cottage (fig. 6) is a fine example of the Shingle Style, still retaining its wood shingles. Two and a half stories high, it features a gambrel roof and a wide verandah on the first level. Its spaciousness, exterior covering, and accessibility, through the porches, to the outside reveal a consciousness of location. The double door entranceway with rectangular sidelights and transom is inviting yet bespeaks great wealth. It is a monumental, striking building.



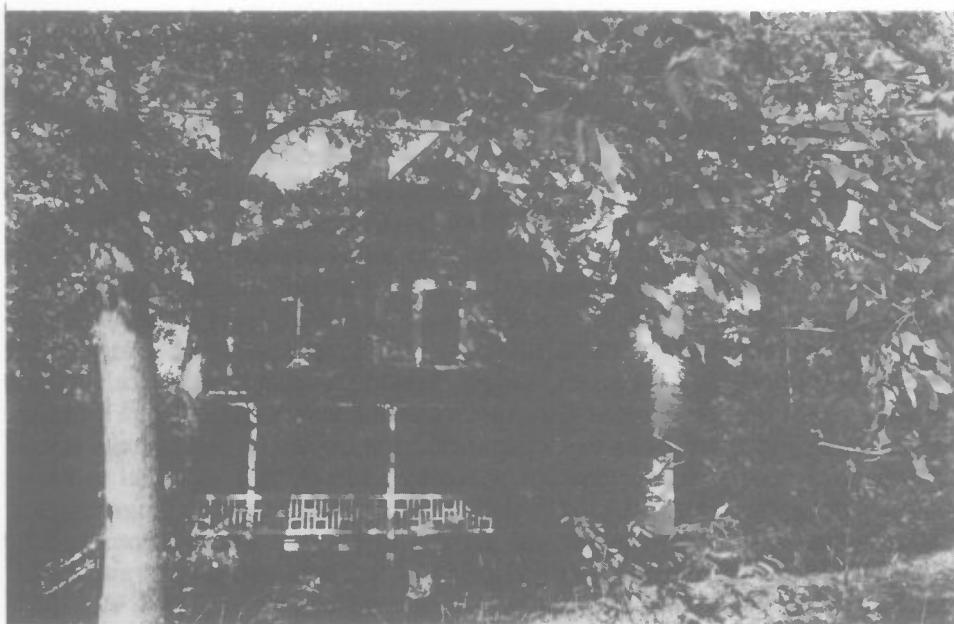


FIGURE 5.

Deer Park Hotel began to decline after 1900. Robert B. Garrett, who was the son of Patrick J. Garrett, the superintendent of Deer Park, and not directly related to John W. Garrett, attributed the hotel's decreasing popularity to the



FIGURE 6.

advent of the automobile. People were no longer willing to spend their entire vacations in one spot. Before 1906, Garrett County was not even accessible by automobile, although many visitors shipped their Packards and Pierce-Arrows by rail to Deer Park in order to drive around the hotel roads, just as previous generations had shipped their horses and carriages. Starting in 1911, the B & O brought in a succession of management companies to run the hotel, but none could make a success of it.<sup>16</sup> In 1924, the Company sold the entire property to Henry S. Duncan, a successful hotelier, who renovated and refurbished the hotel. But Duncan was ruined in the Crash of 1929, and the property was sold for taxes. In 1932, the National Slovak Association acquired the tract called "Peace and Plenty," the B & O's original investment, including buildings and "all furniture, fixtures, linens, tableware, machinery, etc."<sup>17</sup> Ten years later they sold to Thomas J. Johnson and the Mon Valley Coal & Lumber Co. who chopped down trees and dismantled the buildings one by one. After the war, Mon Valley subdivided the property and sold to individual owners, but the damage was done; the hotel and many of the cottages no longer stood.

Deer Park was attractive for the escape it offered: escape from noisy, smoggy cities and from increasingly insistent workers and immigrants. The healthful qualities of Deer Park were emphasized again and again. An 1882 travel guide notes:

Of the beneficial effects of a sojourn at this altitude little need be said, as those who have studied the advantages of pure, bracing air, and of an atmosphere that never during the hottest months exceeds 70°, and invariably at night is sufficiently cool to necessitate the use of blankets, and plenty of them, are familiar with the facts of the case.<sup>18</sup>

In 1899, *The Book of the Royal Blue*, a publication of the B & O, describes the spring water in the following terms: "most delightful crystal clear water . . . by analysis absolutely pure . . . highly recommended by leading physicians."<sup>19</sup> Deer Park Spring Water, incidentally, was served on the B & O Railroad as late as 1957, the company having retained the rights when it sold the property.<sup>20</sup> The altitude of 2,800 feet provided the cool crisp air which summer vacationers sought. Even spiritual uplift is promised in this 1896 B & O publication:

To be above the ordinary level of the earth's surface is, presumably, to be nearer heaven. Hence, to be over 2,000 feet above the plane whereon three-fourths of humanity toil and struggle, is not only to be uplifted in body as well as in spirit, but to be nearer that blessed place to which, according to orthodoxy, good people go when they die. The site of Deer Park—and its near-at-hand sister, Oakland—was superbly fitted ages ago for the purpose to which it is dedicated. Earth, air, sky and water here combined to render summer life a positive charm.<sup>21</sup>

The wilderness setting was also emphasized, as this contemporary account shows:

The hotel is situated on the slope of one of the prettiest valleys on the summit of the mountain, and faces to the southeast, having a background of heavy timber.

The valley slopes down to a beautiful meadow, through which the railroad runs. The opposite slope has been cleared of all undergrowth, leaving only stately oaks scattered here and there to the distant summit, where earth and sky seem to meet, and above which the clouds often gather and expand themselves in those sudden summer storms—always grand and beautiful as seen from the hotel—which preserve the continual freshness and verdure of the hills and valleys.<sup>22</sup>

This wilderness-worship of the late nineteenth century was a consequence of the increasing settlement and urbanization of the whole continent. In 1893 Frederick Jackson Turner stated his frontier thesis, which was in response to the fact that America no longer had a frontier, according to the Census of 1890.<sup>23</sup> As a result of the disappearing frontier, preservation of the wilderness became desirable, witnessed in the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, the same year Deer Park Hotel was begun. B & O publications played up the wilderness aspect of the hotel:

The utmost good taste has been shown in the preservation of the forests, whilst removing enough trees to enhance the beauty of the grounds. Rising above the surrounding oaks, beech, maple, etc., the roof line of the main hotel reveals itself above a verdant background of dense foliage.<sup>24</sup>

One of the main activities at Deer Park was driving through hotel grounds in carriages shipped out by rail. The newspapers touched on this in discussing the site of Cleveland's honeymoon cottage:

It is in the centre of a grove, and is upon one of the finest driveways, forty miles of which have recently been constructed through the grove and park. The President and his bride will find abundant use for the horses which his friends have provided for them in this mountain retreat. The drivers are a charming feature of the place, the roads being particularly well constructed, and as smooth and even almost as race-tracks.<sup>25</sup>

By 1899, the hotel offered golf, tennis, swimming, and band concerts.<sup>26</sup> Thus, like any spa should, Deer Park emphasized the passive, healthful benefits that one would enjoy just by being there, while at the same time endeavoring to provide enough recreation facilities to keep more active visitors entertained.

There was no mistaking whom the railroad was trying to attract: the element of society that was not only wealthy but well-bred. The elegance of the hotel is repeatedly mentioned, here by a contemporary historian: "The hotel is large and handsome in appearance, and is fitted up in elegant style. It is provided with all the latest improvements and conveniences, and the food and service are of the very best character."<sup>27</sup> Besides President Cleveland, Presidents Grant and Harrison were also said to have visited Deer Park. While B & O publications refrained from sounding exclusive, an 1882 travel writer was not so restrained:

The character of the guests at Oakland and Deer Park has since the opening of the resorts been strictly of the highest order. The old aristocratic families of Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia have for many seasons spent the summer in the Glades of the Alleghanies, and of late years Western people have become at-

tached to the locality, and not a few of the best-known families regularly make the season at Deer Park or else at Oakland. The result is that the social aspect at either of those places corresponds with that which is found at only a few of the summer resorts.<sup>28</sup>

Being seen in the right places has always been important for a socialite, and Deer Park was one of these places. A resort further emphasized the fact that one did not have to work. As Thorstein Veblen wrote in his well-known essay "The Theory of the Leisure Class" in 1899: "Conspicuous abstention from labor therefore becomes the conventional mark of superior pecuniary achievement and the conventional index of reputability."<sup>29</sup> Conspicuous leisure became increasingly important in the late nineteenth century; a resort directory of 1875 noted: "Each year adds to the popularity of summer travel. The vacation fever returns annually with 'the season,' and custom demands that every well-to-do family prepare for it."<sup>30</sup> But rather than vacations becoming exclusive, they were being popularized. Whereas Westinghouse's Saturday half-holiday was startling in 1880, an editorial in the *New York World* in the late 1920s noted: "In little more than a generation the vacation has become universal."<sup>31</sup>

The attitudes of Deer Park vacationers were not, however, in favor of common vacations. The architectural style of the buildings expressed a withdrawal from society, a communing with nature, and a desire for exclusivity and retreat. The Alpine Swiss style, for example, in which the hotel itself was constructed, was not original or even indigenous to America. It reflected John W. Garrett's desire to make Deer Park a resort as famous as the Swiss Alps, and to emphasize the natural beauty of Deer Park by comparing it to Switzerland. This fantasy quality—the idea of trying to re-create a Swiss village in Maryland—reflects the idea of escape inherent in a vacation resort. The two Picturesque cottages—Garrett's and the abovementioned board and batten one—together with the hotel reflect a preoccupation with nature, through porches and bay windows. The Picturesque Style is by nature eclectic, leaving the setting to determine what design features to borrow,<sup>32</sup> and the emphasis here on the Alpine Swiss is not accidental.

The use of the Shingle Style is even more interesting in this context. Actually, the terms "Shingle Style" and "Stick Style" are ex post facto descriptions created by twentieth-century architectural historians to describe nineteenth-century styles. At the time, Shingle Style was popularly called Queen Anne, although it developed more from Richard Norman Shaw's adaptation of the Queen Anne. It was H. H. Richardson, an American, who developed the Shingle Style from Shavian Queen Anne, and distinguished it by using wood shingles on the facades. He also gave it a new sense of interior space, with rooms that flowed freely into one another grouped about a hall. This hall was often medieval in character, with a monumental fireplace and stairs.

Vincent Scully, who gave the Shingle Style its name, has an interesting explanation for why it emerged when it did.<sup>33</sup> At the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, buildings in the Queen Anne style gained acceptance, particularly in architec-

tural journals. The Shingle Style also had roots in colonial styles, which offered big fireplaces, low ceilings, and a sense of shelter. The colonial style owed its revival to two factors, one being the Centennial, which caused Americans to look to their own history. The other reason was the rise in popularity of summer resorts, which were often at the seashore and often in colonial seaports, like Newport, which had a number of colonial buildings. It is easy too to attribute the interest in colonial revival, as Scully does, to "the longing for the sea in the early 1870s, perhaps a longing for escape from an industrial civilization grown complex and brutal, from cities grown too dense and hard."<sup>34</sup>

At any rate, the Shingle Style, thanks largely to Richardson, was a valid style in its own right and not a mere copy of earlier styles. Large overhanging roofs integrated the masses, and wide porches provided direct access from interior to exterior. The sensitive integration of house plan to site and the orientation of rooms to dramatic views made it the perfect style for resorts in picturesque places. The use of natural materials made the Shingle Style house less of an intrusion of the landscape.<sup>35</sup> The same sentiments that caused people to vacation in the wilderness caused people to build in the Shingle Style: a search for the wilderness, and a longing to escape the hardness of industrial civilization.

James Marston Fitch sees a split between the architect and the engineer as "an inevitable product of the social order."<sup>36</sup> While the industrialists were willing to subsidize technology for business purposes, when it came to their own houses they preferred conservative styles expressive of their world view. Thus, architects were forced to ignore technological advances and create romantic retreats as houses for their wealthy patrons. Although Fitch excepts the Shingle Style from his retreat, and calls it "handsome, open and hospitable,"<sup>37</sup> there are elements of the fortress about it. Its debt to Queen Anne medievalism has already been acknowledged. Although the building materials were sympathetic and pliable, and the room arrangement informal, the massing produced a formidable monument. Lewis Mumford, too, saw "a new feudalism . . . here was a mode of building, solid, formidable, at times almost brutal that served the esthetic needs of the barons of coal and steel."<sup>38</sup> While he is probably referring here to Richardson's Romanesque masonry buildings, it can be argued that Richardson converted that same attitude of retreat into wood, into wilderness, and the Shingle Style resulted.

Another look at the Pennington and Cleveland Cottages will demonstrate the feeling of inaccessibility that the visitor experiences. Their size is on the monumental scale; it is difficult to believe the Cleveland Cottage has just seven rooms. The double doors of the Pennington Cottage are imposing, while the main entrance to the Cleveland Cottage is not even apparent. Both cottages are raised nearly a full story off the ground, which puts the visitor at a disadvantage, and prevents the casual observer from being able to look in. As inhospitable as these cottages are to the visitor, they welcome openly their nature, trying to bring it in. They are both set on knolls and take advantage of their excellent sites, yet without intruding on the landscape. The dark brown wood shingles of the Pennington Cottage, and the original gray wood of the

Cleveland Cottage (which is now covered offensively with fake-brick asphalt) state their intention of compatibility with the surrounding wilderness. These cottages achieve the Shingle Style's objectives of integration with the landscape, and escape from the industrial world.

Deer Park's buildings are expressive of the vacation instinct to turn one's back on the industrial world. While the Shingle Style cottages achieve a rapport with nature and formidability to humans, the fanciful Picturesque buildings are equally escapist. The presence of a class who not only desired to escape, but were able to do so and even enhanced their reputations by doing so, is a logical product of a widely distended late nineteenth-century society. The role of the railroad in the establishment and success of the Deer Park Hotel—and the county as well—is likewise revealing of the times. Deer Park Hotel, in its appearance and existence, is a fitting commentary on late nineteenth-century America.

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# Augustine Herman: The Leading Cartographer of the Seventeenth Century

KAREL J. KANSKY

THE REPUTATION OF AUGUSTINE HERMAN, FOUNDER OF BOHEMIA MANOR IN eastern Maryland in 1660 or 1661, has long received undisputed acceptance. Numerous historians who have recognized his innovative accomplishments and several biographers who have emphasized his managerial skills agree that Augustine Herman has played an eminent legal and political role in the formation of the United States.<sup>1</sup> Seemingly overlooked in his list of attributes is the fact that he was an excellent surveyor and cartographer.

Augustine Herman made his way to the Western Hemisphere in the Service of the Dutch West India Company and to Maryland in the service of Governor Stuyvesant, the chief administrator of New Netherlands, residing at that time in New Amsterdam (New York City). He is generally believed to have been a native of Mšeno in Bohemia, the son of an Evangelical pastor Abraham Herman, who emigrated to Western Europe with his family in 1621 because of the religious oppression prevailing over his homeland at that time. Educated within the tradition of a Protestant church, the Unity of Czech Brethren, which emphasized acquiring versatile skills and broad knowledge,<sup>2</sup> Augustine Herman gained additional practical skills and sense of entrepreneurship while working for the Dutch West India Company.

Augustine Herman stands out in the economic, political and legal history of this country. He is credited with having been the first organizer of the Virginia tobacco trade. While employed as a clerk of the Dutch West India Company he launched the first regular trade connections with the Low Countries in the late 1640s and extended them to London and Liverpool later on.<sup>3</sup> In 1647, 1649 and 1650 he was a member, chairman and vice-chairman, respectively, of the "Board of Nine Men," a council selected to assist the governor of the Dutch colony and which functioned as an early municipal government of New Amsterdam. In the late 1650s he was sent as an ambassador and special envoy of Governor Stuyvesant to Boston, Rhode Island, Maryland and Virginia to conduct conferences to discuss cooperative missions and conflicts with the administrators of the English colonies.<sup>4</sup> Augustine Herman and his family are recognized as the first family to have been naturalized by an American colony. In acquiring the privileges of citizenship he had shown great diplomatic skills in negotiating and obtaining a decree of denization of January 14, 1660, along with the land grant which became known as Bohemia Manor. Thus, he managed to

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become the "first and only foreign born" vassal of Lord Baltimore with the right to bear a title and to be recognized as Lord of Bohemia Manor. His legal status was further advanced in 1666 when Maryland's local authorities issued the decree of naturalization to him and his descendants. It has been hypothesized by the historian John Fiske that Herman's decree "has hastened the Virginia Statute of 1668, permitting the naturalization of aliens five years resident in the Old Dominion."<sup>5</sup>

Augustine Herman has also notably influenced the early religious history of Maryland. Having received his early education in religiously intolerant schools of Bohemia, he acquired a high degree of ecumenical spirit. Although a member of a Protestant church, Herman gained many close friends within the Catholic circles surrounding Philip Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and he promised to assist in establishing a Catholic foundation in Cecil County, Maryland. Even though a permanent Catholic mission was not built on Herman's grant until after his death in 1704, the site of the Catholic church and residence of the Jesuit fathers retained the name "Bohemia Manor." This was the first mission outside the Jesuit churches in Charles and St. Mary's Counties of Lower Maryland, and it antedates the introduction of missions to Pennsylvania.<sup>6</sup> During his later years Herman sponsored the establishment of a Labadist Christian Socialist colony by deeding about 3,750 acres of his Manor in 1684, and included in his will "a contingent provision for the founding of a Protestant school on Bohemia Manor."<sup>7</sup>

In retrospect, Augustine Herman can be seen as an innovative agriculturalist who successfully experimented on his Manor with a variety of "at that time new crops," among them indigo,<sup>8</sup> and as one of the foremost transportation and regional planners in America of his time. He may be credited with having been a successful planner and builder of long-distance transport links in eastern Maryland and Delaware. One example of his commendable foresight was his proposal for constructing a canal to connect Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. His idea was implemented a hundred years later when citizens of Philadelphia made a serious survey of the economic potential of areas of the Delaware Peninsula. Construction of the canal was finally completed in 1829.<sup>9</sup> He also proposed and established several landings on either side of the peninsula and with much effort connected a branch of the Bohemian River by a cart road (called a "cross path") through the woods to the Appoquinimink River, a stream which flows into Delaware Bay. By constructing this preliminary water link he greatly increased the relative accessibility of Bohemian Landing, located on his Manor near the mouth of the Bohemian River. To make his Manor more accessible by land he constructed a dense network of local roads throughout the estate, as well as a portion of a long-distance highway to New Castle. This project was masterminded and initiated by Herman, who was able to implement it by successfully negotiating for substantial assistance from the

English authorities. In 1671, the English administrators in New York issued an order to residents of New Castle, Delaware to clear half the right-of-way for a road from that settlement to Bohemia Manor. The residents of Maryland under Herman's guidance, were to clear the other half. For decades this road was an important transportation artery facilitating all kinds of traffic between plantations as well as serving as a long-distance trade route between nuclear settlements and cities of Maryland and Delaware. Because of his extensive transportation projects, his Manor acquired the character of an outstanding port of transfer, an important break-of-bulk point. The transfer and trade functions of Bohemia Manor persisted for many years. For example, "in 1715, Bohemian Landing was made the place where duties on all liquors from Pennsylvania should be paid."<sup>10</sup>

Because of his interests in painting topographical and scenic views, Herman stands out prominently in the intellectual history of this nation as an initiator of American pictorial history. In 1953, an oil painting depicting a topographical view of New Amsterdam was attributed to Augustine Herman. The canvas, painted in typical seventeenth century style in 1647, is an authentic eyewitness account of the return to Holland of the former Dutch governor, displaying New Amsterdam scenery near Governors Island. It is believed that the painting is the earliest view of the city since it antedates the famous "Prototype View" of 1650-1653. As such it provides a mass of carefully recorded geographical and historical data.<sup>11</sup> Herman is also recognized as having drawn another, more comprehensive view of Manhattan Island. The scene was engraved in copper and first appeared on Nicolas Visscher's map of New Netherlands in 1650 and later (1655) illustrated Adriaen Van der Donck's map description of New Netherlands and also was included on Visscher's map of *Novi Belgii*, published in 1656.

Augustine Herman's intellectual background, his skills of pictorial presentation, his contacts with leading politicians of New Amsterdam and famous European cartographers of his time, as well as his competent knowledge of the area<sup>12</sup> made him well qualified for extensive cartographic work. To acquire both a baronial title and land he offered his cartographic services to Lord Baltimore. He was well aware of his plan to establish a new aristocracy in Maryland and of the practice of granting baronial manors to capable citizens willing to "do him right." Consequently, Herman proposed to construct a precise map of the area if Lord Baltimore would grant him a manor. In September 1660, Lord Baltimore granted Herman the baronial title accompanied by a grant of approximately 5,000 acres of land on the east side of Chesapeake Bay with a promise to enlarge the estate to about 20,000 acres when Herman's detailed map of the area would be completed. "About ten years were required to complete the map with an expenditure outside of Herman's personal labors of about two hundred pounds which at present valuation (1911) would amount to over ten thousand dollars."<sup>13</sup> The map "Virginia and Maryland as it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670 Surveyed and Exactly Drawne by the Only Labor and Endeavour of Augustine Herrman Bohemiensis," was pronounced in 1670 by Lord Baltimore, "the best mapp that was ever Drawn of

any Country whatsoever."<sup>14</sup> George Washington, himself a capable surveyor, described the map as "admirable" and several other experts have since praised Herman's cartographic skills effusively.<sup>15</sup>

The Herman map, measuring about 31 by 36 inches and consisting of four sheets, was engraved according to 1:720,000 scale. The author's sketches must have been drawn to a more detailed scale, since a large mass of data had been collected during the decade from 1659 to 1670. Although the sketches have never been found,<sup>16</sup> it is believed that Herman personally surveyed the entire territory on each side of the Chesapeake Bay, and in preparing the final manuscript relied only on his own data. If he ever had consulted the map of Captain John Smith, published in 1608,<sup>17</sup> he had borrowed from it only to an insignificant degree. When compared with Smith's map of Virginia, Herman's map shows a remarkable increase in detail in extensive areas of Maryland, superior drawing skills, greater care in collecting and recording local cultural data, and most importantly, it marks an advancement in sophistication. While Smith's map of Virginia of 1608 and his map of New England of 1616 were evidently made by an explorer for the guidance of travelers and adventurers, Herman's map had been designed for local needs of the administrators and settlers.

E. B. Mathews, a nineteenth century authority on Maryland cartography who analyzed and described Herman's map in the context of early American cartography, ventured an opinion that "Herman did not possess the geographic sense shown by Smith in the preparation of his map." It is difficult to speculate as to what Mathews meant by "geographic sense"—perhaps a capability of retracing and locating topographical features, rivers, swamps, hills, etc., in their "correct position." In this sense, some parts of Herman's map contain discrepancies and crude generalizations. These areas may be viewed as less "geographically" sensed or perceived, and the map sections classified as less accurate than those shown by Smith. On the other hand some sectors of Herman's map show a great many improvements in locating topographical data over Smith's and other pre-existing maps, as noted also by Mathews, in his detailed description of the map.<sup>18</sup>

From the view of modern geography which focuses much more on precisely showing general spatial relationships between man-made cultural features, settlements, transport links, land use patterns, etc., rather than on topographic identification of physical features, Herman's map is an unprecedented design, a shape preserving projection and an improvement over the Smith map. As such it marks an advancement in cartographic sophistication. Smith's map is a design of travelers thinking. It reflects knowledge derived from his travels in Europe, Asia and Africa and presents field observations collected on two voyages which occupied him about three months of the summer.<sup>19</sup> It is an example of one-dimensional data display, presenting data points as they follow each other, as they were observed and identified in a sequence in the field. More precisely, Smith used linearly arranged physical features as the underlying skeleton of his map (e.g., the Chesapeake Bay and the rivers entering it). Thus, bodies of water form the basic orientational framework since the information was collected along them. While distances between outstanding

topographic features were measured with care only along the river course, estimates between rivers and across the wide bodies of water were made superficially, so that the shape of the Bay and all large areas were distorted to a significant degree. The map, therefore, is a poorly integrated network of independently observed and displayed linear arrays of data points.

In contrast, Herman's map is a geographer's construct reflecting his two-dimensional areal perceptions and displaying data according to geographic coordinate systems of longitudes and latitudes. In terms of contemporary cartographic methodology, Herman's map is an example of two-dimensional observing and data ordering. In contrast to Smith's map (on which distinct topographical features are ordered in a linear fashion and distances are measured only between them, along a river course, for example) Herman measured in addition distances between two or several linearly arranged strings of topographical features, e.g. distances between two parallel rivers. As a consequence of this methodology the shapes of areas and river courses were shown with minimal distortions. Also, distances between individually standing topographic features were presented with a relatively high degree of precision. Such distances were probably measured not only by considering the travel time, but verified by some elementary methods of triangulation. In general, this approach was an attempt to observe and display information in a more rigorous manner by estimating distances and recording locations of topographic data points within a theoretical two-dimensional system of coordinates, even though the field data were collected in a linear fashion during a journey. In other words, Herman's technique was that of displaying both one and two-dimensional features within the limits of space. He was able then to overcome the subjective and prevailing tendency of early surveyors to enlarge near and well-known localities and impressive topographic features while diminishing the distant less known and less outstanding scenery.

Herman's more advanced methodological thinking is also evidenced in his manner of displaying less valuable information. While the predecessors of his map used to obfuscate their ignorance and lack of information about unexplored places by locating pictures, ornaments, vignettes and scales over the "white areas" of their maps, Herman provided the user instead with less reliable or sketchy descriptive texts based on information obtained from other explorers, colonists and Indians, recognizing the dubious validity of such unverified data.<sup>20</sup> It was not his fault that these unreliable data, located as verbal comments over the "white areas" of his map, were misinterpreted by some users. So great was the reputation of his map that his presumed facts, implicitly qualified as such on his map, were viewed by some to be of equal validity with his verified cartographic information and were not questioned for over a hundred years.<sup>21</sup>

Herman's map also suggests another aspect of his geographic maturity. He recognized the existence of hierarchical arrangements of man-made features and presented invisible phenomena by means of visible lines. More precisely, Herman not only recorded information as obtained in the field, he attempted to integrate and interpret the data to derive a few generalizations. Conse-

quently, to him the map was not only a device for storing information but also an analytical tool, a device facilitating analyses and integration of data and the derivation of generalizations not observable in the field. In this sense he is one of the initiators of thematic cartography. For example, he identified the counties of Virginia and Maryland and arranged them according to their degree of development, population density, number of plantations and political importance in quasi-spatial hierarchy by using large, medium and small-size labels. In a similar way he classified settlements of Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey by deriving three classes of Indian (Indian forts, Indian villages and homes) and four classes of white settlements (main towns, towns, manors and plantations). This classification of settlements is not directly evident from the map legend but may be identified from the settlement pattern as shown: each class is identified by the same symbolic characteristics.

Another example of his analytical approach is his usage of the isobath (a line connecting points to the same depth). Herman was the first surveyor to apply this technique of presenting the depths of water bodies in American cartography. Previously employed by Dutch and French cartographers on their navigational maps of the coast of Europe, this concept was applied by Herman in a topographic sense. By drawing lines connecting points of the same depth along the coast lines, beaches and river banks, he intended to provide valuable information, especially to local users.

Herman's techniques of portraying rivers, creeks, falls, hills and mountain ranges was very traditional. His pictorial presentation of hills and mountains was similar in appearance to that of his friend and teacher, Comenius,<sup>22</sup> and the seventeenth-century Dutch cartographers. Also, he duplicated the method of place names that Comenius used on his bilingual map of Moravia and labeled places or rivers in two languages, one in a European language and the other in its Indian name. Many place names on Herman's map are of English, Indian, Dutch, Swedish, Finnish and perhaps Czech origin and several place names are mentioned for the first time under the given name. His map is thus a rich source for a student of toponymy.<sup>23</sup> Indian names have not been correctly transcribed in most cases, since he had to rely exclusively on his ear during his surveys. Many names were presumably corrupted or modified at the discretion of the engraver who had evidently mistaken some non-English names to be of Indian origin and anglicized them according to his judgement. The anglicizing of names was a major irritant to Herman, who was very disappointed with the engraver's disregard for spelling and for shifting the location of places according to the engraver's artistic sense and thus diminishing the geographic accuracy of the map.<sup>24</sup> For example, he was not pleased with the fact that his name, Augustine Herman, although spelled correctly on his self portrait, was misspelled by the engraver on the map title.

Herman sent his map sketches for engraving to his friend and well-known engraver, Wencelas Hollar, a member of the Unity of Czech Brethren who lived in London. In turn, Hollar forwarded the job to his friend William Faithorne, another engraver of considerable renown.<sup>25</sup> Faithorne's engraving, and especially the coastlines which are realistically delineated, is excellent, al-

though the nomenclature lost some of the intended geographic accuracy. Nevertheless, the map displays a large quantity of valuable geographic information since it was based on original surveys. It was recognized immediately after its publication as an important document. It conveyed to many administrators, politicians, military commanders and colonists much trustworthy and relevant data.<sup>26</sup> It was drawn with great care by using the most advanced cartographic techniques and tools of the time. Having consequently been copied, Herman's techniques may be traced in several maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>27</sup> The map was an outstanding source of data and a methodological breakthrough. It reflects a more advanced cartographic methodology than that of his predecessors.

In conclusion, Augustine Herman's achievements are variegated and many. Among them, his map of Virginia and Maryland ranks high and stands out as his foremost, innovative intellectual contribution. The map is a valuable product not only from a cartographic and geographic point of view, but especially from the historical standpoint. Augustine Herman is to be remembered as the leading American cartographer of the seventeenth century.

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26. For example, the map was used to delimit the state line between Virginia and Maryland as well as to delimit the Mason-Dixon Line between Pennsylvania and Maryland; see *Maps to accompany the report of the commissioner on the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland*, Richmond, 1873. Lawrence C. Wroth, *John Carter Brown Library Annual Report, 1929-30* (Providence, 1930), p. 10.
27. "A Map of Virginia and Maryland." Sold by Thomas Basset and Richard Chiswell. F. Lamb SCULP in "A Prospect of the most famous parts of the World," by John Speed. New ed. fol. London, for T. Bassett and R. Chiswell, 1676, p. 43-44. "Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, East and West New Yarsey," by John Thornton at ye Platt in the Minorities. And by Will Fisher at ye Postorn Gate in Tower Hill, London; and "A new map of New England, New York, New Iarsey, Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia." Sold by John Thornton, Robert Morden and Phillip Lea. *Geographus or a compleat system of Geography*, op. cit. "A new map of Virginia, Mary-land and the improved parts of Penn-sylvania & New Jersey" in *New (A) general atlas* (London for D. Browne, 1721), p. 240. *English (The) Pilot*, op. cit.

# A Tale of Ratiocination: The Death and Burial of Edgar Allan Poe<sup>1</sup>

CHARLES SCARLETT, JR.

**I**T WAS WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1849, A ROWDY ELECTION DAY IN BALTIMORE. A wet and chilly cloud cover blanketed the city. From the direction of Broadway at five o'clock in the evening, a hackney coach drew up to the south door of the Washington College Hospital on the summit of Hamstead Hill overlooking Old Town and the harbor. The lone passenger, slumped within the hack, did not stir. Reining up his horses, the driver jumped from the box and hurried up the stairs to the superintendent's office, which was on the left as he entered the new hospital wing of the college building. He explained to the doctor there that he had brought a sick man with him. He had been called to pick him up at the Fourth Ward Hotel on Lombard Street run by Coath and Sargent. So serious was the man's condition that it had been necessary to carry him from the rear room of the hotel building to the carriage. In reply to the doctor's question as to who had sent the man, the driver could only tell him that he had been called to the hotel, and that two gentlemen there had so instructed him: one of them had written this hospital on a card with the sick man's name, "Poe," in the lower right hand corner. The gentlemen here referred to were Poe's friend, Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, and his uncle, Henry Herring.

Dr. John J. Moran, the twenty-five year old hospital superintendent, summoned help, and the unconscious passenger was carried to the southwest tower room on the second floor of the adjoining Medical College, where iron gratings were in place over the Gothic windows for the protection of potentially violent patients. He was undressed and put to bed with a nurse stationed at the door. Her instructions were to call the doctor as soon as the patient regained consciousness.

As he descended the stairs on the way back to his office, Dr. Moran noticed that the old coach with its dark horse and its light colored horse were still at the door, the driver waiting for his hire. Since the rider had been unconscious, Dr. Moran provided the fare and remarked that the passenger appeared to be quite drunk. "No Sir," was the reply, "he was a sick man, a very sick man, for he did not smell of whiskey and he was too pale in the face." The doctor was to remember afterward this statement from a man whose work exposed him frequently to problems of drink. The coach proceeded on its way around the circle and out again, into the deepening shadows down Broadway hill, back toward the Fourth Ward District of Old Town.

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Mr. Scarlett, of the firm Ramsay, Scarlett & Co., has long been interested in Edgar Allan Poe.



Much of what follows is necessarily derived from Dr. Moran: first, there is his letter of November 15, 1849, to Mrs. Maria Poe Clemm, Poe's adored aunt and mother-in-law, containing information taken from long lost hospital records; then there are his later self-serving lectures on the subject, and then his highly imaginary memoir prefacing Poe's poems of 1885. Many of his contradictory statements, twenty-five years and more after the fact, have proven to be improbable and yet he was there. It must also be remembered that Dr. William M. Cullen of Baltimore was actually the young medical resident physician in charge when Poe was admitted and, as such, would have been responsible for the direct care of the patient under Dr. John C. S. Monkur, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. Washington College Hospital was not a charity institution but a private hospital of 200 beds, the most up-to-date in Baltimore. Patients were expected to pay in advance, excepting merchant seamen and negroes who were admitted without charge through an arrangement with the Merchant Marine and for the training of the student body; these patients were tended to on the fourth and fifth floors of the college building.

Edgar Allan Poe, the poet and story teller, despite his "worse for wear" appearance, was recognized by his clothing and reputation as a prominent Baltimorean and, as such, was received and first treated as an emergency case in the adjoining medical college building until his condition improved and his relatives could be notified of his whereabouts.

On his arrival at the Fourth Ward Hotel—also called Gunner's Hall because the ball room occupied the entire fourth floor—he had been dressed in a wrinkled black alpaca sack coat with greyish cassimere trousers; on his head was a bandless palmleaf planter's hat, in vogue at the time in Richmond. He was wearing the same rough pair of old boots that his friend John Sartain remembered his wearing with much discomfort in Philadelphia where he was delayed by the cholera on his way south to Richmond three months previously. He was without neck cloth or vest, and his face, hands and clothing were rain and mud spattered, but there were no marks of foul play or of his having been robbed of his shoes and his clothing as claimed by Dr. Snodgrass, except for some of his personal effects left at the Bradshaw Hotel on Pratt Street opposite the railroad depot. According to Dr. William J. Glenn, who had administered the oath of the Division of the sons of Temperance to Poe shortly after his arrival in Richmond in July, these boots had been picked up before daylight by Poe presumably on his way to the railroad cars at the Richmond and Petersburg station at Byrd and 8th Streets for his trip north, which departed on that Friday morning at 6:15 A.M. for Port Walthall on the Appomattox River to connect with the Steamboat "AUGUSTA." Mr. Glenn's letter of December 4, 1900, to Professor J. A. Harrison at the University of Virginia concludes with the following:

Mr. Poe lived very quietly while here. Some stories were told like the following, showing eccentricity: 'He left with a Broad Street shoe merchant (who was also a member of the above mentioned order, and the same division of which our friend had become a member) a pair of boots for repairs. Our shoe merchant was sur-

prised a few mornings later at being knocked up by the poet about two hours before daylight, who had called for his boots. He explained that as he was out walking he thought to get the boots then would save him another trip.'

The key to his trunk, which he had left at Bradshaw's Hotel on Pratt Street, two gold rings, and a Malacca sword cane belonging to his Richmond friend, Dr. John Carter, completed his effects. The seal ring, a present from his devoted friend Mary Louise Shew, was turned over to the Rev. W. T. D. Clemm, and his narrow gold wedding band, given to his cousin Elizabeth Herring Smith, has been handed down in the Herring family and is known by its present owner, a lady from Connecticut, as "Poe's betrothal ring from Mrs. Shelton." The matching gold ring from Edgar Poe to Elmira Shelton was given by her to her favorite cousin, Captain Richard Covington of "Lombardy Grove" in Essex County, Virginia, and descended in his family until it was inherited and lost by his great-granddaughter, Emily Howerton of Richmond, Virginia, when she was a little girl.

By three o'clock the next morning, the patient showed signs of restlessness, and his state of unconsciousness was succeeded by tremor and delirium—vacant conversations with imaginary objects on the walls, his whole person drenched in perspiration. Later in the morning Nielson Poe, his brother-in-law and second cousin, both being the same age, literary editors and married to Clemm sisters, called to see the patient. Nielson had been notified by his elder brother, George Poe, who had found Edgar in a very unstable condition outside the Baltimore Museum at Calvert and Baltimore Streets. George had sent Edgar in a cab to the hospital, so he said, apparently in the care of Joseph W. Walker, a school teacher and compositor for the *Baltimore Sun* as well as one time director of the Baltimore Museum. Walker lived on Exeter Street around the corner from the Fourth Ward Hotel. But as it turned out Edgar refused to go to the hospital but chose rather to find Dr. Snodgrass or his uncle, Henry Herring. The following is Walker's note to Snodgrass on a rough piece of paper, the flamboyance of which indicates that he knew Poe and was himself already in his cups:

Baltimore City, October 3, 1849

Dear Sir,—

There is a gentleman, rather the worse for wear, at Ryan's 4th Ward polls, who goes under the cognomen of Edgar A. Poe, and who appears in great distress, and he says he is acquainted with you, and I assure you, he is in need of immediate assistance.

Yours, in haste,

Jos. W. Walker

To Dr. J. E. Snodgrass.

Also calling were two of his cousins, the daughters of Uncle Henry who lived in a pretentious house on Lombard Street next door to the "Carroll Mansion," and a block east of the Fourth Ward Hotel where Charles Carroll of Carrollton had died seventeen years before. They were advised that the patient was in no

condition to receive visitors, but Nielson Poe was given to understand at the time by Moran that his cousin's serious condition had been brought on by election day drinking, resulting in delirium tremens. Certainly Nielson would have agreed to be responsible for paying the hospital expenses of his brother-in-law for he was at the time one of Maryland's most prominent jurists and is still remembered as the city's most distinguished judge of the Orphan's Court and a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In his capacity as director, Nielson replied to Samuel Morse's thrilling first telegraph message from Washington to Baltimore in 1844: "What hath God wrought?"

Of importance to this story is a passage from a lengthy article which appeared in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* for January 17, 1909, written by the late journalist Elizabeth Ellicott Poe in which she states as follows:

Family traditions and records, however, have this authentic version of the finding of Poe on the night (evening) of October 3, 1849. My grandfather the first cousin (second) of the poet, was passing down Baltimore Street on the night of the 3rd of October when he saw lying under the steps of the Baltimore Museum, corner of Baltimore and Calvert Streets, a man in what he thought was in a drunken stupor. It was election night, and his first thought was that it was someone overcome with the indulgence of the day. Pity for the unfortunate caused him to bend over the man, when, to his amazement, he saw it was his cousin Edgar. Quickly sending a message to Nielson Poe, another cousin, who lived near, he took a carriage and, placing the still unconscious poet in it, took (sent) him to the Washington University Hospital, now the Church Home, on North Broadway.

Any reference to George Poe, her grandfather, having found his cousin Edgar under the steps on the Calvert Street side of the Baltimore Museum was omitted from the memoir prefacing the publication of Poe's poems by Miss Poe and her sister Viola Poe Wilson entitled "The High Priest of the Beautiful." This was for the very good reason that George had merely hailed a cab to take his extremely ill cousin to the hospital [probably in the care of Walker], instead of taking him there himself. However, Cousin Edgar happened to have died. From her home in Washington, D.C., Viola Poe Wilson has confirmed her family version of what actually happened as it was often told by her father George in family discussions at the dinner table. George and his wife, Margaret Wallace, were great admirers of poetry and Edgar Poe in particular, and they actually became engaged standing at the graveside of E. A. Poe. He allowed that he would become a poet if she would married him. She consented and with a stick he wrote his last name in the dirt and then affixed the letter "t" to it.

But George Poe, Sr. was said to have been walking down Baltimore Street and he could not have seen his cousin Edgar "under the steps" on the Calvert Street side unless someone had either sent for him or called to him. This space was occupied by old Nelly, the colored apple woman, her hair done up in a bandana, who for many years tended her apple stand under the steps of the Calvert Street entrance to the Baltimore Museum.

Since everyone knew Nelly as a Baltimore tradition of long standing, and she appears with her stall laden with apples in most every contemporary litho-

graph of the museum building, she would have been the one who sent out the distress call for help for her special friend Marse Eddie Poe. Furthermore, Nielson Poe later allowed that he knew all the facts leading up to the death of his cousin and would one day put them in print, but he did not, for it would have seriously implicated his elder brother George who did, however, notify Nielson.

Not until Friday morning did Poe, tranquil at last, open his eyes and ask the nurse where he was. She responded by calling Dr. Moran who, according to his testimony, after seating himself at the poet's bedside and taking his left hand, ask how he felt. "Miserable." Much pain? "No." Sick in the stomach? "Yes, slightly." Head ache? "Yes." How long had he been sick? "Can't say." Questioned further, Poe revealed that he had been staying at Bradshaw's Hotel on Pratt Street opposite the depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, where he had left his trunk, and he appreciated the doctor's offer to send for it. This was not accomplished until some time later, when it was found to contain little other than a few papers and books and a pair of boot-jacks, but no spare clothing, or neck cloth, vest or wallet, which apparently were left in his room there. Nielson Poe returned to the hospital on Friday with fresh linen and was delighted at the news of a favorable change in his cousin's condition. The trunk was eventually turned over to Nielson who properly sent it to the poet's sister, Rosalie Poe, in Richmond as next of kin.

But the patient's answers were generally unsatisfactory; he dozed off at intervals, yet could be readily awakened. Among other things he mentioned that he had a wife in Richmond and a mother in New York, where he had been going when taken ill. He asked the doctor with tears in his eyes to notify his mother, Maria Clemm, at Fordham, New York, and Elmira Shelton, in Richmond. When the doctor asked if he should not send a carriage for Mrs. Poe, supposing her to be in Baltimore, he replied "too late, too late" and again asked that Mrs. Shelton be notified.

He told the doctor that the last thing he could remember before completely losing consciousness was leaving the railway depot on Pratt Street and starting for the boat which would take him back to Virginia and the horrible dread he had of being killed and thrown off the dock. Looking quizzically around the small room with its protective gratings, the sick man again asked, "Where am I?" Dr. Moran told him that he was in the hands of friends, but that now, since he was better, he could be moved to another room where in a few days he could receive friends. "Friends," he said with spirit, "the best thing my friend could do would be to blow out my brains with a pistol." A feeling of complete discouragement must have attended this harsh awakening to the despair of his persisting depression which had so much plagued his later life; that family curse—extreme sensitivity—inherited from his father which he so fervently had prayed would be left behind him in Richmond, forever. Shortly after this explosion he seemed to doze and was transferred across the surgical amphitheatre adjoining to a private tower room on the east front, which was supplied with a convenient doorway into the passageway off of which were the living quarters of the Morans.

Still believing Mr. Poe's distress to have been caused by excessive drink, as he was extremely weak and his pulse very low, Dr. Moran suggested that he take a glass of toddy. Poe, always allergic to alcohol and for most of his life abstemious except for periods of emotional stress, vehemently rejected the toddy, to the amazement of Dr. Moran who said he "then first began to realize that there was no tremor of his person, no unsteadiness of his nerves, no fidgeting with his hands, and not the slightest odor of liquor upon his breath or person. 'Doctor,' Poe said, 'I am ill. Is there no hope?' 'The chances are against you,' was the reply. He was again in a sinking condition, yet perfectly conscious. I had his body sponged with cold water, to which spirits were added, sinapisms (mustard plasters) applied to his stomach and feet, cold applications to his head and then administered a stimulating (ammonia) cordial." He was left again to sleep and rest.

Friday afternoon found the patient's breathing short and oppressed, and he was much more feeble. His talk was vague and repetitious. Beef-tea and stimulants were freely given and kept up at short intervals; the color began to deepen upon his cheeks and forehead, and the blood vessels at the temples enlarged slightly. Ice was applied to his head and heat to his extremities, and an increase in circulation was noticed. His pulse, which had been as low as fifty, was rising rapidly, though still feeble and variable. He was given a drink of water to determine if he could swallow freely, but he did this with difficulty. Professor John C. S. Monkur, the senior physician on the faculty, entered the room about this time and, seeing the patient with his eyes dilating and contracting, observed that "he was dying from excessive nervous prostration and loss of nerve power affecting the brain and resulting from exposure, encephalitis or inflammation of the brain." Dr. Monkur's diagnosis was accurate, although a physician of today might prefer calling it "lobar pneumonia, complicated by transient retardation or depression." The doctor at the hospital would not have known about Poe's equally toxic bout with cholera only three months before in Philadelphia, foreshadowing this pneumonia.

Later that evening he relapsed into a violent delirium, resisting the efforts of two nurses to keep him in bed. This state continued all through the night and late Saturday he began calling for his friend, "Reynolds," whose carpenter shop was located on Front Street, just across High from the Front Street Theatre, and only a few blocks north of Uncle Henry Herring's lumber yard. As listed in the Maryland Historical Society Records, Henry Reynolds had been chief judge of elections at Ryan's Fourth Ward Polling Station in the Fourth Ward Hotel when Edgar was brought there and apparently had assisted Walker in settling him into an arm chair in the long bar room at the rear of the crowded hotel lobby. This frantic calling for "Reynolds" was kept up well into the night.

About three in the morning on Sunday, October 7, Mary O. Moran, wife of the superintendent visited the sick room. She later remembered, as published in James A. Harrison's extensive edition of Poe's works that:

When the young man was brought into the hospital in a stupor, it was supposed he was overcome by drink. It was election time, and the city was very disorderly. We

soon saw that he was a gentleman, and as our family lived in a wing of the college building, the doctor had him taken to a room easily reached by a passage from our wing. I helped to nurse him here, and during an interval of consciousness he asked if there was any hope for him. Thinking he referred to his physical condition, I said, "My husband thinks you are very ill, and if you have any directions to give regarding your affairs I will write them down." He replied, "I meant, hope for a wretch like me, beyond this life." I assured him that the Great Physician said there was. I read him the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, gave him a quieting draught, wiped the beads of perspiration from his face, smoothed his pillow, and left him. Not long afterwards they brought me a message that he was dead.

"Just about daybreak," Dr. Moran's statement goes, "a very decided change began to affect him. Having become enfeebled from exertion, he became quiet and seemed to rest for a short time, then gently moving his head he said, 'Lord help my poor Soul!' and with eyes falling back and a shudder expired."

Dr. J. F. C. Handel, Baltimore Commissioner of Health, certified that day as to the cause of death: "Congestion of the brain." Dr. William M. Cullen, the young medical physician in charge of the case "in whose arms" the poet actually died, assured Eugene Didier of Baltimore that the wild and incoherent poetical effusions later attributed to the dying poet by Dr. Moran, simply did not come from Poe on his deathbed. That Poe's indisposition was diagnosed as exposure and encephalitis lethargica and that he was properly treated by the medical staff of the hospital, is quite apparent, and the same treatment would have been appropriate for what we call pneumonia. In short, the patient had been provided with the very best medical treatment available in Baltimore's best and newest hospital.

The late Dr. Thomas S. Cullen of Baltimore, descendant of Poe's hospital physician, on the staff of the present Church Home Hospital where Poe died, in a letter to Mary Phillips of January 26, 1915, wrote that in 1909 a careful investigation had been made to determine the room where Poe died, and it was decided that it was the old west tower room now replaced by a stairway. We must, however, defer to the recorded statement of Mrs. Moran that Poe was later moved from the emergency room on the second floor to another with a convenient door into the passage and opposite their living quarters. The only room answering this description is in the second floor east front tower which remains today basically as it was when the poet died there.

In October, 1869, when Poe biographer Colonel John A. Joyce, by prearrangement and with Dr. John J. Moran, visited Maria Poe Clemm at the Episcopal Church Home where her "Darling Eddie" had died twenty years before, no one there including Dr. Moran or "Sister Margaret," the venerable nurse in charge, could point out for Mrs. Clemm the precise room in which Poe breathed his last.

As Sunday morning wore on and word passed around town that one of its notables had died at the Washington College Hospital, it became clear that some immediate arrangements would have to be made so that friends could pay their last respects. Mrs. Moran, with other hospital ladies, found appropriate articles of clean clothing among the staff and prepared a shroud upon



which the poet would rest in a temporary poplar coffin borrowed by Dr. Snodgrass from the hospital undertaker. The remains of Edgar Allen Poe were laid out for viewing in the main floor rotunda of the medical college where they were visited during Sunday afternoon and Monday by relatives, friends, and some of the "city's important citizens." At four o'clock on Monday afternoon The Rev. W. D. T. Clemm, who was serving at the Caroline Street Methodist Church a few blocks from the hospital and was a cousin of Virginia Clemm Poe and Mrs. Nielson Poe, held services in response to a call from Dr. Moran. Of the poet's appearance at the funeral Mr. Clemm said: "He had a head of jet-black hair, which was tastefully adjusted in profuse locks above and around his expansive forehead. He looked placid and natural and on his face was a fine expression of manly beauty."

Of further interest is the fact that Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, whose card alone accompanied Poe to the hospital, used his grim descriptions of Poe's appearance at the hotel on Lombard Street to dress up his temperance lectures. He also spent many of his sunset years traveling about the country like an Ancient Mariner, obviously senile but still disclaiming any visible signs of Poe's having been drinking. Moreover on December 4, 1900, William J. Glenn wrote further of Poe's exemplary conduct prior to his final departure from Richmond to Baltimore:

A few days later we heard of his death at a hospital in that city, and the statement was made and too busily circulated that his death was the result of a spree commenced as soon as he reached Baltimore. We of the temperance order (Sons of Temperance) to which he belonged exerted ourselves to get at the facts, and the consensus of opinion was that he had not been drinking, but had been drugged. A gentleman by the name of Benson, born in Baltimore in 1811, and living there until he was twenty-one years old, went to Baltimore, and, as he knew Poe and felt much interest in the manner of his death, went to the hospital at which he died, and had a talk with the doctor (an acquaintance), who told him that Poe had not been drinking when brought to the hospital, but was under the influence of a drug; he added that he suggested the use of stimulants, but that Mr. Poe positively declined taking any. Mr. Poe lived very quietly while here.

Judge Nielson Poe made the arrangements for Edgar to be laid to rest in the David Poe family lot, Number 27, in the Westminster burying ground of the First Presbyterian Church, Fayette and Green Streets. Charles Sutter, the undertaker, substituted a new lead-lined oak casket with an inscribed brass plate at the foot which the judge said would last a long time.

An official carriage for the honorary pall bearers, Judge Poe, Uncle Henry Herring, Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, Judge Z. Collins Lee, a prominent Baltimore jurist and old friend from the University of Virginia, and the Rev. Clemm, followed the hearse westward on Baltimore Street to Front, right past the house—number 9 Front Street—nearby the Shot Tower where Poe had first found a home in Baltimore with his grandmother Elizabeth Arnold Tubbs at the age of five weeks and claimed by Elizabeth Ellicott Poe to be his birthplace. Then over the falls by the Fayette Street bridge, and on for a mile and a half to Weinholt Lane, which until a few years ago bounded the cemetery on

the east side, arriving there about dusk on a gloomy, wet Monday evening. One of the three grave diggers, Andrew J. Davis, had been an acquaintance of the poet. Assisted by the caretaker, George W. Spence, they carried the heavy coffin along the graveyard wall and through the small iron gate which made accessible the newly dug grave in the rear of the yard. The poet was laid to rest at the north end of the David Poe plot and, as custom then required, facing east from whence would come the light of the resurrection, to the right of the stone of General David Poe and next to the slab vault of Dr. Patrick Allison, first rector of First Presbyterian Church. After a brief service conducted by the Rev. Clemm, the little party proceeded on its way, and the earth was replaced in the grave. According to Snodgrass two rough pine stakes were first driven into the earth, head and foot, but they were later replaced by a grave marker upon which appeared the number 8. At the time when General and Mrs. David Poe's stones were in place in the early 1860s, Nielson Poe had ordered from Sisson's Marble Yard an appropriate head stone for his cousin's grave, but prior to its delivery a runaway train of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad broke into the marble yard and demolished it.

Charles W. Hubner of Baltimore, who died in 1929, has recorded his recollection of the day:

While on my way to art school, when about fourteen years old, I passed a hospital, a plain coffin was being taken to a hearse standing at the curb (on Broadway), two gentlemen stood, with bared heads, while the attendants placed the casket into the hearse. With boyish curiosity, I asked one of the men, "Please sir, who are they going to bury?" He (Snodgrass) replied, "My son, that is the body of a great poet, Edgar Allen Poe, you will learn all about him someday." The two men entered the only carriage which followed the hearse. I watched them as long as they were in sight. The next day I passed the Westminster church cemetery, seeing the sexton near the (east) iron gate, I asked him where the poet Poe was buried. "Right here," he answered, as he leveled with a spade an unmarked grave.

But there was yet another reliable witness to the burial, a Baltimorean twenty-three at the time. In 1909, sixty years later, he wrote from his home in London to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle this letter to be read at a meeting of the Author's Club in honor of the birth one hundred years before of Edgar Allan Poe:

As the sole surviving witness of the burial of Edgar Allan Poe and one of the few who have seen him in life, I regret exceedingly that my advanced age and impaired health will prevent my joining in the centenary dinner at which you are to preside.

As a then resident of Baltimore (my native city), I often saw Poe, and, as a young man with some sentiment, I had a great fancy for the man apart from his literary genius, for I was one of the few who thought the stories of his excesses to be greatly exaggerated.

On a cold, dismal October day, so different from the ordinary genial weather of that clime, I had just left my home when my attention was attracted to an approaching hearse, followed by hackney carriages, all of the plainest type. As I passed the little cortege, some inscrutable impulse induced me to ask the driver of the hearse, "Whose funeral is this?" and to my intense surprise received for



answer, "Mr. Poe, the poet." This being my first intimation of his death, which occurred at the hospital the previous day (Sunday) and was not generally known until after the funeral.

Immediately on this reply I turned about to the graveyard, a few blocks distant. On arrival there five or six gentlemen, including the officiating minister, descended from the carriages and followed the coffin to the grave, while I, as a simple onlooker remained somewhat in the rear.

The burial ceremony, which did not occupy more than three minutes, was so cold-blooded and unchristianlike as to provoke on my part a sense of anger difficult to suppress. The only relative present was a cousin (a noted Baltimore lawyer), the remaining witnesses being from the hospital and press.

After these had left I went to the grave and watched the earth being thrown upon the coffin until entirely covered and then passed on with a sad heart and the one consolation that I was the last person to see the coffin containing all that was mortal of Edgar Allan Poe.

In justice to the people of Baltimore I must say that if the funeral had been postponed for a single day, until the death was generally known, a far more imposing escort to the tomb and one more worthy of the many admirers of the poet in the city would have taken place, and doubtless attended from Virginia and elsewhere.

For many years not even a stone marked the grave, but I believe a monument has been erected since I left the city, some 50 years since. It is the source of infinite pleasure to me to have lived to see the honors now bestowed upon one whom I saw laid away under such ignominious circumstances and who has now attained a high place in the ranks of the immortals and is acclaimed as, if not the first, at least second to none among the writers born on the American continent.

Apologizing for the liberty I have just taken in addressing you, as also for the prolixity and rudeness of style hereof, with the hope that the same may be attributed to the natural garrulity of old age and the decline of mental vigor, I have the honor to remain,

J. Alden Weston

We must not leave our discussion of Edgar Poe's ultimate collapse from pneumonia and burial without presenting additional documents, some of which are certainly in conflict, to say the least, with the surmise that Poe's last remains were moved in 1875 from his grandfather's lot, over to the northwest corner of Westminster Yard both to accommodate the new big stone and to be in better view of the passing public. Of telling interest is a statement by the late Colonel John C. Legg, Sr., successful grain merchant and one time Commissioner of Police in Baltimore City.

#### Poe and the Mystery Plot

General David Poe, Quartermaster General of the Army of George Washington was an active member of the First Presbyterian Church. When the churchyard at Fayette and Green Streets was established in the year 1785 the elder Poe purchased plot number 27 which was located between the plots assigned to Philip Mosher-Elder and Dr. Patrick Allison, First Pastor of the church (Mosher-Lot Number 26 and Allison-Lot Number 28).

Few persons realize that General Poe was the savior of the Continental Army at Valley Forge nor that he supplied what few rations the men received that bitter Winter. Lafayette, however, remembered for in 1824 when he visited Baltimore he

drew up with the Baltimore Militia and entered the churchyard to visit the grave of General Poe. Lafayette went to his knees, kissed the grave and said, "Here lies a noble spirit."

It is unfair that General Poe should be shadowed by his grandson, Edgar Allan Poe (born January 20, 1809,—Died October 7, 1849). Edgar Allan Poe was an extraordinary man to be sure but his deeds in literature could never alter the veil of wild imagination which kept his very soul locked in a cask of amontillado. Poe drank as have many great and near great; add to that army of imaginative souls the leaders of the Civil War including the noble Grant.

Many said Edgar Poe was buried like a dog but even this statement as related to me by the caretaker of the church who was present at the Poe burial, is a legend. Poe it is true was buried on a dark afternoon on October 8, 1849 and it is also true that only three other persons including the Pastor were present. The caretaker said, "The body was brought down Weinholt Lane to the East Gate and the body was carried by me and three grave diggers to a spot beside the General Poe. The Raven of Death had at last clasped Poe in her Wings. The stone of General Poe at that time was facing East (or toward the light of the resurrection) and young Poe was laid in a grave eight foot deep to the right of his grandfather."

Today a massive monument rests in the corner of the Westminster Churchyard where Poe lies, or does he? The stone was donated by the school children of Baltimore and was erected on October 1, 1875. A skeleton believed to have been that of Poe was moved from the back of the yard and buried under the new monument. A self styled society which was set up to honor the great Poe simply seized lots number 173-174-179-180 which are located in the corner of the front yard so that their hero would be forever buried in view. It has always been my hope that a living member of the Fridge, Rich, Poor, or Wilson-Watson Families would come forward and protest this illegal seizure of private hallowed ground.

Poe to the very end has played his tricks on the society and even the school children. Why would I say this, simply because the Poe Mystery Plot in the front of the churchyard does not contain the body of Poe. The caretaker stated, "Poe was buried to the right of his grandfather and the coffin was lead lined, made of oak and was bearing a brass end plate reading Edgar Allan Poe—Born January 20, 1809, Died—October 7, 1849—Rest in Peace. As stated, the stone of David Poe faced East (the writing facing East) when Edgar A. was buried. No stone was immediately provided for young Poe, but I placed a marker bearing the number eight over the grave. The Poe stone was laying in a marble yard near the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks when a freight train jumped the track and demolished the stone and several others in the yard. I do not know the year that happened but remember the incident clearly. The churchyard has undergone many changes during the years and in the years during the Civil War all stones that could be moved were turned to face the West Gate. No one knows just who on the committee of the church decided this but I know it was completed during the summer of 1864. The stone of General Poe was also turned at that time which would place the grave of his poet grandson to his left. I know this to be true as I was there during the years 1847 until last year."

When the society moved the skeleton which it professed to be Edgar Allan Poe there was neither a trace of oak nor lead nor was there any brass plaque bearing an inscription. A skeleton was removed, however, and was buried to the front of the yard under the new monument. At the same time a stone which had been carved bearing a raven and inscription which was found learning in the corner of the yard

against the wall was placed over the empty grave to the rear of the churchyard. To this day it is my belief that the Mystery Plot still located beside General David Poe (to his left) contains, in fact, the last remains of Edgar Allan Poe which is as it should be. Poe remains the man of mystery and lays among the merchants and leaders of the past from whom he borrowed so much of his plot.

What a fitting monument to an unknown soul rises from the glory of the monument located in the front of the churchyard. A fitting memorial to perhaps Philip Mosher!

Young Private Philip Mosher, Jr. had been carried bodily from the earth-works on Loudenslagers Hill while the British, in September of 1814, were landing their troops at North Point, only to die of scarlet fever during the cannonading of Fort McHenry two days later. Following his disinterment probably from the North end of the adjoining Mosher lot in 1875, a headstone raven marker was supplied by Orin C. Painter to mark the original resting place of E. A. Poe. For many years it lay abandoned along the east wall of the cemetery on lot No. 38, belonging to the Tustin family, until it was ultimately set up there in 1913 along the wall by Mr. Painter, after having been advised by a sexton friend of George W. Spence that this was the proper place. In 1921 Harriet P. Marine assisted in relocating this stone to where it tactfully stands today, stradling the Poe and Mosher lot lines.

There is also a signed but undated letter (circa 1904) among the Marine Papers in the Maryland Historical Society, written to William Matthew Marine, prominent Baltimore lawyer, historian, and collector of the Port of Baltimore at the turn of the century. It was written by James A. O. Tucker, a Baltimore realtor:

405 Courtlandt Street  
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. William Matthew Marine, Esq.

My Dear Mr. Marine:

I have wanted to write you since I talked with Richard Marine about the E. A. Poe place of burial. I was present in the churchyard when my grandfather James A. O. Tucker was buried in the year 1849 and my father had our dear one placed in the Armstrong Vault, his name was James Armstrong Owen Tucker. The Militia gave the old fellow a grand farewell and upon leaving the yard the fresh grave of E. A. Poe was pointed out by some friends. I will never forget their remarks that it was fitting for Mr. Poe to be buried next to the pastor and perhaps the good pastor could freshen his soul after death for in life he shunned all things Holy.

I personally know that you are right in your historical findings when you state that Poe was never reburied by the committee in 1875 and I think it is delightful that he is still very much the phantom who will continue to be silently buried without a stone. I believe he is laughing at some of the fools who thought they had him at last. Mr. Spence the caretaker first told the committee that some Frenchmen had secretly taken Poe's body to Paris after a midnight corpse theft in the year 1867, but you have probably heard that the good Professor William Elliott sat down on Mr. Spence after that. I personally feel that all that committee wanted was a body of a male and I believe this was your thinking when you wrote your article. I am sure you are right and I would not give a damn what the committee

thought if I could prove my point. I will always wonder just who is buried under that monument, perhaps a Raven.

Respectfully yours,

James (Signed in Pencil)

James Tucker

P.S. For your records my grandfather enlisted under the name of Thomas Gardner Hill and he served in Captain John McKane's Company. Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis who was one of the gravediggers, buried Poe. He said Mr. Spence was always a little soft in the head and that the professor should have listened to him on this occasion as he did know the facts. Mr. Davis' knowledge of Poe was vast as he was acquainted with Poe.

Mr. Marine's article here referred to exists partially in letter form and is to be found in a delightfully casual biography of Poe by Colonel John A. Joyce of Washington, D.C., published in 1901.

An item in the *Baltimore News and American*, December 24, 1908, shows how well meaning but ridiculous this whole affair had become even for Dr. Henry E. Shepherd who was prominently associated with the digging and the erection of the new tomb.

#### Saw Edgar Allan Poe's Body

##### Dr. Shepherd Believes He is only Person Living Who Did.

Dr. Shepherd was present at the disinterment of Poe's body in October, 1875, at the time of its removal from the original grave in the rear of the church to its present resting place under the monument at Fayette and Greene Streets. The coffin was a mass of fragments, he says, and there was a heap of white dust. The skeleton had fallen to pieces, but the teeth were in a state of excellent preservation. He thinks that he is the only person now living who has looked upon the body of Edgar Allen Poe.

Such was the exhuming of young Private Philip Mosher with his "excellent" teeth and his mahogany casket.

In support of the Maryland Historical Society documents is an interesting interview on October 29, 1962 with the late Hattie Marine, who was then approaching age 94. It is from the files of the Society for the Preservation of Old Western Burying Ground and was recorded by director Donald Stewart at the house of the late Mrs. Allen Hoblitzel, also a director. Miss Marine was a well known genealogist, historian, and the daughter of William Marine. She prefaced her remarks with some recollections of her father and Judge Nielson Poe about the Poe lot, and told how they cautioned the committee about its error. She also mentioned Maryland's famed chronicler, Colonel Thomas G. Scharf, who used to laugh about Mr. Poe's reburial. Miss Marine then stated:

Poe still lies buried in the back of the churchyard beside his grandfather—General David Poe who was Quartermaster General of the Continental Army and also a Brig. General of supplies of the Maryland Militia on Smith's staff during the battle of Baltimore in 1814. Her father, Mr. William M. Marine, lawyer, and Judge Nielson Poe, informed the committee that the person moved under the monument was not Edgar Allen Poe. The committee said, "Does it matter, we did find a skele-

ton and some persons said it looked like Poe. We honor the memory of Poe and his great works. The body they dug up and then claimed to be Poe measured over 5'10" in height but Judge Poe said Poe was 5 feet 8½ inches. There were some (shoe) buckles of a much earlier period in with that skeleton and Miss Marine reported that her father said the skeleton was dug up from the Mosher lot, not the Poe lot. A piece of leather from a stand up collar (cot lick collar of a military coat) was also found in the mahogany coffin. Her father claimed this to be from a much earlier burial. Some persons at the cemetery claimed after examining the skull that this truly was Poe; her father said that if you have seen one skull you have seen them all unless the person was an Indian or Nigger. Judge Poe said to her father that he had purchased the coffin and I remember him saying that Poe's coffin would withstand the ages; it was not made of mahogany. The man they dug up was from about 12 feet south of the General and Edgar A. Poe was buried next to the General and the pastor. Father also said they buried Mrs. David Poe out front thinking it was Edgar Allan Poe's mother-in-law but I did not hear much about this at the time as Poe was the main topic of dispute."

Of real significance is the existence among the Marine Papers at the Maryland Historical Society of a plat of David Poe's lot, number 27, copied or traced in 1872 from the "First Church Records, Plat Book page 27" which book is said to have been lost in the early 1870s. This document was found lodged between the leaves of a 1902 publication relating to the Whig-Republican Party campaign of 1902. On the south end of the lot is shown an "Adult Male" supported by a foot stone marked "W.H.P." referring, of course, to Edgar's older brother Henry who died in 1831, then a blank coffin for Mrs. Clemm, next Mrs. David Poe and General David Poe and then on the north end, a marker, number 8, for "Edgar A. Poe" next to the parson. It can, therefore, be said that Edgar Poe still lies buried between his grandfather and Parson Allison on the north end of the David Poe lot, which measures eight feet by thirteen six, with his grandparents and brother, all buried facing east. It is likewise sure that two bodies were exhumed and placed under the new "monument" in 1875.

In order to reconstruct logically the 1875 digging process we must first locate General Poe for the diggers by accepting the statement that the stones of General and Mrs. Poe had disappeared after being removed from their foundations and reversed during the Civil War. The grave of David Poe could be identified in 1875 by "a wooden block a foot square being the only sign a grave existed there," according to a clipping in the file of the *Baltimore News American* dated October 28, 1912. The original foundations for General and Mrs. Poe's headstones, as indicated on the plat, are still to be found by probing six inches beneath the sod at the west end of their lot. In digging on what they erroneously thought to be the right of the General the committee naturally first struck old Mrs. Poe who had been buried thirty-six years before Edgar's mother-in-law; they tried again and presumably struck Mrs. Clemm who had been buried in 1876 only four years earlier. Henry's foot stone, if there, was respected for they obviously skipped over him and settled for the next body, which was on the Mosher lot. Because of the excellent condition of the teeth,

his would certainly seem to have been the remains of Philip Mosher, Jr., of the Maryland Militia, age 19. Mrs. Clemm and our soldier boy hero were joined under the new stone in 1885 by the remains of Virginia Poe who had been stored away for several years in a wooden box, 12x12x18 inches, by William Fearing Gill, Poe's biographer, after the Valentine vault at Fordham was destroyed. This was tucked under the south end of the monument.

Further, it is appropriate to note that Alfred Lord Tennyson said that the only thing he wanted to see in America was the grave of Edgar Allen Poe. Victor Hugo described his Paris friend, Poe, as "the prince of American literature." A black South African tribal chief, surrounded by his subjects in campfire light, after several hours of listening to Poe's stories translated by a white friend into their own dialect, observed to Roger G. Lewis of New York, "That was a great White Chief and Mighty Witch-doctor." It was George Bernard Shaw who allowed in his essay of 1909, the centenary of Edgar Allen Poe, that "The Raven," "The Bells," and "Annabel Lee" were as fascinating at the thousandth repetition as at the first; but let us immortalize his finest words as were applied to our great American poet, also of Irish gentry stock: "How did he live there, this finest of finest artists; this born aristocrat of letters? Alas, he did not live there; he died there and was duly explained away as a drunkard!"

#### REFERENCES

1. Other source materials than those mentioned in the text include Heinrich Ewald Buchholz, editor, *Edgar Allen Poe: A Centenary Tribute* (Baltimore, 1910); William Fearing Gill, *The Life of Edgar Allen Poe*, 5th ed., rev. enl. (New York, 1880); Charles W. Hubner, *Representative Southern Poets* (New York, 1906); John A. Joyce, *Edgar Allen Poe* (Washington, D.C., 1901); John J. Moran, M.D., *A Defense of Edgar Allen Poe. Life, Character and Dying Declarations of the Poet* (Washington, D.C., 1885); "Edgar Allen Poe," L. H. Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society; and Sara Sigourney Rice, *Edgar Allen Poe: A Memorial Volume* (Baltimore, 1877).

# Nicholas Ruxton Moore: Soldier, Farmer and Politician

EDWARD E. STEINER

**B**ORN IN BALTIMORE COUNTY, NICHOLAS RUXTON MOORE WAS A DESCENDANT of Nicholas Ruxton whose name first appeared in Maryland records on March 5, 1667, as having "purchased from William Shudall seventy acres of land on the north side of the Patapsco River between Richard Gorsuch's land and Bare Creek on the east side."<sup>1</sup> A later deed, dated March 3, 1674, mentions that "Nicholas Ruxton, planter, and his wife Alice for 4,500 pounds of tobacco conveyed to Thomas Jones, boatwright, 200 acre tract 'Nashes Rest' at Bare Creek."<sup>2</sup>

On August 7, 1677, Nicholas Ruxton represented William Ball of Lancaster County, Virginia, great grandfather of George Washington, in another real estate transaction:

He acknowledged in court a sale of land. Ball being under bond August 6, 1667 to Major Thomas Long, gentleman, of Baltimore County, a deed June 4, 1678 conveying a 420 acre tract to Major Thomas Long, gentleman, the tract known as "Ballstone" at Middle River on Gunpowder formerly known as North West River.<sup>3</sup>

The Ruxtons and Moores were neighboring families, though no records of intermarriage between them exist. James Moore, the elder, leased a 200 acre farm from Lord Baltimore in Gunpowder Manor on September 29, 1756.<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Ruxton Moore was one of four brothers and three sisters. The register of St. George's and St. John's Parish Protestant Episcopal Churches of Baltimore County reveals that:

James Moore, Jr. and Hanna Wilmott were married August 28, 1744.

Elizabeth Moore, daughter of James Moore, Jr. and Hanna, his wife, was born August 9, 1746.

Rachael Moore, daughter of James Moore, Jr. and Hanna, his wife, was born January 8, 1748-49.

James Francis Moore, son of the above persons mentioned was born August 12, 1751.

Nicholas Ruxton Moore, son of James Moore, Jr. and Hanna, his wife, was born July 21, 1756.

Eleanor Moore, daughter of the above persons, was born May 14, 1759.

John Gay Moore, son of the said persons, was born in Baltimore, March 8, 1761.<sup>5</sup>

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Mr. Steiner lives in Ruxton, Maryland.



An uncle, Nicholas Ruxton Gay was a large landowner and developer in Baltimore. He surveyed the marshy lands between Baltimore Town and Jones Town and divided it into lots, and today Gay Street still bears his name. He died April 2, 1776, leaving a sizeable fortune to Nicholas Ruxton Moore.

When he was eighteen, Moore joined, on December 3, 1774, Captain Mordecai Gist's Baltimore Independent Cadets, the first military company organized in Maryland. Fifteen months later on March 1, 1776, Moore was commissioned Third Lieutenant of Captain John Fulford's artillery company stationed at Annapolis.

At the time Moore joined Fulford's company, a German baron named Felix Louis Massenbach was second in command; he had joined the company during the previous month. Massenbach resigned only a few weeks later when General Charles Lee requested his services, for Massenbach was a particularly capable military man. A letter from the Council of Safety stated:

General Lee has taken Mr. Massenbach with him to Virginia and says he understands his business and that he cannot do without him, Mr. Massenbach would have waited to thank you for your favors, but the General was in such a hurry and said he must go with him.<sup>6</sup>

Moore was promoted to Second Lieutenant, following Massenbach's resignation, and placed in charge of construction of the defense of Annapolis, and on July 8 the Council of Safety authorized him to hire up to fifty men to assist in constructing entrenchments for the protection of Annapolis.<sup>7</sup>

Young Lieutenant Moore was in an unhappy and even hazardous position. Governor Eden had just left Annapolis, June 23, aboard the British warship *Fowey*. The enemy's warships dotted the Chesapeake Bay from Cape Henry to the Head of Elk, and Annapolis was an easy target to attack. Indeed, to even to begin fortifying the city would ask for attack. Loyalists and Patriots agreed on this point, for neither wanted their town and their homes destroyed by the British, and the citizens of Annapolis pressured Moore and his troops to abandon their project.

Actually the Loyalists in Annapolis outnumbered the Patriots. This, plus the fact that the Patriot minority were relatively quiet, placed the Council of Safety in a quandry. Indeed, many of the Patriots had become less supportive and were seeking a neutral position. Even Charles Carroll, the elder, admonished his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to adopt a more neutral position in spite of the younger Carroll having already signed the Declaration of Independence. If, then, the British should attack Annapolis because of the fortifications, the blame would fall emphatically on Second Lieutenant Moore and his construction workers. The Council agreed that Moore's position was tenuous, and, on July 21 he was transferred to Captain Nathaniel Smith's artillery company stationed in Baltimore as a Second Lieutenant in that company.

Captain Smith was commander of the fort at Whetstone Point which needed strengthening. James Alcock, a Baltimore schoolmaster who had some knowledge of fortifications helped to design and build the defenses. Lieutenant Moore was stationed at the fort on September 7 with his company, and on December 6, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant.



Early in 1777 "N. R. Moore and D. Plunkett took commissions in the cavalry."<sup>8</sup> By authority of Congress David G. Plunkett was commissioned Captain and N. R. Moore Lieutenant with orders to raise a company of cavalry for the service of the United States. Tobias Stansbury was also a member of this troop, and he recalled in later years that George Smith, a son of John Smith, enlisted in this company. However, before the company set forth to join the Continental Army under General Washington, George Smith died of fever and was buried with military honors.

The company joined Washington's army in Pennsylvania, and took part in the battle of Brandywine fought on September 11, 1777. The British, commanded by Sir William Howe, were advancing on Philadelphia from Elkton, Maryland, and Washington placed most of his army at Chadd's Ford where the British would have to cross Brandywine Creek. Howe sent General Knyphausen to feign an attack at Chadd's Ford while he and Cornwallis struck the American right flank where they believed General John Sullivan could not stop the attack. During the battle Captain Plunkett was taken prisoner by the British and carried toward Philadelphia. The command of the company then devolved upon Lieutenant Moore, and the company came under the command of General Pulaski. General Washington ordered a retreat to Chester and the British continued their advance, eventually taking Philadelphia on September 27, 1777.

Though the British occupied Philadelphia, the greater part of their army encamped at Germantown. Washington decided to attack this camp at Germantown, and on October 4, 1777, he advanced with General Sullivan commanding the right wing and General Green the left wing. Although the attack was well planned, it failed. An unexpected skirmish delayed Green while contradictory orders issued by Adam Stephens, who commanded a third detachment, caused the American troops, already confused by fog, to fire into one another. Losses were heavy on both American sides. In the early morning of this battle Pulaski had ordered Captain Moore to select from his company twelve men and to follow him. Moore's detachment followed Pulaski to Chestnut Hill where a British encampment of about 100 men were stationed. Tobias Stansbury reported:

On gaining the top of the ascent they found the enemy with their pieces leveled, on perceiving which Captain Moore wheeled his lead and shouted "Come my brave lads and charge" which so terrified the British that they capped their pieces and all made their escape with the exception of one man who jumped behind a tree and leveled his piece at Captain Moore. Captain Moore hailed him and said that if he surrendered he should have quarter, but if he fired he would be put to death; hearing this he instantly clubbed his musket and surrendered. The only injury sustained was one of Moore's men was wounded, and a bullet passed through both ears of Pulaski's horse who by tossing his head sprinkled Pulaski freely with blood.

Pulaski ordered the encampment to be burned. Into Moore's little band there rode a soldier belonging to a regiment of New England cavalry. His name, I think, was Moise or Moylan. In the encampment were two small carts. This New England soldier requested permission to yoke his horse to a cart in order to secure some of

the officers' baggage previous to the encampment being burned. to this request Captain Moore consented on condition that he should bring the prisoner and the wounded man, and the musket safely into proper care. Fire was then set to the encampment. The booty the soldier claimed as his own, and afterwards sold shirts and other articles of clothing for his own benefit in the camps.

The musket was of a large size English make. This gun Captain Moore presented to me. The stock and back are still in my possession. The barrel of the gun I had restocked and handsomely mounted, and used by me for several years as my favorite fowling piece. I had intended to present it to Captain Moore's son when he came of age. I lent it to Daniel Wills who by some means lost it.

Captain Plunkett afterwards made his escape from the British in the garb of a Quaker girl, and not long after resigned his commission and entered the mercantile business with David Stewart in Baltimore.<sup>9</sup>

The losses at Germantown were heavy on both sides. It was the last important engagement conducted by Washington before he went to Valley Forge.

The flamboyant Casimir Pulaski was twenty-nine years old when he entered the American Revolution. He was born in Podolia, Poland of noble family. He came to George Washington with a letter from Benjamin Franklin and was commissioned a brigadier general. In 1778 he resigned his cavalry command rather than serve under an officer of equal rank, General Anthony Wayne, and he organized his own cavalry unit, the "Pulaski Legion." At the same time Captain Moore also resigned his commission and returned to Baltimore where he organized the Baltimore Light Dragoons, "which was composed of the most representative men of Baltimore and its vicinity,"<sup>10</sup> and awaited the call to service.

However, there were other reasons for the resignations of Pulaski and Moore; the cavalry was poorly mounted; not only did Congress refuse to appropriate money for first rate mounts, but the officers had to buy their own horses. Unfortunately for them, the American horse traders preferred selling their horses to the British officers in Philadelphia for higher prices and British coin. Pulaski's sense of justice was outraged, and on verbal orders from Washington he set about requisitioning the best horses from the countryside. The best were none too good for his men. He offended the farmers, however, and whether Tories or luke-warm Patriots, they protested to Congress. The result was that on October 29 Washington forbade any further requisitioning by Pulaski and sent copies of these orders to Pulaski's four colonels.

Nevertheless, Pulaski persistently begged Washington's permission to be left in the field with part of his cavalry and a small detachment of infantry to continue harrying the British; and for weeks he did not lose hope of obtaining partial permission. He was supported by Captain Moore whose troops Pulaski valued highly and they stayed together until the fall of 1778. They had seen active service particularly skirmishes during foraging expeditions: a head-on battle at Haddonfield, New Jersey, when the British got away with half the cattle Pulaski had purchased for Washington's army; and they beat off a vicious surprise attack at Little Egg Harbor.

Trained in strict military discipline, Pulaski regarded a violation of a regulation as unbecoming unconduct; so, when General Anthony Wayne, a soldier of

equal rank, commanded Pulaski to join him at Haddonfield, Pulaski took offense and claimed that the order should have come from General Washington. But this being a chance for an American victory, which was far more important than Pulaski's personal feelings, he joined forces with Wayne. As soldiers engaged in the American cause they were in perfect harmony, but as generals they held diametrically opposite points of view about their own responsibilities.

Afterwards, Pulaski resigned in a fit of irritation and bad temper; but Washington did not accept it in this spirit. He authorized Pulaski to organize small independent commands of cavalry under officers of relatively low rank who were free to operate independently or by temporary attachment to a division. This was how Captain Moore's troop of Light Dragoons came under the command of General Pulaski.

Since Pulaski had financed his operations from his own personal funds he was deeply in debt, and Congress had not maintained its promise to reimburse him. The strain on Captain Moore's pocketbook was equally great, and he, too, asked for the release of his troop. Both Pulaski and Moore moved to Baltimore where Pulaski set up his headquarters and enlisted men principally from Maryland and Virginia. Through this operation emerged "Light Horse" Harry Lee who served so valiantly under Nathaniel Green in the Carolina Campaign.

Some historians wonder why the American forces did not make greater use of cavalry during the Revolution. They point out for example, that there were only three divisions of cavalry continuously with the army; those commanded by Casimir Pulaski, Colonel William Washington and Lighthorse Harry Lee. Military experts, on the other hand, point out that the Americans used hit-and-run tactics fought from ambush; however, once in a while small detachments of cavalry were indeed effectively used in ambush. An instance of such occurred in South Carolina on August 20, 1780, after General Horatio Gates' debacle at Camden. A mixed detachment of British and Tories were conveying American prisoners to Charleston when a strange mounted force under the command of the quiet, well-mannered Colonel Francis Marion (the "Swamp Fox") actually sprang out of the marshes along the Pee Dee River and overcame the enemy. After the detachment was captured and the prisoners were released, the British learned that Marion's forces numbered a bare seventeen. But overall cavalry action was not feasible for horses had to be fed, watered and rested. They accepted no commands to be quiet—the neigh of a horse could betray a regiment, and they could not be maneuvered in woodlands for sneak attacks. No cavalry support was needed by riflemen, their long Pennsylvania rifles were more effective (the British called them "widow makers"). At 250 yards a rifleman could hit a target no larger than seven inches in diameter; at 350 yards, Tim Murphy unseated British General Simon Frazer from his horse in the Battle of Freeman's Farm. Furthermore, Morgan's riflemen could be rallied with eerie, nerve twangling turkey gobbles which made bad situations for the British who were trained for formal warfare.

When Captain Moore returned to Baltimore he took part in civic affairs. On January 13, 1779 he was initiated into St. John's Masonic Lodge Number 20, and on June 13 he received his third degree. On January 25, 1779, he offered

for sale fifteen and three-quarters acres of meadow land adjoining the town and adjacent to Dr. Henry Stevenson's land which was east of Jones' Falls and north from the jail; and on April 12, 1779, he advertised for sale five valuable grass plots adjoining Dr. Stevenson's from 1¼ to 4½ acres each.

The year 1779 was an eventful one for Captain Moore in other ways as well. He and Elizabeth Orrick were married on July 21, and there were several children, but sadly they died in infancy and were buried in St. Paul's Cemetery in Baltimore City. Toward the end of that year he sold a tract of land in Baltimore County to Harry Dorsey Gough. On April 29, 1780, he became a vestryman in St. Paul's Church and was appointed one of the nine managers of the lottery for building the new church now standing at corner of Charles and Saratoga Streets in Baltimore City.

Then came the year 1781, the most important one of the military Revolution. Captain Moore had looked for a call to active duty, and it was not far off. Excitement and apprehension prevailed in Maryland. On February 20, Washington directed Lafayette to march southward to try to capture Benedict Arnold and check the enemy's operation in Virginia. To expedite his progress, Western Maryland officials were ordered to seize all salt and fresh meats in their districts and impress all wagons, carriages, teams, drivers, and the like, and send them to the Head of Elk to enable the troops, cannons, stores and baggage to be transported to Virginia.

This assistance was promptly rendered, but after a short campaign in Virginia, Lafayette was forced to abandon Richmond and retreat toward Fredericksburg before the superior forces of Cornwallis. Continuing his retreat he crossed the Rapidan River where he was joined on June 7, by General Wayne whose forces numbered about 1,000. The retreat toward Maryland excited a mounting apprehension of invasion. The lieutenants (those leaders of subdivisions of the State appointed by the General Assembly) of Frederick, Montgomery, Baltimore and Kent Counties were ordered to immediately arm and equip 1,000 militia and march with them to Georgetown. The troops of horse from Frederick, Baltimore and Kent County received similar orders, and such were the alacrity of the people that two new regiments were recruited in a few days. The Frederick troop of horse was commanded by John Ross Key (father of Francis Scott Key) who on June 10, transmitted a letter to the Governor saying "—to inform your excellency that the Frederick troop of horse under my command are now on their route to Georgetown where I expect to arrive this evening."<sup>11</sup>

In company with the Baltimore Light Dragoons under Captain Moore, the Frederick Light Dragoons crossed the Potomac River on June 13, and joined Lafayette on July 6. Because Lafayette lacked cavalry support, the British Dragoons under Tarleton caused most of his trouble, and he was highly elated when he learned that Maryland cavalry had been sent to his aid.

When the Baltimore troops reached Fredericksburg an urgent letter from Governor Thomas Sim Lee was handed to trooper Luther Martin, a prominent lawyer of his day, requiring him to proceed to Frederick, Maryland, for the trial of seven traitors. Among them was Caspar Fritchie, the father-in-law of

Barbara Fritchie. However, Captain Moore denied Martin's application for leave, but when Martin finally obtained leave it was too late. The prisoners had been tried, convicted and executed in a most barbaric manner; cruel and unusual punishment would be an understatement.

Upon joining Lafayette the Maryland Dragoons were assigned to the command of General Daniel Morgan, and on July 16 he dispatched a motley group made up of Wayne's Pennsylvania Continentals, Morgan's riflemen from the backwoods of western Virginia, and Moore's gentlemen cavalry, south of the James River to intercept a possible movement of Tarleton or Cornwallis in that direction. Included in this assignment were orders to Morgan regarding the Maryland volunteer cavalry saying that most of them were men of fortune who were making great sacrifices to serve their country, and that they were not to be put out as orderlies or to common camp duties which could well be performed by the Continental horse; and when it was decided that Tarleton intended to proceed in a southerly direction and beyond the reach of being struck, the Maryland cavalry were to return to their headquarters.

But Tarleton did not head for the Carolinas, and after a week of raiding, re-joined Cornwallis's main camp at Portsmouth. During these raids the Baltimore Light Dragoons came close to capture. According to General Samuel Smith:

Moore was an officer of great merit and personal bravery. At one time in Virginia he was completely surrounded by the enemy but refused to surrender, and with his company dashed through the British forces and escaped unhurt.<sup>12</sup>

General Washington arrived in Baltimore on September 8, and Captain Moore and his troop of light Dragoons who had just returned from Yorktown, received and escorted Washington to his quarters at the Fountain Inn.

On October 9, 1781, Captain Nicholas Ruxton Moore's name appeared on the list of those paid by the State of Maryland to militia in service of the United States. He received 464 pounds, seven shillings and six pence (specie) which is approximately \$2,292.17 and hardly compensated him for his expenses; for a captain of a militia company was, in fact, monetarily responsible to his men for food, fodder, supplies, and on occasion, he must furnish ammunition—only the Continental army was paid and supplied by the Continental Congress. The militia company could only hope to be paid by the State. It is said that Moore spent much of his fortune in the Revolutionary War, and the only record of reimbursement was the payment he received on October 9, 1781.

February 11, 1783, Captain Moore offered city lots for sale on Charles Street and on the east side of Light Street. The Light Street property was bounded by Lombard Street on the north; Pratt Street on the south; and Ruxton Lane on the east. Ruxton Lane later was changed to Balderston Street and is now completely obliterated by Baltimore City's present renewal project.

The following year, on November 18, 1784, his wife Elizabeth died and was buried next to her children in St. Paul's Church cemetery with the Protestant Episcopal rites.

It is not known when he moved to his farm in Anne Arundel County, but we find him living there on July 6, 1786, and he probably continued to live and farm there until the summer of 1794, for on that year he offered for sale his life estate in that property. It was described as being one and a quarter miles from the Patapsco Ferry and contained 400 acres.<sup>13</sup> This is now part of the Brooklyn area of Baltimore City.

On May 1, 1788, upon the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, Captain Plunkett and Captain Moore were marshalls at the great procession to celebrate this event. The procession began at Philpott's Hill (from that day on known as Federal Hill) and marched to Fells Point, and from there throughout the streets of Baltimore.<sup>14</sup> Many trades were represented, and each had its own banners and floats indicating high hopes for a new government under a constitution.

Just three weeks later on May 22, 1788, Captain Moore offered for sale his property at Pratt and Light Streets.

On Christmas day, 1792, Captain Moore and Sarah Kelso were married at the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore by Reverend Patrick Allen. Sarah was his first wife's cousin and the daughter of James Kelso and Rebecca Hammond.

The Baltimore Light Dragoons, under Captain Moore's command, were kept actively organized. The newspapers of the day reported that on February 18, 1794, "they escorted many distinguished visitors,"<sup>15</sup> and there were many mentions of drills, parades and maneuvers. War seemed likely, first with England and then with France, and there was a revival of interest in military matters.

Although Moore's prosperity was due to his inheritance of city property from Nicholas Ruxton Gay and to his real estate dealings in city property, he was none too happy living in the city; the water was not good; the miasmatic air of summer nights bringing with it hordes of mosquitoes from the marshes above Calvert Street at the Court House, were obnoxious; malaria and the fatal yellow fever struck in early summer and lasted until fall. In his opinion the city was not the place to raise a family. The Moores and the Ruxtons had been farmers since their coming to Maryland and lived long healthy lives. He preferred to raise his family in the rural regions where the air was cleaner and diseases less prevalent. To live not too far from town, but close enough to look after his real estate investments was what he wanted. Therefore, to get into a strong cash position and await a favorable land purchase, "he offered for sale on June 14, 1794, his two-story brick dwelling on Baltimore Street (Market Street at that time) first door east of Hanover Street (site of the present Moore Building),<sup>16</sup> and lots on Charles Street and on Ruxton Lane."

However, his plans were interrupted, for in September Captain Moore and his troop received a call for military duty. Several western counties in Pennsylvania were in a state of insurrection because of the Federal tax on distilled spirits: the "Whiskey Rebellion." The Pennsylvania authorities were not successful in suppressing the lawlessness, and the Secretary of War directed Governor Lee of Maryland to organize, arm and equip, according to law, and held



in readiness to march at a moment's notice 5,418 of the militia of Maryland officers included. Under this order General Samuel Smith commanded the Maryland militia. Outstanding in this body were Captain Moore's company of cavalry, consisting mostly of men from Pulaski's Legion, resplendent in uniform of blue and buff. On September 15 Governor Lee sent a requisition for Baltimore troops. He had heard a report that the insurgents had assembled in considerable numbers near Cumberland with the intention of marching on Frederick to seize the stock of arms deposited in the arsenal.

A few days later, after the arrival of the Baltimore troops in Frederick a correspondent wrote a friend in Baltimore:

I know your anxiety to hear from us as reports I hear pictured our situation as dreadful. The march of troops from both Baltimore and Georgetown has been singularly expeditious. Captain Moore and his troop, that would do favor to any army, arrived about the middle of yesterday. Colonel Stricker and a most beautiful corps of fine young men are now refreshing themselves at the Monacasy. We are not now, nor ever have been, in any danger. A number of idle reports have alarmed some of our citizens without cause.<sup>17</sup>

Militia from Maryland and Virginia had already assembled at Cumberland which created great excitement in the village; and on October 18 Washington arrived. On the 19th he appeared in full uniform to review the troops—the last occasion to wear his uniform. After reviewing the troops he returned to Philadelphia leaving General “Light Horse” Harry Lee of Virginia in charge. Then as the troops moved toward Uniontown, Pennsylvania and advanced into the insurgent country, all signs of the rebellion disappeared, and the leaders fled. Most of the troops were sent home, and, without shedding a drop of blood, the rebellion ended. At one time it threatened the very existence of the Union.

The Whiskey Rebellion delayed Moore's projected move to the country by six months; but he finally purchased, on December 19, 1794, a total of 350 acres of farm land in Baltimore County about twelve miles from Baltimore City. His land extended from the present Northern Central Railroad tracks to Jones Falls on the west; then in a southeasterly direction to a small frame church. Close by this church is a marble marker which is the southeast corner of his property. Northward his property extended just beyond Ruxton Road where that road crosses Roland Run and bends to the west. He also purchased 318 acres from Francis Daws and William Scott, and several other small parcels from Thomas Rutter and William Bosley. The land in that area was generally known as “Bosley's Adventure.” Moore developed a fine estate and built a handsome residence. The stone springhouse is still standing just off Circle Road about a quarter mile west of Roland Run. A magnificent house now stands on the hill just north of the springhouse. It was built on the original foundations of Colonel Moore's home at 1714 Circle Road, and is occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Tate.

It is said that Colonel Moore “was a most retiring man of a gentle and loveable disposition. He kept twenty-four horses and a pack of hounds.”<sup>18</sup> “It is impossible to compile a record of Colonel Moore's activities as all of his official

papers have either been lost or destroyed."<sup>19</sup> There are no other records of his farm products except for those required to feed his stock. Horses were his interest—oxen and horses were needed for all forms of land transportation, mules had not yet been introduced from Mexico—and from all accounts he was very successful.

In 1800 Moore served as an elector for President and Vice-President of the United States. The Federalist Party was severely weakened by the Alien and Sedition Acts, known as the "Federalist Reign of Terror," and John Adams's prospect for re-election was gloomy. Moore supported Jefferson, but Jefferson and Burr had tied in the electoral college vote, and the election was decided by the House of Representatives. Because Hamilton hated Burr, Hamilton's influence helped bring about the election of Jefferson.

Moore remained a staunch Republican and Jeffersonian. In September, 1802, he was nominated for the Maryland House of Delegates on the Republican ticket and on October 4, he was elected by the largest vote ever recorded in Baltimore County. On July 8, 1803, he was proposed as a candidate for Congress; he was elected, and on October 17 he was present at the first session of the Eighth Congress, probably one of the most important sessions in the United States' history, for it was that session that approved the Louisiana Purchase. Moore favored the purchase and so voted for the appropriation of \$16 million for that purpose.

During Moore's terms in office several major exigencies developed in the course of America's growth. In 1804 Tripolitians pirated the American warship *Philadelphia*. In 1806 the United States were confronted by naval harassment by both London and Paris, who, by blocking each others ports seized American ships and impressed American seamen. Though angered in 1807 by the British attack on the *Chesapeake*, Jefferson refused to tarnish his administration with war. His solution was an embargo terminating all foreign commerce by the United States. This not only failed, but it brought down the wrath of the nation on Jefferson's head and weakened Congressman Moore's political position who supported the policy.

Jefferson's second term was less than splendid, and he refused to run for a third term; however, Moore did run during the next election campaign and was re-elected but with a smaller majority. He continued to serve under President Madison.

A hangover of troubles from the Jefferson administration did not affect Moore during the election of 1808, but they caught up with him later on. The years 1810 and 1811 were particularly hectic as events that had been building from 1806 to 1809 flooded in torrential force over President Madison and Congress. Maryland trade was damaged by the Embargo Acts of 1806 and 1807. The Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 was of no help in alleviating the distress of all American merchants. During 1810 all the peace-keeping measures sponsored by Jefferson were replaced by Macon's Bill No. 2 which virtually ended the experiment. It restored trade with England and France, the warring powers, and gave them until March 11, 1811 to revoke their edicts against American shipping. These issues contributed largely to Moore's defeat.



Moore, knowing how woefully inadequate America was prepared for war, hoped for something to develop to bring about a peaceful solution. Peter Little, on the other hand, joined forces with the "war hawks" believing that war was inevitable and that America's troubles should be solved by force of arms quickly. The "hawks" and "doves" seemed to be evenly divided.

Another contribution to Moore's defeat might have been some mud-slinging, on the part of a few Moore supporters, which backfired. Both Moore and Little were men of integrity and it is unbelievable that either would have sanctioned deceit and dishonesty. However, Moore had some supporters who were not impeccable. Peter Little, age 35, watchmaker and silversmith, had served in the Maryland House of Delegates 1806-1807 with a good record and was now pitted against the more experienced Nicholas R. Moore in a hard fought campaign. Some of Moore's supporters had spread rumors disparaging Colonel Little, saying that Little had made some shady deals in certain precincts, and worse, he had brought pressure to bear to receive his commission as Colonel of the 38th Regiment Maryland Militia. All of this was brought out into the open when a certain Moore supporter calling himself "Elector," believing the rumors to be true, wrote to *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* who printed his letter on September 30 which stressed Colonel Little's alleged unethical methods used in obtaining his commission. It brought a quick and emphatic reply from General Stricker saying, "Colonel Little did not solicit me for his appointment as a colonel in the militia—it was I who offered him the commission; and it took such a long time for him to make up his mind that I was fearful that he would not accept it." This was published by the *American* the following day. And on October 2 "Elector" wrote the paper withdrawing his charges and apologized by saying that he was misled. October 3 was election day; and on October 4 the returns showed Little with 2,604 votes and Moore with 2,604. It could be said that the flare-back from those rumors did hurt Moore.

On February 12, 1812 Moore was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Sixth Regimental Cavalry District of Maryland by Governor Levin Winder, a Federalist, and on June 12, 1812, President Madison appeared before Congress to urge a declaration of war against England. Congress voted 79 to 49 in the House of Representatives and 19 to 13 in the Senate favoring war.

In October Colonel Moore defeated Colonel Little for Congress. the British had burned Washington in August and the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress was in a turmoil. The House of Representatives had been burned and the Government was to reconvene at Frederick, Maryland. But typical of the chaos none of the administration was going there—they were hopelessly scattered about the Virginia countryside.

When the British attacked Baltimore many competent military units were stationed at Hampstead Hill under the direct command of General Samuel Smith and there is nothing to show that Colonel Moore's Sixth Regiment of Cavalry was brought into action. However, General Smith did order General Winder to send Colonel Laval and his cavalry to Colonel Moore operating east of the town anticipating a need for strong cavalry support.

After the futile assault of the British on Baltimore, Colonel Moore returned to his farm and renewed his seat in Congress. But on January 14, 1816 he resigned from Congress because of failing health, and he died October 7, 1816.

The Baltimore *American* published his obituary on October 8, 1816:

Another Revolutionary Hero Gone!

Died yesterday at half-past one o'clock in the 62nd year of his life, Colonel Nicholas Ruxton Moore, late member of Congress and commandant of a cavalry regiment attached to the Third Division Maryland Militia. Colonel Moore was one of those worthies who so nobly achieved the independence we now enjoy. His amiable qualities, both in public and private life will long be cherished with gratitude by his fellow citizens. He has left a widow and four children to mourn his loss.

His friends and acquaintances are invited to attend his funeral at his late country residence this day at three o'clock P.M.

Colonel Moore had made his will on April 10, 1816 which said:

... It is my will that after the payment of all just and fair debts and complying with the true intent and meaning of any obligation or instrument of writing that I have given that the whole of my estate real and personal (except the broad sword which I wore in the Revolution) be distributed and divided to my much loved wife Sarah and my dear children Rebecca, Gay, Camilla and Smith Hollins Moore as the laws of Maryland direct in cases of persons dying intestate. I constitute my wife Sarah together with Cumberland Dugan, Esq. and John S. Hollins, Esq. executors of this my last will and testament...

*Codicil.* I give my sword to my son Smith H. Moore to be used when the service of his country demands it.

The will was witnessed by Thomas Johnson, John Cockey, Jr. and Elija Fishbaugh.

On November 8, 1816, one month after his death, the will was filed for probate. The chattels of his estate were appraised at \$2,300.00 consisting of personal effects such as household furnishings; thirty-two head of hogs; twenty-seven head of horned cattle at eight dollars each; sixty-two head of sheep at two dollars each; one wagon, four horses and gear; two horses; farm implements; saddles and bridles; and one lot of sundries. Six slaves were valued at \$1,075.00.

The four children surviving Colonel Moore were Gay Moore, a captain in the navy who married Sarah Chalmers, he died without issue; Rebecca Moore died unmarried;<sup>20</sup> Smith Hollins Moore died unmarried; and Camilla Hammond Moore married Willian Swann McKean and left three children, Camilla Hammond Ridgely, Johanna Barry and Adrianna McKean.<sup>21</sup>

James Francis Moore, a brother of Colonel Moore, was born August 12, 1751. Tradition said that the brothers of Nicholas went west before the Revolutionary War and were all killed by Indians, and none of them had ever been heard from. As a matter of fact when Colonel Moore died, his children were too young to know anything about the family history. But when the descendants of James Francis Moore, in tracing their family history, advertised for descendants of Nicholas Ruxton Moore, the correspondence brought out the interest-

ing fact that James Francis Moore had served in the Revolution until July 27, 1779, as a captain in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment and was discharged with honor. We find him in Kentucky in 1780 on the staff of General George Rogers Clark. As soon as Kentucky became independent of Virginia he was elected to the Legislature and in 1809 to the Senate where he served until 1810. (He died on the floor of the Senate). In 1809 he was Humphrey Marshall's second when Marshall fought his celebrated duel with Henry Clay. James Francis Moore died a wealthy man owning 55,000 acres of land in Kentucky.

On April 8, 1824, Sarah Moore acted as trustee for the sale of the real estate of Nicholas Ruxton Moore, and sold the Baltimore County farm for \$6,500 to William McConkey.<sup>22</sup> A map from the surveys of J. S. Sidney, published in 1850, shows this farm occupied by C. W. McConkey, but by 1877 the land had been divided into parcels owned by Edward G. McConkey (who apparently lived on that part of Moore's land where his home had been built), T. Sturgis Davis, S. A. Hiser, Samuel Cotes and L. J. Roberts.<sup>23</sup>

The Rockland Bleach and Dye Works later bought the land on the southeast side of Falls Road to grow fodder for their horses which were used to haul goods to and from the bleachery.<sup>24</sup> This became known as the "Old Wright Farm," and was sold to the Ruxton Company and divided into lots for residences. Today Colonel Moore's 350 acre farm has perhaps more than one hundred and seventy homes ranging from one to five acres each.

Sarah Moore's declining years were hardly spent in luxury, however, for the Panic of 1837 caused a widespread suspension of banks in the United States and Sarah was one of the many victims of those bank failures. It became necessary for her to apply for a pension, and in 1838 she employed Alexander Yearly as her attorney. He immediately began collecting affidavits from responsible citizens of Maryland acquainted with Colonel Moore's service records as a soldier in the Revolution—such men as Tobias E. Stansbury who served with Moore under Pulaski at Brandywine and Germantown; Major General Samuel Smith, the hero of Fort Mifflin and the War of 1812.

Unfortunately, General Pulaski, although a great soldier, never took the time to keep accounts of rolls of enlistments under his command. If he did so no records have ever been found. His lack of record keeping got him into severe financial difficulties when Congress refused to reimburse him for his expenditures. This neglect caused much of Sarah Moore's troubles with the bureaucratic James L. Edwards, Esq. Commissioner of Pensions. The affidavits of Generals Smith and Stansbury and other substantial citizens were not sufficient for that gentleman—he zealously obeyed his oath and his duty to President Van Buren to prevent raids on the United States Treasury, and was just as stubborn and onerous as his present day counterparts in the Federal bureaucracies.

The skies were graying and colours were rapidly fading—it had been fifty-five years since the ending of the Revolution, and few survivors were still living. Those furnishing affidavits were Robert Lyon, "very aged and highly respected;" Samuel Smith, "in his eighties;" Tobias Stansbury, "aged and

highly respected resident of Baltimore County;" James McKean, "aged 74 years." Luckily Sarah Moore had supporters in high places—two members of the House of Representatives and a United States Senator. Honorable James Carroll introduced Bill 158 in the House and Honorable William D. Merrick introduced it in the Senate allowing Sarah her pension; it passed and gave her five years full pay as a captain and to be paid according to the Act of 1838. Another pension bill was introduced and enacted by Congress March 3, 1843, but this time Mrs. Moore was required only to make affidavit that she was "still a widow." Pensions were renewed by an Act of 1848; Sarah was now 78 years of age, and James L. Edwards' name remains as Commissioner, and her pension again delayed for several months, but a letter from her son-in-law brought results. We hear nothing more.

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## SIDELIGHTS

### The Convivial Dr. Beanes

RUTH KIMBALL KENT

**I**T WAS THE CONVIVIAL DR. BEANES AND HIS HASTY BEHAVIOR THAT SET OFF the whole chain of events.

In August, a British fleet arrived in the Chesapeake Bay. It was a stopping-off point on the way to New Orleans, and the officers smelled easy booty and a chance to humiliate the American upstarts. The city of Washington was easy pickings, being guarded by a militia that was poorly organized. The British troops burned a number of government buildings, including the Capitol, and smugly started toward the Bay where their ships were anchored, marauding as they went.

The British officers had made their headquarters at the home of Dr. William Beanes, a prominent, well-loved elderly physician of Upper Marlborough, Maryland. He had, however grudgingly, treated them well in his home, even sharing his tobacco and wine. He had also taken care of their wounded in capable medical fashion. In turn, the British had dealt with Dr. Beanes courteously, and there was no plundering of his estate.

Now, on their return from Washington, they stopped once again at Dr. Beanes' for refreshments, and to retrieve baggage and the wounded officers who had been left in the doctor's care. At last, on August 26, the troops left.

On the next day, Dr. Beanes invited two of his close friends to have a glass of wine with him in his garden. As they sat at ease, they heard a hubbub, and soon learned that British stragglers were plundering the town. The streets of Upper Marlborough were in an uproar. Dr. Beanes seized his pistol, and the three friends rounded up a group of citizens to quell the disturbance. They managed to collar three of the British ruffians, who were forthwith tossed into jail.

Within a couple of days the British received word that their erstwhile host, the convivial Dr. Beanes, had, according to their lights, betrayed three of their comrades in arms. At once a contingent was dispatched to rescue the luckless three, with orders to take Dr. Beanes prisoner. The old gentleman was roused rudely from his bed some time past midnight, hustled roughly into his clothes, and "made to ride horseback on a rough-gaited, cadaverous animal" (accord-

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Mrs. Kent's appreciation of Maryland's history bridges her distant residence in Cleveland, Ohio.

ing to a report of the day)<sup>1</sup> to Benedict, thirty-five miles away. There he was taken aboard the flagship *Tonnant*, to be transferred later to Halifax.

Dr. Beanes' townspeople took action at once. They engaged a Washington lawyer, a friend of Dr. Beanes, to negotiate with the British for Dr. Beanes' release. The thirty-five-year-old lawyer was of a distinguished lineage, of a rather striking appearance, and highly competent. He went at once to the President and received permission for the mission. After helping his wife and six children prepare to leave Washington for their safer home in the country, he left Washington on September 2 and proceeded to Baltimore to join Colonel John S. Skinner, American government agent for the exchange of prisoners.

The two gentlemen boarded a small sloop named the *Minden*, owned by Benjamin Ferguson, which had been used from time to time for exchange of prisoners. It carried a crew of a dozen or so men.<sup>2</sup> Shortly they took sail down the Chesapeake Bay under a flag of truce. They finally came upon the British fleet on September 7 at the mouth of the Potomac River.

They were cordially received by Admiral Sir George Cockburn, the very man who had put the torch to the Capitol in Washington. Yet they arrived at an awkward time, for the British, flushed with their easy Washington victory, had determined to attack Baltimore. The British troops were promised free reign to plunder, and enthusiasm ran high. In the midst of battle preparations, Colonel Skinner seconded the golden-tongued young lawyer in cajoling for the release of the troublesome Dr. Beanes. Colonel Skinner had taken the time to secure letters from British officers praising the excellent medical care they had received from the good doctor. These and the art of persuasion won the day, and the British agreed to let Dr. Beanes go.

But not just yet. If Dr. Beanes and his party were allowed to go ashore, they would be sure to reveal the attack plans that had been discussed in their presence. So the sloop bearing the lawyer, Colonel Skinner, and Dr. Beanes, under guard, had its sails removed and was towed after the British frigate *Surprise*.<sup>3</sup> The three Americans were indeed surprised, as they found themselves on the morning of September 8 sailing up the Chesapeake Bay toward Baltimore along with the British fleet of some forty vessels.<sup>4</sup>

The first of the fleet arrived at Baltimore on Sunday morning, September 11, while church was in session.<sup>5</sup> For the next two days, battle preparations proceeded. Somewhere around 1,200 British troops went ashore at North Point in a heavy rain and worked their way along the north shore of the harbor for a flank attack on Baltimore. The British officers lined up the bomb-boats, ready to bombard Fort McHenry in support of the land troops.

However, the citizens of Baltimore were painfully aware of the demise of their sister city, Washington, and had fortified their city well. They were prepared to put up a spirited defense.

That they did, and the battle raged fiercely. The bombardment of the handsome star-shaped Fort McHenry commenced during the early hours<sup>6</sup> of September 13, continued throughout the day, and on into the night. The young lawyer, Francis Scott Key (for yes, it was he) stayed on deck the entire night of September 13, watching the rockets and bombs exploding over the brick-walled Fort. He knew that a number of small British boats were planning to



land during the night, and when the firing ceased and the Fort grew silent about one o'clock, he was seized with a sick dread that the landing parties had managed to breach the Fort. There was no way that he could know that the British sea forces had been repulsed, and boats had been plying through the night to re-embark the British land troops from North Point. The defense of Fort McHenry and Baltimore was far stronger than the British had reckoned for. When it became known, the course of events was a surprise to the government officials who had so lately fled Washington. President James Madison had "ordered the militia at Baltimore and particularly the garrison at Fort McHenry to surrender rather than risk the destruction of that city. Major George Armistead, in command of the fort, dared court-martial in his determination to resist the enemy at any cost."<sup>7</sup>

The night wore on. Francis Scott Key paced the deck, ever turning an anxious eye toward shore. A fine drizzle combined with the smoke that still hung from the bursting of bombs. Toward morning it turned to a light mist that shrouded the area. Hair tousled, eyes burning, the patriot waited eagerly for dawn.

Gradually the darkness lifted. Peering through the mist, Key saw the points and angles of the Fort slowly take shape. Then—there it was! Our flag was still flying!

It was a great flag indeed, forty-two feet long and thirty feet wide, with fifteen stars and fifteen stripes.<sup>8</sup> Key's heart swelled with joy, and the glory and fervor that only a military victory can bring. Inspiration was upon him, and he searched his pockets for writing material. The back of a letter sufficed,<sup>9</sup> and Key wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner."

As he wrote, he had in mind the tune for which the words were intended. It was called "To Anacreon in Heaven," and had been composed some time between 1770 and 1775 by John Stafford Smith of England.<sup>10</sup> The three Americans were set free, and Francis Scott Key finished writing as the boat neared shore.<sup>11</sup> When he reached his hotel room at the Old Fountain Inn on High Street, he at once wrote off a clean copy. (This original manuscript is still extant, and was bought in 1953 by the Society of Francis Scott Key from the Walters Art Gallery for \$26,000.<sup>12</sup>) Dr. Beanes was soon on his way to rejoin his relieved friends in Upper Marlborough, little dreaming that his adventures with the British had been the precipitating action for the writing of an immortal song, destined to become the national anthem.

The next morning, Colonel Skinner persuaded Key to approach a printer. A broadside was struck off, with the poem under the title of "The Defense of Fort McHenry." The song was sung for the first time that night in a tavern in Baltimore and was printed in the *Baltimore American* on September 21, 1814. It was immediately popular. The tune was already well-known, for it had been used for a number of other songs since it had been composed forty or more years earlier. Complaints of its unsingability were not recorded until a later date.<sup>13</sup>

Francis Scott Key lived out a distinguished career as a lawyer and patriot. He was a devoted family man, eventually with eleven children, three of whom preceded him in death. One boy of nine died tragically by drowning, a second



was killed at the age of twenty while fighting a duel, and a third son died at twenty-seven after a short illness. Francis Scott Key died of pleurisy at the age of sixty-three.<sup>14</sup>

"The Star-Spangled Banner" shared national anthem status with "Hail, Columbia" until the time of the Spanish-American War. At that time Admiral Dewey designated "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the song to be played on state occasions, and it was adopted as the armed forces' official tune. During the First World War President Wilson backed this up with an executive order saying "The Star-Spangled Banner" should be played at official affairs of the government. But it was not until 118 years after its composition that "The Star-Spangled Banner" became America's official national anthem. President Herbert Hoover signed the bill providing for this on March 3, 1931, the day before he left office, as the last official act of his administration.

There are a few places of historic importance in America where our flag is allowed to fly both day and night, with Congressional or Presidential approval. Three of the places where the Star-Spangled Banner waves forever are over the birthplace and over the grave of Francis Scott Key, and over Fort McHenry.<sup>15</sup>

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2. *Collier's Encyclopedia*, 1969 ed., s.v. "Star-Spangled Banner, The" says the crew consisted of eleven men, and mentions the name of the owner. John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music* (New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1965), p. 122, says there were fourteen in the crew. Howard also implies that Dr. Beanes was a turncoat, an opinion not shared by other historians.
3. Victor Weybright, *Spangled Banner* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1935), pp. 117, 125, says that the men were "evidently" aboard the *Surprise* during the trip up the Bay, but were put back on their own small vessel when the ship reached Fort McHenry.
4. Weybright, *Spangled Banner*, p. 120, sets the number at forty vessels, but perhaps figures into that number the twenty-one merchant craft captured at Alexandria mentioned on p. 108. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, vol. III (Baltimore: J. B. Piet, 1879), p. 116, says sixteen vessels.
5. Howard, *Our American Music*, p. 122, says morning, but it took some time for the entire fleet to arrive, for Weybright, *Spangled Banner*, p. 125, speaks of the "bright Sunday afternoon when the *Surprise* anchored off North Point. . . ."
6. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, p. 116, says 2 a.m.; Weybright, *Spangled Banner*, p. 132, says 6 a.m.
7. Weybright, *Spangled Banner*, p. 119.
8. The original flag now hangs in the Museum of History and Technology in Washington, covering an entire wall. The figures quoted are from a letter to the writer from the Division of Public Information at the Museum. M. R. Bennett, ed., "... So Gallantly Streaming" (New York: Drake Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 85, says that "seven feet was cut from it to wrap the body of one of the soldiers in the fort who died defending it." This legend is not given in the other sources consulted. Weybright, *Spangled Banner*, p. 123, says it was made in the summer of 1814 by Mrs. Mary Young Pickersgill and her twelve-year-old daughter. It required 400 yards of bunting and was too large for mother and daughter to work on at home, so the work was done on the malthouse floor of a brewery. *The New Book of Knowledge*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Flags" states that Mrs. Pickersgill received \$405.90 for sewing the flag.
9. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, p. 117, quotes R. B. Taney's account of Key's own reminiscences, "... upon the back of a letter." Weybright, *Spangled Banner*, p. 135, also gives the same quotation from Taney, but on p. 136, says "... the back of an old envelope."

10. For many years, the composer of the tune was popularly supposed to have been one Samuel Arnold, but researchers feel fairly sure it was indeed John Stafford Smith. Howard, *Our American Music*, tells the story of the research, but on p. 124 states his own doubts, saying that it is "entirely possible" that the words were adapted to "an earlier melody whose source has not yet been located."
11. Sources disagree as to whether the entire poem was written while Key was being rowed ashore (*Encyclopedia Americana*, 1964 ed., s.v. "Key, Francis Scott"), started aboard ship and finished while going ashore (Scharf, *History of Maryland*, p. 117), or started aboard, continued while going ashore, and finished in the Baltimore hotel (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1969 ed., s.v. "Star-Spangled Banner"). But they all agree that the song as it stands to this day was written out in a "fair copy" in Key's hotel room on that day.
12. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, (60), (March 1965), p. 67.
13. Alfred Kreymbord, *Our Singing Strength* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1929), p. 154, dismisses the national anthem by saying "It is impossible to discuss Key's 'Star-Spangled Banner' as a contribution to the art of poetry. . . . the lines are difficult to commit to memory, and are set to a British tune beyond the range of the average human voice."
14. Information about the family from Edward S. Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key, Life and Times* (Brooklyn: Biography Press, 1937), pp. 427-30. The death of young Philip Barton Key by a pistol shot from the hands of Congressman Daniel Sickles on a "sunny Sunday morning" in Lafayette Park across from the White House in Washington was called "murder" by James E. Persico in *My Enemy, My Brother* (New York: Viking Publishing Co., 1977), pp. 11-12. The affair was a scandal.
15. M. R. Bennett, ". . . So Gallantly Streaming," pp. 85-87, lists ten official places where the flag can be flown day and night, plus four unofficial. Whitney Smith, *The Flag Book of the United States* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1970), lists four official and sixteen unofficial.

# A Wounded Confederate Soldier's Letter From Fort McHenry

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

**B**ALTIMORE WHOOPED IT UP AT FORT MCHENRY DURING THE NATION'S BICENTENNIAL bash. Locally, the gala event celebrated the city's heroic stand against the British invaders during the War of 1812. Fort McHenry, the birthplace of our national anthem, seemed to symbolize America itself: flag, country, apple pie and mom.

During the Civil War the Fort presented a far less pleasant image to the incarcerated Confederate soldiers, Southern sympathizers, and Federal wrongdoers imprisoned within its confines. A letter from a young Confederate, W. Marshall, captured after being wounded at Antietam, pictures Fort McHenry as a miserable, unsanitary hostel.

Young Marshall wrote from the Fort to Miss Netta Lee in Sherpherdstown, Virginia, now West Virginia, just across the Potomac from Sharpsburg, Maryland. Marshall was one of the young men nursed by Netta, aged 18, after the bloody fight at Antietam.

Following the second Confederate victory at Manassas, General Robert E. Lee turned his columns into Maryland. Early on September 17, 1862, a vicious conflict began near Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek. The residents of Shepherdstown shuddered as the awesome noise of battle hurtled across the river. The town's narrow streets were already jammed with blood-splashed wagons loaded with the wounded brought from two sharp engagements on nearby South Mountain. Shepherdstown, a small place, was totally unprepared for the ghastly invasion.

"Bedford," the residence of Netta Lee's parents, was crowded with casualties. In one room was a general, badly wounded. In another room was "Rooney" Lee, a son of General Lee, who served with Jeb Stuart's cavalry. Rooney's leg was severely sprained when his horse fell on it. "The fight near Sharpsburg filled our house to overflowing with wounded and dying men," Netta's mother, Mrs. Edmund J. Lee, wrote soon after Antietam. "Every vacant house, every church and nearly all the private houses have been full." At Bedford the Lees tended to eleven wounded men and officers, together with their orderlies and surgeons, a total of sixteen extra persons. One of the wounded was W. Marshall.

Young Marshall wrote to Netta Lee from Fort McHenry on January 29, 1863: "We arrived safely at Baltimore after a 'pleasant' trip." His group of ragged, barefoot wounded Confederates had been lodged temporarily in a

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Mrs. Levin is a well-known contributor to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

warehouse styled the "Soldiers Rest." From there they were moved to the National Hotel on Camden Street near the B&O railroad, which had been converted into a first-class hospital, "comfortable, orderly and systematic."

Marshall and his fellows were surprised how quickly their young lady friends discovered their whereabouts. The matron of their hospital ward was strongly "secesh" and had delivered messages for them. "After spontaneous and unbounded delight, greetings, etc." Marshall recounted, "and as our tarry was expected to be brief, the dear creatures zealously went to work equipping us cap-a-pie in new togger, and you can imagine how grand some of us felt in a new rebel costume."

Although all the Confederates at the hospital were cripples, the privilege of promenading the streets was strictly prohibited. Twice Marshall had tried to escape, and on his second attempt even succeeded in passing the hospital sentries. He had gotten fairly underway when the suspicious steward spied him and sent a guard to bring him back.

But the comparatively good times at the National Hotel did not last long. "On Tuesday evening we were conveyed under escort to this memorable den," Marshall wrote from Fort McHenry. "Imagine our feelings after such lavish kindness, nursing, and petting as we have had from the ladies of Shepherdstown, and now having to submit to the gross indignity of living in a filthy, crowded *horse stable*—forty rebels occupying the space for twelve horses."

Daylight was almost entirely excluded from the poorly ventilated stables. The fetid odor was sickening, and the piles of excrement rat-infested. According to Marshall, after the 280 Union deserters, quartered on their right and overhead on the second floor of the stable, stopped "raising merry thunder," hordes of rats swarmed over the floor during the remainder of the night. The Confederates slept on the hard floor, and the rats seemed to resent the humans' intrusion. "Such bouncing and charging over us beats everything," Marshall wrote. "Their roving, predatory excursions have caused our haversacks to suffer immensely." The rats' frolicsome capers prevented Marshall from sleeping at night, so he tried to snatch a little rest during the day. "Most of last night I stood sentry armed with a crutch, while our party slumbered and dreamed."

The prisoners' fare consisted of wormy crackers, salt beef and green onions. Some of the Confederates who could afford high prices were allowed to buy from sutlers a few additions to their diet. The poorer prisoners did without these amenities. "Poor Page is out of bacon and keeps abed the whole time," Marshall wrote.

Marshall and his fellows had been surprised to find two friends imprisoned in Baltimore, a Mr. Howard and Dr. Alexander Galt Tinsley. Dr. Tinsley, an assistant surgeon in the Confederate Army, had been in charge of preparing Shepherdstown for the reception of the Antietam wounded. Left behind to care for the desperate cases, Dr. Tinsley was captured when the Federals moved in. When he was sent as a prisoner of war to Baltimore, his bride of a few days, Dare Parran Tinsley, accompanied him and stayed at Barnum's Hotel. After the war, Dr. Tinsley lived at 2102 St. Paul Street with his family.

The Confederate prisoners at Fort McHenry received food, blankets, clothing and money from Southern sympathizers who used subtle methods of transporting the items. "A bitter snowstorm raged all yesterday and has not yet subsided," Marshall wrote Netta Lee on January 29. "Notwithstanding, two heroic ladies visited us and consoled us very much, and although the mean, suspecting bluebacks watch them like cats after mice during the interview, they make nothing by the operation—those *hoops* are grand in an emergency!"

Young Marshall assured Netta that his group was as jolly as could be expected under such adverse circumstances. "They can't kill us as rebels, but I cannot help feeling miserable in spite of myself, especially after so recently having so many comforts, benign influences and delightful society of the fair sex," he wrote. "It's uncertain when we leave this garden of roses, but when I get in Dixie, will write more explicitly."

What happened to W. Marshall after he left Fort McHenry is unknown to the writer. Netta Lee married Dr. Charles Worthington Goldsborough, a physician of Walkersville, Maryland. Marshall's letter is owned by Netta's granddaughter, Miss Helen Goldsborough of Shepherdstown.

# Matthias da Sousa: Colonial Maryland's Black, Jewish Assemblyman

SUSAN ROSENFELD FALB

“**M**ATTHIAS SOUSA, A MOLATO,” ARRIVED ON THE *Ark* OR *Dove* WITH Maryland's first colonists in 1634. Almost eight years later, March 23, 1642, Matthias da Sousa attended an afternoon meeting of the Maryland assembly.<sup>1</sup> Was he America's first Negro assemblyman? Indeed he was, according to the writers of “Wings of the Morning,” a summer pageant performed in St. Mary's City, Maryland in 1976. They cast a black actor, Denzel Washington, Jr., as da Sousa, and made him the narrator.<sup>2</sup> An exhibit in the replica of St. Mary's original statehouse also implies da Sousa had an African heritage.

But some Catholics knowledgeable about Maryland history will identify da Sousa as “the Jew.” The major student of Jews in colonial America, Jacob Marcus, flatly states that da Sousa “was Christian of course.”<sup>3</sup> A Jewish heritage for da Sousa, however, is significant for those who see his assembly membership as “the simplest and clearest evidence” of more extensive toleration in Maryland before the 1649 Act Concerning Religion than after its passage.<sup>4</sup> The so-called “Toleration Act,” limited to trinitarian Christians, was passed under pressure from the English Puritan government. However, prior to the English Civil War, Maryland Catholic leaders conducted religious policies without interference from outside the colony. They insisted upon complete toleration, and a Jew in the assembly would prove such liberty existed.

Very little factual information on da Sousa survives. Since “mulatto” in the seventeenth century referred to complexion rather than parentage, da Sousa could well have been Caucasian. Jacob Marcus cites descriptions of Jews as “tawny,” and he notes that the one seventeenth-century Marylander of unquestioned Jewish background, Jacob Lumbrozo, was called “black.” Moreover, Jewish da Sousas lived in Barbados later in the century, and Matthias joined the colonists when they stopped at that island. Unfortunately, da Sousa was a name common among Spanish and Portuguese Christians as well as Jews.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the modern historian knows only that da Sousa arrived as an indentured servant, and maintained that status at least through the 1638 assembly of freemen, since he was not required to attend. By March 1642, however, he was free and participated in that assembly. A few months later, provincial secretary John Lewgar claimed that da Sousa owed him either service or money; the records never mention da Sousa again.<sup>6</sup>

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As a Caucasian Christian, Matthias da Sousa would have remained a faceless statistic in "servant to freeman" compilations. However, his ambiguous background has turned him into a racial and religious symbol. As such, Matthias da Sousa, insignificant in Maryland history, deserves to be remembered for his role in the historiography of minority groups in America.

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2. Richard L. Coe, Review, *Washington Post*, June 29, 1976.
3. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492-1776* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1970), pp. 335-336.
4. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "Church and State in the Maryland Ordinance of 1634," *Church History*, XXVI (1957), 337. The most thorough discussion is in Eutopia Cudahy, "Religious Liberty in Maryland Prior to the Act of 1649" (MA thesis, Marquette University, 1948), and da Sousa is frequently mentioned in histories of early Maryland written by Catholics religious. In my conversations with Jesuit historians, da Sousa is invariably identified as "the Jew."
5. Marcus, *Colonial American Jew*, pp. 336, 1428. Lumbrozo was prosecuted under the 1649 Act for Religion for denying Christ's divinity.
6. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, IV, p. 156.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Journals, 1795-1797, 1797-1798.* Ed. by Edward C. Carter II. (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1977. Introduction, maps, illustrations, biographical appendix, charts, index. Pp. xxx, 575. \$60.00.)

If the editors of *The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* are able to maintain the level of quality reached in the first two volumes of this projected ten volume work, they will indeed have something in which to take great pride.

The introduction, which encompasses Latrobe's life, the history and plan of his papers, the structure and rationale of the Virginia Journals, and the general editorial method is well written and provides an invaluable background to the volumes, especially to readers unfamiliar with Latrobe's life. Likewise, the biographical appendix at the end of volume two offers just enough background on ninety-five of Latrobe's Virginia acquaintances to keep the reader well informed, but do not intrude into the text or digress from the main thread of Latrobe's life. Their names are handily marked in the text by astericks, and are listed alphabetically in the appendix. The editors are to be commended, too, for their excellent use of both editorial notes, which precede passages requiring comment, and footnotes, which provide information about missing texts and torn pages, explanation of larger historical events occurring while Latrobe was writing, short biographical notes on persons not included in the biographical appendix, and translations of foreign and outmoded phrases. One small, discordant note concerns the genealogy of the Latrobe family which is manifested in an extensive fold-out chart. While certainly interesting, it is not necessary for understanding the first two volumes. However, it may prove useful for future volumes.

Those of us who think of Benjamin Henry Latrobe as merely an architect are in for some very pleasant surprises. We learn from the introduction that Latrobe was a well educated man, his studies ranging from theology to classical languages and mathematics, geometry, algebra, modern foreign languages, history, geography, and fine arts (drawing). This information is substantiated in his journals. Written for his children, and written well, the journals are often humorous, contain poetry, and reveal a man blessed with the ability to observe even the most minute details. And they set forth his observations not only in words but in illustrations that are always interesting, and often breathtaking.

For the most part, volume one and the first part of volume two combine his observations with his personal correspondence. Beginning on 25 November 1795, Latrobe catalogued his travels aboard the *Eliza* from London to Norfolk, Virginia. His good natured comments on what must have been an almost unbearable journey attest to the goodness of his character. The filth, lack of accommodations, seasickness, and the incompetence of the ship's captain are overshadowed by Latrobe's observations and sketches of various forms of sea life and of the Azores, which they passed on 6 January 1796.

The remainder of volume one concerns Latrobe's travels in Virginia from March 1796 through September 1797. The highlights here center on his visits to and descriptions of such notable places as York, Williamsburg, Manchester, Petersburg, and Richmond. Once again, Latrobe's keen sense of observation is evident as he views not only the landscape and wildlife of these areas, but the mannerisms and habits of the people who

lived there. Latrobe's personal opinions of such now famous people as Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, James Innes, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington give the reader an insight into individual personalities often overlooked in history books.

Toward the end of volume one, Latrobe becomes more reminiscent and writes several pages pertaining to past experiences in London, with special attention given to his late wife's family. He also writes about music and Shakespeare's supposed violations of decency of the manners of his age, a common belief among the ladies of Virginia and disputed by Latrobe.

Volume two, which begins as a continuation of Latrobe's Virginia travels from 1797 to 1798, ends with two volumes that comprise of "An Essay on Landscape, explained in tinted Drawings." Volume I, bearing the imprint, Richmond 1798, is divided into three sections: "Composition;" "Light and Shadow;" and "Tinting." Volume II, listing Richmond and Philadelphia, 1798-1799, is a series of instructions in drawing addressed to Miss Susanna Catharine Spotswood. Both essays are well illustrated, and will be of special interest to anyone interested in sketching.

The disappointment felt when pages of Latrobe's works were lost is unavoidable, but the editors have successfully filled in the gaps. Perhaps the only major flaw of these volumes is that the illustrations are presented by plate rather than page number, which leaves the reader thumbing through a volume looking for sketches which pertain to information pages away. However, this inconvenience is overshadowed by the overall thoroughness of the works, and volumes three through ten will be eagerly anticipated by the readers.

Howard County

ELIZABETH HOBBS BLACKERT

*Chesapeake.* By James A. Michener. (New York: Random House, 1978. Pp. 865. \$12.95.)

Any Marylander who fails to read this book whether out of apathy, insolence, or disregard for Mr. Michener's past performances is missing out on a story he can be proud of. The Eastern Shore of Maryland is the locale Mr. Michener chose when contemplating where he should begin his total immersion ritual of research and writing. I am glad he did.

Like the rest of Michener's works, *Chesapeake* is a vivid, panoramic view of an area that is studied for its mystique, its history, its people, and its climate. And also like Michener's preceding works, *Chesapeake* is both a novel and a work of history. It is a complex interweaving of families who inhabit the Eastern Shore—those who usurp native Indian lands, those who build homes and eventually acquire great wealth through farming and trade, those whose religious convictions are as strong and solid as the ships they build, those who are brought unwittingly from Africa to help generate money for landowners, and those whose livelihood is based on the seafood in the waters and the wildfowl which fly over those waters. Michener manages to develop the lives of these varied peoples throughout the pages of his thirteen chapters.

The plot, lazily stretched over 800 pages, begins in 1583 with a voyage by the Susquehannock Indian Pentaquod, who tiring of his tribe's warring ways, journeys south into the Chesapeake and eventually to the Choptank River. From there, four families dominate the action which takes place. The Steeds are a family steeped in genteel traditions and intent upon acquiring wealth from the coves and meadows they settle on. The

Paxmores are devout Quakers whose innate abilities as shipbuilders are second only to their social consciousness and religious convictions. The Turlocks, founded initially by a thief and a murderer, eventually become the gruff, hardworking watermen who weave their lives around the bay area and its bountiful resources. The Caters, a family brought together by slavery, fashion a remarkable life based on courage and calluses.

For generation after generation these four families live and work on the north shore of the Choptank River in what is today Talbot County. Michener has us view the antipathy and antagonism that arises between these families because of their different financial standings and varied outlooks on life. But he also contrasts that view by gradually molding the characters and families through intermarriage and through daily interaction. This is Michener's greatest asset—his ability to create interesting, fictional characters and place them within the framework of historical reality. He does not twist words. He does not confuse the reader in a maze of time, place, and character changes. He writes clean, neat, straightforward prose, maybe at times a bit contrived and inconceivable (as when Thomas Applegarth, tenant farmer, had a sudden vision of how the Appalachian Mountains and the Chesapeake Bay were formed, or Jane Steed's multi-year sexual vigil while Matt Turlock sailed, or Woolman Paxmore's meeting with Hitler), but the story overshadows faults of that nature.

Not only does Michener write with acuity about his characters, he also does so about the animal life on the shore, and of the Bay region itself. We are presented with descriptions of the blue heron and its eating habits, the delicate lives of crabs and oysters, hunting dogs both Chesapeake and Labrador, the hundreds of thousands of ducks which populate the waters, and above all are the geese that symbolize strength, endurance, instinct, and the very ebb and flow of life. Aside from the animals is the water. We learn of the Bay's currents, its salinity, the vegetation, and of the power of waves generated by tropical hurricanes from the south or from the quick, fierce squalls on the Bay proper. Michener covers it all admirably.

What must be kept in mind though when reading the book is that it is fiction. The book was imagined and the liberties Michener takes with landscape, characters, and dates are all legal in the world of fiction writing. The uncanny thing about *Chesapeake* is the pervading sense of recorded history throughout its pages. Michener combined his skills as a diligent researcher and an eloquent narrator to give the reader a feeling of truth. It is a devious style in a way, the reader not really knowing what is fiction, what is fiction based on fact, or what is fact. Nevertheless, *Chesapeake* should be read, and should be read as fiction. Only by reading it as fiction can one fully appreciate its merits as a huge, colorful portrait of the secluded paradise that is the Eastern Shore. *Maryland Historical Society*

DREW GRUENBURG

*Mencken: A Study of His Thought*, by Charles A. Fecher. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. Pp. xxi, 391. \$15.00.)

Charles A. Fecher has written a pleasing and readable tribute to the Sage of Baltimore—a worthy contribution to the now very substantial Mencken literature. His book follows a somewhat different approach than most recent studies of Mencken in that it offers a topical rather than a biographical coverage of the subject. This was tried by several writers in the 1920s, and to good effect, but seemingly in recent decades that approach has been abandoned in favor of the strictly biographical framework—an approach that is clearly prompted by Mencken's colorful personality and active public life.

Mr. Fecher's book is entitled, *Mencken: A Study of His Thought*, and this suggests some kind of systematic effort to come to grips with Mencken's ideas. In undertaking this study Fecher was strongly motivated to show that Mencken was a serious thinker and not an intellectual lightweight. He is responding to a small but vigorous band of critics—yes, mostly academics—who have debunked the great debunker, and who, from the depression to the present time, have seen Mencken as a man of superficial accomplishment—witty, charming, forceful perhaps—but not deep. And doubtless Mr. Fecher is right in believing that it's a bit hard to counter this in strictly biographical works which tend to focus on the outward and charming surface of the man. Thus we have an approach which by its very organization goes to the heart of Mencken's central areas of achievement, to his most significant contributions to American literature and culture.

Fecher quite sensibly selects five major areas for discussion. He deals with Mencken as a Philosopher, a Political Theorist, a Critic, a Philologist, and a Stylist. These are all of the chapters of the book except the first, which is background and biographical material. One may perhaps want to quibble with some of these terms. Philosophy, for example: Mencken was not a philosopher and preferred always to be called a "Critic of Ideas." Or Philology: such a stuffy sounding word; there simply must be a better word to describe what Mencken did for the American language. But all that is quibbling and of small importance. The important thing is that Fecher's attempt to demonstrate the substantiality of Mencken's contribution gets off on a good footing. And certainly his book is a solid and well-crafted showcase of Mencken's major areas of achievement.

In another sense, Fecher may not have done exactly what he set out to do, what he believes himself to have done. First of all, his showcase of Menckenia is mostly just that—a different way of ordering and arranging information. One finds this book to be largely a redistribution of already available stories and anecdotes about Mencken as found in the standard biographical works. There are, of course, new slants, new perspectives, many of them interesting. As such, the book is a valuable contribution to Mencken scholarship. Unfortunately nowhere in this book do we get any major new ideas about Mencken, no breakthroughs—mostly what is already known. Still, what is already known is presented adroitly and with occasional fresh detail, for which the modern reader can certainly be grateful.

It may be that projects to prove that this or that writer is really substantial will always be bootless. Nobody needed to show that Sophocles was a thinker simply because Plato believed that there was no truth in poets. *Res ipsa loquitur*. Mencken's substance has been and will be attacked by academics who don't like his brash manner or his Tory politics; but strictly speaking his work needs no defense. It provides for itself quite eloquently. How silly it always is for ordinary mortals to write about the style of a brilliant stylist. Nor do great writers need to be defended as thinkers. All the defense Mencken needs as a man of thought is that his works still have force; they are widely read and quoted by people and they still have powerful impact. Weak ideas simply die; but Mencken's ideas just seem to keep marching on with all their clarion perfection.

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CHARLES H. DOUGLAS

*H. L. Mencken: Critic of American Life*. By George H. Douglas. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1978. Pp. 248. \$15.00.)

It is amusing to wonder what Henry Mencken, who thought that "a horselaugh is worth a thousand syllogisms," would remark about scholarly studies of his ideas. Re-

gardless, such works are in ready recent supply with Charles A. Fecher's *Mencken: A Study of His Thought* (Knopf, 1978) followed fast by George H. Douglas' contribution.

Essentially this latest study has two conceptual faults. First, by failing to recognize that the essay, Mencken's chief medium, is only the light cavalry of literary types, Douglas imputes to it seige gun power in HLM's war on the booboisie. Second, and more importantly, by mistaking Mencken's opinions for ideas, Douglas implies an intellectual system that Mencken lacked. Indeed, Mencken himself called his "ideas" *prejudices*.

Professor Douglas' five chapters focus mainly on HLM in the 1920s, the years of the *American Mercury*, *Notes on Democracy*, and five of the six *Prejudices* series. This is a sensible limitation, for it was in the "Twenties when he hit his stride as the critic of Americana. But when the first chapter, "H. L. Mencken: The Man and His Work," attempts an overview, it presents a highly questionable portrayal of Mencken as a warm-hearted and genial "corrective" critic. In fact, Douglas reads Mencken's satire as harsh but never cruel (p. 37). Clearly, in the face of HLM's lampoons of Comstock, Bryan, Harding, and Stuart Pratt Sherman, to recall but a few, Douglas' distinction between harshness and cruelty proves to be without substance. And when we remember Mencken's racial and ethnic barbs along with his asides and onslaughts on farmers, actors, realtors, bartenders, lawyers, fundamentalists, professors, dentists, and chiropractors, *inter alia*, he emerges as anything but the Jazz Age Chaucer that Douglas would have him. (Presumably, anyway, some of HLM's vitriol finally filters through to Douglas, for at p. 52 he revises himself to allow that Mencken "could be cruel and unfair.") Douglas' further suggestion that Mencken was a dealer in ideas and not in personalities for their own sake reduces a vigorous, fun-loving, *ad hoc* satirist to a quixotic penman jousting against a *Weltanschauung*. Mencken is, after all, nearer in spirit and purpose to the chic Tom Wolfe than to the solemn Samuel Johnson.

"The Soul of Man under Democracy," "The Leitmotiv of American Politics," and "The Psychopathology of Everyday Life," the next chapters, locate the root of Mencken's criticism in his abhorrence of egalitarian democracy. Seeing it as a form of government that promotes not liberty but false opportunity, he concluded that it rendered people selfish, envious, distrustful, and joyless in their rage to surpass one another. Jealously they attempt to deny others the joys they cannot have. Thus the farmer, envious of the city slicker's comfortable cocktail lounges and hotels, hatches the Volstead and Mann Act while trying hard to enjoy himself in his dismal kitchen and haystack. Douglas reproduces many examples of Mencken in this humor, so what we get finally is a catalogue of symptoms of this democratic disease, not a study of ideas. Using the same tactic, the last chapter, "The Anemia of the Higher Culture," reviews Mencken's observations on the genteel tradition and education in America.

With few judgments and little analysis, this book is an apt and brisk description of HLM's reactions, but not, as Douglas promises, "a book preeminently about Mencken's ideas" (p. 25). There are other lapses. Douglas misses the chance of drawing on the valuable insights of Mencken's contemporaries, especially Gerald Johnson and Louis Cheslock. He fails to consider the possible influences on Mencken of Shaw, Dewey, Whitehead, and Bergson, an odd omission in a study of Mencken's ideas. Bothersome too is Douglas' tendency to speculate about what Mencken would now think about Joseph McCarthy, Richard Nixon, activist students, liberal professors, "black power," and "women's lib." An amusing game, but hardly matter for a scholarly study.

Still, this book does nothing to eradicate any of the vintage Henry Mencken. A sane man who recognized that for most people appearance is reality, he was drawn to sur-

faces. He laughed hard at presidents because they appeared pompous, at educators because they appeared boring, and at Ku Kluxers because they appeared ridiculous. As he said, he enjoyed America because it was a circus high in entertainment value.

Ideas? Perhaps Walter Lippmann had it right in 1925: Mencken is effective "just because his appeal is not from mind to mind, but from viscera to viscera."

Towson State University

H. GEORGE HAHN

*History of St. Mary's County, Maryland.* By Regina Combs Hammett. (Ridge, Maryland: Published by the author, 1977. Pp. vi, 546. \$15.00.)

This volume, prepared under the sponsorship of the St. Mary's County Bicentennial Commission, is a sound local history which will be of interest to county residents, genealogists, and researchers alike. The scope is ambitious—342 years of county history—and the sources utilized wide-ranging, including a variety of original materials from county records, newspapers, and local publications and from the collections of the Hall of Records, the Maryland Historical Society, the St. Mary's County Historical Society, and the St. Mary's City Commission.

The book begins with the founding of the Maryland colony and the first settlement at St. Mary's City in 1634. The initial chapters summarize recent research on the nature of that early settlement and on its subsequent geographic dispersal, economic and social development, and growth in population. They also deal with the controversies—religious and political—which swirled around the provincial capital of St. Mary's City before the removal of the seat of colonial government to Annapolis in 1695 and describe the development functions, and personnel of local government during the colonial period.

The later eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, with the exception of a chapter on emigration from the county to Kentucky between 1790 and 1810, is treated only in terms of St. Mary's countians' participation in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. This section summarizes the materials that the author found currently available. The paucity of information on local economic and social development indicates that this period is the one most in need of further study.

It is for the post-Civil War era that Ms. Hammett makes her most original contribution by assembling the ingredients for a county social and economic history. She deals with communication networks—the postal service, steamboats, railroads, highways, newspapers, radio, and telephone; features of the county's rural communities; education—public, parochial, and collegiate; hospitals and public health; agriculture and local industry—the watermen, bootleg whiskey, and Stuart Petroleum; the appearance of new cultural groups—the Slavic and Amish communities; and the changes brought to the county by the establishment of the Patuxent Naval Air Station in the 1940s.

One of the most valuable contributions of the book is the numerous lists which are included—for example lists of post offices and their dates of operation and the postmasters who served them; of newspapers and their editors; of county roads and their locations; of public school districts, school houses, and school officials; of parochial schools and their teachers; of residents who pursue the waterman's trade; and of county government officials and state representatives. By deciding to include this mass of detailed information the author has not only presented useful information for persons interested in family history, but has also provided a valuable starting point for others who may wish to use these materials to pursue a variety of more specialized studies. Numerous maps and illustrations supply a geographic and visual context, while a fifty-two page index permits ready reference to materials in the text.



The author is the first writer to attempt a compilation of the county's history, and she acknowledges in an introductory statement that this first work is incomplete. This is true for a number of reasons, many of them stemming from the nature of the work itself and not through any fault of the author. First, several topics which might have received more attention are neglected or omitted. Women go largely unmentioned, and the treatment of the history of minority groups lacks fullness. The role of religious institutions (except as they touched the educational system) is not taken up, nor is the history of the family dealt with. A concluding chapter which would serve to integrate the rich but sometimes disjointed flood of material on the post-Civil War period would also be welcome.

Second, the sources themselves present difficulties. The destruction of the county's colonial and early nineteenth century records in the court house fire of 1831 necessitates painstaking reconstitution of the county's history from surviving series of provincial and state records; much of this work remains to be done. For the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a plethora of official publications are available from which to reconstruct institutional developments. Unfortunately such documents tend to become increasingly abstract and removed from individual experience. The reminiscences of older local residents constitute a largely untapped but vital resource for recapturing the more human elements of the county's later history.

Finally, while Maryland's system of government established the county as the logical unit from which to write local history, this entity is in some senses both too large and too small a unit with which to deal. The stories of the many rural communities which make up the county are worth telling but cannot be easily encompassed within a larger county history. Still there is a need to look deeper and in more detail at smaller areas of the county in order to recapture more of the fabric of everyday life in all its variety and complexity. On the other hand, one also wants to know more about the county's role in the region of which it is a part, and to learn to what extent the county's social, economic, and political history is typical of a larger whole or unique to the area. Again, until thorough local histories of the surrounding region are available and a better understanding of economic networks is acquired, this further integration is too much to ask of one author.

The success of recent books on the local and family history of the Chesapeake region such as *Beautiful Swimmers* and *Roots* attests to widespread popular interest in these subjects. It is to be hoped that readers will be stimulated to act on the author's injunction "to dig deeper and expand on what I have started."

*St. Mary's City Commission*

LORENA S. WALSH

*The Southern Experience in the American Revolution.* Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978. Pp. 310. \$15.00.)

This stimulating collection of essays, edited by two officials of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, grew out of a symposium in that state in 1975 on the topic, "The Experience of Revolution in North Carolina and the South." Severely reworked, the papers present a quasi-revisionist survey of the southern regions with but one chapter focused solely on Tarheelia. There are no maps, no formal bibliography, and a merely adequate index. Maryland is touched on in passing. The annotation, following each chapter, is detailed, with a healthy emphasis on archival and other manuscript sources. Stylistically the volume is unexceptionable.



The editors have arranged their ten contributors' efforts under three broad headings: the social and political origins of the Revolution; the conflict itself; and the war's impact *vis à vis* "ideals and realities." To the opening section five scholars contribute. Pauline Maier assesses certain early revolutionary leaders and the problem of southern distinctiveness, which she finds to be partly a fact. Robert M. Weir talks about rebelliousness, and how personality development may have influenced same, in that the rearing of southern sons tended to foster a semi-independence from their sires. In the volume's lengthiest article Jack P. Greene discusses political, cultural, and social change in Virginia for the years 1763-1766. Marvin L. M. Kay and Lorin L. Cary, in the book's only econometric essay, complete with graphs, treat "Class, Mobility, and Conflict in North Carolina" on the Revolution's eve.

Under the second heading, the shooting war, John Shy illuminates British strategy for pacifying the southern colonies, 1778-1781; and Clyde R. Ferguson takes the measure of the patriot and loyalist militia in Georgia and the Carolinas, to those warriors' considerable enhancement. In the concluding section—the overall impact of the war upon the region—Mary Beth Norton scrutinizes the condition of women, white and black (mainly patriot), and reports that their consciousness of selfhood was to a degree "raised." Michael Mullin contrasts the situation of the slaves in the British Caribbean with those on the mainland, 1775-1807, and demonstrates that the insular Negroes were, for several reasons, appreciably more aggressive. Peter H. Wood discusses republicanism and slave society in South Carolina, finding that the blacks evolved a considerably more subtle and dynamic social corpus than is traditionally believed.

In sum, here is a challenging conspectus on a subject peculiarly redeserving of such by a group of specialists who know whereof they speak—and where they are not sure, are prompt to say so.

*Baltimore, Maryland*

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

## BOOK NOTES

*Seagulls Hate Parsnips and Other Electrifying Revelations about the Delaware Shore.*

By Virginia Tanzer. (Rehoboth Beach, Delaware: Lake Shore Press, 1978. Pp. 186. \$5.50 [paper].)

This is a delightful volume about Sussex County, Delaware: its people, its land and seashore, its seagulls and other birds, and above all its spirit. As is often the case, it has taken the enthusiasm, the insight, and the writing skill of a relative newcomer to capture the essence of a community.

Mrs. Tanzer's 34 chapters are grouped in four sections. In "First Glances" the author locates, defines, and epitomizes the southern-most of Delaware's three counties. She sketches the history of Rehoboth Beach, surely the best known of its summer vacation resorts. The Delaware Moors are discussed, and so, among other things, is the Sussex County penchant for moving houses.

In "The Seasons" Mrs. Tanzer invites attention to the attractions of the county all the year 'round. The expensive temptations of the amateur gardener and the extensive growth of chickens and turkeys are two of the themes. The birds of the area are enthusiastically described in the section on "The Feathers Overhead," and, finally, in "The Coda," a strong case is made for the preservation of the environment.

This is local writing at its best. If it is not history, it is a most welcome and timely adjunct. And the glories of Sussex County deserve particularly to be noted in the pages of this *Magazine*, for as most readers know Sussex should be Maryland's 24th county. The world now knows where Cape Henlopen is, even if Lord Baltimore was deceived in 1751!

*Kensington, Maryland*

FRED SHELLEY

*Keys from the Seas, A Beginner's Guide to Identifying Shells Along the Mid-Atlantic Region.* By Nancy Lee Eastman. (Georgetown, Delaware: Sussex Prints, 1978. Pp. 87.)

An ideal pocket-sized volume for "practical use by seasonal beachcombers, resident dog-walkers as well as amateur malacogists," *Keys from the Seas* is recommended as a useful item to carry in your luggage on your next trip to a Maryland or Delaware beach. The photographs, illustrations, and text are geared to the observant, aware non-specialist. Thirty-one shells—the ones most likely to be found in this region—are illustrated and described.

*Kensington, Maryland*

FRED SHELLEY

## NEWS AND NOTICES

The American Association for State and Local History was founded in 1940 to promote historical societies, museums, and historical and genealogical research on the local level. The AASLH sponsors numerous publications (including a monthly news bulletin including practical "technical leaflets" on specialized subjects), educational programs, seminars, and consultants. The AASLH is a pragmatic organization designed to serve those persons (whether amateur or professional, beginners or experienced) involved or interested in the preservation of the past. Individuals and institutions are invited to join. Further information may be obtained by writing to the

Membership Secretary  
American Association for  
State and Local History  
1400 Eighth Avenue, South  
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

or

Richard J. Cox  
(State Membership Chairman)  
Baltimore City Archives  
Room 201, 211 E. Pleasant Street  
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

### THE SOUTHERN MARYLAND COLLECTION

The Southern Maryland Collection, a research and resource facility for the preservation of printed material about southern Maryland, has recently been established in the Learning Resource Center at Charles County Community College. The collection contains primarily printed material concerning the region including Charles, St. Mary's, Calvert, and Prince George's Counties. Included are unpublished documents, books, maps, photographs, microfilm, slides, pamphlets, journals, clippings, audio tapes, and original art. Local history, culture, economy, architecture, genealogy, and current affairs are among the topics represented in the collection. Researcher inquiries as well as materials for donation or exhibit are invited. Please contact Ms. Elaine Ryan, Associate Dean of Learning Resources, Charles County Community College, Box 910, LaPlata, Maryland 20646.

The Johns Hopkins University's Department of History will hold its fourth "Summer Seminar on Quantitative Techniques in Historical Research," June 4 through July 27, 1979. The seminar is designed for faculty members and graduate students, but advanced undergraduates have also successfully taken the course. The program will emphasize the acquisition of basic statistical and computer skills and the fundamentals of project design. Total tuition is \$500 and applications, which must be accompanied by a \$25.00 deposit, are due on April 1, 1979. Write to Professor Vernon Lidtke, Chairman, Department of History, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218 for further information.

## INDEX TO VOLUME 73

Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are set in italics.

An 'r' after the page number indicates the entry was taken from References.

### A

- "Aaron Aaronsohn; Pioneer Scientist, Spy and Friend of Henrietta Szold," by Alexandra Lee Levin, 282
- Abbe, Leslie Morgan, "The Talbott House and Its People," 283
- Abbott, Robert S., 172
- Aberbach, Moses, *The Life and Letters of Dr. Jonas Friedenwald*, 288
- Abosch, David, 158r.
- Abraham, Cornelius, 238
- Acheson, Dean, 150
- "The Acquisition and Maintenance of Position as Economic Elite: A Study of Four Maryland Families, 1630-1960," by Peter Daniel Hruschlea, 183
- "An Act Concerning English Servants That Runaway in the Company of Negroes and Other Slaves," 238
- Adams, Alexander, 85r.
- Adams, Herbert Baxter, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 180
- Addison family, 3, 7
- Addison, Henry, mayor of Georgetown, 8
- Addison, John, Colonel, 8
- Addy, James Arthur, "Integration of Black History with United States History and Urban Geography with Modern Problems Courses in the Secondary Schools of the State of Maryland," 182
- "Adena Sites on Chesapeake Bay," by T. Latimer Ford, Jr., 286
- Adlung, Jacob, 234r.
- "Advice and Ascent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689," by Susan Rosenfeld Falb, 184
- Africa, slave trade with colonial Maryland, 30ff.
- Africa* (snow), 41
- Agonito, Joseph, "The Papers of John Carroll," 288
- "St. Inigoes Manor: A Nineteenth Century Jesuit Plantation," 288
- Agriculture in Maryland, articles and books on, 181, 280
- Aiken, John A., 198
- Aiken, M. E., 198
- Albright, William Foxwell, 144, 158r.
- Alcock, James, 376
- Alexander Galley, 33
- ALEXANDER MALCOLM: MUSICIAN, CLERGYMAN, AND SCHOOLMASTER, by James R. Heintze, 226-235
- Alexander, James, 227
- Alexander, Mark, 16, 26r.
- Alexander* (snow), 41-42
- Allegany County — A History*, by Harry I. Stegmaier, Jr., David M. Dean, Gordon E. Kershaw, and John B. Wiseman, reviewed, 96-97
- Allen, Don Cameron, 154-155, 162r.
- Allen, Ethan, 84r., 235r.
- Allen, Patrick, Rev., 382
- Alpert, Jonathon, 236, 244r., 245r.
- Altham, John, 219
- Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*, by Jean H. Baker, 287
- American Forts: Architectural Form and Function*, by Willard B. Robinson, reviewed, 295-296
- The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, ed. by Alfred F. Young, reviewed, 207-208
- Ames, Susie M., ed., *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1640-1645*, reviewed, 99
- The Anacostia Story: 1608-1930*, by Louise Daniel Hutchinson, 283
- Ancient Washington: American Indian Culture of the Potomac Valley*, by Robert L. Humphrey and Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 286
- Anderson, Alan D., *The Origin and Resolution of An Urban Crisis: Baltimore, 1900-1930*, 289
- "Urbanization and American Economic Development, 1900-1930: Patterns of Demand in Baltimore and the Nation," 184
- Anderson, James, 21-22, 27r.
- ANDERSON, THORNTON, *Maryland's Property Qualifications for Office: A Reinterpretation of the Constitutional Convention of 1776*, 327-339
- Anderson, William, 255, 263, 267, 268, 270, 277r.
- "Andrew Ellicott, Surveyor of the Wilderness," Silvio A. Bedini, 288
- Andrews, Matthew Page, 225r., 244r.
- Andrews, Nicholas, 62r.
- Angola, slaves from, 36-37
- Annapolis
- eighteenth-century, social climate of, 226ff.
  - slave trade in, 32, 39
- "The Annapolis Cityscape," by Richard Kearns, 289

- "An Annapolis Landmark for 200 Years: The Hammond-Harwood House," by Susan E. Hughes, 281
- "Annapolis" (photographic essay), by Marion E. Warren, 280
- Annapolis resolve of May, 1774, 23, 25
- Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977*, by James C. Bradford, 283
- Anstey, Roger, 43r.
- Antietam, battle at, 394
- Antigua, slaves from, 37-38
- The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830*, by Ronald G. Walters, reviewed, 97-98
- d'Arblay, Frances Burney, 190
- Architecture
- shingle style, 348-349
  - stick style, 348-349
- Ark (ship), 397
- Armistead, George, Major, 391
- Arms Makers of Maryland: Longrifle Series*, by Daniel D. Martzler, 288
- Armstrong, Jonathon, 28r
- Arner, Robert D., "The Blackness of Darkness: Satire, Romance and Ebenezer Cook's *The Sotweed Factor*," 289
- Arnold, Benedict, 380
- ARNOLD, JOSEPH L., *Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745-1918*, 109-128
- Arnold, Samuel, 393r.
- Art in Maryland, recent dissertations and books on, 181, 281-282
- Artes, Dorothy Beecher, "Silver Linings Along the Chesapeake," 281
- Arundell Club, 199-200
- Asbury, Francis, 201
- Ashburner, John, 16
- Ashton, Thomas Southcliffe, 279r.
- Atlas of Maryland*, by Derek Thompson et al., 280
- Atterbury, G. E., "London Town Public House: Landmark from the Past," 283
- "Audubon's View of Baltimore," by George E. Gifford, Jr., and Florence B. Smallwood, 282
- AUGUSTINE HERMAN: THE LEADING CARTOGRAPHER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by Karel J. Kinsky, 352-359
- B
- Babcock, Donald C., 142, 157r.
- Babiste, John, African slave, 239
- Bacon, Anthony, 79, 255, 270, 272, 273, 276r., 277r.
- Bacon, Elizabeth, 84
- Bacon, Jacky, 81
- Bacon, Mary, 84
- Bacon, Rachel, 84
- Bacon, Thomas, 224r., 230, 231, 235r.
- Bacon, Thomas, clergyman, 79-86
- Badger, Matilda, P., 11r.
- Baer, Mary Baldwin, and John Wilbur, A *History of Woodward, Baldwin & Co.*, 284
- Baker, Frank, *From Wesley to Asbury: Studies in Early American Methodism*, 288
- Baker, Jean H., *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*, 287
- "Political Nativism: The Maryland Know-Nothings as a Case Study," 287
- "The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858-1870," 183
- Baker, Maury, "Cost Overrun, An Early Naval Precedent: Building the First U.S. Warships, 1794-98," 286
- Baker, Newton, 6
- Baldrige, Thomas, 222
- Baldwin, Ephraim, 341, 344
- Ball, Walter V., "The History of Mount Pleasant," 283
- Ball, William, 375
- Baltimore
- eighteenth-century annexations, 109-128
  - proprietary elections in, 134-135
  - slave trade in, 39
  - social climate in 1945, 138
- Baltimore*, by Sherry Olson, 290
- Baltimore Academy of the Visitation, 190
- Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 340ff.
- "Baltimore and the Panic of 1819," by Gary L. Browne, 284
- "Baltimore, 1729-1829; The Genesis of a Community," by Dennis Rankin Clark, 184
- Baltimore *American*, 113, 115, 169, 178r., 391
- "The Baltimore Community and the American Revolution: A Study in Urban Development, 1763-1783," by Paul Kent Walker, 184
- Baltimore Council for International Visitors, comp., *Maryland, Our Maryland: An Ethnic and Cultural Directory 1978*, 280
- Baltimore County Civic Federation of Improvement, 117, 120
- "The Baltimore County Historical Society of 1886," by William Hollifield, 281
- "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution," by Gary Lawson Browne, 181
- Baltimore Merchants and Manufacturers Association, 119, 122, 123
- Baltimore *News*, 169, 178r.
- Baltimore Normal School, 168-169
- "The Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers: Its Founders and Its Founding," by Martha S. Putney, 285
- "Baltimore's Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750-1815," by Geoffrey Neal Gilbert, 181, 284

- Baltimore *Sun*, 111, 115, 125r., 127r., 128r., 148, 149, 161r., 169
- "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," by Patricia Ann McDonald, 180, 184
- Banks, Samuel Lee, "A Descriptive Study of Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners as an Agent in School Desegregation, 1952-1964," 182
- Banning, Jeremiah, 251-252, 259, 276r.
- Barbados, slave imports from, 31ff.
- Barbour, Philip, 225n.
- Barker, Charles A., 29r., 135r.
- Barker, T. C., 277r., 279r.
- Barlow, Marjorie Dana, comp., *Notes on Woman Printers in Colonial America and the United States 1639-1975*, 290
- Barnes, Robert, comp., *Maryland Marriages 1778-1800*, 285
- Barnes, Robert, and Dawn F. Thomas, *The Green Spring Valley - Its History and Heritage*, reviewed, 291-292
- Barney, Joshua, 163-167
- Barry, Johanna, 386
- Barth, John, *A Floating Opera*, 143, 158r.
- Bartlett, Lee, "John Shaw, Cabinetmaker of Annapolis," 281
- Barzun, Jacques, 145, 158r.
- Batson, Whaley, "Charles Peale Polk: Gold Profiles on Glass," 281
- Batt, Richard John, "The Maryland Continentals, 1780-1781," 183
- Bayes, Harold Eugene, "A Descriptive Study of the Foreign Language Program and Its Development in the Secondary Public Schools of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1959-1969," 182
- Beall, Brooke, 4
- Beall family, 2, 3
- pro-Southern sympathies of during Civil War, 4
- Beall, George, 2, 4
- Beall, Lloyd, 2
- Beall, Ninian, Colonel, 2
- Beanes, William, physician, 389-393
- Beard, Charles A., 25r.
- Beatty, Charles, 1
- "Beautiful Hills of Garrett," by Lawrence Sagle, 284
- Beck, Rachel, 81
- Beckler, Edward, 217
- Bedinger, Daniel, 165, 166, 167
- Bedinger, Henry, 165, 167r.
- Bedini, Silvio A., "Andrew Ellicott, Surveyor of the Wilderness," 288
- "The Beginnings of the Afro-American Family in Maryland," by Allan Kulikoff, 283
- Beirne, Daniel Randall, "Steadfast Americans: Residential Stability Among Workers in Baltimore, 1880-1930," 289
- Beitzell, Edwin W., "Point Lookout Prison for Confederates: Supplemental Data," 286
- Belchier, Thomas, Reverend, 81
- Bell, Benjamin, Captain, 279r.
- "Benjamin Klasmer's Contribution to Baltimore's Musical History," Blanche Klasmer Cohen, 289
- Bennett family, 255
- Bennett, M. R., 392r., 393r.
- Bennett, Richard, 255
- Benoit, Leroy, 149, 160r.
- Benson, Martin, 234r.
- Bentley, Anna [Briggs], 194
- Berkey, Barry Robert, Velma Berkey, and Richard Erie Berkey, *Pioneer Decoy Carvers: A Biography of Lemuel and Stephen Ward*, 281
- Berry family, 3
- Berry, Mary Frances, *Military Necessity and Civil Rights Policy: Black Citizenship and the Constitution, 1861-1868*, reviewed, 102
- Berry, Philip T., 6, 9
- Berwyn Heights: History of a Small Maryland Town*, by D. D. Skarda, 284
- Betsy (schooner), 41
- Betty galley, 33
- Bevan, Thomas R., *220 Years... A History of the Catholic Community of the Frederick Valley*, 288
- "A Bibliography of Articles and Books on Maryland History, 1976," by Richard J. Cox, 280
- A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES, BOOKS, AND DISSERTATIONS ON MARYLAND HISTORY, 1977, by Richard J. Cox, 280-290
- Bicentennial Histories of Old Area Churches 1776-1976*, 288
- Biggs, G. Marie, *The Story of Jessup*, 214
- Binks, George, 223
- Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy*, ed. by Jon L. Wakelyn and Frank E. Vandiver, reviewed, 300
- Bishop, Cortland F., 224r.
- Black, William, 275, 278r., 279r.
- Black history in Maryland
- recent books and dissertations on, 181, 282-283
- BLACK IMMIGRANTS: THE SLAVE TRADE IN COLONIAL MARYLAND, by Darold D. Wax, 30-45
- Blackford, Rebecca [Gordon], 199
- Blackmur, R. P., 150
- "The Blackness of Darkness: Satire, Romance and Ebenezer Cook's *The Sotweed Factor*," by Robert D. Arner, 289
- Blacks, education of, 168-179
- Blackstone, Ebenezer, 134
- Blackstone, William, 62r, 245r.
- Blake, Helen D., 200
- Blanco, Tom, slave, 240
- Blank, Eugene, 142, 157r.

- Blathwayt, William, 44r., 91r.  
 Block, Laurence Erwin, "The History of the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore City: A Study of the Internal Politics of Education," 182  
 Blomes, R., 359r.  
 Bloom, Raymond, "History of Jewish Education in Baltimore during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 182  
 Boas, George, 150-151, 152, 158r., 159r., 160r., 161r.  
 Bode, Carl, *Maryland a Bicentennial History*, reviewed, 297-298  
 Boggs, F. Henry, 169  
 Bohemia Manor, 352  
 Bohmer, David A., "The Causes of Electoral Alignments: Some Considerations on How Party Behavior is Shaped," 287  
 "Voting Behavior During the First American Party System: Maryland, 1796-1816," 183  
 Boles, John B., *Religion in Antebellum Kentucky*, reviewed, 211-212  
 Bolton, William, Senator, 123  
 Bonaparte, Elizabeth [Patterson], 190, 202  
 Boogher, William F., 84r.  
*The Book of the Royal Blue*, 346  
 Boone, Agnes, 193  
 Boone, Sarah P. [Kennedy], 193  
 Booth, Sally Smith, *Seeds of Anger: Regolts in America, 1607-1771*, 287  
 Bordley, John, 130, 136r.  
 Bordley, Stephen, 42, 130, 136r., 247  
 Bordley, Thomas, 130, 136r.  
 Bornemann, Karl, 359r.  
 "Bosley's Adventure," 383  
 Bosley, William, 383  
 Bosman, Elizabeth (Mrs. Thomas Bacon), 81, 84  
 Bosman, Thomas, Colonel, 81  
 Boston, as slave trade port, 30  
 Boston *Guardian*, 172  
 Boucher, Jonathon, 13, 25r.  
 Bowie, Effie Gwynn, 10r., 11r., 12r.  
 Bowie, Mary Margaret, 7  
 Bowie, Minnie W., 194  
 Bowie, Washington, Colonel, 3, 9  
 Bowie and Kurtz, merchants, 3  
 Bowie Normal School, 168ff.  
 Bowie State College, 168  
 Bowman, Isaiah, 140, 141, 156r., 157r., 161r.  
 Boyd, Julian P., 136r.  
 Boyd, T. H. S., 11r.  
 Boyd, William H., 11r., 12r.  
 Boyers, Robert, 155r.  
 Brackett, Jeffrey R., 45r., 245r.  
 Bradburn, Clarence D., *Some Important People and Events of St. Mary's*, 283  
 Braddock at the Monongehela, by Paul E. Kopperman, 287  
 Bradford, James C., *Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Bicentennial History 1649-1977*, 283  
 Bradford, Phoebe [George], 193  
 Bradford, William, 338r.  
 Bradnocks, Thomas, 217  
 Breckinridge, Robert J., 188  
 Breslaw, Elaine, 234r., 235r.  
 "Dr. Alexander Hamilton and the Enlightenment in Maryland," 183  
 Brent, Giles, 217, 223, 225r.  
 Brent, Margaret, 224  
 Brigantine *Adventure*, 33  
 Brigantine *Dorset*, 33  
 Briggs, Hannah [Brooke], 194  
 Briggs, Isaac, 194  
 "Brittania and Silverplate Manufacturing, A Holmes Family Affair in Baltimore," by Dorothy T. Rainwater, 282  
*The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815*, by William Matthew Marine, 287  
 Brock, R. A., 184r.  
 Bromley, David G., 125r.  
 Bronk, Detlev, 152, 161r.  
 Bronson, Loosie, 190  
 Brooke, James, 14  
 Brooks, Richard Oliver, "Hiding Place in the Wind: The New Towns Attempt to Realize Communal Values in an Urban Society: A Case Study of Columbia, Maryland," 184  
 Brooks, Thomas, 240  
 Broome, John P., *Memoirs*, 282  
 Brown, E. Bennet, 388r.  
 Brown, Glenn, 70r.  
 Brown, James, 28r.  
 Brown, Joan Sayers, "William Faris Sr., His Sons, and Journeymen — Annapolis Silversmiths," 281  
 Brown, Marshall G., "The Oakland High School," 285  
 Brown, Paul D., 136r.  
 Brown, Vaughan W., 44r., 276r.  
 Browne, Gary L., "Baltimore and the Panic of 1819," 284  
 "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861: A Social Economy in Industrial Revolution," 181  
 Browne, William Hand, 62r., 91r., 224r., 225r., 398  
 Bruce, Philip Alexander, 277r.  
 Bruchey, Eleanor Stephens, *The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914*, 284  
 Brumbaugh, Gaius M., 339r.  
 BRUMBAUGH, THOMAS B., ed., *A Letter of Dr. William Thornton to Colonel William Thornton*, 64-70  
 Brune, Emily [Barton], 194  
 Buchanan, John, 15, 17, 18, 26r.  
 Buchanan, Robert Christie, 199  
 Buchholz, Heinrich Ewald, 374r.



- Buckler, Eliza [Ridgely] White, 192  
 Buckley, William, 151, 161r.  
 "The Bucklodge House: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Traditions on a Montgomery County Farm," by Theresa Gott and John Michael Vlach, 281  
*Building Poe Biography*, by John Carl Miller, 285  
 Bull, J. Edmund, "Bushtowne Store," 284  
     "John Love: The Forgotten Patriot," 282  
 Burckel, Nicholas Clare, "Progressive Governors in the Border States: Reform Governors of Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia and Maryland, 1900-1918," 183  
 Burgess, Robert H., *Louis J. Feuchter, Chesapeake Bay Artist*, 281  
 Burke, Padriac, "To Market, To Market, To Buy A Fat Pig! Farmers' Markets (past)," 284  
 Burns, Annie, 234r., 235r.  
 "Bush Hotel," James Thomas Wollon, Jr., 281  
 "Bushtowne Store," by J. Edmund Bull, 284  
*The Business Elite in Baltimore 1880-1914*, by Eleanor Stephens Bruchey, 284  
 BUTLER, STUART LEE, ed., *Thomas Swann and the British in St. Mary's County*, 71-78

## C

- Cake, Charles, 240  
 Cable, Thomas, 45r.  
 Calder, James, 131  
 Calderhead, William L., "A Strange Career in a Young Navy: Captain Charles Gordon, 1778-1816," 286  
     "The Role of the Professional Slave Trader in a Slave Economy: Austin Woolfolk, A Case Study," 282  
 Calderwood, Paul, T., "Community Schools of Garrett County," 285  
     "The Keyser Ridge Creamery," 283  
 Callister, Anthony, 45r.  
 Callister, Ewan, 84r, 85r, 278r., 279r.  
 Callister, Henry, 43, 45r., 80, 81, 84r., 85r., 86r, 246-279  
 Calvert, Cecil, Second Lord Baltimore, 217, 218, 220, 224  
 Calvert, Cecilius, 82, 85r., 86r., 136r., 235r.  
 Calvert, Frederick, Sixth Lord Baltimore, 31, 82, 85r, 86r., 129, 131, 136r.  
 Calvert, George, First Lord Baltimore, 217, 237  
 Calvert, Leonard, Governor, 31, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 237  
 Calvert, Philip, 353  
 Calvert County, proprietary elections in, 135  
 Calvert family, 129  
 "Campaign of 1777," by John F. Reed, 287  
 Campbell, Duncan, 20  
 Campbell, Thomas, 17  
 Canton, 117, 119  
 Capek, Thomas, 358r.  
*Care and Conservation of Collections*, ed. by Frederick L. Rath, Jr., and Merrillyn Rogers O'Connell, 214  
 Carey, W. Lee, 176  
 Carothers, Bettie C., 339r.  
 Carr, Lois Green, 280  
     "The Development of the Maryland Orphan's Court, 1654-1715," 286  
     with Aubrey C. Land and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, reviewed, 92-93  
     and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth Century Maryland," 290  
 Carrington, Joel Acus, "The Struggle for Desegregation of Baltimore City Public Schools, 1952-1966," 182  
 Carroll, Anna Ella, 186, 188  
 Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, 23, 25, 26r., 28r., 29r., 139, 376  
 Carroll, Charles, Barrister, 328ff.  
 Carroll, Charles, Dr., 265, 275, 278r., 279r.  
 Carroll, James, 388  
 Carter, John, Dr., 362  
 Carter, Edward C. II, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Journals, 1795-1797, 1797-1798*, reviewed, 399-400  
 Carter, John M., 169, 171  
 Carter, Robert, 234r.  
 Carver, Anna Mary [Murray], 194  
 "A Case Study of Major Educational Changes in a Two-Year College: The Democratization of Baltimore Junior College, 1947-1970," by Ralph Rodney Fields, 182  
 Casey, Margaret M., ed., *Our Legacy*, 285  
 Cassell, Frank A., "The Structure of Baltimore's Politics in the Age of Jefferson, 1795-1812," 287  
 Cassimere, Raphael, Jr., "The Origins and Early Development of Slavery in Maryland, 1633 to 1715," 181  
 Catterall, Helen, 244r.  
 "The Causes of Electoral Alignments: Some Considerations on How Partisan Behavior is Shaped," by David A. Bohmer, 287  
 Cauther, James, 219  
 Cawood, James K., Captain, 78r.  
*Cecil County Maryland Public Schools 1850-1858*, by Ernest A. Howard, 258  
 "A Century of Health Instruction in the Public Schools of Maryland, 1872-1972," by Corinda Octavia Stewart Waters, 183  
 Chafee, Zachariah, 152, 161r.  
 Chalmers, Sarah, 386  
 Chamberlaine, Samuel, 81, 252, 270, 277r.

- Chandler, George, 276r.  
 Chandler, John, 78r.  
 Chapin, Bradley, 61r.  
 Chapman family, 7  
 Chapman, Oscar James, 168, 177r.  
 "Charles Peale Polk: Gold Profiles on Glass," by Whaley Batson, 281  
 Chappel, Andrew, 219  
 Charleston, South Carolina, as slave trade port, 30  
 Chase, Samuel, 23, 132, 328ff  
 Cheesman, George, "Frederick County's Forgotten Glassmaker," 282  
*Chesapeake* (ship), 384  
*Chesapeake*, by James A. Michener, reviewed, 400-401  
 Chesapeake Bay, slave trade in, 30  
 "The Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum," by Anne M. Hays, 286  
 Chesley, Robert, 134  
 Chew, Samuel, 39  
*Chicago Defender*, 172  
 "China Trade Armorial Porcelain in America," by Clare Le Corbeiller, 282  
 Christ Church (Georgetown), 5, 9-10  
 Christopher Court and Company, of London, 22, 27r.  
*Cincinnatus* (ship), 164  
 "Citizens' Opinions Towards the Public Schools of Allegany County, Maryland" by Robert Edmund Terrill, 185r.  
 "A City and Its Social Problems: Poverty, Health and Crime in Baltimore, 1865-1875," by Charlotte Cannon Rhines, 184  
 Clagett, Elizabeth, 8  
 Clagett family, 3  
 Clark, Charles B., 276r., 277r., 279r.  
 Clark, Dennis Rankin, "Baltimore, 1729-1829: The Genesis of a Community," 184  
 Clark, George Rogers, General, 387  
 Clark, Raymond B., Jr., *Maryland Revolutionary Records: How to Find Them & Interpret Them*, 285  
 Clarke, Mary P., 225r.  
 Clarkson, Paul S., 388r.  
 Clemens, Paul G. E., "Economy and Society on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1689-1733," 284  
 "From Tobacco to Grain: Economic Development in Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1660-1750," 181  
 Clements family, 7  
 Clemm, Mrs. Maria Pol, 361ff.  
 Clemm, Rev. W. T. D., 362ff.  
 Clerk, Robert, 219  
 Cleveland, Grover, 340, 343, 347  
 Clifton, Ronald Dillard, "Forms and Patterns: Room Specialization in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania Family Dwellings, 1725-1834," 181  
 Clinton, General, 50  
 "The Clipper Ship: *Pride of Baltimore*," by Thomas Gillmer, 286  
 Clunas, Elizabeth [Randall], 198  
 Coale, Anne [Hopkinson], 196  
 Cockayne, G. E., 90r.  
 Cockburn, Sir George, Admiral, 390  
 Cockey, John, Jr., 386  
 Coe, Richard L., 398  
 Cohen, Blanche Klasmer, "Benjamin Klasmer's Contribution to Baltimore's Musical History," 289  
 Cole, Charles, 230, 232  
 Coleman, Anne Caroline, 191  
*Colonel Harry Gilmore's Raid Around Baltimore*, by Robert E. Michel, reviewed, 102-103  
 "Colonel Nicholas Rogers and His Country Seat, 'Druid Hill,' " by Alexandra Lee Levin, 282  
*Colonial History of Catonsville*, by George C. Keidel, 283  
*Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715*, by Margaret Shove Morriss, 284  
 Colville, Thomas, 131  
 Comenius, John Ames, 358r.  
 "The Common Farmer (Number 2): Herman Husband's Plan for Peace Between the United States and the Indians, 1792," by James P. Whittenburg, 286  
 "Community Schools of Garrett County," by Paul T. Calderwood, 285  
 Conant, James Bryant, 144  
 Cone Collection, 151  
 Cone, Edward T., 161r.  
 Confiscation Act of 1778, 48  
 "Conflict Group Formation: The Development of the Baltimore Teachers Union," by Diane Louise Keely, 182  
 "The Conscience of a City: A History of the Citizen's Planning and Housing Association and Efforts to Improve Housing for the Poor in Baltimore, Maryland, 1937-1954," by William Theodore Durr, 184  
 "The Constellation's Last Fight," by Edwin M. Hall, 286  
*Content* (ship), 250  
 THE CONVIVIAL DR. BEANES, by Ruth Kimball Kent, 389-393  
 Cooke, Ebenezer, 89  
 Cooper, John Milton, Jr., *Walter Hines Page. The Southerner as American 1855-1918*, reviewed, 298-299  
 Cope, Alice, 200  
 Copeland, Pamela C., and Richard K. McMaster, *The Five George Masons: Patriots and Planters of Virginia and Maryland*, reviewed, 100-101  
 Copley, Thomas, 219, 220  
 Corbeiller, Clare Le, "China Trade Armorial Porcelain in America," 282  
 Corcoran, Thomas, 5, 8

- Corcoran, William Wilson, 5, 11r.  
 Cornwallis, Lord, 49  
 Cornwallis, Thomas, 219, 222, 223  
 Cost, Jacob, 54-55  
 "Cost Overrun, An Early Naval Precedent: Building the First U.S. Warships, 1794-98," by Maury Baker, 286  
 Cotes, Samuel, 387  
 "The Cotton Operations of Alexander Brown and Sons in the Deep South, 1820-1860," by John R. Killick, 284  
 Coudin, Robert, 39  
 Coughlan, Robert, 156r., 157r.  
 Coulter, Calvin B., 13, 25r., 277r.  
*County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1640-1645*, ed. by Susie M. Ames, reviewed, 99  
*Country Inns of Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia*, by Lewis Perdue, 284  
 Covington, Richard, Captain, 362  
 Cox, John, Colonel, 8  
 Cox, Richard J., *A Bibliography of Articles, Books and Dissertations on Maryland History, 1977*, 280-290  
     *A Selected List of Recent Dissertations on Maryland History, 1970-1976*, 180-185  
 Cox, Richard J., "A Bibliography of Articles and Books on Maryland History, 1976," 280  
     "Manuscript Usage in the Private Historical Society: Maryland as a Case Study, 1970-1976," 281  
     "A New Source for Robert Bensley, English Actor: A Research Note," 282  
     "Stephen Bordley, George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland," 288  
 Coyle, Wilbur F., 125r.  
 Craig, Robert, 275r.  
 Crane, Lex, 157r.  
 Crapster, Basil L., ed., "'In the Finest Country': A Baltimore Cooper at the End of the Revolution," 284  
 Craven, Charles, 262, 266, 278r.  
 Craven, Wesley Frank, 43r.  
 "Creation of a Historic District in Annapolis," by Pringle Hart Symonds, 281  
 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND LOYALISTS IN MARYLAND V. CASPAR FRIETSCHIE, 1781, ed. by Peter G. Yackel, 46-63  
*Crisfield, Maryland 1676-1976*, by Woodrow T. Wilson, 284  
 Cromwell, J. H., *The Maryland Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence*, 287  
 Crook, Mary Charlotte, "Lilly Moore Stone, Founder of the Montgomery County Historical Society," 281  
 Crooks, James B., 126r.  
 Crow, Jeffrey J., and Larry E. Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, reviewed, 405-406  
 Crowl, Philip A., 62r., 337r.  
 Cullen, Thomas S., physician, 366  
 Cullen, Dr. William M., 361, 366  
 Cummings, Harry S., 172  
*Cunliffe* (ship), 33, 34  
 Cunliffe, Ellis, father of Foster, 249  
 Cunliffe, Sir Ellis, son of Foster, 249, 259, 271  
 Cunliffe, Foster, 249ff.  
 Cunliffe, Robert, 249, 259, 271  
 Cunningham, Noble E., Jr., 136r.  
 Curran, Amelia, 190  
 Curtin, Philip, 30, 43r., 45r.  
 Curtis Bay, 119  
 Custis, Eliza Parke, 190
- D
- Dabney, Virginius, *Richmond: The Story of a City*, 105-106  
 Dallas, Alexander James, 61r.  
*Daly v. Morgan et al.*, 117, 123, 126r.  
 Dandridge, Danske, 167r.  
 "The Darker Side of Democracy: The Baltimore Riots of 1812," by Donald R. Hickey, 287  
 Dartmouth, Lord, 29r.  
 Davidson, John, 5, 9, 22  
 Davidson, Lloyd C., 155r., 162r.  
 Davis, Allen Bowie, 194  
 Davis, Andrew J., 368  
 Davis, Curtis Carroll, *Revolution's Godchild: The Birth, Death, and Regeneration of the Society of the Cincinnati in North Carolina*, reviewed, 206-207  
 Davis, Erick F., "Saint Timothy's Hall," 285  
 Davis, Henry G., Senator, 341  
 Davis, Hester Ann [Wilkins], 194, 198  
 Davis, J. Paxton, 139, 142, 156r., 157r.  
 Davis, Joseph L., *Sectionalism in American Politics 1774-1787*, 287  
 Davis, Rebecca Dorsey, 194, 198  
 Davis, Richard Beale, 233r.  
 Davis, T. Sturgis, 387  
 Davis, W. Wilkins, 198  
*The Dawn's Early Light*, by Walter Lord, 68, 69, 70r., 71, 78r.  
 Daws, Francis, 383  
*The Days of My Years*, by Samuel Rosenblatt, reviewed, 210-211  
 Deakin, William, 3  
 Dean, David M., with Harry I. Stegmaier, Jr., Gordon E. Kershaw, and John B. Wiseman, *Allegany County — A History*, reviewed, 96-97  
 "Debtors, Creditors, and the General Assembly in Colonial Maryland," by Tommy R. Thompson, 285

- The Decisive Blow is Struck: A Facsimile edition of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 and the First Maryland Constitution*, by Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory A. Stiverson, 287
- Declaration of Rights, 49
- DEER PARK HOTEL, by Alison K. Hoaglund, 340-351
- Deer Park Spring Water, 346
- Degler, Carl, 244r., 245r.
- DEIBERT, WILLIAM E., *Thomas Bacon, Colonial Clergyman*, 79-86
- Delaplaine, Edward S., 393r.
- Delight Galley*, 33
- The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-92*, by Lawrence Grossman, reviewed, 212-213
- "The Depression and the New Deal in Maryland," by Charles Michael Kimberly, 184
- de Roth, Lydia Howard [Ford], 204
- "A Descriptive Analysis of the Master of Education Degree Program at the Frostburg State College, Maryland: 1958-1968," by Richard Carlton Sloop, 183
- "A Descriptive Study of Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners as an Agent in School Desegregation, 1952-1964," by Samuel Lee Banks, 182
- "A Descriptive Study of the Foreign Language Program and Its Development in the Secondary Public Schools of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1959-1969," by Harold Eugene Bayes, 182
- "A Descriptive Study of the Human Relations Activities and the Process of Desegregation in Prince George's County, Maryland Public Schools, 1965-1973," by Gretta Gordy Henry, 182
- "The Desegregation of Higher Education: A Case Study of the Problems and Issues Confronting the Implementation of the Maryland Plan for Completing the Desegregation of Its Public Postsecondary Education Institutions," by Merrit James Norvell, Jr., 185r.
- "The Development and Decline of Dorseys Forge," by John W. McGrain, 284
- "The Development of the Maryland Orphan's Court, 1654-1715," by Lois Green Carr, 286
- "Development of Roentgenology in Maryland, 1895-1926," by Charles A. Waters, 289
- "The Development of Special Education in Montgomery County, Maryland Public Schools From 1949 to 1975," by Pauline Parthenia Washington, 183
- Dewey, John, 151
- Dewey, Melville, 61r.
- "A Dialect Atlas of Maryland," by Bonnie M. Greatman, 184
- Diamond (snow), 41
- "Diary of Dr. Joseph L. McWilliams, 1868-1875," 282
- Dick, James, 23, 24, 26r., 28r., 39
- Dickinson, Catherine [Willard], 194
- Dickinson, James, 81, 255, 230
- Dickinson, Laura, 194
- Didier, Eugene, 366
- Dielman, Louis H., 388r.
- Difficulties Made Easy: History of the Turnpikes of Baltimore City and County*, by William Hollifield, reviewed, 300-301
- DINKIN, ROBERT J., *Elections in Proprietary Maryland*, 129-136
- Dodds, E. R., 162r.
- Dodge, Francis, Jr., 5
- Dodge, Francis, Sr., 5
- Dodge, Joseph Thompson, 11r.
- Dolphin* (ship), 33
- Done, Rachel Anne [Kerr], 191
- Donley, Raleigh, A., Jr., *A History of the Town of Cottage City Maryland*, 283
- Donnan, Elizabeth, 44r., 45r.
- DONNELLY, J. B., *The Vision of Scholarship: Johns Hopkins After the War*, 137-162
- Dorsey, William H., 1
- Douglas, George H., *H. L. Mencken: Critic of American Life*, reviewed, 402-404
- Douglass, Elisha P., 337r.
- Dounis, Nicholas George, "A Study of the States and Developmental Trends of Social Science Curriculum in the Public Community Junior Colleges of the State of Maryland for the Academic Years 1962-72," 182
- Dove* (ship), 397
- Dozer, Donald Marquand, *Portrait of the Free State: A History of Maryland*, 280
- Dragoo, Don W., "Some Aspects of Eastern North American Pre-History: A Review, 1975," 286
- "Dr. Alexander Hamilton and the Enlightenment in Maryland," by Elaine G. Breslaw, 183
- Drebeck, Sandra Ryan, "The Episcopalian Clergy in Maryland and Virginia, 1765-1805," 184
- Du Bois, William E. B., *Souls of Black Folk*, 172
- Dulany, Daniel, 233r.
- Dulany, Daniel, Jr., 130
- Dulany, Daniel, Sr., 131, 261
- Dulany, Walter, 82, 85r., 86r.
- Dumais, Richard Albert, "A Historical Study of the Establishment and Development of the Montgomery County Education Association (MCEA) Montgomery County, Maryland, 1897-1961," 182
- Dumont, Paul, 144
- Duncan, Henry S., 346
- Duncan, Richard R., and Dorothy M. Brown,

- comps., *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History*, 180
- Dunham, Chester Gray, "A Nineteenth Century Baltimore Diplomat: Christopher Hughes Goes to Sweden," 287
- Dunlap, William, 64, 69r.
- Dunlop family, 2
- Dupont, Dolores L., "Madam Sewall — Lady Baltimore," 290
- Dürr, William Theodore, "The Conscience of a City: A History of the Citizen's Planning and Housing Association and Efforts to Improve Housing for the Poor in Baltimore, Maryland, 1937-1954," 184
- Dutchesses, Margery, 239

## E

- Earle, Carville, "The First English Towns of North America," 289
- Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible*, by Marion Barber Stowell, 285
- "Early Folk Architecture of Washington County," by Paula Stoner, 281
- Early French Presence in Maryland 1524-1800*, by Gregory A. Wood, 284
- "Early Maryland Education: The Colonials, The Catholics and the Carrolls," by Ruth Bradbury LaMonte, 183
- "The Early Pension Plans of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Railroads, 1880-1937," by Neal Owen Higgins, 181
- Eastern Shore Triumvirate, 230
- Eastman, Nancy Lee, *Keys from the Seas, A Beginner's Guide to Identifying Shells Along the Mid-Atlantic Region*, 407
- Eccleston, Jonathon, 271
- Economics and business in Maryland, books and dissertations about, 181-182, 284-285
- "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," by Russell Robert Menard, 182
- "Economy and Society on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1689-1733," by Paul G. E. Clemens, 284
- Eddis, William, 129, 136r., 234r.
- Edelstein, Ludwig, 147, 161r.
- Eden, Robert, Governor, 23, 25, 29r., 339r.
- Education in Maryland, recent dissertations on, 182-183
- "The Education of Blacks in Maryland: An Historical Survey," by Clarence Kenneth Gregory, 182
- Edwards, James L., 387, 388
- "The Effect of the Revolution on the Bar: The Maryland Experience," by Dennis R. Nolan, 286
- Egnal, Marc, 14, 25r., 26r., 278r.
- Eisenhower, Milton S., 154, 162r.
- Ekrich, A. Roger, "'A New Government of Liberty': Herman Husband's Vision of Backcountry North Carolina, 1755," 289
- Elder, William Voss III, "Maryland Furniture, 1760-1840," 282
- ELECTIONS IN PROPRIETARY MARYLAND, by Robert J. Dinkin, 129-136
- Electric Sewing Machine Society, 200
- Elizabeth and Anne* (ship), 250
- Elizabeth Sturgis* (ship), 4
- Ellis, John, 87, 88
- "The Elusive Butterfly's Angry Pursuer: The Jamesian Style, Mencken, and Clear Writing," by Vincent Fitzpatrick, 285
- Embargo Acts of 1806 and 1807, 384
- "The Emergence of the Two-Party System in Maryland, 1787-1796," by Lee Lovely Verstandig, 184
- "Encouragement Exceeding Expectation: The Lloyd-Cadwalader Patronage of Charles Willson Peale," by Karol A. Schmiegel, 282
- Endeavour* (ship), 33
- Enfield, William, 276r.
- Engerman, Stanley, 43r.
- "An English Immigrant Views American Society: Benjamin Henry Latrobe's Virginia Years, 1796-1798," Lee W. Formwalt, 289
- Episcopal church (Georgetown), 9
- "The Episcopalian Clergy in Maryland and Virginia, 1765-1805," by Sandra Ryan Drebeck, 184
- Ernst, Joseph, 14, 25r., 26r., 278r.
- Evans, Emory G., 279r.
- Everest, Allan S., ed., *The Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton as one of the Congressional Commissioners to Canada in 1776*, 282
- Everett, Edward, 188
- Evitts, William J., 12r.
- "A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland From 1850 to 1861," 183
- Ewell, James, physician, 69

## F

- Fabnet, Francis, 219
- Faithorne, William, 357
- Falb, Susan Rosenfeld, "Advice and Ascent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689," 184
- FALB, SUSAN ROSENFELD, *Matthias da Sousa: Colonial Maryland's Black, Jewish Assemblyman*, 397-398
- Proxy Voting in Early Maryland Assemblies*, 217-225
- Family life in Maryland, recent dissertations on, 183
- Farmer, Henry G., 233r.
- Farmers and Mechanics Bank, of Georgetown, 5
- Clement Smith, President, 4
- William Marbury, President, 7

- Farrell, Rev. John J., "The Scope and Functions of an Educational Price Index — The Maryland Experience," 182
- Fayhey, Nellie, 191
- Fecher, Charles A., *Mencken: A Study of His Thought*, reviewed, 401-402
- Federalists, in Georgetown, 8-9
- The Federalists and the Origins of the U.S. Civil Service*, by Carl E. Prince, 287
- Feeney, Edward Jude, "A Study of the Development of the Elementary Principalship in Prince George's County, Maryland, Public Schools From 1940-1970," 182
- Fehrenbacher, Don E., "Roger B. Taney and the Sectional Crises," 287
- Feise, Ernst, 145, 158r.
- Fell's Point, 110
- Felt, Thomas E., *Researching, Writing, and Publishing Local History*, 106
- Female Bible Society of Annapolis, 200
- Fendell, Philip, 28r.
- Ferguson, Benjamin, 390
- Ferguson, Blanche [Smith], 188
- "The FHA and Home Ownership in the Baltimore Housing Market (1963-1972)," by Lawrence Stephen Klugman, 184
- Field, S. S., 127r.
- Fields, Ralph Rodney, "A Case Study of Major Educational Changes in a Two-Year College: The Democratization of Baltimore Junior College, 1947-1970," 182
- Fillmore, Millard, 188
- "First American Theatre Contracts: Wall and Lindsay's Maryland Company of Comedians, and the Annapolis, Fell's Point, and Baltimore Theatres, 1781-1783," Lynn Hains, 289
- "The First English Towns of North America," by Carville Earle, 289
- "The First Lord of Bohemia Manor," by Dee Smith, 282
- First Settlements of Germans in Maryland...*, by Edward Thomas Schultz, 284
- Fisbaugh, Elija, 386
- Fisher, James Long, "The Origin and Development of Public School Music in Baltimore to 1870," 182
- Fiske, John, 353
- Fitch, James Marston, 349, 351r.
- Fithian, Philip V., 234r.
- Fitzgerald, Alice Louise Florence, 203
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 140, 156r.
- Fitzhugh, William, 39, 41
- Fitzpatrick, Vincent, "The Elusive Butterfly's Angry Pursuer: The Jamesian Style, Mencken, and Clear Writing," 285
- "Mencken, Dreiser, and the Baltimore Evening Sun," 285
- The Five George Masons: Patriots and Planters of Virginia and Maryland*, by Pamela C. Copeland and Richard K. McMaster, reviewed, 100-101
- Flagg, Rev. Louis S., 171-172
- Fletcher, Brady Jones, "A History of Vocational and Career Education in Montgomery County, Maryland Public Schools," 285
- Flottemesch, Bob, 142, 157r.
- Flour, as chief business of Georgetown in 1830s, 5
- "Flour Milling and the Growth of Baltimore, 1783-1830," by George Terry Sharrer, 182
- Footner, Hulbert, 167r.
- Forbes, George, 172
- Force, Peter, 29r.
- Ford, James Fitz Gerald, "Social Planning and New Towns: The Case of Columbia, Maryland," 184
- Ford, T. Latimer, Jr., "Adena Sites on Chesapeake Bay," 286
- Ford, Worthington C., 61r.
- Forkel, Johann N., 234r.
- Forman, Martha [Brown], 195
- Forman, Thomas Marsh, 195
- THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF MARYLAND'S FIRST BLACK POSTSECONDARY SCHOOL, by Martha S. Putney, 168-179
- "Forms and Patterns: Room Specialization in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania Family Dwellings, 1725-1834," by Ronald Dillard Clifton, 181
- Formwalt, Lee W., "An English Immigrant Views American Society: Benjamin Henry Latrobe's Virginia Years, 1796-1798," 289
- Forrest family, 7
- Forrest, Stoddert, and Murdock, tobacco exporters, 2-3
- Forrest, Uriah, 3
- Fort McHenry  
bombaraded by British, 390-392  
during Civil War, 394-396
- Forwood, Rachel [Stump], 193
- Foster Cunliffe and Sons, 34, 80, 246-279
- FOSTER CUNLIFFE AND SONS: LIVERPOOL MERCHANTS IN THE MARYLAND TOBACCO TRADE, 1738-1765, by John W. Tyler, 246-279
- Foster, Joseph, 276r.
- Fowey (warship), 376
- Fox, George C., 29r.
- Foball, Henry, 8, 9
- Francis Depau (ship), 4
- "Francis Makemie (1658-1708)," Richard S. Uhrbrock, 288
- Franck, James, 158r.
- Franklin, John Hope, 178r.
- Frazer, Simon, General, 379
- "Frederick County's Forgotten Glass-maker," by George Cheesman, 282
- "Frederick County, Maryland 1800 Census,"

- by Helen W. and Frank H. Seubold, 286  
 Free Summer Excursion Society, 200  
 Freemasons, 231  
 Frick, George A., 126r.  
 Friday, Lucy R., 202  
 Friedenwald, Jonas S., "Ophthalmology in Maryland Through 1925," 288  
 Friedenwald, Marie Louise, 200  
*Friendship* (ship), 38  
 Frietschie, Caspar, 49ff.  
 Fritchie, Barbara, 381  
 Fritchie, Caspar, 380  
 "From the Sea With Wings: Maryland and the Flying Boat," Norman N. Rubin, 289  
 "From Tobacco to Grain: Economic Development in Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1660-1750," by Paul Gilbert Eli Clemens, 181  
*Frostburg Salutes the Bicentennial*, 283  
 Frye, Carolina Virginia Marylandia [Johnson] Buchanan, 199  
 Fulton, Jean Boyd, 191  
 "Furnishing the Museum Rooms of the William Paca House," by Gregory R. Weidman, 282  
 Furst, Frank, 121, 123
- G
- Gale, Matthias, 268  
 Gale, William, 252, 268  
 Galenson, David, "Immigration and the Colonial Labor System: An Analysis of the Length of Indenture," 284  
 Galloway, John, 18, 22, 27r, 44r.  
 Galloway, Joseph, 13, 25r.  
 Galloway, Samuel, 15, 17-18, 26r., 27r., 28r., 40-43, 44r., 45r., 268  
 Gambia (river), slave trade along, 32  
 Garitee, Jerome R., *The Republic's Private Navy: The American Privateering Business as Practiced by Baltimore During the War of 1812*, reviewed, 294-295  
 "Private Enterprise and Public Spirit: Baltimore Privateering in the War of 1812," 183  
 Garonzik, Joseph, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870," 181  
 Garrett, John W., 340ff.  
 Garrett, Patrick J., 345  
 Garrett, Robert, 340ff.  
 Garrison, Gail L., "Two Early Romantic Paintings at the Baltimore Co-Cathedral," 282  
 Gassaway, Henry, 18  
 Gates, Horatio, General, 379  
 Gay, Nicholas Ruxton, 376, 382  
 Gebhard, D., 350r.  
 Gehret, Ellen J., *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing*, reviewed, 103-104  
 "General Lew Wallace: Latter-Day Lord of Baltimore," by Robert E. Morsberger, 282  
 "The General's Highway," by Ruth Keith, 283  
 Genovese, Eugene D., 43r.  
*George* (ship), 34  
 "George Alsop's *A Character of the Province of Maryland: A Critical Edition*," by Harry Henson Kunesch, 183  
*George Washington* (ship), 163  
 Georgetown  
   antebellum social climate of, 1  
   Maryland gentry in, 1783-1861, 1-12  
   original settlers, 2  
   Water (now K) Street, 4  
*Georgetown Advocate*, 8, 12r.  
 Gerard, Thomas, 222  
 Gerber, Ernst L., 234r.  
 Germantown, 377  
 Gibbons, Boyd, *Wye Island: Outsiders, Insiders, and Resistance to Change*, 283  
 Giddens, Paul H., 29r., 277r.  
 Gidding, Joyce, 240  
 Gifford, George E., Jr., and Florence B. Smallwood, "Audubon's View of Baltimore," 282  
 Gifford, Walter, 141  
 Gilbert, Geoffrey N., "Baltimore's Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750-1815," 181, 284  
 Gildard, James, 17  
 Gildart, James, 252, 268, 276r.  
 Gildart, Richard, 252, 268, 276r.  
 Gill, William Fearing, 374r.  
 Gillespie, John Thomas, "A History and Descriptive Study of the Media Centers of the Montgomery County Public Schools, Montgomery County, Maryland (1948-1969)," 182  
 Gillmer, Thomas, "The Clipper Ship: *Pride of Baltimore*," 286  
 Gilman, Daniel Coit, 139  
 Gilman, Elisabeth, 200  
 Gipson, Lawrence H., 279r.  
 Gist, Mordecai, 376  
 Gittings, Victoria, 188-189  
 Glass, Bentley, 155r., 156r.  
 Glassford, John, 17, 20  
 Gleason, Philip, "The Main Sheet Anchor: John Carroll and Catholic Higher Education," 288  
 Glenn, William J., 361, 367  
 Goddard, Mary Katherine, 186  
 Goebel, Julius, Jr., 61r., 63r.  
 Godefroy, Eliza H. M., 190  
 Gold Coast, slaves from, 36  
 Goldfarb, Howard, 158r.  
 Goldfarb, Sydney Heyman, 158r.  
 Goldin, Claudia Dale, *Urban Slavery in the American South 1820-1860: A Quantitative History*, 289



- Goldman, Eric F., 157-158r.  
 Goldsborough, Charles, 277r., 396  
 Goldsborough, Helen, 396  
 Goldsborough, Philip Lee, Governor, 121, 123, 127r.  
 Goldsborough, Robert, 255  
 Goldsborough, William, 255  
 Golovin, Anne Castrodale, "William King Jr., Georgetown Furniture Maker," 282  
 Goodhand, Marmaduke, 32  
 Goodloe, Don Speed Smith, 173, 174, 176  
 Goodloe, Fannie Lee Carey, 174, 176  
 Goodloe, Wallace, 178r.  
 Goodrich, Howard Bruce, 156r.  
 Goodwin, William, 26r.  
 Goosey, Samuel, 240  
 Gordon, Emily [Chapman], 199  
 Gordon family, 7  
 Gordon, John, 230, 231  
 Gordon, Susan F., 199  
 Gorman, Arthur Pue, 115  
 Gott, Theresa, and John Michael Vlach, "The Bucklodge House: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Traditions on a Montgomery County Farm," 281  
 Goucher College, 143  
 Gounsault, Baudille, 233r.  
 Gough, Harry Dorsey, 380  
 Grahame, Charles, 23, 28r., 41  
 Grain trade, in eighteenth-century Maryland, 268-269  
 Granger, Gideon, 71  
 Grassineau, James, 234r.  
*A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland*, by Ray Eldon Hiebert and Richard K. McMaster, reviewed, 96-97  
 Graves, Adam, 62r.  
 Graves, Ann Jane [Baker], 189  
 Graves, Anna Melissa, 204  
 Graves, John George, 62r.  
 Graves, William, 29r.  
 Gray, Lewis Cecil, 244r., 275r., 278r., 279r.  
 de Grazia, Alfred, 224r.  
 "Great Houses from the Golden Age of Annapolis," by George B. Tatum, 281  
*The Great National Project: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, by Walter S. Sanderlin, 289  
 Greater Baltimore Bill, 123  
 Greater Baltimore League, 121, 122  
 Greatman, Bonnie M., "A Dialect Atlas of Maryland," 184  
 Green, Jonas, 230, 231  
 Green, Nathaniel, 379  
*The Green Spring Valley — Its History and Heritage*, by Dawn F. Thomas and Robert Barnes, reviewed, 291-292  
 Greene, Thomas, 222, 223, 224  
 Greenway, Robert, 267, 279r.  
 Gregory, Clarence Kenneth, "The Education of Blacks in Maryland: An Historical Survey," 182  
 Gresham, John, 131  
 Gresham, William E., 155r.  
 Grew, Lawrence, comp., *Waiting for the 5:05. Terminal, Station, and Depot in America*, 105  
 Griffith, Nannie Taylor, 204  
 Gross, Dalton, "H. L. Mencken and George Sterling: Mencken in San Francisco Bohemia," 285  
 Grossman, Lawrence, *The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-92*, reviewed, 212-213  
 Grosz, George, 145, 158r.  
 Grove, Silvanus, 15, 17-18, 20, 26r., 27r.  
 Guest, Rebecca [Hall], 195  
 Guggenheimer, Aimee, 202  
 Gutman, Bertha, 202  
 Gutman, Joel, 202
- H
- H. L. Mencken: Critic of American Life*, by George H. Douglas, reviewed, 402-404  
 "H. L. Mencken and George Sterling: Mencken in San Francisco Bohemia," by Dalton Gross, 285  
 "H. L. Mencken and the First World War," by Merritt W. Mosely, Jr., 285  
 "H. L. Mencken and Press Criticism," by Theo Lippman, Jr., 285  
 Hagleton, Thomas, slave, 239-240  
 Hahn, H. George, and Carl Behm III, *Towson: A Pictorial History of a Maryland Town*, 283  
 Haile, Elmer R., 388r.  
 Haims, Lynn, "First American Theatre Contracts: Wall and Lindsay's Maryland Company of Comedians, and the Annapolis, Fell's Point, and Baltimore Theatres, 1781-1783," 289  
 Hakewill, William, 224r.  
 Halbert, James W., 388  
 Halcyon House, 3  
 Haley, Kenneth C., "A Nineteenth Century Portraitist and More: James Alexander Simpson," 282  
 Hall, Aquila, 22, 27r.  
 Hall, Clayton C., 43r., 125r., 244r.  
 Hall, Edwin M., "The Constellation's Last Fight," 286  
 Hall, James O., "Why John M. Lloyd was in Upper Marlboro," 282  
 Hall, John, 23, 328ff.  
 Hamersby, Hugh, 86r.  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 19, 23, 24, 27r., 28r., 85r., 134, 136r., 228, 230, 231, 234r.  
 Hamilton, Gilbert, 136r.

- Hamilton, John, Colonel, 166  
 Hammett, Regina Combs, *History of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, 283; reviewed, 404-405  
 Hammond, Albert, 151, 160r.  
 Hammond, John, 43-44r.  
 Hammond, Maria Johns, 189  
 Hammond, Matthias, 23, 135, 328ff.  
 Hammond, Rebecca, 382  
 Hammond, Rezin, 23, 328ff.  
 Hammond, William, 24, 28r.  
 Hammond Society, 151  
 "The Hammond-Harwood House: A Colonial Masterpiece," by William H. Pierson, Jr., 281  
 Hanbury, Capel, 14, 26r.  
 Hanbury, John, 247  
 Hanbury, Osgood, 14, 26r.  
 Hancock, Elise, 162r.  
 Handel, J. F. C., physician, 366  
 Handlin, Oscar and Mary F., 244r., 245r.  
 Hanley, Thomas O'Brien, 398  
 Hanmer, John, 81, 255, 261  
 Harper, Catherine Carroll, 191, 195  
 Harper, Elizabeth Hyde, 191  
 Harper, Emily Louisa, 191, 195  
 Harper, Mary Diana, 191  
 Harper, Robert Goodloe, 191  
*Harper's Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change*, by Merritt Roe Smith, 289  
 Harrar, H. Joanne, "Maryland: Abraham Milton *The Farmer's Companion* 1761," 285  
 Harrington, Emerson, 120, 122  
 Harris, Benjamin Gwinn, U.S. Representative, 195  
 Harris, Martha Elizabeth, 195  
 Harris, Matthias, 130  
 Harrison, George, Dr., 171  
 Harrison, J. A., Professor, 361  
 Harvey, Katherine A., ed., *The Lonaconing Journals: The Founding of a Coal and Iron Community, 1837-1840*, reviewed, 99-100, 284  
 Haskins, Arthur L., "A Short History of the Teaching of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Maryland," 288  
 Hartzler, Daniel D., *Arms Makers of Maryland: Long rifle Series*, 288  
 Hatcher, Anna Granville, 146, 159r.  
 Hatzfeld, Helmut, 159r.  
 Havens, Raymond Dexter, 144, 154  
 Haw, James Alfred, 276r.  
*Hawk* (ship), 41  
 Hawkins, John., 227, 234r.  
 Hawkins, Josias, 132  
 Hayes, John, 237  
 Haynes, George H., 225r.  
 Haynie, Leah Byrd, 197  
 Hays, Anne M., "The Cheasapeake Bay Maritime Museum," 286  
 Hazard, Samuel, 61r.  
 Hecht, Arthur, 78r.  
 Heck, Earl L. W., 358r.  
 HEINTZE, JAMES R., *Alexander Malcolm: Musician, Clergyman, Schoolmaster*, 226-235  
 Helmes, Winifred G., ed., *Notable Maryland Women. A Maryland Bicentennial Publication*, reviewed, 205-206, 290  
 Hemphill, John M., 25r., 278r.  
 Henderson, William, 84r.  
 Henig, Gerald S., "A Marylander's Impressions of Europe During the Summer of 1854," 289  
 Hening, William W., 61r.  
 Hennessey, James, "The Maryland Guard Battalion 53rd Regiment, Maryland Volunteer Militia 1860-1861," 287  
 Henry, Greta Gordy, "A Descriptive Study of the Human Relations Activities and the Process of Desegregation in the Prince George's County, Maryland Public Schools, 1965-1973," 182  
*Henry Harford: Last Proprietor of Maryland*, by Vera F. Rollo, reviewed, 95-96, 282  
 Herman, Abraham, 352  
 Herman, Ben, 140, 153  
 Herring, Henry, 360ff.  
 Hervy, Nicholas, 223  
 Hexter, J. H., 161r.  
 Heywood, Thomas, 276r.  
 Hickey, Donald R., "The Darker Side of Democracy: The Baltimore Riots of 1812," 287  
 Hicks, Thomas, Governor, 188  
 "Hiding Place in the Wind: The New Towns Attempt to Realize Communal Values in an Urban Society: A Case Study of Columbia, Maryland," by Richard Oliver Brooks, 184  
 Hiebert, Ray Eldon, 10r.  
 with Richard K. McMaster, *A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland*, reviewed, 96-97  
 Hienton, Louise Joyner, 10r.  
 Higgins, Neal Owen, "The Early Pension Plans of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Railroads, 1880-1937," 181  
 Higgins, W. Robert, 43r.  
 Highlandtown, 114, 117  
 Hinkley, Anne [Keemlé], 195  
 Hinkley, Edward Otis, 195  
 Hiser, S. A., 387  
 Hiss, Alger, 149-150, 160r.  
 "Historic Preservation in Annapolis," by St. Clair Wright, 281  
 "An Historical Analysis of Events and Issues Which Have Led to the Growth and Development of the University of Mary-

- land Eastern Shore From 1886-1975," by Wilbert Randolph Wilson, 183
- "The Historical Development of Special Education Services in Howard County, Maryland," by Martha Goodwin Sullivan, 183
- "A Historical Study of the Art Education Curriculum at the Maryland State Normal School From 1866 to 1909," by Lloyd Dean Miller, 183
- "A Historical Study of the Establishment and Development of the Montgomery County Education Association (MCEA) Montgomery County, Maryland, 1897-1961," by Richard Albert Dumais, 182
- "Historical Study of the Progress of Racial Desegregation in the Public Schools of Baltimore, Maryland," by Julia Roberta O'Wesney, 183
- "A History and Descriptive Study of the Media Centers of the Montgomery County Public Schools, Montgomery County, Maryland (1948-1969)," by John Thomas Gillespie, 182
- "History Behind You, Costs Ahead," Tom Lake and John Bayne, 289
- "History Keeps a Valley Green," by Missy Warfield, 284
- A History of Beltsville*, 283
- A History of Brooklyn-Curtis Bay, 1776-1976*, 283
- "A History of the Children's Theatre Association of Baltimore, Maryland From 1943-1966," by Joanna Halpert Kraus, 183
- "History of Jewish Education in Baltimore during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," by Raymond Bloom, 182
- "The History of Med-Chi Meetings, 1799-1977," by Lester H. Miles, 288
- "The History of Mount Pleasant," by Walter V. Ball, 283
- A History of One and Two-Room Schools in Charles County*, by Richard McDuffie and Robert Cary, eds., 285
- "The History of the Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore City: A Study of the Internal Politics of Education," by Laurence Erwin Block, 182
- A History of Sherwood Parish 1930-1976*, 288
- "History of State Institutions and Private Sanatoriums for the Insane Prior to 1930," by George M. Preston, 289
- A History of Suitland. Prince George's County, Maryland... 1867-1976*, by Darlie Norton, 283
- History of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, by Regina Combs Hammett, 283; reviewed, 404-405
- A History of the Town of Cottage City Maryland*, by Raleigh A. Donley, Jr., 283
- "A History of Vocational and Career Education in Montgomery County, Maryland Public Schools," by Brady Jones Fletcher, 285
- A History of Woodward, Baldwin & Co.*, by Mary Baldwin Baer and John Wilbur, 284
- Hitchcock, H. R., 350r.
- HOAGLUND, ALISON K., *Deer Park Hotel*, 340-351
- Hoblitzel, Mrs. Allen, 372
- Hobson, John, 22
- Hodges, Allan A., and Carol A., *Washington on Foot: 25 Walking Tours of Washington, D.C., Old Town Alexandria, Virginia and Historic Annapolis*, 283
- Hodgkin, Thomas Brooke, 233r.
- Hodgson, Jonathan A., "Tolchester: Yesterday's Leisure," 283
- Hoffman, Ronald, 14, 25r., 26r., 28r., 276r., 334, 338r.
- Hofstetter, Eleanore O., and Marcella S. Eustis, comps., *Newspapers in Maryland Libraries: A Union List*, 280
- Holborn, Hajo, 145, 158r.
- Holdsworth, William S., 62r.
- Hollander, Jacob, 125r.
- Hollander, Sidney, 200
- Hollar, Wencelas, 357
- Hollifield, William, "The Baltimore County Historical Society of 1886," 281
- Difficulties Made Easy: History of the Turnpikes of Baltimore City and County*, reviewed, 300-301
- Hollingsworth, Anna Maria, 195
- Hollingsworth, Lydia E., 195
- Hollyday, James, 27r., 255, 277r.
- Homewood Field, 139
- Homewood House, 139
- Hooper, Mr., 228
- Hopkins, Ernest, 157r.
- Hopper, William, 268
- Horne, Patricia E., "The Organizational Network of Kent County, Maryland: 1650-1800," 184
- Houlette, William D., 278r.
- HOW COMMODORE JOSHUA BARNEY OUTWITTED THE BRITISH at NORFOLK, by Alexandra Lee Levin, 163-167
- "How Theodore R. McKeldin, Sr., Almost Became Mayor of Washington, D.C.," by Blaine Taylor, 288
- Howard, Ernest A., *Cecil County Maryland Public Schools 1850-1858*, 285
- Howard, James H., "The Nanticoke-Delaware Skeleton Dance," 286
- Howard, John Tasker, 235r., 392r.
- The Howard University Bibliography of African and Afro-American Religious Studies: With Locations in American Libraries*, comp. by Ethel L. Williams and Clifton F. Brown, 302
- Howe, Sir William, 48, 377

- Howerton, Emily, 362  
 Hruschlea, Peter Daniel, "The Acquisition and Maintenance of Position as Economic Elite: A Study of Four Maryland Families, 1630-1960," 183  
 Hubner, Charles W., 368, 374r.  
 "Hugh Jones and His Universal Georgian Calendar," by John Davenport Neville, 289  
 Hughes, Susan E., "An Annapolis Landmark for 200 Years: The Hammond-Harwood House," 281  
 Hull, D., 268  
*The Human Dimensions of Nation Making: Essays on Colonial and Revolutionary America*, ed. by James Kirby Martin, reviewed, 208-210  
 Humphrey, Robert L., and Mary Elizabeth Chambers, *Ancient Washington: American Indian Culture of the Potomac Valley*, 286  
 Hungerford, E., 350r.  
 Hunt, Gaillard, 61r.  
 Hunt, William, 44r.  
 Hunter, Elizabeth A., 195-196  
 Hunter, George, 388r.  
 Hunter, Samuel, 81  
*Hunter Galley*, 33  
 HURST, HAROLD W., *The Maryland Gentry in Old Georgetown: 1783-1861*, 1-12  
 Hutchinson, Louise Daniel, *The Anacostia Story: 1608-1930*, 283  
 Hutchinson, William, 84r.  
 Hutton, Matthew, 234r.  
 Hutzler, Ella [Gutman], 202  
 Hyde, F. E., 277r.  
 Hyde, John, 247  
 Hyde, Thomas, 21, 27r., 233r.

## I

- "An Identification of Black Studies Programs in the State of Maryland with Emphasis on the Black Studies Program in the Public High Schools of Prince George's County, Maryland, As Perceived by Principals, Teachers, and Students in the Spring Semester of 1970-71," by Donald Allen Kiah, 182-183  
 "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," by Russell R. Menard, 289  
 "Immigration and the Colonial Labor System: An Analysis of the Length of Indenture," by David Galenson, 284  
 "In the Finest Cuntrey: A Baltimore Cooper at the End of the Revolution," by Basil L. Crapster, ed., 284  
 Indian history in Maryland, books and dissertations on, 286  
 "Inequality in Early America: The Evidence from Probate Records of Massachusetts and Maryland," by Gloria L. Main, 284  
 Ingle Lodge for Girls, 201  
 "Integration of Black History with United States History and Urban Geography with Modern Problems Courses in the Secondary Schools of the State of Maryland," by James Arthur Addy, 182  
 Intellectual and literary life in Maryland, recent dissertations on, 183  
*An Inventory of Maryland State Papers, Volume I: The Era of the American Revolution 1775-1789*, by Edward C. Papenfuse, Gregory A. Stiverson, and Mary D. Donaldson, 281  
 "An Investigation of the Relationship Between A Set of Economic Concerns and Teacher Withdrawal in the State of Maryland From 1960-1970," by Jerome James Ryscavage, Jr., 183  
 "Involuntary Community: Conscientious Objectors at Patapsco State Park During World War II," by Edward Orser, 287  
 Isaacs, Bertha Patience, 203

## J

- Jackson, John, 277r.  
 Jackson, Kenneth T., 125r.  
 Jackson, Leonora, 188  
 Jackson, Richard P., 10r., 11r., 12r.  
 Jackson, Ronald Vern, et al., eds., *Maryland 1810 Census Index*, 285  
 Jackson, Ronald Vern, et al., eds., *Maryland 1820 Census Index*, 286  
 Jamaica, slaves from, 38  
 James, Bartlett, B., 358r.  
 James Brown and Company, of Glasgow, 19, 23, 268  
 James Clemens and Company of Liverpool, 41  
 Jarvis, Rupert, 275r.  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 233r., 384  
 Jeffrey, Thomas E., "The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. New Approaches to the Micropublication of Historical Records," 281  
 Jenkins, Martin D., 160r.  
*Jenny* (ship), 41, 42  
 Jericho Park, 171  
 Jett, R. Samuel, 388r.  
 Jews, in Baltimore, social status of, 138  
 "The Jews of Baltimore: 1810 to 1820," by Ira Rosenwaikie, 288  
*John and Constant Galley*, 33  
 John Fowler and Company of Bristol, 41  
 John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, first performed with orchestra in America, 231  
 John Glassford and Company, tobacco exporters, 2  
*John Hopewell* (ship), 33  
 "John Love: The Forgotten Patriot," by J. Edmund Bull, 282  
 "John Shaw, Cabinetmaker of Annapolis," by Lee Bartlett, 281

- John Smith and Sons, of Baltimore, 24-25, 28r., 29r.
- Johns Hopkins Magazine*, 153
- Johns Hopkins Philosophical Association, 151
- Johns Hopkins University, post-World War II, 137-162
- Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, by Herbert Baxter Adams, 180
- Johnson, Baker, 51
- Johnson, Gerri, "Maryland Roots: An Examination of the Free State's WPA Ex-Slave Narratives," 283
- Johnson, John, 134
- Johnson, Joshua, 22, 28r.
- Johnson, Reverdy, 188
- Johnson, Sir Thomas, 1, 249
- Johnson, Thomas J., 346, 386
- JOHNSON, WHITTINGTON B., *The Origin and Nature of African Slavery in Seventeenth Century Maryland*, 236-245
- Jones, Caleb, 78r.
- Jones, Carleton, *Maryland: A Picture History, 1632-1976*, reviewed, 93-95
- Jones, Carleton, "Mencken's Union Square: Then and Now," 281
- Jones, Elias, 136r.
- Jones, Hugh, Reverend, 88-89
- Jones, Mary G., 85r.
- Jones, Timothy, Colonel, 68
- Jonestown, 110
- JORDAN, DAVID W., ed., *Maryland Hoggs and Hyde Park Dutchesses: A Brief Account of Maryland in 1697*, 87-91
- Jordan, David W., "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637-1715," 287
- Jordan, Jeremiah, 336
- Jordan, William, 239
- Jordan, Winthrop, 236, 244r., 245r.
- Joseloff, Samuel H., *The Legacy of Rabbi Morris Lieberman*, 288
- The Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton as one of the Congressional Commissioners to Canada in 1776*, ed. by Allan S. Everest, 282
- The Journal of the History of Ideas*, 145
- Joyce, John A., Colonel, 366, 372
- "The Joys of Shoal Draft As told to Frederick Tilp by William Dodge," 286
- K
- Kahn, Florence R., 189
- Kammen, Michael G., 91r.
- Kanarek, Harold, "The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Early Internal Improvements in Maryland," 288
- KANSKY, KAREL J., *Augustine Herman: The Leading Cartographer of the Seventeenth Century*, 352-359
- Katz, Elia, 157r.
- Kearns, Richard, "The Annapolis Cityscape," 289
- "Urban Design [of Annapolis]," 289
- Keech, Lillian Sue, 189
- Keely, Diane Louise, "Conflict Group Formation: The Development of the Baltimore Teachers Union," 182
- Keemlé, Anna Maria [Mather], 195
- Keidel, George C., *Colonial History of Catonsville*, 283
- Keith, Ruth, "The General's Highway," 283
- Kelly, Frank, 121, 122
- Kelso, James, 382
- Kelso, Sarah, *see* Moore, Sarah [Kelso]
- Kempton, Murray, 150, 160r.
- Kenny, Hamill, "Place Names and Dialects: Algonquian," 286
- Kent, Frank R., *The Story of Alex Brown & Sons 1800-1975*, 284
- Kent, George Robert, "A Survey of Integrated and Separate Black Studies in Maryland Secondary Schools, Grades 10-12," 182
- KENT, RUTH KIMBALL, *The Convivial Dr. Beanes*, 389-393
- Kershaw, Gordon E., with Harry I. Stegmaier, Jr., David M. Dean, and John B. Wiseman, *Allegany County — A History*, reviewed, 96-97
- Kessler, Harry, 158r.
- Key, Francis Scott, 7, 9, 390-392
- Key, John Ross, 380
- Key, Philip Barton, 7, 130, 393r.
- Key, V. O., 148, 160r.
- Keys from the Seas, A Beginner's Guide to Identifying Shells Along the Mid-Atlantic Region*, by Nancy Lee Eastman, 407
- "The Keyser Ridge Creamery," by Paul T. Calderwood, 283
- Kiah, Donald Allen, "An Identification of Black Studies Programs in the State of Maryland with Emphasis on the Black Studies Program in the Public High Schools of Prince George's County, Maryland, As Perceived by Principals, Teachers, and Students in the Spring Semester of 1970-71," 182-183
- Kidwell, A. L., 6, 11r.
- Killick, John R., "The Cotton Operations of Alexander Brown and Sons in the Deep South, 1820-1860," 284
- Kimberly, Charles Michael, "The Depression and New Deal in Maryland," 184
- Kimmel, Ross M., 244r., 245r.
- King, Jane R., 192
- Kingsbury, Susan Myra, 225r.
- Kingsworth, Eliza, 192
- Kinsey, Melissa, 128r.
- Klapthor, Margaret B., 136r.
- Klein, Herbert S., 43r., 44r., 45r.
- Klingelhofer, Herbert E., 337r

- Klugman, Lawrence Stephen, "The FHA and Home Ownership in the Baltimore Housing Market (1963-1972)," 184
- Kopperman, Paul E., *Braddock at the Monongehela*, 287
- Kraft, Barbara, 158r.
- Kraus, Joanna Halpert, "A History of the Children's Theatre Association of Baltimore, Maryland From 1943-1966," 183
- Kreymbord, Alfred, 393r.
- Krugler, John D., " 'Our Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor.' The Parliamentary Career of Sir George Calvert, 1609-24," 287
- "Puritan and Papist: Politics and Religion in Massachusetts and Maryland Before the Reformation of Charles II," 184
- Kulikoff, Allan, "The Beginnings of the Afro-American Family in Maryland," 283
- "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland," 182
- Kunesch, Harry Henson, "George Alsop's *A Character of the Province of Maryland: A Critical Edition*," 183
- Kurtz, John, 3
- L
- La Fayette, Marquis de, 380
- La Harmonie* (ship), 164
- La Monte, Ruth Bradbury, "Early Maryland Education: The Colonials, The Catholics and the Carrolls," 183
- LaMotte, Ellen N., 202
- La Railleuse* (ship), 164
- Labaree, Leonard W., 245r.
- Lahey, R. J., "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," 288
- Laird, John, 1, 2
- Lake, Tom, and John Bayne, "History Behind You, Costs Ahead," 289
- Lammond, John, 233r.
- Lancaster, Henry Carrington, 149, 160r.
- Lancaster, Maria Dabney, 149
- Land, Aubrey C., 85r., 135r., 136r., 277r., 280 with Lois Green Carr and Edward C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, reviewed, 92-93
- "Land Tenure, Property Ownership and Home Mortgages in the Late Nineteenth Century, A Case Study of Baltimore's Germans," by Martha J. Vill, 184
- "Landless Husbandmen. Tenants on the Maryland Proprietary Manors in the Eighteenth Century: An Economic Study," by Gregory Alan Stiverson, 182
- "Landless Husbandmen: Proprietary Tenants in Maryland in the Late Colonial Period," by Gregory A. Stiverson, 285
- Lane, Frederick Chapin, 144, 157r.
- Lanier, Alma I., "St. Ignatius Roman Catholic Church, Brinkley Road, Temple Hills, Maryland," 288
- Langford, John, 22, 223, 225r.
- Larner, John B., 392r.
- Latimer, John, 225r.
- Latrobe, Edna Claiborne, 201
- Latrobe, Ferdinand C., 115
- Lattimore, Owen, 149, 150, 152, 153, 160r., 161r.
- Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, ed., by Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, reviewed, 92-93
- Lawrence, Sir Thomas, 87-91
- Lawson, James, 21, 27r.
- The Lawyer's Round Table of Baltimore and Its Charter Members*, by H. H. Walker Lewis, reviewed, 293-294
- League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 204
- Leaming, Aaron, 338r.
- Lee, Blaire, 121
- Lee, Blair, Senator, 171
- Lee, Charles, General, 376
- Lee, "Light Horse" Harry, General, 379, 383
- Lee, Mrs. Edmund J., 394
- Lee, Netta, 394-396
- Lee, Richard Henry, 28r.
- Lee, Robert E., General, 394
- Lee, "Rooney," 394
- Lee, Thomas Sim, Governor, 50, 51, 54, 56, 380, 383
- Lee, William, 26r., 28r.
- Lee, Z. Collins, Judge, 367
- The Legacy of Rabbi Morris Lieberman*, Samuel H. Joseloff, 288
- Legal history in Maryland, recent dissertations and books on, 183, 286
- Legg, John C., Sr., Colonel, 369
- Lehman, James O., "The Mennonites of Maryland During the Revolutionary War," 288
- Lemay, J. A. Leo, 90r., 91r.
- Lerner, Max, 145, 158r.
- Les Callette, Millard C., with Reginald V. Truitt, *Worcester County, Maryland's Arcadia*, reviewed, 96-97
- A LETTER OF DR. WILLIAM THORNTON TO COLONEL WILLIAM THORNTON, ed. by Thomas B. Brumbaugh, 64-70
- Levering, Patricia W. and Ralph B., "Women in Relief: The Carroll County Children's Aid Society in the Great Depression," 290
- LEVIN, ALEXANDRA LEE, *A Wounded Confederate Soldier's Letter from Fort McHenry*, 394-396

- How Commodore Joshua Barney Outwitted the British at Norfolk*, 163-167
- Levin, Alexandra Lee, "Aaron Aaronsohn; Pioneer Scientist, Spy and Friend of Henrietta Szold," 282
- "Colonel Nicholas Rogers and His Country Seat, 'Druid Hill,'" 282
- Levin, Harry, 143, 148, 158r., 159r.
- Levy, Eleanor, 200
- Lewgar, John, 217, 222, 223, 397
- Lewis, Dr., 172
- Lewis, H. H. Walker, *The Lawyer's Round Table of Baltimore and Its Charter Members*, reviewed, 293-294
- The United States District Court of Maryland*, 286
- Lewis, Mary (Mrs. Ray T.), 203
- Lewis, Ronald Loran, "Slavery in the Chesapeake Iron Industry, 1716-1865," 181
- Lichtenwanger, William, "The Music of 'The Star-Spangled Banner': From Ludgate Hill to Capitol Hill," 289
- Liebmann, George W., *Maryland Practice: District Court Law and Practice*, 286
- The Life and Letters of Dr. Jonas Friedenwald*, Moses Aberbach, 288
- "Lilly Moore Stone, Founder of the Montgomery County Historical Society," by Mary Charlotte Crook, 281
- L'Insurgente* (ship), 164
- Linthicum, Edward Magruder, 4-5, 11r.
- Linthicum, Otho M., 5
- Lippman, Theo, Jr., "H. L. Mencken and Press Criticism," 285
- Lisburger, Carolyn, 200
- Lisle, Robert, 28r.
- Litchfield, Grace Denio, 189, 190
- Little, Peter, 385
- Liverpool Merchant* (ship), 250, 258, 267
- Lloyd, Edward, III, 39, 81, 255, 270, 277r.
- Lloyd family, 255
- Lloyd, Malcolm, Jr., 226, 233r.
- Lloyd, Richard, 255
- Lloyd, Sally Scott [Murray], 196
- Lodington, William, 221, 222
- The Lonaconing Journals: The Founding of a Coal and Iron Community, 1837-1840*, ed. by Katherine A. Harvey, reviewed, 99-100, 284
- London Friggot* (ship), 33
- "London Town Public House: Landmark from the Past," by G. E. Atterbury, 283
- Long, Clarence, 144, 152, 155r., 156r.
- Lorca, Frederico Garcia, 137, 142
- Lord, Charles K., 344
- Lord, Walter, *The Dawn's Early Light*, 68, 69, 70r., 71, 78r.
- Louis J. Feuchter, *Chesapeake Bay Artist*, by Robert H. Burgess, 281
- Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken, 153, 161r.
- Low, Theodore L., *The Perils of a Tour Leader*, 282
- Lower Malboro, slave trade in, 39
- Löwith, Karl, 145, 147
- Lowndes, Christopher, 3
- Lowndes family, 3, 7, 9
- Lowndes, Frances, 1
- Lowndes, Francis, 3
- Lowndes, Rebecca, 3
- Loyalists, prosecution of, for treason, during Revolution, 46ff.
- Lumber trade, in antebellum Georgetown, 5-6
- Lumbrozo, Jacob, 397
- Lux, Darby, 21, 27r.
- Lux, Darbey, 45r.
- Lux, William, 21, 23, 27r., 28r., 38, 45r., 230, 231, 233r.
- Lyon, Robert, 387
- Lyttleton, Thomas, 233r.

## M

- Macauley, P. Stewart, 161r.
- Maccubbin, Nicholas, 28r.
- Mackall, Benjamin, 4
- Mackall family, 3-4, 7
- pro-Southern sympathies of, during Civil War, 4
- Mackall, James, 3-4
- Mackall, Leonard, 4
- Mackall, Louis, physician, 4, 7
- Mackall, Sally S., 10r.
- MacKenzie, Tacy Burges [Norbury], 193
- Mackubin, Florence, 188
- Macon's Bill No. 2, 384
- "Madame Sewall — Lady Baltimore," by Dolores L. Dupont, 290
- "'Maggie' Mehring's Diary — 1863," 290
- Magruder, Alan B., 10r.
- Magruder, Alexander, 3
- Magruder family, 3, 9
- pro-Southern sympathies of, during Civil War, 4
- Magruder, Hezekiah, physician, 3, 7
- Magruder, James A., 3, 8, 9
- Magruder, Priscilla, 5
- Magruder, William, 3
- Mahaffy, Robert Pentland, 224r.
- Main, Gloria L., "Inequality in Early America: The Evidence from Probate Records of Massachusetts and Maryland," 284
- "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy, 1670-1720," 284
- "Personal Wealth in Colonial America: Explorations in the Use of Probate Records from Maryland and Massachusetts, 1650-1720," 182
- Main, Jackson T., 136r., 337r.
- "The Main Sheet Anchor: John Carroll and



- Catholic Higher Education," by Philip Gleason, 288
- Malcolm, Alexander, 226-235  
*New System of Arithmetic, Theoretical and Practical*, 227  
*A New Treatise of Arithmetic and Book-Keeping*, 227  
*Treatise of Book-Keeping on Merchants Accounts*, 227  
*A Treatise of Musick: Speculative, Practical and Historical*, 227
- Malcolm, Alexander, Jr., 227
- Malcolm, Elizabeth, 227
- Malcolm, Gilbert, 227
- Malcolm, John, 226
- Malcolm, Quinton, 227
- Manchester, William, 150, 160r.
- "Manuscript Usage in the Private Historical Society: Maryland as a Case Study, 1970-1976," by Richard J. Cox, 281
- Maple, John, 45r.
- Marbury family, 4, 7  
 pro-Southern sympathies of, during Civil War, 7
- Marbury, John, 4, 7, 9
- Marbury v. Madison*, 4
- Marbury, William, lawyer, 4, 7
- Marcus, Jacob, 397
- Maria* (ship), 4
- Marine, Harriet P., 371, 372
- Marine, William Matthew, 371-372  
*The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815*, 287
- Marion, Francis, Colonel, 379
- Maritime history in Maryland, books and dissertations on, 286
- Marshall, Humphrey, 387
- Marshall, W., Confederate soldier, 394-396
- Martin, James Kirby, ed., *The Human Dimensions of Nation Making: Essays on Colonial and Revolutionary America*, reviewed, 208-210
- "Martin John Spalding: Bishop of Louisville and Archbishop of Baltimore, 1810-1872," by Thomas William Spalding, 184
- Martin, Luther, Attorney General, 56, 380
- Martin, Margaret Wilmot, 11r.
- Mary* (ship), 33
- Maryland  
 constitution of 1776, 327ff.  
 County Courts, in handling of colonial debt cases, 19ff.  
 early assemblies in, House of Lords as model for, 218  
 indentured servants in, 31  
 Provincial Courts, in handling of colonial debt cases, 19ff.  
 rules of procedure for treason trials during Revolution, 49  
 state motto, sexual bias of, 186
- Maryland v. Adam Graves*, 63r.
- Maryland v. Caspar Frietschie*, 46-63
- Maryland v. Charles of Topsham*, 62r.
- Maryland v. Daniel Daley*, 62r.
- Maryland v. Edward Sutton*, 62r.
- Maryland v. Henry Shell*, 63r.
- Maryland v. Jacob Fox*, 62r.
- Maryland v. James Chalmers*, 62r.
- Maryland v. James Frisby*, 62r.
- Maryland v. John Burton*, 62r.
- Maryland v. John George Graves*, 63r.
- Maryland v. John Sterling*, 62r.
- Maryland v. John Tims*, 62r.
- Maryland v. Nicholas Andrews*, 63r.
- Maryland v. Peter Sueman*, 63r.
- Maryland v. William Fitz Redmond and Edward Coyle*, 62r.
- Maryland v. Yost Plecker*, 63r.
- Maryland a Bicentennial History*, by Carl Bode, reviewed, 297-298
- "Maryland: Abraham Milton *The Farmer's Companion* 1761," by H. Joanne Harrar, 285
- "Maryland and the American West at Independence," by Lemuel Molovinsky, 287
- "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy, 1670-1720," by Gloria L. Main, 284
- Maryland: A Picture History, 1632-1976*, by Carleton Jones, reviewed, 93-95
- "The Maryland Bank Stock Case: British-American Financial and Political Relations Before and After the American Revolution," by Jacob M. Price, 287
- Maryland 1810 Census Index*, by Ronald Vern Jackson et al., eds., 285
- Maryland 1820 Census Index*, ed. by Ronald Vern Jackson et al., 286
- "The Maryland Continentals, 1780-1781," by Richard John Batt, 183
- "Maryland Furniture, 1760-1840," by William Voss Elder III, 282
- Maryland Gazette*, 18, 26r., 27r., 28r., 32-34, 39, 44r., 45r., 85r., 132, 230, 231, 233, 235r., 261-262, 329, 336, 338r.
- THE MARYLAND GENTRY IN OLD GEORGETOWN: 1783-1861, by Harold W. Hurst, 1-12
- "The Maryland Guard Battalion 53rd Regiment, Maryland Volunteer Militia 1860-1861," by James Hennessey, 287
- MARYLAND HOGGS AND HYDE PARK DUTCHESSES: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MARYLAND IN 1697, ed. by David W. Jordan, 87-91
- Maryland Journal*, 115
- Maryland Marriages 1778-1800*, comp. by Robert Barnes, 285
- The Maryland Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence*, by J. H. Cromwell, 287
- Maryland Normal and Industrial School, 173

- Maryland, Our Maryland: An Ethnic and Cultural Directory 1978*, Baltimore Council for International Visitors, comp., 280
- Maryland Practice: District Court Law and Practice*, by George W. Liebmann, 286
- Maryland Revolutionary Records: How to Find Them & Interpret Them*, by Raymond B. Clark, Jr., 285
- "Maryland Roots: An Examination of the Free State's WPA Ex-Slave Narratives," by Gerri Johnson, 283
- Maryland State Colonization Society, 201
- "The Maryland Theatrical Season of 1760," by Kathryn Painter Ward, 289
- "Marylanders in Battle: I'll Dine in Baltimore or In Hell," 287
- Maryland's Bicentennial Trees and A Listing of Species of Trees Believed to be Living in Maryland in 1776*, 283
- "A Marylander's Impressions of Europe During the Summer of 1854," by Gerald S. Henig, 289
- "Marylanders, Personal Indebtedness, and the American Revolution," by Tommy R. Thompson, 182
- "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637-1715," by David W. Jordan, 287
- MARYLAND'S PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS FOR OFFICE: A REINTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1776, by Thornton Anderson, 327-339
- "Maryland's Rivers — Something Special," by Eugene R. Slatick, 284
- Mason, Frances Norton, 275r.
- Mason, Louisa Gilmor, 196
- Masons, 231
- Massenbach, Felix Louis, 376
- Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History*, comp. by Richard R. Duncan and Dorothy M. Brown, 180
- Matejski, Myrtle Polley, "The Influence of Selected External Forces on Medical Education at the University of Maryland School of Medicine, 1910-50," 285
- Mathews, Edward Bennett, 355, 358r., 359r.
- "A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland From 1850 to 1861," by William Joseph Evitts, 183
- Matthews, Henry Cooksley, 7, 9, 10
- Mattheson, Johann, 227, 234r.
- MATTHIAS DA SOUSA: COLONIAL MARYLAND'S BLACK, JEWISH ASSEMBLYMAN, by Susan Rosenfeld Falb, 397-398
- Mauduit Wright and Company, of London, 22, 27r.
- Maynadier, Daniel, 80
- McCauley, Donald, "The Urban Impact on Agricultural Land Use: Farm Patterns in Prince George's County, Maryland 1860-1880," 280
- McConkey, C. W., 387
- McConkey, Edward G., 387
- McCormac, Eugene I., 244r.
- McCoy, Frederick L., "St. Mary's County Men in the American Revolution, 1777," 287
- McCreary, George W., 28r.
- McCreesh, Carolyn, "The Secession Crisis of 1860-1861," 287
- McDiarmid, John, 160r.
- McDonald, Lawrence Herbert, "Prelude to Emancipation: The Failure of the Great Reaction in Maryland, 1831-1850," 184
- McDonald, Patricia Ann, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," 180, 184
- McDuffie, Richard, and Robert Cary, eds., *A History of One and Two-Room Schools in Charles County*, 285
- McGrain, John W., "The Development and Decline of Dorseys Forge," 284
- McGraw v. Merryman*, 127r.
- McKean, Adrianna, 386
- McKean, James, 388
- McKean, William Swann, 386
- McKittrick, Claudia [Old], 203
- McLachlan, James, *Princetonians 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary*, 282
- McLaughlin, Andrew C., 225r.
- McMaster, Richard Kilman, 10r.
- and Pamela C. Copeland, *The Five George Masons: Patriots and Planters of Virginia and Maryland*, reviewed, 100-101
- with Ray Eldon Hiebert, *A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland*, reviewed, 96-97
- McNeal, May [Preston], 199
- McMahon, John V. L., 337r.
- Medusa* (ship), 164
- Memoirs*, John P. Broome, 282
- Menard, Russell R., 44r., 244r.
- "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," 289
- "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," 182
- "Mencken, Dreiser, and the Baltimore Evening Sun," by Vincent Fitzpatrick, 285
- Mencken: A Study of His Thought*, by Charles A. Fecher, reviewed, 401-402
- "Mencken's Union Square: Then and Now," by Carleton Jones, 281
- "The Mennonites of Maryland During the Revolutionary War," by James O. Lehman, 288
- "Mercantile Opportunity and Urban Development in a Planting Society: A Case Study of Annapolis, Maryland, 1763-1805," by Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr., 182
- Mereness, Newton D., 135r., 136r., 225r.
- Merrick, William D., 388
- Methodist congregation (Georgetown), 9

- Michel, Robert E., *Colonel Harry Gilmor's Raid Around Baltimore*, reviewed, 102-103
- Michener, James A., *Chesapeake*, reviewed, 400-401
- The Mid-Atlantic States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Five Mid-Atlantic States and the Nation's Capital*, by Neal R. Peirce and Michael Barone, 280
- Middleton, Arthur Pearce, 275r., 276r., 277r., 278r.
- Middleton, Mr., 231
- Miles, Lester H., "The History of Med-Chi Meetings, 1799-1977," 288
- Military history in Maryland, books and dissertations on, 183, 286-287
- Military Necessity and Civil Rights Policy: Black Citizenship and the Constitution, 1861-1868*, by Mary Frances Berry, reviewed, 102
- Miller, Hezekiah, physician, 10
- Miller, John Carl, *Building Poe Biography*, 285
- Miller, Kelly, 157r.
- Miller, Lloyd Dean, "A Historical Study of the Art Education Curriculum at the Maryland State Normal School From 1866 to 1909," 183
- Miller, Mary Owings, 155r.
- Miller, M. Sammy, "Patty Cannon: Murderer and Kidnapper of Free Blacks: A Review of the Evidence," 283
- Mills, C. Wright, 161r.
- Minden* (sloop), 390
- Minor, Mary [Stewart], 194
- Misses Hall's Alumnae Association, 192
- Mitchell, Mary, *Divided Town*, 7, 11r., 12r.
- Moale, Mary [Winchester], 192, 198
- Moale, William Armistead, 198
- Molleson, William, 15, 21, 26r., 27r.
- Molly* (schooner), 38
- Molovinsky, Lemuel, "Maryland and the American West at Independence," 287
- Monkur, John C. S., Professor, 361, 365
- Monroe, James, 164
- Moon, Philip, 142, 157r.
- Moore, Camilla Hammond, 386
- Moore, Eleanor, 375
- Moore, Elizabeth, 375
- Moore, Gay, 386
- Moore, James Francis, 375, 386-387
- Moore, James, Jr., 375
- Moore, John Gay, 375
- Moore, John W., 234r.
- Moore, Nicholas Ruxton, 375-388
- Moore, Rachael, 375
- Moore, Rebecca, 386
- Moore, Sarah [Kelso], 382, 387-388
- Moore, Smith Hollins, 386
- Moore, William, Jr., 24
- Moran, John J., physician, 360ff.
- Moran, Mary O., 365ff.
- Mordan, George, 225r.
- Moreau, Jean Victor, French general, 70r.
- Morgan, Daniel, General, 381
- Morgan, Sidney, 190
- Morris, Andrew, 251
- Morris, Ellin, 251
- Morris family, 227
- Morris, Josephine Cushing, 192
- Morris, Margaret, 251
- Morris, R. V., Captain, 78r.
- Morris, Robert, Jr., 267
- Morris, Robert, Sr., 80, 251-279
- Morris, Robert, violinist, 230
- Morris, Sarah [Cushing], 192
- Morris, Thomas John, 192, 222
- Morris, Wesley, 159r.
- Morris, Margaret Shove, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715*, 284
- Morsberger, Robert E., "General Law Wallace: Latter-Day Lord of Baltimore," 282
- Morsell, James, judge, 7, 10
- Moseley, Merritt W., Jr., "H. L. Mencken and the First World War," 285
- Mosher, Philip, 369ff.
- Mount Royal Station, 341
- Mueller, Frederick William, "The Rebirth of the Belvedere," 281
- Muir, Kenneth Knight, "A School System and Its Students Come to Terms: A Description of Student Activism in the Montgomery County, Maryland, Public Schools, 1960-1969," 183
- Murdock, William, 3
- Murphy, Tim, 379
- Murray, William, 277r.
- Murray-Kean Company, 231
- "The Music of 'The Star-Spangled Banner': From Ludgate Hill to Capitol Hill," by William Lichtenwanger, 289

## N

- Namier, Sir Louis, 84r., 277r.
- "The Nanticoke-Delaware Skeleton Dance," by James H. Howard, 286
- Nantocoke Indian Heritage Project, comp., *A Photographic Survey of Indian River Community*, 286
- Nast, Lenora Heilig, "The Role of the Clergy in Jewish-Christian Relations in Baltimore From 1945 to 1975," 288
- National League of American Pen Women, Baltimore Branch, 201
- "The National Urban League Comes to Baltimore," by Ralph L. Pearson, 290
- Naughton, Raymond T., 61r.
- Near, Pickney Langlois, 160r.
- Neilson, Mary, 227
- Nelly, apple vendor, 363-364
- Nettels, Curtis P., 338r.
- Neville, John Davenport, "Hugh Jones and His Universal Georgian Calendar," 289

- Nevins, D., 350r.  
 Newell, D., 350r.  
 New England, involvement in slave trade, 30ff.  
 " 'A New Government of Liberty': Herman Husband's Vision of Backcountry North Carolina, 1755," by A. Roger Ekrich, 289  
 "A New Source for Robert Bensley, English Actor: A Research Note," by Richard J. Cox, 282  
*Newspapers in Maryland Libraries: A Union List*, comp. by Eleanor O. Hofstetter and Marcella S. Eustis, 280  
 New York  
   Loyalist activity in, 47-48  
   as slave trade port, 30  
*New York v. Anthony Hill*, 61r.  
*New York v. Anthony Umans*, 61r.  
*New York v. Jacobus Rose, Jacob Middagh et al.*, 61r.  
*New York v. James Heuston et al.*, 61r.  
*New York v. Job Babcock*, 61r.  
*New York v. John Likely*, 61r.  
*New York v. John Williams*, 61r.  
*New York v. Simon Mabee*, 61r.  
 Newport, as slave trade port, 30  
 Nichodemus, Henry, 54-55  
 NICHOLAS RUXTON MOORE: SOLDIER, FARMER AND POLITICIAN, by Edward E. Steiner, 375-388  
 Nicholas, William S., 6  
 Nicholson, Francis, Governor, 32, 44r., 88, 91r.  
 Nicholson, James, 27r.  
 Nicols, Jeremiah, 268  
 Nicolson, Marjorie, 160r.  
*Nile's Weekly Register*, 111, 125r.  
 "A Nineteenth Century Baltimore Diplomat: Christopher Hughes Goes to Sweden," by Chester Gray Dunham, 287  
 "A Nineteenth Century Portraitist and More: James Alexander Simpson," by Kenneth C. Haley, 282  
 Nisbet, Robert, 161r.  
 Nolan, Dennis R., "The Effect of the Revolution on the Bar: The Maryland Experience," 286  
 Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, 384  
 Norris, Richard, 249  
 Norton, Darlie, *A History of Suitland, Prince George's County, Maryland... 1867-1976*, 283  
 Nowell, Merritt James, Jr., "The Desegregation of Higher Education: A Case Study of the Problems and Issues Confronting the Implementation of the Maryland Plan for Completing the Desegregation of Its Public Postsecondary Education Institutions," 185r.  
*Notable Maryland Women. A Maryland Bicentennial Publication*, ed. by Winifred G. Helmes, reviewed, 205-206, 290  
 "Notes on the Origin of Garrett County, Md.," 283  
 Nottingham, Maryland, slave trade in, 39
- O
- "The Oakland High School," by Marshall G. Brown, 285  
 The Oaks, 5  
 O'Brien, Dorothy, and Helen H. Jaszi, "The Town of Somerset," 283  
 O'Connell, Merrilyn Rogers, with Frederick L. Rath, Jr., eds., *Care and Conservation of Collections*, 214  
 Octagon House, 69  
 Offit, Sidney, 139, 155r., 156r.  
 Offut, Hillary, 6  
 Offut, William, 6  
 Ogle, Samuel, Governor, 131, 136r., 229  
 Oliver, Roger, 219  
*Olive Tree* (ship), 33  
 Olmert, Michael, "The South River Club: America's Patriarchal Social Institution," 289  
 Olson, Sherry, *Baltimore*, 290  
 "One Family's Empire: The Russell-Lee-Clerk Connection in Maryland, Britain, and India, 1707-1857," by Jacob M. Price, 284  
 "Ophthalmology in Maryland Through 1925," by Jonas S. Friedenwald, 288  
 Orendorff, Christian, Captain, 49, 54  
 "The Organizational Network of Kent County, Maryland: 1650-1800," by Patricia E. Horne, 184  
 "The Origin and Development of Public School Music in Baltimore to 1870," by James Long Fisher  
 THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF AFRICAN SLAVERY IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND, by Whittington B. Johnson, 236-245  
*The Origin and Resolution of An Urban Crisis: Baltimore, 1900-1930*, Alan D. Anderson, 289  
 "The Original Criminal Jurisdiction of the Superior Courts of Judicature of Colonial Maryland, New York, and Massachusetts," by Peter Garrett Yackel, 183  
 "The Origins and Early Development of Slavery in Maryland, 1633 to 1715," by Raphael Cassimere, Jr., 181  
 Orrick, Elizabeth (Mrs. Nicholas Ruxton Moore), 380, 381  
 Orser, Edward, "Involuntary Community: Conscientious Objectors at Patapsco State Park During World War II," 287  
 Orwig, Mary [Sipp], 198  
 Osler, Revere, 154  
 Osler, Sir William and Lady, 154

- Ostrander, Gilman M., 45r., 278  
*Our Legacy*, by Margaret M. Casey, ed., 285  
 " 'Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor:'  
 The Parliamentary Career of Sir George  
 Calvert, 1609-24," by John D. Krugler,  
 287  
 Overzee, Simon, 239, 241  
 O'Wesney, Julia Roberta, "Historical Study  
 of the Progress of Racial Desegregation in  
 the Public Schools of Baltimore, Mary-  
 land," 183  
 Owings, Donnell M., 91r., 135r.  
 Oxford, Maryland  
     eighteenth-century, 79ff.  
     as slave trade port, 32-33  
 Oyer and Terminer, special commissioners  
 of, 47ff.
- P
- "The Paca House Garden Restored," by St.  
 Clair Wright, 281  
 Paca, William, 135  
 Pachter, Henry, 155r.  
 Pagan, James, 26r.  
 Paine, Ralph D., 167r.  
 Painter, Orin C., 371  
 Painter, Sidney, 144, 158r.  
 Pangborn, J. G., 350r.  
 Panofsky, Erwin, 145, 147  
*Panopea* (ship), 4  
 Papenfuse, Edward, 26r., 45r., 280, 338r.  
     "Mercantile Opportunity and Urban De-  
     velopment in a Planting Society: A  
     Case Study of Annapolis, Maryland,  
     1763-1805," 182  
     and Gregory A. Stiverson, *The Decisive  
     Blow is Struck: A Facsimile edition of  
     the Proceedings of the Constitutional  
     Convention of 1776 and the First Mary-  
     land Constitution*, 287  
     and Gregory A. Stiverson, and Mary D.  
     Donaldson, *An Inventory of Maryland  
     State Papers, Volume I: The Era of  
     the American Revolution 1775-1789*,  
     281  
     with Lois Green Carr and Aubrey C.  
     Land, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics  
     in Early Maryland*, reviewed, 92-93  
*The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*,  
*Journals, 1795-1797, 1797-1798*, ed. by Ed-  
 ward C. Carter II, reviewed, 399-400  
 "The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe.  
 New Approaches to the Micropublication  
 of Historical Records," by Thomas E. Jef-  
 frey, 281  
 "The Papers of John Carroll," by Joseph  
 Agonito, 288  
 Pares, Richard, 277r.  
 Parker, Josiah, 166  
 Parsons, Richard, comp., "Tours for Families  
 or Groups in Metropolitan Baltimore," 290  
 Patapsco Female Institute, 192  
 "Patty Cannon: Murderer and Kidnapper of  
 Free Blacks: A Review of the Evidence,"  
 by M. Sammy Miller, 283  
 Patuxent, as slave trade port, 32  
 Paul, William G., 178r.  
     "The Shadow of Equality: The Negro in  
     Baltimore, 1864-1911," 181  
 Peabody, George, 11r.  
 Peale, Charles Willson, 132  
 Pearson, Ralph L., "The National Urban  
 League Comes to Baltimore," 290  
 Peet, H., 276r.  
*Peggy Stewart* (ship), 337  
 Peirce, C. S., 151  
 Peirce, Neal R., and Michael Barone, *The  
 Mid-Atlantic States of America: People,  
 Politics, and Power in the Five Mid-Atlan-  
 tic States and the Nation's Capital*, 280  
 Peirson, William Owings, Jr., 160r.  
 Pennington, Josias, 341, 344  
 Penniman, George, 139  
 Pennsylvania  
     Loyalist activity in, 48  
     slave trade in, 38-39  
*Pennsylvania v. John Elwood*, 61r.  
 Perdue, Lewis, *Country Inns of Maryland,  
 Virginia and West Virginia*, 284  
 Pepusch, John C., 234r.  
*The Perils of a Tour Leader*, by Theodore  
 L. Low, 282  
 Perkins, Buchanan, and Brown, London mer-  
 chants, 21  
 Perry, Micajah, 247  
 Perry, William S., 85r., 234r.  
 Persico, James E., 393r.  
 PERSONAL INDEBTEDNESS AND THE AMERICAN  
 REVOLUTION IN MARYLAND, by Tommy R.  
 Thompson, 13-29  
 "Personal Wealth in Colonial America: Ex-  
 ploration in the Use of Probate Records  
 from Maryland and Massachusetts, 1650-  
 1720," by Gloria Lund Main, 182  
 Peter, Grace Dunlop Ecker, 10r., 11r., 12r.  
 Peter, Robert, 1, 2, 8  
 Pettus, John, 224r.  
 Peyre, Henri, 149, 159r., 160r.  
*Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City*,  
 by Edwin Wolf II, reviewed, 93-95  
*Philadelphia* (warship), 384  
 "Philanthropy in the Progressive Era: The  
 Public Baths of Baltimore," by Marilyn  
 Thornton Williams, 289  
 Philipse, Frederick, 227  
 Phillips, Henry, Jr., 338r.  
 Phillips, P. Lee, 359r.  
 Philpot, Robert, 217  
 Philpot, Thomas, 15, 17, 18, 26r., 27r.

- A Photographic Survey of Indian River Community*, comp. by Nantococe Indian Heritage Project, 286
- Pickrell, Ann, 6
- Pickrell, John, 5-6
- Picton, J. A., 276r.
- Pierson, William H., Jr., "The Hammond-Harwood House: A Colonial Masterpiece," 281
- Pig iron trade, 258-259
- Pinck Mary* (ship), 33
- Pioneer Decoy Carvers: A Biography of Lemuel and Stephen Ward*, by Barry Robert Berkey, Velma Berkey, and Richard Erie Berkey, 281
- "Place Names and Dialects: Algonquin," by Hamill Kenny, 286
- Plantation Life at Rose Hill: The Diaries of Martha Ogle Forman 1814-1845*, ed. by W. Emerson Wilson, 290
- Planter* (ship), 33
- "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth Century Maryland," by Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, 290
- Plater family, 7
- Platt, Virginia Bever, 43
- Plecker, Yost, 62r.
- Plunkett, David G., 377, 382
- Poe, Edgar Allan, death and burial of, 360-374
- Poe, Elizabeth Ellicott, 363
- Poe, George, 362, 363
- Poe, Mrs. Nielson, 367
- Poe, Nielson, 362ff.
- Poe, Rosalie, 364
- Poe, Virginia Clemm, 367
- "Point Lookout Prison for Confederates: Supplemental Data," by Edwin W. Beit-zell, 286
- "Political Nativism: The Maryland Know-Nothings as a Case Study," by Jean Baker, 287
- Politics in Maryland, recent dissertations on, 183
- "The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858-1870," by Jean Ho-garth Harvey Baker, 183
- Pomfret, John E., 225r.
- Popple, William, 91r.
- Port O'Bladensburg: A Brief History of a 1742 Town*, by Sister Catherine Wright, 284
- Porter, J., 18, 27r.
- Portrait in Time: A Photographic Profile of Montgomery County, Maryland*, by James Q. Reber and Austin H. Kiplinger, 284
- Portrait of the Free State: A History of Maryland*, by Donald Marquand Dozer, 280
- "Portrait Painting in Eighteenth-Century Annapolis," by Carolyn J. Weekley, 282
- Postma, Johannes, 43r.
- Potter, John, 234r.
- Potter, Philip, 148
- Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth Century Maryland*, by Gregory A. Stiverson, reviewed, 292-293
- Powell, William S., Colonel, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176
- "Prelude to Emancipation: The Failure of the Great Reaction in Maryland, 1831-1850," by Lawrence Herbert McDonald, 184
- Presbyterian church (Georgetown), 9
- The Presbyterian Church at Boyds Station: The First One Hundred Years 1876-1976*, by Earle L. Vail, 288
- Preston, George H., "History of State Institutions and Private Sanitoriums for the Insane Prior to 1930," 289
- Preston, James, Mayor of Baltimore, 120, 121, 122, 126r., 127r.
- Preston, Margaret [Smith], 196, 199
- Preston, William P., 199
- Price, Bruce, 341
- Price, Jacob, 26r., 246, 275r., 276r.
- "The Maryland Bank Stock Case: British-American Financial and Political Relations Before and After the American Revolution," 287
- "One Family's Empire: The Russell-Lee-Clerk Connection in Maryland, Britain, and India, 1707-1857," 284
- Price, John, African slave, 236
- Price, John, slave owner, 240
- Prince, Carl E., *The Federalists and the Origins of the U.S. Civil Service*, 287
- Prince, Edward, 240
- Prince, Thomas, 240
- Princess Anne Academy, 170, 175
- Princess Anne Agricultural School, 170
- Princetonians 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary*, by James McLachlan, 282
- "The Principio Company: Iron-Making in Colonial Maryland, 1720-1781," by Michael Warren Robbins, 182
- "Private Enterprise and Public Spirit: Baltimore Privatizing in the War of 1812," by Jerome Randolph Garitee, 183
- Proctor, John Clagett, 10r.
- "Progressive Governors in the Border States: Reform Governors of Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia and Maryland, 1900-1918," by Nicholas Clare Burkell, 183
- "Progressivism in Maryland, 1900-1917," by Raymond Stanley Sweeney, 184
- Prosperous Galley*, 33
- Proud, Eliza [Coale], 196
- Proud, John Greene, 196
- Proud, Mary A. W. [Coale], 196
- Providence* (ship), 33
- PROXY VOTING IN EARLY MARYLAND ASSEMBLIES, by Susan Rosenfeld Falb, 217-225

- Pulaski, Casimir, General, 377, 378, 379  
 "Puritan and Papist: Politics and Religion in Massachusetts and Maryland Before the Reformation of Charles II," by John David Krugler, 184  
 Putney, Martha S., "The Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers: Its Founders and Its Founding," 285  
 PUTNEY, MARTHA, S., *The Formative Years of Maryland's First Black Postsecondary School*, 168-179  
 Pye, George, 222  
 Pyle, Rilla Q., 11r.

## Q

- Queene Anne Galley, 33  
 Queen Anne's County Free School, 232  
 Quigg, Jane [Townsend], 198

## R

- Rabb, Theodore, 225r.  
 Radical Republicans, in Georgetown, 9  
 Rainbolt, John C., 327  
 Rainwater, Dorothy T., "Britannia and Silverplate Manufacturing, A Holmes Family Affair in Baltimore," 282  
 Ramsay, Caroline, 200  
 Rand, Christopher, 162r.  
 Randall, Catharine [Wirt], 197  
 Randall, Susan [Brune], 194  
 Rasin, I. Freeman, 115  
 Rath, Frederick L., Jr., with Marilyn Rogers O'Connell, eds., *Care and Conservation of Collections*, 214  
 Ratterman, Heinrich A., 358r.  
 Reber, James Q., and Austin H. Kiplinger, *Portrait in Time: A Photographic Profile of Montgomery County, Maryland*, 284  
 "The Rebirth of the Belvedere," by Frederick William Mueller, 281  
 Rechigl, M., Jr., 358r.  
 "Reconstruction of the C & O Canal," by Jerome D. Selig, 281  
*Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1973-1974*, ed. by Francis Coleman Rosenberger, 105  
 Redwood, Mary [Coale], 196  
 Reed, John F. "Campaign of 1777," 287  
 Reed, Mary (Elizabeth), 229  
 Reese, Lizette Woodworth, 189  
 Reizenstein, Jennie, 203  
*Religion in Antebellum Kentucky*, by John B. Boles, reviewed, 211-212  
 Religious history in Maryland, books and dissertations on, 184, 288  
*The Republic's Private Navy: The American Privateering Business as Practiced by Baltimore During the War of 1812*, by Jerome R. Garitee, reviewed, 294-295  
 REQUARDT, CYNTHIA HORSBURGH, *Women's*

- Deeds in Women's Words: Manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society*, 186-204  
*Researching, Writing, and Publishing Local History*, by Thomas E. Felt, 106  
*Resolution* (ship), 165  
 "The Restoration of the Interior of the William Paca House," by Russell J. Wright, 281  
*Revolution's Godchild: The Birth, Death, and Regeneration of the Society of the Cincinnati in North Carolina*, by Curtis Carroll Davis, reviewed, 206-207  
 Reynolds, Henry, 365  
 Rhines, Charlotte Cannon, "A City and Its Social Problems: Poverty, Health and Crime in Baltimore, 1865-1875," 184  
 Richardson, Hester Dorsey, 10r.  
 Richardson, H. H., 348  
 Richardson, Samuel, 84r.  
*Richmond: The Story of a City*, by Virginius Dabney, 105-106  
 Rideout, John, 279r.  
 Ridgely, Camilla Hammond, 386  
 Ridgely, Charles, 15, 16, 26r.  
 Ridgely family, 7, 9  
 Ridgely, Helen West [Stewart], 199  
 Ridgely, Henry, 17-18, 20  
 Ridgely, Rebecca [Dorsey], 201  
 Ridgely, Ruxton M., 388r.  
 Ridgely, Whitman H., "The Search for Power: Community Leadership in the Jacksonian Era," 288  
 "A Social Analysis of Maryland Community Elites, 1827-1836: A Study of the Distribution of Power in Baltimore City, Frederick County and Talbot County," 184  
 Riggs, Elisha, 11r.  
 Riley, Joshua, physician, 7, 8  
 Ringgold, Thomas, 28r., 40-43, 44r., 45r., 255  
 Ristow, W. W., 359r.  
 Rivera, Paul Richard, "A Study of the Development and Implementation of the Curriculum Innovation World Cultures in the Baltimore County, Maryland Public Schools, (1968-1973)," 183  
 Robbins, Michael Warren, "The Principio Company: Iron-Making in Colonial Maryland, 1720-1781," 182  
*Robert and John* (ship), 250, 264  
 "The Robert Morris Inn: Several Incarnations Later," by Edwin Tribble, 281  
 Roberts, L. J., 387  
 Roberts, Mildred, 28r.  
 Roberts, William, 233r.  
 Robertson, Thomas, 234r.  
 Robinson, Willard B., *American Forts: Architectural Form and Function*, reviewed, 295-296  
 "Roger B. Taney and the Sectional Crises," by Don E. Fehrenbacher, 287



- Rogers, Lindsay, 149, 160r.  
 "The Role of the Clergy in Jewish-Christian Relations in Baltimore From 1945 to 1975," by Lenora Heilig Last, 288  
 "The Role of the Professional Slave Trader in a Slave Economy: Austin Woolfolk, A Case Study," by William Calderhead, 282  
 "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," by R. J. Lahey, 288  
 Rollo, Vera F., *Henry Harford: Last Proprietor of Maryland*, reviewed, 95-96; 282  
 Romeike, Margaret, 142  
 Romeike, William, 142  
 Rosenberger, Francis Coleman, ed., *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington D.C., 1973-1974*, 105  
 Rosenblatt, Samuel, *The Days of My Years*, reviewed, 210-211  
 Rosenwaike, Ira, "The Jews of Baltimore: 1810 to 1820," 288  
 Ross, Robert, Major General, 68  
*Rossie* (schooner), 167  
 Rost, Ida Sophie, 189  
 Rowell, Henry T., 144, 158r.  
 Rowland, Henrietta [Harrison], 196  
 Royal African Company, 32, 38  
 Royce, Josiah, 151  
 Rubin, Louis D., 142, 157r.  
 Rubin, Norman N., "From the Sea With Wings: Maryland and the Flying Boat," 289  
     "Variances in Dimensions of Half-Models," 286  
     "Was She the ADA C. Shull?" 286  
*Rural Pennsylvania Clothing*, by Ellen J. Gehret, reviewed, 103-104  
 Russell, Ann, 196  
 Russell, James, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23-24, 26r., 27r., 28r., 29r.  
 Rutherford, Robert, U.S. Congressman, 167  
 Rutter, Thomas 383  
 Ruxton, Nicholas, 375  
 Ryscavage, Jerome James, Jr., "An Investigation of the Relationship Between A Set of Economic Concerns and Teacher Withdrawal in the State of Maryland From 1960-1970," 183
- S
- Sagle, Lawrence, "Beautiful Hills of Garrett," 284  
 Sainbury, John S., 234r.  
 Sainsbury, W. Noel, 91r.  
 St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, 226ff.  
 St. Catherine's Normal Institute, Holy Cross Alumnae Association, 192  
 "St. Ignatius Roman Catholic Church, Brinkley Road, Temple Hills, Maryland," by Alma I. Lanier, 288  
 "St. Inigoes Manor: A Nineteenth Century Jesuit Plantation," by Joseph Agonito, 288  
 St. John's Church (Georgetown), 9  
 St. John's, Maryland, 217, 219, 224r.  
 "St. Mary's County Men in the American Revolution, 1777," by Frederick L. McCoy, 287  
 "Saint Timothy's Hall," by Erick F. Davis, 285  
 Salinas, Jaime, 137, 142  
 Salinas, Pedro, 137, 138, 142, 146, 155r., 157r.  
*Sampson* (ship), 163  
 Sanborn, Kate, 198  
 Sanderlin, Walter S., *The Great National Project: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, 289  
 Sandival, Patricia Rice, 155r.  
 Sartain, John, 361  
 Sarvella, Patricia, ed., *Who's Who of Maryland Women 1930-1976*, 290  
 "Saving the William Paca House," by St. Clair Wright, 281  
 Scarborough, Katherine, 189-190  
 SCARLETT, CHARLES, JR., *A Tale of Rationation: The Death and Burial of Edgar Allan Poe*, 360-374  
 Scharf, J. T., 125r., 350r., 388r., 392r.  
 Scharf, Thomas G., Colonel, 372  
 Schirokaeuer, Arno C., 145, 158r.  
 Schmiegel, Karol A., "Encouragement Exceeding Expectation: The Lloyd-Cadwalader Patronage of Charles Willson Peale," 282  
 "A School System and Its Students Come to Terms: A Description of Student Activism in the Montgomery County, Maryland, Public Schools, 1960-1969," by Kenneth Knight Muir, 183  
 Schultz, Edward T., 235r.  
     *First Settlements of Germans in Maryland...*, 284  
 Schultz, Stanley, 125r.  
 "The Scope and Functions of an Educational Price Index — The Maryland Experience," by Rev. John J. Farrell, 182  
 Scotches, John, 237  
 Scott, Charles, 188  
 Scott, Thomas A., 188  
 Scott, William, 383  
 Scully, Vincent, 348, 350r.  
*Seagulls Hate Parsnips and Other Electrifying Revelations about the Delaware Shore*, by Virginia Tanzer, 407  
 "The Search for Power: Community Leadership in the Jacksonian Era," by Whitman H. Ridgway, 288  
 "The Secession Crises of 1860-1861," by Carolyn McCreesh, 287  
 "The Secondary Instructional Supervisor in the Montgomery County, Maryland, Pub-

- lic Schools, 1945-1970," by Richard Earl Wagner, 183
- Second Continental Congress, treason resolve, 46
- Sectionalism in American Politics 1774-1787*, by Joseph L. Davis, 287
- A SELECTED LIST OF RECENT DISSERTATIONS ON MARYLAND HISTORY, 1970-1976, by Richard J. Cox, 180-185
- Selig, Jerome D., "Reconstruction of the C & O Canal," 281
- Sellers, H. W., 136r.
- Sellers, Maud, 225r.
- Semmes family, 6
- Senegambia, slaves from, 36
- "Separate and Unequal: The Evolution of a Black Land Grant College in Maryland, 1890-1930," by John R. and Ruth Ellen Wennersten, 285
- "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," by Lorena S. Walsh, 285
- Seton, Elizabeth Ann [Bayley], 191
- Seubold, Helen W. and Frank H., "Frederick County, Maryland 1800 Census," 286
- Sewall family, 7
- Seward, William H., 188
- Shaffer, G. Wilson, 157r.
- Shapiro, Karl, 144, 148, 151, 158r.
- Sharkey, Robert P., 156r.
- Sharpe, Horatio, Governor, 81-83, 85r., 86r., 130, 136r., 232, 235r., 274
- Sharrer, George Terry, "Flour Milling and the Growth of Baltimore, 1783-1830," 182
- Shell, Henry, 62r.
- Shelton, Elmira, 362, 364
- Shenandoah* (ship), 4
- Sheperdstown, Maryland, during Civil War, 394
- Shepherd, Dr. Henry E., 372
- Shepherd, James S., 276r. 278r.
- Sheridan, Richard, 14, 25r, 26r.
- Sherwin, Evelyn, 200
- Sherwood, Mary, 202
- Shew, Mary Louise, 362
- Shinn, Riley A., 9
- Shoemaker, George, 5
- "A Short History of the Teaching of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Maryland," by Arthur L. Haskins, 288
- Shumway, Floyd M., 225r.
- Sidney, J. S., 387
- Silvanus Grove v. Henry Ridgely*, 27r.
- "Silver Linings Along the Chesapeake," by Dorothy Beecher Artes, 281
- Sioussat, Annie Leakin, 201
- Sirmans, Eugene, 245r.
- Sisco, Louis Dow, 388r.
- Skaggs, David C., 135r., 136r., 327, 337r.
- Skarda, D. D., *Berwyn Heights: History of a Small Maryland Town*, 284
- Skinner, John, 236
- Skinner, John S., Colonel, 390, 391
- Slack, Elizabeth [Randall], 194
- Slatick, Eugene R., "Maryland's Rivers — Something Special," 284
- Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States, From Interviews With Former Slaves*, 283
- Slave trade, Foster Cunliffe and Sons' involvement in, 259
- Slavery in Maryland
- antimiscegenation laws, 241ff.
  - "durante vita," establishment and practice of, 238ff.
  - exogamous marriages, 239ff.
  - manumission, conditions allowing, 241
  - in seventeenth-century, 236-245
  - 1664 Act governing, 236ff.
- "Slavery in the Chesapeake Iron Industry, 1716-1865," by Ronald Loran Lewis, 181
- Sloop, Richard Carlton, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Master of Education Degree Program at the Frostburg State College, Maryland: 1958-1968," 183
- Sloop *Swallow*, 33
- Smith, Clement, 4, 9, 11r.
- Smith, Dee, "The First Lord of Bohemia Manor," 282
- Smith, Elizabeth Herring, 362
- Smith, George, 377
- Smith, Joel, 125r.
- Smith, John, 377
- Smith, John Chabot, 160r.
- Smith, John Stafford, 391, 393r.
- Smith, Joseph Henry, 62r., 63r.
- Smith, Merritt Roe, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change*, 289
- Smith, Nathaniel, Captain, 376
- Smith, Richard, 4, 237
- Smith, Samuel, General, 381, 387
- Smith, Thomas, 78r.
- Smith, Thomas, murderer, 220
- Smith, Walter, Jr., 4
- Smith, Walter, Sr., surgeon, 4
- Smith, William, 227
- Smith, William, Jr., 234r.
- Smith, Whitney, 393r.
- Smithers, Henry, 276r.
- Smoot family, 6, 11r.
- Smoot, Hezekiah, 78r.
- Smoot, John Henry, 6
- Smoot, William, 6
- Smute, William. *See* Smoot, William
- Snodgrass, Dr. J. E., 360ff.
- Snow, Jessie, 204
- "A Social Analysis of Maryland Community Elites, 1827-1836: A Study of the Distribution of Power in Baltimore City, Frederick County and Talbot County," by Whitman Hawley Ridgway, 184

- Social and cultural life in Maryland, recent dissertations on, 184
- "Social Planning and New Towns: The Case of Columbia, Maryland," by James Fitz Gerald Ford, 184
- Social Service Club of Maryland, 202
- Society* (ship), 32
- Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 228
- Soltow, J. H., 275r., 276r., 277r.
- "Some Aspects of Eastern North American Pre-History: A Review, 1975," by Don W. Dragoo, 286
- Some Important People and Events of St. Mary's*, by Clarence D. Bradburn, 283
- Somerville, Frank P. L., 155r.
- Sonneck, Oscar, 235r.
- Sons of Liberty, 23, 82
- Souls of Black Folk*, by William E. B. Du Bois, 172
- South Carolina, slave trade in, 43
- "The South River Club: America's Patriarchal Social Institution," by Michael Olmert, 289
- The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, ed. by Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, reviewed, 405-406
- Spaatz, Carl, 148, 160r.
- Spalding, Thomas William, "Martin John Spalding: Bishop of Louisville and Archbishop of Baltimore, 1810-1872," 184
- Speedwell* (ship), 32
- Spence, George W., 368, 371
- Spencer, Dr. James O., 175
- Spicer, Jacob, 338r.
- Spinka, Matthew, 358r.
- Spitzer, Leo, 138, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 155r. 158r., 159r., 161r., 162r.
- Sprigg, Thomas, 49
- Stabler, Sarah [Briggs], 194
- Stafford, Mary J., 193
- Stanley, Charles H., 169
- Stansbury, Tobias, 377, 387
- "The Star-Spangled Banner," writing of, 390-392
- "Steadfast Americans: Residential Stability Among Workers in Baltimore, 1880-1930," by Daniel Randall Beirne, 289
- Stegmaier, Harry I., Jr., with David M. Dean, Gordon E. Kershaw, and John B. Wiseman, *Allegany County — A History*, reviewed, 96-97
- Stein, Charles Francis, 11r.
- Steiner, Dr. Bernard C., 169
- STEINER, EDWARD E., *Nicholas Ruxton Moore: Soldier, Farmer and Politician*, 375-388
- "Stephen Bordley, George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland," Richard J. Cox, 288
- Stephen, James Fitzjames, 62r.
- Stephens, Adam, 377
- Stephens, Dr. M. Bates, 169-170
- Stern, Bessie C., 200
- Steuart family, 9
- Stevenson, Henry, Dr., 380
- Stewart, Anthony, 24, 26r., 28r., 135
- Stewart, John, 20
- Stiverson, Gregory A., "Landless Husbandmen: Proprietary Tenants in Maryland in the Late Colonial Period," 285
- "Landless Husbandmen. Tenants on the Maryland Proprietary Manors in the Eighteenth Century: An Economic Study," 182
- Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth Century Maryland*, reviewed, 292-293
- Stoddert, Benjamin, 3
- Stone, Garry Wheeler, 224r.
- Stone, Reppard, 233r.
- Stoner, Paula, "Early Folk Architecture of Washington County," 281
- The Story of Alex Brown & Sons 1800-1975*, by Frank R. Kent, 284
- The Story of Jessup*, by G. Marie Biggs, 214
- Stowell, Marion Barber, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible*, 285
- "A Strange Career in a Young Navy: Captain Charles Gordon, 1778-1816," by William L. Calderhead, 286
- Stewart, Donald, 372
- "The Structure of Baltimore's Politics in the Age of Jefferson, 1795-1812," by Frank A. Cassell, 287
- "The Struggle for Desegregation of Baltimore City Public Schools, 1952-1966," by Joel Acus Carrington, 182
- "A Study of the Decision Making Process in the Period 1967 Through 1971 Leading to Regional Accreditation at the University of Baltimore," by Halcott Mebane Turner, 185r.
- "A Study of the Development and Implementation of the Curriculum Innovation World Cultures in the Baltimore County, Maryland Public Schools, (1968-1973)," by Paul Richard Rivera, 183
- "A Study of the Development of the Elementary Principalship in Prince George's County, Maryland, Public Schools From 1940-1970," by Edward Jude Feeney, 182
- "A Study of the Status and Developmental Trends of Social Science Curriculum in the Public Community Junior Colleges of the State of Maryland, for the Academic Years 1962-72," by Nicholas George Dounis, 182
- Stump, Henry Arthur, 358r.
- Stump, Kezia, 193

SUBURBAN GROWTH AND MUNICIPAL ANNEXATION IN BALTIMORE, 1745-1918, by Joseph L. Arnold, 109-128

Sueman, Peter, 55, 62r.

Sullivan, John, General, 377

Sullivan, Martha Goodwin, "The Historical Development of Special Education Services in Howard County, Maryland," 183

*Sunpapers*, 124

*Surprise* (frigate), 390

"A Survey of Integrated and Separate Black Studies in Maryland Secondary Schools, grades 10-12," by George Robert Kent, 182

Sutherland, Arthur E., 158r.

Sutter, Charles, 367

Svejda, M. Norma, 358r.

Swann, Robert, 233r.

Swann, Samuel, 71, 78r.

Swann, Thomas, Georgetown lawyer, 71, 78r.

Swann, Thomas Mercer, *see* Swann, Thomas, military observer

Swann, Thomas, military observer, 71-78

Sweeney, Raymond Stanley, "Progressivism in Maryland, 1900-1917," 184

Sydnor, Charles S., 136r.

Symonds, Pringle Hart, "Creation of a Historic District in Annapolis," 281

## T

Taggart, Hugh T., 10r., 11r.

Talbot, Silas, Captain, 164

Talbot County Charity School, 230

"The Talbott House and Its People," by Leslie Morgan Abbe, 283

A TALE OF RATIOCINATION: THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF EDGAR ALLAN POE, by Charles Scarlett, Jr., 360-374

Taney, R. B., 392r.

Tanzer, Virginia, *Seagulls Hate Parsnips and Other Electrifying Revelations about the Delaware Shore*, 407

Tate, Mr. and Mrs. Robert L., 383

Tate, Thad W., 279r.

Tatum, George B., "Great Houses from the Golden Age of Annapolis," 281

Taylor, John, Colonel, 69

Taylor, Blaine, "How Theodore R. McKeldin, Sr., Almost Became Mayor of Washington, D.C.," 288

Taylor, Carrie B., 171

Taylor family, 7

Taylor, Maggie G., 171

Tear, William, 84r., 85r.

Templeman, John, 1

Terrill, Robert Edmund, "Citizens' Opinions Towards the Public Schools of Allegany County, Maryland," 185r.

THOMAS BACON, COLONIAL CLERGYMAN, by William E. Deibert, 79-86

THOMAS SWANN AND THE BRITISH IN ST. MARY'S COUNTY, ed. by Stuart Lee Butler, 71-78

Thomas, Bettie C., 178r.

Thomas, Dawn F., and Robert Barnes, *The Green Spring Valley — Its History and Heritage*, reviewed, 291-292

Thomas, Elizabeth [Todhunter], 203

Thomas, William H., 126r., 127r.

Thompson, Derek, et al., *Atlas of Maryland*, 280

Thompson, Richard, 221, 222

Thompson, Tommy R., 279r.

"Debtors, Creditors, and the General Assembly in Colonial Maryland," 285

"Marylanders, Personal Indebtedness, and the American Revolution," 182

THOMPSON, TOMMY R., *Personal Indebtedness and the American Revolution in Maryland*, 13-29

Thornton, Thomas, 81

Thornton, William, Colonel (later Sir), 64-70, 230

Thornton, William, Dr. 64-70

Thorpe, Francis Newton, 61r., 62r., 338r.

Tilghman, Oswald, 84r., 85r., 276r., 279r.

Tinsley, Dr. Alexander Galt, 395

Tinsley, Dare Parran, 395

Tise, Larry E., and Jeffrey J. Crow, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, reviewed, 405-406

Tobacco

export of, from port of Georgetown, 1  
inspection act of 1747, 261

Tobacco trade

in Virginia, Augustine Herman's role in, 352ff.

in Maryland, 246-279

in Revolutionary Maryland, 14ff.

"Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County, Maryland," by Alan Lee Kulikoff, 182

Tobacco merchants, in Georgetown, during Federal era, 1

"Tolchester: Yesterday's Leisure," by Jonathan A. Hodgson, 283

"Toleration Act," 397

"To Market, To Market, To Buy A Fat Pig! Farmers' Markets (past)," by Padriac Burke, 284

Tone, Matilda Witherington, 190

Tonnage Act of 1661, 82

*Tonnant* (flagship), 390

*Totness* (ship), 337

"Tours for Families or Groups in Metropolitan Baltimore," comp. by Richard Parsons, 290

"The Town of Somerset," by Dorothy O'Brien and Helen H. Jaszi, 283

- "The Town Plan of Annapolis," by Russell J. Wright, 290  
*Towson: A Pictorial History of A Maryland Town*, by H. George Hahn and Carl Behm III, 283  
 Towson, Sophia [Bingham], 197  
 Towsontown, 114-115  
*Towsontown Journal*, 114  
 Toynbee, Arnold, 149, 160r.  
 Treason, origins of law of, 46-47  
 Trent, W. P., 180  
 Trial of Treasons Act of 1696, 47, 49  
 Tribble, Edwin, "The Robert Morris Inn: Several Incarnations Later," 281  
 Trilling, Diana, 160r.  
 Trippe, Henry II, 257  
 Trippe, Sarah, 257  
 Troop, Elizabeth [McKerlie], 197  
 Trotter, William Monroe, 172  
 Truitt, Reginald V., with Millard C. Les Callette, *Worcester County, Maryland's Arcadia*, reviewed, 96-97, 284  
 Tucker, Jane Foster, 276r.  
 Tudor and Stuart Club, 154  
 Truman, Thomas, Major, 239-240  
 Trunkett, Ralph, 240  
 Tubbs, Elizabeth Arnold, 367  
 Tucker, James A. O., 371  
 Tuesday Club, 81, 89, 229-232, 234r., 235r.  
 Tufts, Jolin, 228, 234r.  
 Turberfield, Gilbert, 240  
 Turnbull, Eleanor L., 155r., 190  
 Turnbull, Frances [Litchfield], 189, 190  
 Turnbull, Grace, 188  
 Turnbull, Jack, 139  
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 347, 350r.  
 Turner, Halcott Mebane, "A Study of the Decision Making Process in the Period 1967 Through 1971 Leading to Regional Accreditation at the University of Baltimore," 185r.  
 Turner, Zephaniah, 28r.  
 "Twelve Exciting Days," 287  
 "Two Early Romantic Paintings at the Baltimore Co-Cathedral," by Gail L. Garrison, 282  
 Two Penny Laws, 14  
 Tydings, Millard, 152  
 Tyler, Adeline [Blanchard], 204  
 Tyler, Grafton, physician, 7, 10  
 TYLER, JOHN W., *Foster Cunliffe and Sons: Liverpool Merchants in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1738-1765*, 246-279
- U
- Uhrbrock, Richard S., "Francis Makemie (1658-1708)," 288  
 Ulman, Elinor, 200  
*Ulysses* (ship), 4  
*Union*, 115  
*Union-News*, 123  
 United Daughters of the Confederacy, 202  
*The United States District Court of Maryland*, by H. H. Walker Lewis, 286  
*Up From Slavery*, by Booker T. Washington, 172  
 Upper Marlboro, slave trade in, 39  
*Upton* (ship), 271  
 Upton, William, African slave, 240  
 "Urban Design [of Annapolis]," by Richard Kearns, 289  
 Urban history in Maryland, recent dissertations on, 184  
 "The Urban Impact on Agricultural Land Use: Farm Patterns in Prince George's County, Maryland 1860-1880," by Donald McCauley, 280  
 "Urban Life and Spatial Distribution of Blacks in Baltimore, Maryland," by Herbert Lee West, Jr., 184  
*Urban Slavery in the American South 1820-1860: A Quantitative History*, by Claudia Dale Goldin, 289  
 "Urbanization and American Economic Development, 1900-1930: Patterns of Demand in Baltimore and the Nation," by Alan D. Anderson, 184  
 "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870," by Joseph Garonzik, 181  
 "The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Early Internal Improvements in Maryland," by Harold Kanarek, 288  
 U.S.S. *Adams*, 78r.
- V
- Vail, Earle L., *The Presbyterian Church at Boyds Station: The First One Hundred Years 1876-1976*, 288  
 Vallendigham, Edward Noble, 358r., 359r.  
 Van der Donck, Adriaen, 354  
 Vandiver, Frank E., and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy*, reviewed, 300  
 "Variances in Dimensions of Half-Models," by Norman N. Rubin, 286  
 Vaughan, Robert, 222  
*Venus* (ship), 40  
 Vernon, James, 88, 91r.  
 Verstandig, Lee Lovely, "The Emergence of the Two-Party System in Maryland, 1787-1796," 184  
 Vill, Martha J., "Land Tenure, Property Ownership and Home Mortgages in the Late Nineteenth Century, A Case Study of Baltimore's Germans," 184  
 Villard, Mrs. Oswald Garrison, 178r.  
 Virginia, slave imports in, 31  
 Virginia Company, 225r.  
 THE VISION OF SCHOLARSHIP: JOHNS HOPKINS AFTER THE WAR, by J. B. Donnelly, 137-162

- Visscher, Nicolas, 354  
*Volunteer* (ship), 4  
 Von Essen, Peter, 6  
 "Voting Behavior During the First American Party System: Maryland, 1796-1816," by David Allen Bohmer, 183
- W
- Wagner, Richard Earl, "The Secondary Instructional Supervisor in the Montgomery County, Maryland, Public Schools, 1945-1970," 183  
*Waiting for the 5:05. Terminal, Station, and Depot in America*, comp. by Lawrence Grew, 105  
 Wakelyn, Jon L., and Frank E. Vandiver, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy*, reviewed, 300  
 Walker, Joseph W., 362  
 Walker, Paul Kent, "The Baltimore Community and the American Revolution: A Study in Urban Development, 1763-1783," 184  
 Wallace, Charles, 28r.  
 Wallace, Margaret, 363  
 Waller, Mary Virginia E., 193  
 Walsh, Lorena S., "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," 285  
*Walter Hines Page. The Southerner as American 1855-1918*, by John Milton Cooper, Jr., reviewed, 298-299  
 Walter, Thomas, 228  
 Walters, Ronald G., *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830*, reviewed, 97-98  
 Walther, Johann, 234r.  
 Walton, Gary M., 278r.  
 Ward, Henry, 28r.  
 Ward, Kathryn Painter, 235r.  
     "The Maryland Theatrical Season of 1760," 289  
 Warden, David Bailie, 190  
 Ware, Francis, Captain, 132  
 Warfield, Missy, "History Keeps a Valley Green," 284  
 Warfield, Susanna, 197  
 Warren, Marion E., "Annapolis" (photographic essay), 280  
 "Was She the ADA C. Shull?" by Norman N. Rubin, 286  
 Washington, Booker T., *Up From Slavery*, 172  
 Washington, Denzel, Jr., 397  
 Washington, George, 1, 377  
 Washington, Pauline Parthenia, "The Development of Special Education in Montgomery County, Maryland Public Schools From 1949 to 1975," 183  
 Washington College Hospital, 360ff.  
*Washington Evening Star*, 12r.  
*Washington on Foot: 25 Walking Tours of Washington, D.C., Old Town Alexandria, Virginia, and Historic Annapolis*, by Allan A. and Carol A. Hodges, 283  
 Wasserman, Earl Reeves, 154, 162r.  
 Waters, Charles A., "Development of Roentgenology in Maryland, 1895-1926," 289  
 Waters, Corinda Octavia Stewart, "A Century of Health Instruction in the Public Schools of Maryland, 1872-1972," 183  
 Waters, George, 6  
 Waters, —, Major, 68  
 Wax, Darold D., 44r., 45r.  
 WAX, DAROLD D., *Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland*, 30-45  
 Wayne, Anthony, General, 378  
 Weed, Thurlow, 188  
 Weekley, Carolyn J., "Portrait Painting in Eighteenth-Century Annapolis," 282  
 Weeks, T. F., 350r.  
 Weidman, Gregory R., "Furnishing the Museum Rooms of the William Paca House," 282  
 Weisheit, Ingreet Bowen, 203  
 Wellek, René, 146, 158r.  
 Welsh, Lillian, 202  
 Wennersten, John R., and Ruth Ellen, "Separate and Unequal: The Evolution of a Black Land Grant College in Maryland, 1890-1930," 285  
 Wertenbaker, Thomas J., 167r.  
 West, Herbert Lee, Jr., "Urban Life and Spatial Distribution of Blacks in Baltimore, Maryland," 184  
 West Indies, involvement of, in slave trade, 30ff.  
 West, Stephen, 22, 27r., 28r., 39  
 Weston, J. Alden, 368-369  
 Weybright, Victor, 392r.  
 Wheatley family, 6  
 Wheatley, Francis, 6  
 Wheatley, George, 8  
 Wheeler, John P., 128r.  
 Wheeler, Joseph Towne, 233r.  
 Whig Club, 23  
 Whiggism, in Virginia, attributable to planters' debts, 13  
 Whigs, in antebellum Georgetown, 8-9  
 "Whiskey Rebellion," 382-383  
 White, Andrew, 219, 236  
 Whitefield, George, 228  
 Whitfield, Robert, 278r.  
 Whitfield, William, 276r.  
 Whittenburg, James P., "The Common Farmer (Number 2): Herman Husband's Plan for Peace Between the United States and the Indians, 1792," 286  
*Who's Who of Maryland Women 1930-1976*, ed. by Patricia Sarvella, 290  
 "Why John M. Lloyd was in Upper Marlboro," by James O. Hall, 282

- Wieczik, William M., 244r.  
 Willan, T. S., 276r.  
 "William Faris Sr., His Sons, and Journeymen — Annapolis Silversmiths," by Joan Sayers Brown, 281  
 "William King Jr., Georgetown Furniture Maker," by Anne Castrodale Golovin, 282  
 Williams, Ethel L., and Clifton F. Brown, comps. *The Howard University Bibliography of African and Afro-American Religious Studies: With Locations in American Libraries*, 302  
 Williams, Helena Maria, 190  
 Williams, John Thomas, 171, 173  
 Williams, Marilyn Thornton, "Philanthropy in the Progressive Era: The Public Baths of Baltimore," 289  
 Wilmott, Hanna, 375  
 Wilson, Eva Orrick [Bandel], 204  
 Wilson, James G., 359r.  
 Wilson, Peter, 338r.  
 Wilson, Viola Poe, 363  
 Wilson, W. Emerson, ed., *Plantation Life at Rose Hill: The Diaries of Martha Ogle Forman 1814-1845*, 290  
 Wilson, Wilbert Randolph, "An Historical Analysis of Events and Issues Which Have Led to the Growth and Development of the University of Maryland Eastern Shore From 1886-1975," 183  
 Wilson, Woodrow T., *Crisfield, Maryland 1676-1976*, 284  
 Wind, Edgar, 145  
 Winder, Levin, Governor, 385  
 Windward Coast, slaves from, 36  
 Wintour, Edward, 236  
 Wintour, Frederick, 236  
 Wirt, Elizabeth [Gamble], 197  
 Wiseman, John B., with Harry I. Stegmaier, Jr., David M. Dean, and John B. Wiseman, *Allegany County — A History*, reviewed, 96-97  
 Wishmeyer, William, 142  
 Wolcott, Oliver, 25r.  
 Wolf, Edwin, II, *Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City*, reviewed, 93-95  
 Wollon, James Thomas, Jr., "Bush Hotel," 281  
 Wolstenholme, Daniel, 231  
 Woodward, C. Vann, 144, 158r.  
 Woman's Literary Club, 202  
 Women, roles of, through history, 186-204  
 "Women in Maryland History," 290  
 "Women in Relief: The Carroll County Children's Aid Society in the Great Depression," by Patricia W. and Ralph B. Levering, 290  
 WOMEN'S DEEDS IN WOMEN'S WORDS: MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, by Cynthia Horsburgh Requardt, 186-204  
 Women's Eastern Shore Society, 202  
 Women's history in Maryland, recent books and dissertations on, 184, 290  
 Wood, Gordon S., 25r.  
 Wood, Gregory A., *Early French Presence in Maryland 1524-1800*, 284  
 Wood, Rufus K., 170, 171  
 Woodson, Carter G., 244r.  
 Woolsey, George, 23, 24, 28r.  
 Worcester County, *Maryland's Arcadia*, by Reginald V. Truitt and Millard C. Les Callette, reviewed, 96-97, 284  
 Worthington, B. T. B., 328ff.  
 Worthington, Charles, physician, 4, 9  
 Worthington family, 9  
 A WOUNDED CONFEDERATE SOLDIER'S LETTER FROM FORT MCHENRY, by Alexandra Lee Levin, 394-396  
 Wright, Frances, 190  
 Wright, Harry Newman, 11r.  
 Wright, Russell J., "The Restoration of the Interior of the William Paca House," 281  
 "The Town Plan of Annapolis," 290  
 Wright, Sister Catherine, *Port O'Bladensburg: A Brief History of a 1742 Town*, 284  
 Wright, St. Clair, "Saving the William Paca House," 281  
 "The Paca House Garden Restored," 281  
 "Historic Preservation in Annapolis," 281  
 Wrote, Samuel, 225r.  
 Wroth, Lawrence C., 84r., 85r., 276r.  
 Wye Island: *Outsiders, Insiders, and Resistance to Change*, by Boyd Gibbon, 283
- Y
- YACKEL, PETER G., *Criminal Justice and Loyalists in Maryland: Maryland v. Caspar Frietschie*, 1781, 46-63  
 Yackel, Peter Garrett, "The Original Criminal Jurisdiction of the Superior Courts of Judicature of Colonial Maryland, New York, and Massachusetts," 183  
 Yearly, Alexander, 387  
 Yearley, Clifton K., 162r.  
 220 Years... *A History of the Catholic Community of the Frederick Valley*, Thomas R. Bevan, 288  
 Yerkes, David N., 70r.  
 Young, Alfred F., ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, reviewed, 207-208  
 Young Margaret (ship), 33





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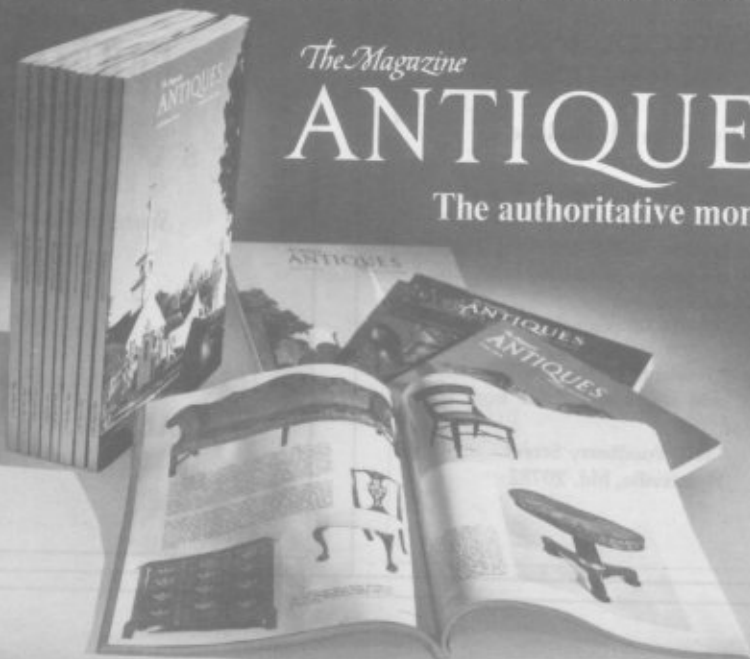
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