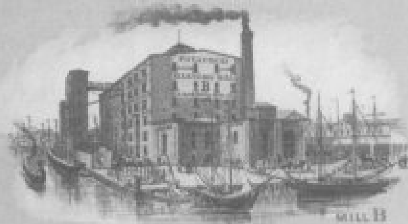
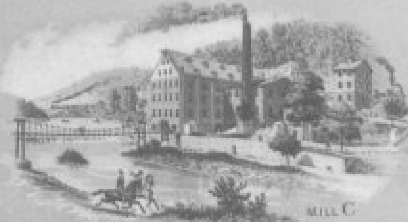
MSA SC 5881-1-307

Maryland Historical Magazine





DAILY CAPACITY 2200 BBLS.

PATAPSCO FLOURING MILLS
ESTABLISHED 1774.
C.A. Gambrill Mfg. Co., Proprietors,
BALTIMORE, MD.

Published Quarterly by The Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Summer 1982

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS, 1981-1982

J. Fife Symington, Jr., *Chairman**
Robert G. Merrick, Sr., *Honorary Chairman**
Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., *Vice Chairman**

Frank H. Weller, Jr., *President**
Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr., *Vice President**
E. Phillips Hathaway, *Vice President**
William C. Whitridge, *Vice President**
Richard P. Moran, *Secretary**
Mrs. Frederick W. Lafferty, *Treasurer**
Samuel Hopkins, *Past President**
Bryson L. Cook, *Counsel*

* *The officers listed above constitute the Society's Executive Committee.*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1981-1982

H. Furlong Baldwin
Mrs. Emory J. Barber, *St. Mary's Co.*
Gary Black, Jr.
James R. Herbert Boone *(Honorary)*
John E. Boulais, *Caroline Co.*
Thomas W. Burdette
Mrs. James Frederick Colwill *(Honorary)*
Owen Daly, II
Donald L. DeVries
Deborah B. English
Charles O. Fisher, *Carroll Co.*
Louis L. Goldstein, *Calvert Co.*
Anne L. Gormer, *Allegany Co.*
Kingdon Gould, Jr., *Howard Co.*
William Grant, *Garrett Co.*
Benjamin H. Griswold, III
R. Patrick Hayman, *Somerset Co.*
Louis G. Hecht
T. Hughlett Henry, Jr., *Talbot Co.*
Matthew H. Hirsh
Michael Hoffberger
E. Ralph Hostetter, *Cecil Co.*
Elmer M. Jackson, Jr., *Anne Arundel Co.*
H. Irvine Keyser, II
Richard R. Kline, *Frederick Co.*
John S. Lalley
Calvert C. McCabe, Jr.
Robert G. Merrick, Jr.
Michael Middleton, *Charles Co.*
J. Jefferson Miller, II
W. Griffin Morrel
Jack Moseley
Thomas S. Nichols *(Honorary)*
Mrs. Brice Phillips, *Worcester Co.*
J. Hurst Purnell, Jr., *Kent Co.*
George M. Radcliffe
Adrian P. Reed, *Queen Anne's Co.*
Richard C. Riggs, Jr.
David Rogers, *Wicomoco Co.*
Terry M. Rubenstein
John D. Schapiro
Jacques T. Schlenger
Truman T. Semans
T. Rowland Slingluff, Jr.
Jess Joseph Smith, Jr., *Prince George's Co.*
John T. Stinson
Mrs. Wallace W. Symington, Jr.
Frank C. Wachter, II, *Washington Co.*
Thomas D. Washburne
Jeffrey P. Williamson, *Dorchester Co.*
James T. Wollon, Jr., *Harford Co.*

COUNCIL, 1981-1982

Thomas W. Burdette
Mary E. Busch
Mrs. James E. Cantler
Thomas M. Caplan
Mrs. Dudley I. Catzen
J. Walter Fisher
Arthur L. Flinner
Arthur J. Gutman
Bryden B. Hyde
Jon Harlan Livezey
Calvert C. McCabe, Jr.
Walter D. Pinkard
George M. Radcliffe
W. Cameron Slack
John T. Stinson
Mrs. Vernon H. Wiesand

Romaine Stec Somerville, *Director*
William B. Keller, *Head Librarian*
Stiles Tuttle Colwill, *Curator of the Gallery*

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (ISSN 0025-4258) is published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Second class postage paid at Baltimore, Md. and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER please send address changes to the MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201.

Composed and printed by Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore, Md. 21202.

© Copyright 1982, Maryland Historical Society.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Volume 77
Number 2
June 1982
ISSN-0025-4258

CONTENTS

William Calderhead — Prelude to Yorktown: A Critical Week in a Major Campaign .. 123

W. Jackson Stenger, Jr. — Tench Tilghman—George Washington's Aide 136

John W. McGrain — "Good Bye Old Burr": The Roller Mill Revolution in Maryland, 1882 154

Robert M. Preston — The Great Fire of Emmitsburg, Maryland: Does a Catastrophic Event Cause Mobility? 172

J. Vincenza Scarpaci — Louis H. Levin of Baltimore: A Pioneer in Cultural Pluralism 183

Karen A. Stakem — Hans Froelicher, Jr., Civic Educator 193

Book Reviews

Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution,* by Gary L. Browne • **Lumpkin,** *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South,* by Curtis Carroll Davis • **Baer,** *Canals and Railroads of the Mid-Atlantic States, 1800-1860,* by Darwin H. Stapleton • **Holli and Jones, eds.,** *Biographical Dictionary of American Mayors, 1820-1980,* by Richard J. Cox • **Allen and Montell,** *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research,* by Betty McKeever Key 202

NEWS AND NOTICES 208
COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HIGHLIGHTS 209

HALL OF RECORDS LIBRARY
20184-77
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

PATAPSCO FLOURING MILLS, ESTABLISHED 1774. C.A. Gambrill Mfg. Co., Proprietors, BALTIMORE, MD. Mill A, Mill B, Mill C. DAILY CAPACITY 2200 BBLS. A. Hoen & Co., Lith., Baltimore, Lithographed, printed in colors, 18.7 × 15.5 cm. McGrain collection (private).

C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Company's advertising card of ca. 1884 showed the firm's chain of three flour mills shortly after converting the two older mills from burr-stone grinding to steel-roller milling. Mill-A was on the Baltimore County bank of Patapsco River at Ellicott City; today, only the smoke-stack (added 1875) survives, attached to the concrete flour mill of Wilkins-Rogers, Inc. Mill-B, the first in Maryland equipped with steel rollers, opened in 1882 on Smith's Wharf (now Pier 3 Pratt Street), where the National Aquarium opened in 1981. Mill-C was at Orange Grove on the north bank of Patapsco River, built in 1856; victim of a 1905 fire, its ruins can be found on a trail in the Hilton Area of Patapsco State Park. The reverse of the card carried the slogans, "Good bread can only be produced from a good flour," and "A good flour must contain all the nutriment and none of the inert silicious coverings of the berry."

American Miller, 12(December 1, 1884): 649. Thomas L. Phillips, *The Orange Grove Story, A View of Maryland Americana in 1900* (Washington, D.C., 1972). Baltimore *Morning Herald,* March 16, 1882.

Prelude to Yorktown: A Critical Week in a Major Campaign

WILLIAM CALDERHEAD

In a mood of annoyance tempered with disappointment General Washington took in the disappointing scene. Before him were the troops, the van of his army, which had marched two hundred arduous miles in the past fifteen days; there were also the mounting piles of supplies awaiting movement southward. But most importantly, there were the ships and boats, too few in number as it turned out, to accomplish the critical task that lay ahead. The date was September 6, 1781, and the place: the Head of Elk Creek at the northern tip of the Chesapeake Bay. The soldiers were the leading elements of the combined French and American army which was en route to Yorktown, one hundred and fifty miles to the south, to aid Lafayette in the entrapment of the British army cornered there.

A sense of urgency permeated the scene, for the element of speed had suddenly become the most essential ingredient in the tactical plans for the Yorktown campaign. Only hours before, Washington had received the good news that a French fleet under Admiral François DeGrasse had just arrived in the bay and would move itself into a position to prevent the British force under General Charles Cornwallis from escaping by naval evacuation from the Yorktown peninsula. At the same time, an American army under General Lafayette was moving into place in order to lessen the chance of a British escape by land.[1]

It was now up to Washington to move his combined army to Yorktown as quickly as possible in order to close the trap. Two important factors had suddenly made swiftness the most essential feature of the unfolding campaign. First, there was the strong possibility that when Cornwallis discovered his approaching entrapment, he would attempt to break out before it was too late. Only Washington's arrival could eliminate that danger. Secondly and equally important, Admiral DeGrasse had warned Washington that he could continue the Chesapeake blockade only until October 15. Consequently the Americans would have to mount a siege operation that in five short weeks would force the British to capitulate. The sooner Yorktown could be reached the quicker the seige could be started.

While Washington was aware when he reached Elk Creek that swift movement was imperative, his sense of speed was a general and not a precise one. Although he did not know it, the series of events that now transpired would give him exactly one week, between September 10 and September 17, to move his army to

Professor Calderhead teaches in the History Department of the United States Naval Academy.

Maryland Historical Magazine
Vol. 77, No. 2, SUMMER 1982

the Yorktown peninsula to close the route of escape. On the former date Cornwallis learned that Washington's army was moving southward toward Yorktown. The alarming news caused him to shift his thinking from defense to offense, namely to consider a move to break out of the encirclement. He temporized, however, believing that the Royal Navy could and would rescue him by sea.[2] On the latter date he learned that the French, through their victory at sea, had eliminated this option of retreat. Escape was possible only by land.[3]

Thus Washington had seven days—from the time his prey was alerted till that prey was forced to act—to reinforce the Americans under Lafayette at Yorktown. Although the events of the Yorktown campaign have been related many times, historians have not, for the most part, given adequate emphasis to that time segment. It will be the purpose of this paper to single out those critical days, days which in fact were the key to the whole campaign, and point up the element of speed that was so essential to the success of the move southward.

Of the four-hundred mile trek from New York that Washington's army made, the easiest part should have been the final leg, the 150 mile segment down the Chesapeake to their Yorktown destination. Even if Cornwallis now learned of the Americans' approach, it would seemingly be too late, for, once on the Chesapeake, Washington could cover the distance in just two days of good sailing. There was just one catch. Adequate shipping facilities would have to be waiting at Elk Creek to transport the French and American force of nearly 7,000 troops and supplies.[4] Knowing how essential this shipping would be, Washington, a past expert on amphibious operations,[5] took steps to deal with this even before his armies began their march south from the defenses above New York City. His first action came on August 21, three days before his troops began their long march from New York. Guessing correctly that few vessels would be available on the upper Chesapeake when the marching armies arrived there,[6] the American general sent an order to Lafayette to scour the lower bay for watercraft and send them to the head of Elk.[7] Next, Washington sought support from the French. DeGrasse would be bringing with his battle fleet a number of transports and light draft frigates. It was "a matter of utmost importance," Washington noted, that these latter be sent to Elk Creek.[8] Finally the American commander sent an appeal to Governor Thomas Sim Lee of Maryland for assistance in obtaining boats for transports. Of the three sources queried, only the governor was in a position to act, and by September 4 scattered shipowners in the Baltimore and Annapolis area were responding to the request for boats.[9] But by September 6 when the bulk of the army had arrived, only a fraction of the vessels needed had reached Elk Creek. It was this pitifully small collection of several dozen craft that Washington encountered upon his arrival at the head of Chesapeake Bay.

A sense of urgency tempered his disappointment and stirred the general to action.[10] At this point he made a critical decision that undoubtedly affected the outcome of the campaign. Washington had three choices. The combined army could wait at Elk Creek till adequate shipping arrived. It could continue its move by land. Or it could split, with a portion going by water and the rest by whatever expedient means came along. Although splitting the force was risky, Washington, sensing the urgency of time, ordered that the forces be divided into two parts. The smaller portion, including the heavy baggage, some light infantry, and

especially the siege artillery, would be embarked at the Head of Elk for movement by water. The major portion would continue its overland march southward. The new embarkation point would be Baltimore, and two urgent requests were sent ahead to have all additional shipping dispatched to that port. One message implored the "gentlemen of the Eastern Shore" for aid in shipping. Another ordered General John Cadwalader, remaining behind at Elk Creek, to forward to Baltimore, "with all the celerity possible" all the watercraft that could henceforth be obtained.[11]

Washington's original timetable had been upset, but if luck held, the advance force with the precious siege artillery could shortly reach its destination and pin down the enemy while the main body, with additional transport, would arrive later. The most urgent need for the moment then was to move as many men, as the available shipping would allow, down the Chesapeake to reinforce Lafayette before Cornwallis discovered his predicament. Only those troops most urgently needed by Lafayette were to board ship. They numbered 1,600 French infantry under Lauzun, the American artillery and siege tools of General John Lamb, and the French grenadiers and chausseurs.[12] The latter were not to take their horses because of the lack of space and the usual difficulty of shipping horses by water. Instead, the animals were to move overland with the supply forces to Virginia. The decision to leave the cavalry was no doubt a difficult one, for mounted horsemen would have been ideal for halting or limiting an enemy breakout.[13]

In spite of the limited number embarking and "the great activity" in boarding, two critical days (September 9 and 10) were consumed in loading the eighty vessels that were available. The French, perturbed at this logistical breakdown, found their accommodations very cramped. With fifty grenadiers and four officers to a sloop, as one Frenchman noted, meals were limited to "cold biscuits and cheese" because cooking was impossible.[14] Their American hosts fared no better, one observer declaring that his schooner was "so deeply laden with cannon, mortars, and other ordnance" that rough weather might readily sink her.[15]

While the van of the army continued its loading at Elk Creek, Washington rushed ahead to Baltimore to commandeer whatever vessels he could in the current emergency. The great bulk of the army followed in his tracks, moving with all the speed they could muster. Over 5,000 French and Americans now filled the narrow roadways in traversing the circuitous sixty miles of distance from Head of Elk to Baltimore. The American column was stretched for nearly two miles along the dusty roads. In addition to the sizeable number of Continental infantry units, the artillery that had not gone by water, the baggage, and cavalry forces that most historical accounts have effectively described, the moving columns also included elements of three minority groups, including Indians, blacks, and women, whose presence, especially on this campaign, has been generally neglected.[16]

The existence of the first minority, the Indians, was easily overlooked because of its inconspicuousness. Previously, Indian allies had served in small, attached, but segregated units, easily distinguished by their dress and appearance. Now they were integrated and were included in a number of New England companies marching south. Because their numbers were small, and they were dressed in the same manner as the rest of the army, their presence was hardly noticed.[17] Except

for Washington's attitude toward their serving, there probably would have been additional red men serving in the army and particularly in this march. A message, for instance, had been sent to Washington's headquarters at the beginning of September from the chief of the Stockbridge tribe in Massachusetts offering the services of his men in the current campaign.[18] The gesture had some precedent, for on two earlier occasions in the war members of this tribe had served the American cause effectively.[19] But Washington's long experience with Indian auxiliaries, going back thirty years or more to the fierce clashes on the Virginia frontier, had left a negative impression in his mind.[20] Not surprisingly, he refused this last minute offer. In addition to the Stockbridge tribe, members of the Iroquois from New York were also involved in the army's move south. Some forty chiefs and warriors from this powerful confederacy arrived in Philadelphia on September 17 on the heels of Washington's army. Although local citizens assumed that they were a straggling portion of the forces moving on Yorktown, their purpose was a diplomatic and not a military one. They had merely arrived to confer with the French minister to the United States, residing in Philadelphia, about their status under the Franco-American alliance.[21] Nevertheless, for propaganda effect and to allay the disappointments of many Philadelphians, they put on a war dance in full regalia and their spokesman, one of the chiefs whose name in English was "Grasshopper," made a speech for the occasion.[22]

The second minority group proceeding southward consisted of women, and they were divided into two contingents. The first were the camp followers who included not only the companions of the soldiers but also soldiers' wives and other family members. Their role was an important one since they did much of the cooking and laundry at times of bivouac for the marching men. Although they were in attendance at all of the campaigns of the Revolution, the Yorktown campaign, because of the need for speed, might well have been an exception. Yet even though their presence obviously slowed the march, Washington did not see fit to remove them. Once before, in 1777, embarrassed by their presence, he had attempted to exclude them only to find that they created greater difficulties when they were out of the marching forces than in. Now on the Yorktown march, with the army's morale low because of lack of pay and with a need for tight security, it was too risky for Washington to leave this group behind in New York and so close to the wary enemy. Besides, the camp followers were good campaigners and were inured to the rigors of long marches. In any event the American general acknowledged their presence by ordering that (probably because of the priority of time) their numbers be kept to a reasonable level. In contrast, the second group of women on the march were already limited in number. They comprised the household force of the headquarters staff, and they too proceeded south with the rest of the army.[23]

For the third minority, the black soldier, his very color set him apart, and partly because of this his important role in the Yorktown campaign can be more easily documented. To begin with, the American forces marching southward included many soldiers who were black. Their precise totals cannot be ascertained, but the numbers were apparently substantial. When a French officer, for example, visited Washington's headquarters at White Plains just before the armies

marched, he noted that about one-fourth of the troops that he encountered in the area were black.[24] Some of French regiments also contained blacks, but they were serving not as soldiers but as personal body servants to the officers.[25] In addition, some of the new militia units that had been mustered for the Yorktown campaign also contained black recruits. Maryland, for instance, sent two new regiments from the state to aid in the Virginia operation. These regiments included possibly several dozen blacks as newly raised militiamen.[26] Furthermore, the American regiments already at Yorktown besieging the enemy also had a proportionate share of black soldiers, most of these, in fact, being seasoned veterans.[27]

Finally, the British enemy at Yorktown also found black Americans to be of value. In August and September, for example, the English army reportedly employed 3,000 blacks in their desperate haste to build fortifications for defensive siege operations.[28] Many of these were reluctant workers, and a few showed feelings of antipathy toward the British and proved to be troublesome. One of these, a Virgina slave named Cuffee, was taken before Cornwallis to be interrogated. When the general observed his negative attitude, he ordered the slave to be bound for shipment to the West Indies. Angered at the thought of leaving his home as well as a "kindly American master" and particularly at the fact that the British had carried away his wife during Arnold's raid the previous year, Cuffee could not longer restrain himself. "Damn you Englishmen," he shouted. "You bring me to this country and now when God gives me a good master, you send me to the devil in the West Indies."[29] It is uncertain whether this outspoken slave was saved from exportation. Because the punishment would have been carried out well before the end of the summer, it is very possible that he was shipped to the West Indies before the British forces became sealed in.[30] If he was still at Yorktown at the time of surrender, he would have been returned, like all "contraband," to his former master.[31]

But the time for the Yorktown siege was still in the unpredictable future. Washington's problem in early September was to make up for the days that had been lost through lack of shipping at Elk Creek by moving the bulk of his army, minorities and all, to a new embarkation point at Baltimore. His move was made to save time, but unexpected delays now came along to offset this advantage. First there was the crossing of the Susquehanna River. Because its transit had not been part of the regular plan, there was only one boat available for the ferrying operations, and the river was more than a mile and a half in width at that point.[32] Happily the time of the delay was reduced by sending over the heavy goods by the boat and by passing the cavalry and infantry over by means of a shallow ford located some distance upstream.[33] A second element of delay was caused by the French. From the time they had left New York their movements had been ponderously slow, and partly from this they were marching behind the Americans. Upon approaching Baltimore it was found that adequate shipping would not be available at that port.[34] As a result it was decided that Annapolis, some thirty miles down the bay and with good port facilities, would be the new embarkation point and the French would be the first to be placed on board whatever shipping was there. This change in plan required the French army to

"pass through" the American forces which had to "lay still to let the cumbersome baggage, camp equippage, supplies and artillery" of the allies' move to the head of the column.

Annoyingly the combination of delays had consumed an entire week of time, but on September 17, the situation improved. A number of small ships had arrived at Baltimore harbor, and most of the American troops boarded them. On the following day this flotilla got underway and "under full sail and a fair wind" it came to anchor off Annapolis.[35] The French, as planned, did not embark at Baltimore but continued on their landward march to the port of Annapolis. The road they traversed to the capital bears today the name "Generals Highway" in honor of General Rochambeau who was in command of this allied force. Although Washington was not yet aware of it, the main body had fallen critically behind the timetable for its most meaningful arrival at Yorktown. But the American luck might still hold. Hopefully the force that had left Head of Elk by water on September 11 would reach its destination quickly enough to thwart any enemy efforts to escape.

While Washington's main force was lumbering toward Baltimore, that general, with a small headquarters staff, had separated himself from the marching armies and moved on ahead. He reached Baltimore on September 8 where in the midst of a hero's welcome he spent most of his time attempting to secure ships to facilitate a more rapid movement southward.[36] This effort, already noted, was only partly successful. Orders were also sent ahead from Baltimore to repair the roads and bridges in Virginia over which the remaining segment of the armies would have to march. Long neglect due to the war and the sudden need to use them for swift movement had created an unanticipated problem. The army's wagons, the cavalry, and the cattle, plus a contingent to guard them would now be forced to move slowly until the proper repairs could be made. To speed up this process of repair, Washington set out in advance of the wagons and cavalry.[37] This operation, by design or coincidence, would take him near Mount Vernon, his beloved home that he had not seen for seven years. Picking a fast horse, he outdistanced most of his mounted staff, and after sixty miles of hard riding, reached his destination in one day's time.[38] His speed was amazing, and the feat was all the more remarkable because Washington was large of frame and weighed 209 pounds and usually had difficulty in finding mounts that could bear his weight.[39] Although devotion to family was certainly the motivating force behind his behavior, one is tempted to speculate that the frustrations stemming from the recent slow movements of the armies was perhaps vented by making such a punishing ride.

Three days were spent at Mount Vernon, days mixed with the joys of home-coming and continued efforts to prepare the roads for the advancing supply forces. Washington's earlier sense of urgency was now lessened by two pieces of good news. First, and unbelievably, Cornwallis so far showed no signs of attempting a breakout.[40] Secondly, the French fleet had departed the Chesapeake and presumably would engage the British. The allies would have to move down the bay gingerly until it was certain that those waters would remain in allied hands.[41]

The temporary halt in the timetable now aided the main portion of the armies which, as has been noted, reached Annapolis by September 17. It was essential

for this sizeable group to reach the Yorktown area as soon as the bay appeared secure. Luckily, when the enemy fleets were engaged and remained at sea between September 6 and 12, a small squadron of French ships under Admiral de Barras had slipped into the lower bay. They brought not only much needed heavy siege artillery to Yorktown but also transports with shallow enough draft to enter the harbors of the upper bay. Eight of these transports plus a sloop and two small frigates sailed quickly to Annapolis harbor. There on September 18, well over 3,500 infantry of Rochambeau's army were put on board.[42]

On the following day this last flotilla, joined by the Americans already embarked on several vessels, got underway. Although September is usually an excellent time for sailing on the Chesapeake, it was not so in that momentous September of 1781. On the first day out of Annapolis adverse winds limited the squadron's progress to as far as Poplar Island, a distance of just fifteen miles. The wind turned fresh on September 20, and the ships raced along a good sixty miles to the bay of the Wicomico River where gale force winds blew up a storm, forcing the vessels to anchor for the night.[43] The squadron was underway again the next day, and the men on board enjoyed the pleasure of observing the historically memorable sights that now came into view: the French guardships at the mouth of the York; and the victorious French fleet anchored further down the bay. Finally after working their way up the James River, the troops disembarked.[44] It was September 24; a trip that should normally have taken just three days, had, almost unbelievably, taken seventeen! Since this was well beyond the critical date of the 17th, it might be argued that the great haste that Washington had urged had been made partly in vain.

Yet the movement of the main body in the entrapment phase was only one throw of the dice in the deadly and continuing game that the American general was playing. There was also the van of the army that had to be accounted for. They had the advantage of an all-water route and a slight head start. Would they succeed in the role in which the main body had failed?

The van, as previously noted, had departed Elk Creek with dangerously overloaded transports on September 11. Two anxious days had been taken up in placing men and equipment on board the small ships. In spite of the delay, an air of optimism prevaled for, if luck held, the flotilla would be able to reach the Yorktown area in seventy hours of good sailing. Unhappily the precious timetable would be thrown askew, for three unexpected events would delay the movement southward. The first of these was the weather. Towards sunset on the 12th the weather changed; and an increasing wind made heavy seas, much to the surprise of the French who had imagined that the bay would be a placid one.[45] Being near Annapolis when the wind changed and with darkness approaching, the little fleet moved into the shelter of its harbor. Many of the officers and men went ashore to obtain hot food, but when the storm worsened, bringing torrents of rain, a large number became stranded and spent the night in Annapolis.[46]

The next morning, with the weather clearing, the flotilla made an early start, no doubt with the intention of making up for lost time. The effort would be wasted, for the second incident causing delay now intervened. The French fleet, as already noted, had departed the lower Chesapeake to engage the English fleet.[47] Until that squadron returned victorious, the troop transports would have

to remain at a safe distance in the upper bay.[48] Ideally, it had been Washington's intention to have the van arrive at Yorktown before this awkward moment arrived. Now because of the danger, the flotilla had to return to Annapolis. For the second evening in a row the capital city served as host as many of the troops went ashore to enjoy the sights and sounds of that colonial seaport.[49] The delay was disconcerting, but the lack of news concerning the naval action would also hold Cornwallis in check. He too could not plan proper action until he learned the results of the naval battle. Thus the time lost here cancelled itself out.

A second start within as many days was made from Annapolis, but again an unexpected and, in this case, dangerous element intervened. The Chesapeake Bay or at least its lower reaches, was, and had been during most of the war, a dangerous waterway that the enemy with her powerful navy often controlled. In fact in the preceding month three picaroon galleys from their British base at New York[50] had marauded American commerce in the bay.[51] British naval vessels had also probed these waters just days before Washington's forces reached Elk Creek.[52] The navy's presence was understandable, for they were guarding the flank of Cornwallis' position at Yorktown. The British galleys, though, were on their own at least in the upper reaches of the bay. How they obtained provisions in that area cannot be determined, but with parts of the Eastern Shore strongly loyalist, there is the possibility that these boats were occasionally and secretly getting water and provisions—and even refuge—from citizens who still swore allegiance to the King.[53]

The French and American vessels stringing their way southward were unaware of this hidden threat. Not far from Annapolis the overloaded transports began to straggle and soon lost visual contact with one another. At this point one of the ships carrying French troops was approached by a "strong unidentified boat" moving rapidly toward them "using powerful oars." At first, assuming it to be friendly, the French paid little attention until it "suddenly tacked about and left." A probable attack was thwarted, it was believed, when the galley upon closer inspection discovered the large number of well armed men on board the French transport.[54] The enemy galley disappeared and did not return.

Although this threat from enemy galleys proved to be no major deterrent, bad weather once more intervened and delayed the progress of the transports. Winds increased to gale force as the ships moved into the wider area of the bay. One observer noted, "the bow of our vessel plowing through the billows is frequently brought under water which keeps us in perpetual alarm."[55] Fortunately the storm subsided enough for the troops to mark the drama of the historical moment they were creating. The French, contrasting the scene with their homeland, were impressed by the size of the mouth of the Potomac and by the Indian names of the rivers they were passing. The Americans, in turn, felt a quickening of the pulse in passing the mouth of the York River where "fifteen miles upstream stood Yorktown and the British army." Later, in passing Hampton Roads and entering the James, the transports sighted the victorious French fleet riding at anchor. To one American it was the "most noble and majestic spectacle that (he) had ever witnessed."[56] Finally after moving up the James to the harbor area near Williamsburg, the transports reached their destination. It was September 22. One of the French officers marvelled that a trip that should have taken three days at best in

good weather had actually taken eleven days to complete.[57] If blocking Cornwallis had depended only on this force, its arrival would probably have been too late.

Fortunately for the American cause two other groups had reached the Yorktown area in much better time. The first of these, arriving on September 10, was the French squadron of Admiral Barras that came down from Rhode Island with troops and much needed siege artillery.[58] The second group comprised a contingent of transports that had left the Head of Elk with the others but had not been delayed along the way. It reached Hampton Roads on the 14th, passed DeGrasse's fleet, and disembarked its troops and guns at Williamsburg on September 16.[59]

Although this second element included less than a thousand men, its arrival could not have been more perfectly timed. To appreciate this it is necessary to examine the day-to-day response of Cornwallis to his coming entrapment, for as most historians agree, his action or lack of action held the key to the Yorktown siege. His first thoughts regarding a planned breakout came in the first few days of September when probes of the American and French position showed that a move to escape was a feasible one. A week later with the chances of evacuation by sea depending on the outcome of a British-French naval encounter, the need to examine the possibilities for escape was even more obvious. Again, Cornwallis probed the defense perimeter by sending out spies as well as the British dragoons and two companies of mounted infantry under Colonel Banastre Tarleton who was ordered "to use every expedient to obtain exact intelligence of their numbers."[60] The favorable results of these probes, completed by the 15th, caused Cornwallis to plan a breakout attack which, it was supposed, would be "effectual and conclusive." Just one day following this key decision, however, the English commander received a message from Clinton implying "hourly" help. With these new "hopes of relief" his escape attempt did not seem "justifiable," and his plan for a breakout was postponed.[61] When he tried again three weeks hence, it would be too late.

Most historians, including Franklin Wickwire, the best authority on Cornwallis, believe it was the receipt of Clinton's message suggesting timely help that caused the besieged general to temporize. This did undoubtedly play a role, but there was another event that was possibly just as significant; namely the arrival of the van of Washington's army. Cornwallis never referred to its arrival directly, but there is evidence to suggest that its appearance served to determine his thinking. Two points might be noted in this regard. First, although the plan for a breakout was cancelled on September 16, at least one advisor to Cornwallis felt that the attempt would have been justified till the 18th.[62] No reason was given for selecting that date and nothing of consequence happened in the Yorktown operation on that day. In fact the only significant military event that occurred in the three-day interval following the intelligence probe whose results had pleased Cornwallis, was the arrival of the van of the allied army.[63] Espionage reports filtering in after the 18th undoubtedly confirmed its presence. Now Cornwallis, following that date, had a rational military excuse for inaction that could satisfy his more aggressive subordinates who might otherwise have urged him to take action.[64] Secondly, there is also evidence to suggest that the British general had become aware of the reduced chances for breakout that the arrival of the new force created. Thus his last recorded thought on this matter before complete encircle-

ment concerned only the use of cavalry and their employment not as an attacking screen for the army but solely for their own escape.[65]

Once Cornwallis was held in check, for whatever the reasons, the remainder of the Yorktown siege was almost anti-climax. Washington arrived at Williamsburg on the 14th, several days ahead of his supply trains, and obtained an important promise in an interview with Admiral DeGrasse on September 17 that the French fleet would remain beyond its earlier deadline and stay till the end of October.[66]

Although this concession removed a great deal of concern from Washington's mind,[67] there was still no letdown in his efforts to speed up the siege operation now about to get underway. Significantly, the sense of urgency that may have already saved the day for him would do so again. When he discovered a little later, for example, that his recently landed artillery had no gun teams (that included caissons and horses) to move the guns into their siege positions, he personally made certain that wagons and animals from his own baggage forces would be used for that purpose. By such acts, as one historian has noted, he encouraged "all officers to follow his example."[68]

Even his earlier effort to speed up the main body and the supply forces now proved not to have been in vain. Thanks to the delayed but timely arrival of these two groups, Washington was able to intensify his siege operations that much sooner. The siege itself did not bog down into a "reducible calculation" as French engineers suggested it might,[69] but it progressed in such manner that in just three short weeks the pressure on the British enemy had become severe. Responding to this on October 18, General Cornwallis, who saw no sign as yet of succor, notified the allies that he was ready to consider terms for capitulation. If he had been able to delay this move for just a few more days, he would have learned that a British relief expedition was on its way. What effect such a move might have had on the outcome of the Yorktown siege will never be known. The allies never had to deal with that problem, for the British surrendered on October 19.

The world will always wonder about what thoughts passed through General Washington's mind as he patiently waited in the bright sunlight of that chill October day and observed the slow and measured approach of the officers of Cornwallis' staff on their way to surrender. Did he perhaps note the strange irony in the contrast between the deliberate lethargy that marked the tone of this closing scene and the great sense of urgency that dominated—and guaranteed—that the end would occur as it was now doing?

REFERENCES

1. A number of excellent monographs deal with the Yorktown campaign, but two of the best include: Burke Davis, *The Campaign That Won America* (New York, 1970), *passim*, and James Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution* (Boston 1968), pp 427–464.
2. Franklin and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis* (Boston, 1970), pp 360–362.
3. Piers Mackesy, *The War for America* (London, 1964), pp 424–425.
4. Christoper Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, 2 vols (New York, 1952), II, pp 881–887. Individual states like Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia also sent separate state militia units on their own. The Americans had 2,000 making the march and the French had 4,800.
5. On several occasions during the Revolution Washington proved his skill in his area. An example of his expertise can be seen in W. Calderhead, "British Naval Failure on Long Island: A Lost Opportunity in the American Revolution," *New York History* 57 (July 1976): 326–338.
6. British naval superiority during the previous summer and earlier had eliminated most of the private shipping in the bay. Flexner, *Washington*, p. 444 fn.

7. John Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols (Washington, 1937), 23: Washington to Marquis de Lafayette, August 21, 1781, pp 33–34.
8. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23: Washington's answer to Comte Rochambeau, August 22, 1781, pp 35–37.
9. General Mordecai Gist, a Maryland officer, was in Baltimore representing Washington's interests there, and on September 4 he sent all the vessels in the harbor to Head of Elk. These were the boats that the governor had procured in the Patapsco area. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1781; and Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23, p. 57.
10. Nearly three-eighths (10 of 23) of Washington's dispatches between 6 and 7 September dealt with the urgent problem of acquiring boats for moving the troops down to Virginia. See, Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23: pp 89–106.
11. *Ibid.*, pp 96–97 and 102.
12. *The Journal of Claude Blanchard* (Albany, 1876), Entry of September 8, pp 138–139. Washington indicated that 2,000 men, part French and part American, were to embark at this point.
13. The British under Cornwallis were planning to use Tarleton's cavalry for their breakout attempt.
14. *Journal of Blanchard*, Entry of September 8, 1781, pp 138–139.
15. James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1823), Entry of September 10, 1781.
16. Thacher kept a detailed account of the march south, making notes on the length of the marching columns, the problems of speed, and comments on minorities, observing that even children (of various soldiers and their wives) were among those who brought up the rear. See Thacher, *Military Journal*, September 1, p. 326.
17. The presence of Indians in the marching columns was not observed directly. But a number of Connecticut and Rhode Island companies had Indians in their complements, and these groups were part of Washington's forces moving South. It can be assumed then that some Indians, inconspicuously, accompanied the army south. Their presence in those New England units is noted in Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1961), p. 72.
18. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23: Letter to the Chief of the Stockbridge Indians, September 2, 1781, p. 80.
19. The earlier actions were Arnold's expedition to Quebec and Starke's battle at Bennington, Vermont where he used 100 Indians. For their recruitment, each brave received a blanket and a red ribbon. There was some white resentment at their serving, but this was offset by the thought that the Stockbridge tribe was at least "semi-civilized." Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, I: 23, 144, and 426. For a view of the British attitude toward the military actions of this tribe see, Joseph Tustin, ed., *Diary of the American War* (J. von Ewald) (New Haven, 1979), p. 130.
20. Flexner, *Washington*, p. 329.
21. For the status of the several Iroquois nations (normally pro-British) during the war, see John Guzzardo, "The Battle for Oneida Allegiances, 1771-1775," *New York History* 57 (July 1976): 255–283.
22. *The Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia), October 4, 1781. Grasshopper, the Oneida Chieftan, went by the name of "Jist Arara." Philadelphians were intrigued by both names. *The New Jersey Gazette*, September 19, 1781.
23. This was apparently a verbal order, but Thacher clearly refers to it. See Thacher, *Military Journal*, entry of September 1, 1781. For Washington's reactions to this group, see Walter Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 66. There were also women who were traveling with Washington's headquarters staff. Their numbers were small and some were relatives of staff personnel. One was the wife of Billy Lee, Washington's black body servant. Washington referred to these women in two dispatches during the march in Maryland. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23: 100 and 105.
24. This is a disproportionately high number. Either this is an exaggeration or the Frenchman encountered one of the Connecticut or Rhode Island companies that were substantially black. Quarles, *The Negro in the Revolution*, p. 78.
25. Some were free and had been hired. Others were slaves and were rented from American owners or were captured as "booty" from the British. Quarles, *The Negro in the Revolution*, p. 161.
26. Richard Walsh and William L. Fox, *Maryland, A History* (Baltimore, 1974), p. 109, Edward Papenfuse and Gregory Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Careers of the Revolutionary War Private," *William* and *Mary Quarterly* 30 (January 1973): 117–132.
27. Typical of these was the Maryland black named Thomas Carney who was serving in the Maryland First Regiment with General Greene. Greene in turn had now combined forces with LaFayette. *Niles' Register*, August 23, 1828.
28. *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, August 29, 1781. Quarles cites a corps of 500 blacks doing this work. The higher figure probably includes all able bodied blacks within the defenses.
29. *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, September 1, 1781.

30. This story has a propagandistic ring to it. The kindly American master, the insidious British enemy, etc., suggest that "Cuffee" may have been a creation of American propaganda. Still, the harsh treatment of slaves was not untypical of the British, and the story is presented as being true, for the incident could very well have happened as Cuffee related it. *The Pennsylvania Journal*, September 1 and 5, 1781.
31. Quarles suggests that the mortality rate for blacks at Yorktown was extremely high. Thus there is a strong possibility that Cuffee did not survive. Quarles, *The Negro in the Revolution*, p. 142. Malnutrition may have pushed the death rate higher for slaves at Yorktown for the British placed them on rations of horse flesh by mid-September. C. Marshall, *The Diary of Christopher Marshall* (Albany, 1877), Entry of September 19, 1781.
32. Diary of Ensign B. Swartwout, Entry of September 10, 1781, This manuscript is in the Manuscript Collection of the New-York Historical Society, New York City.
33. Thomas Balch, *Les Francais en Amerique Pendant La Guerre de L'Independence*, (Paris, 1872), Entry of September 9 and 10, 1781, p. 160.
34. Diary of Ensign Swartwout, Entry of September 13-16, 1781.
35. *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, September 26, 1781, under an article captioned "Annapolis, September 20."
36. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23: 105.
37. On September 11 Washington sent an apology to Governor Lee of Maryland explaining that the need to attend to road transportation prevented him from paying a courtesy call. William Baker, *The Itinerary of George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1892), Entry of September 11, 1781.
38. His favorite mount "Blue Skin" was apparently not available. Flexner, *Washington*, p. 359.
39. Washington was weighed on a scale at West Point, and his weight was recorded at 209 pounds. His size and weight were well above the average for the eighteenth century, but the next two ranking commanders on the march south were even heavier. General Lincoln, for example, weighed 224 and General Knox, 280 pounds. *National Intelligencer*, January 2, 1841.
40. Flexner, *Washington*, p. 447. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23:113-115.
41. Responding to this, Washington sent out orders to delay temporarily the movement south. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23:115.
42. E. Riley, a nineteenth-century resident of Annapolis, gives a figure of 4,000 French. The transports of embarking them in Annapolis were capable of holding 4,000 troops. But the actual number might have been a little less. Elihu Riley, *The Ancient City, A History of Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 188. Newspapers listed between 3,500 and 4,000 troops. Typical was *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 4, 1781.
43. This was the same storm that drenched the landing operations further south at Williamsburg.
44. Swartwout, Diary entries for September 18 through September 24, 1781.
45. Gaspard G. Gallatin, "Journal of G. Gallatin," 4 vols, III, entry of September 11 and 12, 1781. Manuscript volumes are in the Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress.
46. Thacher, *Military Journal*, entry of September 11-12, 1781.
47. The sea battle began so close to the shoreline that the people residing along the coast could "hear very plainly" the heavy firing. Richard MacMaster (ed.), "The Journal of Robert Honeyman," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol 79, October, 1971, pp. 387-426.
48. Flexner, *Washington*, p. 448.
49. Thacher, *Military Journal*, entry of September 13, 1781.
50. *New Jersey Gazette*, September 12, 1781.
51. *Maryland Journal*, August 21, 1781.
52. *Maryland Gazette*, September 20, 1781. Extract of a letter from Yorktown, dated the end of August.
53. Gallatin, *Journal*, entry of September 15, 1781. For a view of the Loyalist strength and sentiment on the Eastern Shore, see Herbert B. Stimson, "Charles Gordon: Jacobite and Loyalist," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 27 (October 1928), pp. 390-404. For coverage of British and American naval strength in the Chesapeake, see John Jeffries, *Maryland Naval Barges in the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1980), *passim*.
54. *Journal of Blanchard*, entries of September 13-14, 1781, pp. 138-139.
55. Thacher, *Military Journal*, entry of September 18, 1781.
56. *Ibid.*, entry of September 20, 1781.
57. Gallatin, *Journal*, entry of September 20, 1781.
58. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23:115.
59. *Journal of Blanchard*, entries of September 14-16, 1781.
60. Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780-1781* (London, 1787), p. 365.
61. F. Wickwire, *Cornwallis*, pp. 361-364. Cornwallis' decision, based merely on the hope of possible aid, was not a militarily sound one.

62. Tarleton, *Campaigns of 1780–1781*, p. 369. Tarleton felt that a breakout was possible between September 6 and September 18. Wickwire suggests that the period from September 17 (when Cornwallis learned of the failure of the British navy) till September 26 when all the allied army had arrived, would have been the best time for the breakout. But the near presence of the approaching allied troops after September 21 would have made the risks too great.
63. Did the shocking news of the naval defeat cause Cornwallis to reconsider? There is no answer to this, but before Cornwallis could change his mind after September 17, he would have to determine if the breakout route were still clear. Whether this probe was ever made is uncertain, but Tarleton, who led such operations, stated that after the 18th there was no chance to escape. The historian Richard MacMaster tends to support this view by stressing the importance of the rapid movement of the van, noting in his article on Yorktown that the van's "arrival made the capture of the British force at Yorktown inevitable." Richard MacMaster, "The Journal of Robert Honeyman," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol 79, October, 1971, footnote 85, pp. 387–426.
64. Tarleton in his account implies that there was a division of opinion among Cornwallis' advisors. Thus if the escape route was still open after September 17, those favoring a breakout might have pressured Cornwallis to change his mind. Tarleton was one of these, but after September 18 he felt that it was then too late; *Campaigns of 1780–1781*, p. 369.
65. J. M. Simcoe, *The Queens Rangers* (New York, 1844), p. 250. Simcoe's reply was affirmative. The specific day of this event is not recorded, but it was the last line Simcoe wrote before his next entry date of September 23.
66. Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, 23:122–144.
67. If there had been little time, a frontal attack or coup de main over the parapets would have been required. Washington was pleased that this could be avoided.
68. Wickwire, *Cornwallis*, p. 374.
69. Closen, *Journal*, p. 156.

Tench Tilghman— George Washington's Aide

W. JACKSON STENGER, JR.

DURING THE SUMMER OF 1776 THE CONTINENTAL ARMY ESTABLISHED ITS headquarters at Motier House in New York City. In the congested rooms of this building, Washington's small staff attempted to carry out the innumerable tasks involved in operating an army's headquarters. Writing and dispatching orders, helping to evacuate numerous civilians from the city, questioning prisoners, and various other duties of such nature took more time than Washington's meager staff had to give.

Indications that a long, difficult struggle was coming had caused some officers to leave the army, and Colonel Robert Harrison was the general's only aide. Much work could not be done. Learning of this situation, Captain Tench Tilghman of Maryland, then serving with the army in New Jersey, offered his services for the headquarters. Following the acceptance of his offer, Tilghman arrived in New York on August 8, 1776.

The new aide was a slender man of average height, with auburn hair, gray eyes, and a ruddy complexion. Coming from a well-known Maryland family, Tench Tilghman was the eldest of six sons in the twelve-child family of James and Ann Francis Tilghman. He had been born on Christmas Day of 1744 at "Fausley," his father's plantation on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River, near Easton.

His family had begun in Maryland with Dr. Richard Tilghman of London, who, having been granted 1,000 acres of land by Lord Baltimore, came to the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay in 1661 and upon his death in 1675 left an estate of 8,200 acres of land. Tench's grandfather was Colonel Richard Tilghman, a member of the Lord Proprietor's Council, Chancellor, and Keeper of the Great Seal of the Province of Maryland in the early eighteenth century. The Honorable Matthew Tilghman, his uncle, known as "the Patriarch of Maryland," was president of the Maryland Conventions of 1774 and 1775, a member of the Committee of Correspondence and the Council of Safety during the Revolution, a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1776, and president of the Constitutional Convention of Maryland in 1776.[1]

Unlike his son, James Tilghman, Tench Tilghman's father, was a loyalist. Moving to Philadelphia in 1764, James Tilghman became secretary of the Proprietary Land Office, a member of the Governor's Council, and Attorney-General of the Province of Pennsylvania. After the outbreak of hostilities, he

---

Dr. Stenger is Assistant to the President of the University of Maryland.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
VOL. 77, No. 2, SUMMER 1982

resigned his positions and returned to Maryland, where he lived in Chestertown until his death in 1793.[2] Although arrested as a loyalist and placed on parole, he was moderate enough to be respected regardless of his political beliefs. Compromising extreme Whig and Tory views, James Tilghman opposed English oppression as much as he did violence and separation. The fact that they were on opposing sides did not reduce the love and esteem which father and son had for each other. However, during the course of the Revolution, Tench Tilghman asked that the discussion of politics be dropped from his correspondence with his father for, as he said:

> it is a subject that ought not at this time to be discussed upon Paper . . . . I know your sentiments proceed from a Conviction that present measures are wrong and therefore hurtful to the Country, to the welfare of which I am sure you are at heart a sincere good Wisher, but all will not make the same allowance.[3]

Young Tench Tilghman attended school in Easton and was later, according to family tradition, tutored privately by the Reverend James Gordon. Unfortunately, little is authentically known of his childhood. In 1758, at the age of fourteen, he entered the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), from which he was graduated in 1761.

Following a short term as an apprentice in the mercantile business, Tilghman joined his uncle, Tench Francis, about 1763 in organizing the Francis-Tilghman Company of Philadelphia. Although the firm was formed to finance one particular trading enterprise, success in foreign and local business enabled it to continue until the outbreak of the Revolution[4]

Tench Tilghman's early loyalty to the American colonies is indicated in the company's signing of the Non-Importation Resolution and its subsequent boycotting of British goods. However, he did not actively participate in the cause until the battle of Bunker Hill. At that point, Tilghman dissolved his business connections to serve in the fight for independence.

> Upon the breaking of the troubles, I came to a determination to share the fate of my Country and that I might not be merely a spectator, I made as hasty a close as I possibly could, of my commercial affairs, making it a point to collect and deposit in safe hands as much as would, . . . enable me to discharge my European debts . . . .[5]

In choosing the rebel side, he found himself politically directly opposed to his loyalist father. Not only was his father a British sympathizer, but one of his younger brothers, Philemon, ran away and joined the English navy.[6]

Thus in the summer of 1775 Tench Tilghman enlisted in a company formed in Philadelphia as the "Ladies Light Infantry"—derisively called the "Silk Stockings" by the Tories—and received the rank of lieutenant.

The Continental Congress at this time wanted to secure the neutrality of the Six (Indian) Nations in the war, because the Indians subjected to English influence were potentially a serious danger. On July 13, 1775, Congress appointed a commission to deal at Albany with the Six Nations, allowing it 750 dollars to entertain the Indians. Tilghman's uncle, Colonel Turbett Francis, was appointed

to the commission and it was through him that Tench Tilghman was named secretary-treasurer.

The commission left New York on August 5 and arrived in Albany three days later. Tilghman kept a journal on this trip—addressed to his brother Richard—for his family's amusement. They went on to German Flats to invite the Indians to Albany, Tilghman observing that "N York it is far behind any other of the Colonies in public spirit"[7] on the matter of roads and bridges. Returning to Albany, meetings with the Indians began on August 19, but, due to the slow arrival of all of them, they did not start actual discussions until August 25. Then it seems that Tilghman was annoyed somewhat at the delay, for he recorded in his journal in regard to the Indians that, "Neither do they ever talk about the Matter in hand, if they say anything it is about indifferent Subjects, such as enquiring after Acquaintances &c."[8] However, he also thought that "The Behaviour of the poor Savages at a public Meeting ought to put us civilized people to the Blush. The most profound silence is observed, no interruption of a speaker. When any one speaks all the rest are attentive."[9]

The negotiations at Albany were not all work for Tilghman, for he was entertained at the home of General Philip Schuyler, where he met the general's daughter, Betsy. This social life was apparently the only bright spot in Albany for the young Marylander. Their wines he liked, but of the butter he said, "I have not greased my teeth with a Bit of right good since I left Philad. except in the Jerseys."[10]

The Pipe of Peace was smoked with the Indians, the message from Congress delivered, and Tilghman was adopted into the Onondaga tribe. He wrote that "An Indian Treaty by and by is but dull entertainment owing to the delay and difficulty of getting what you say, delivered properly to the Indians."[11] On September 2, agreement was reached as the Indians pledged neutrality and the commission promised to refer grievances regarding land disputes to Congress. The secretary concluded that the Indians "are thorough bred politicians. They know the proper time of making demands. They reaped up several old grievances and demanded Redress, well imagining that nothing would be denied them at this time."[12]

In this first public service, exactly what Tench Tilghman did is not known, but he evidently kept notes on the negotiations which were later used in the commission's report to Congress.

Returning to Philadelphia, Tench Tilghman became captain of an unattached company which may have been made up of a number of the members of the "Ladies Light Infantry." When Congress asked the colonies for troops, Pennsylvania accepted this company and it joined Washington's army early in 1776 as a part of the "Flying Camp," a group composed mainly of Pennsylvania troops.[13] It was while serving with this unit in New Jersey that Tilghman sought and was accepted for duty at Washington's headquarters.

The new aide's main task was maintaining correspondence and records. Washington had strict requirements for an aide to meet: he must be intelligent, industrious, and able to write a good letter quickly.[14] Although Tilghman at first kept himself in the background, as Washington's secretarial aide he knew all confidential affairs and relieved the general of many minor tasks. From this time

on, Tench Tilghman was in continuous assistance at the commander's side both at headquarters and in the field. He was a vital part in the steady functioning of the official family. Transmitting necessary information to officers in the field, keeping legislatures aware of their needs, signing bills of credit, questioning prisoners, and receiving visitors kept Tilghman constantly busy. The work was pressing, the pay was trifling—only forty dollars a month—and there was little amusement, for the aide wrote to his father that "Vice is banished from this army and the Generals Family in particular. We never sup, but go early to bed and are early up."[15]

Because the New York legislature was unable to meet continually in one place due to British troop movements, it was necessary for that body to be kept informed of all military activity. Colonel Duer of the New York Committee of Correspondence asked Tilghman to accept this task. So through daily letters from September 22 to October 21, 1776, Tench Tilghman kept the New York convention aware of the movements of the enemy as known at headquarters.

Expressing his feelings for those upholding the British cause in New York, Tilghman wrote on October 3: "I am sorry your convention do not feel themselves legally authorized to make examples of the villains they have apprehended. The General is determined, if he can, bring some of those in his hands under the denomination of spies, to execute them. General Howe hanged a captain of ours . . . I do not see why we should not make retaliation."[16]

This correspondence was eventually disrupted by military action. Pennsylvania later asked Tilghman to do the same for it in the summer of 1777, but he was then too busy for more than an occasional dispatch.

While Thomas Paine was writing "These are the times that try men's souls," Tench Tilghman was sharing with his chief the defeats and retreats of the fall of 1776. The battle of Long Island began on August 27; the British under General Howe began breaking through the Continental lines and forcing the Americans back into their entrenchments on Brooklyn Heights. Washington, coming from New York to take personal command, saw that his army faced encirclement and that it was necessary to evacuate the island. On the night of August 29, with the utmost secrecy, the troops were ferried across the river to New York. Only a few officers—Tilghman among them—were aware of the movement, Washington and his aide crossing in the last boat. This was a brilliant stroke and Tench Tilghman was well able to write to his father that

> Our Retreat before an Enemy much superior in Numbers, over a wide River, and not very well furnished with Boats certainly does Credit to our Generals. The thing was conducted with so much Secrecy that neither subalterns or privates knew that the whole Army was to cross back again to N York, they thought only a few Regiments were to go back.[17]

New York City was evacuated on September 15 and, retreating northward with the English at his heels, Washington was humiliated by a skirmish at Kip's Bay when the militia broke and fled. The Continentals recovered somewhat by getting the best of the British in a minor engagement at Harlem Heights, Tilghman being sent to recall the troops after they had advanced too far to be safe. Shortly thereafter Fort Washington fell and the army was forced to retreat across New Jersey, an area in which Tory Loyalists were numerous.[18]

The situation around New York City in the late summer of 1776 was hardly encouraging to the Americans. General Howe had pushed Washington out of the city without difficulty, and there had been some fear that the Patriot leader would be trapped. Tilghman, however, assured New York leaders that his chief was prepared for any moves by the British.[19]

Badly in need of a victory to raise his men's morale, Washington saw his chance in late 1776. With his German mercenaries scattered across New Jersey, General Howe's flank at Trenton was unprotected. Washington took advantage of this opportunity on Christmas night of 1776, by leading 2,400 Continentals across the Delaware some nine miles above Trenton, and, catching the Hessians by surprise, he delivered a crushing blow. Evading the enemy successfully, another unexpected strike was made by attacking the British in Princeton on January 3, 1777. Tilghman thought that if the Army had remained solid following these brilliant victories, Howe could have been driven from New Jersey, but the militiamen, many of whom had obligated themselves for a one-year term, were tired and anxious to return to their homes.[20] Washington established winter quarters at Morristown, from which place the actions of the English could be readily observed.

Tench Tilghman had been in the saddle continuously during the campaign of the autumn of 1776, but the fact that the army was now in winter quarters did not mean that he could then rest. Because Colonel Robert Harrison was sick, most of the secretarial work was done by Tilghman. He wrote dispatches, answered letters, secured supplies, and helped to plan the campaign for the coming summer. There was no time to visit his family at home.

The headquarters staff was increased early in 1777 by the addition of Captain Alexander Hamilton, Richard Meade, and John Walker to augment Harrison, Tilghman, John Laurens, and others who served at different times. Hamilton was commissioned lieutenant colonel on March 1, 1777.[21]

The Americans suspected that in the spring the English army in the New York City area would either make a drive on Philadelphia or attempt to join Burgoyne in the north. Tilghman was busy with the headquarters' correspondence regarding the forthcoming campaign.[22] Additionally, in order to try to discover Howe's plans, Tilghman was sent out to question prisoners and deserters. From them he was able to ascertain that an attack on Philadelphia was planned, and this was confirmed when the British fleet escorted transports into the Chesapeake Bay. Hurriedly leaving Morristown, Washington attempted to place himself between Howe and the Capital.

In the end the Americans were overwhelmingly defeated by a superior force at Brandywine on September 11, 1777, and two weeks later the British took Philadelphia. Washington attempted an attack on Germantown on October 4, but, confused by fog and running short of ammunition, the Continentals were forced to withdraw. Tilghman had had an active part in this battle[23] and hoped to get another opportunity to strike at the British, but Howe was content to remain in Philadelphia.

The battle of Saratoga on October 17, 1777, was the turning point of the war—the deciding factor in the entry of France into the conflict.[24] Tilghman, perceiving at once the importance of this Continental victory, asked Robert Morris to

dispatch the news to Europe immediately, and, following this encouraging encounter, Washington led his army in December of 1777 to winter quarters at Valley Forge.

At Valley Forge the Continental army faced a critical, freezing winter. There were numerous problems to be solved in maintaining even the smallest degree of comfort for the ragged colonials. Supplies and living quarters were dire necessities and Tench Tilghman had a share in their procurement. Because there were no cattle in the camp and only twenty-five barrels of flour, starvation or dissolution faced the army. Tilghman begged Congress for flour, cattle, food, and clothing; lack of money prevented it from supplying but a very little.[25] Washington, therefore, was forced to send his officers out to procure what they could from the countryside. General Greene was instructed to get food in whatever ways he could. Captain Lee was even sent to Maryland and Delaware to do the same, while Tench Tilghman went into New Jersey.[26] These groups managed to return with sufficient supplies, and adequate shelters were constructed by January.

Other problems of an extremely grave nature also arose. For various reasons—the most prominent being insufficient pay—a number of officers arrived at headquarters to resign their commissions. Some were induced to remain by being assured of more pay soon or of being granted leaves. Tench Tilghman himself felt the lack of remuneration for his services, because he had served for much of the time without pay. He wrote Robert Morris asking him to favor in Congress the reorganization of the army, which he thought would remedy the acceptance of bribes and graft by officers. Tilghman, however, placed pecuniary reward far below his intense desire for active participation in the securing of independence and the satisfaction received from his intimate association with and the trust placed in him by George Washington.

Shortly after joining Washington's staff, when he had not expected to serve for as long a time as he ultimately did, Tilghman had written:

> I am detained here by no particular Engagements entered into with the General, so far from it, that tho' he has repeatedly told me I ought to have a Compensation for my Services, I have refused, telling him, that as I only intended to stay with him as long as the active part of the Campaign lasted, I wished to serve as Volunteer.[27]

Fully realizing the importance of the struggle, the Maryland aide wrote several months later:

> I have the happiness and satisfaction of feeling that I have contributed largely by my personal application to the cause in which I am engaged and which I am certain will end in the Freedom of this Country which I hope to see a happy and settled one. If it pleases God to spare the life of the honestest Man that I believe ever adorned human Nature, I have no doubt of it. I think I know the sentiments of his heart and in prosperity and adversity I never knew him to utter a wish or drop an expression that did not tend to the good of his Country, regardless of his own interest . . . . If we succeed I am in no fear of making amends for my lost time. If we fail anything in this Country is not worth a thought.[28]

For Tilghman there was much more involved in the war than successfully repulsing the British troops—"we must oppose our enemies as much by policy as

by arms—if they conquer us in the former, the latter will be of small avail."[29] These are not the words of a simple soldier.

Among the aides to General Washington, Tench Tilghman was distinguished by his modesty and loyalty. Less gifted intellectually than his colleague, Hamilton, the Marylander nonetheless performed yeoman service for Washington as the army moved through the actions of the yearly campaigns and the different situations in winter quarters. He had no political ambitions and did not rise to a position of preeminence among the aides, as did Hamilton, who later became the chief aide-de-camp, though he was a decade younger. Tilghman was, however, intellectually astute, capable of expressing himself articulately, as his letters to his father particularly indicate.

The Commander-in-chief assigned tasks to his aides as their abilities necessitated. Early in his service, for example, Tench Tilghman had been assigned responsibility for confidential correspondence with the committee of correspondence of the New York Provincial Convention.

In the correspondence drafted for Washington, the hand of one or more aides might be seen. Sometimes Hamilton revised Tilghman's drafts. The two apparently got along well, for Washington later used Tilghman as an emissary in a difficult situation with Hamilton. Tilghman, as military secretary, performed many services for Washington and remained one of his most loyal and discreet staff members.[30]

The war had thus far had its ups and downs for the Americans, and with the British ensconced in Philadelphia at the end of 1777, dissatisfaction with Washington's leadership showed itself in some quarters. Actually, second-guessers had been present all along—there were some who, in late 1776, favored General Charles Lee over Washington for the commander's role.[31] After Lee's capture by the British such sentiment switched to General Horatio Gates as an alternative to Washington.

Whether there was any determined, planned effort to supplant Washington remains a matter of conjecture. To say the least, there are "hazy edges to the affair."[32] Known as the Conway Cabal because of the involvement of General Thomas Conway, it did not succeed in ousting Washington, who came through it undisputedly as commander.[33] Tench Tilghman remained loyal, helping to rally public opinion in his general's favor, particularly by writing to government officials.

In the early summer of 1778, it became apparent that the English were planning to abandon Philadelphia and withdraw to New York, thus giving the Continental Army an opportunity to assume the offensive. The troops were now more efficient and in better spirits. Consequently, when the British began to evacuate Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, and move into New Jersey, General Washington led his army out from Valley Forge. Now that France was in the war, Great Britain was forced to remove troops from the continent for the protection of the West Indies. A blockade of Philadelphia by the French fleet would mean that the British would be unable to supply their army in that city.

But for the insubordination of General Charles Lee (who had been exchanged and had joined Washington at Valley Forge), Washington might have obtained a victory on June 28 at Monmouth.[34] Advancing almost parallel to the enemy,

Lee had orders to attack the English rear. But Tilghman in the main army following learned that Lee was retreating. Hastening forward and seeking out Lee in the confusion, the aide found out that the general (Lee) had not approved of the orders and had decided not to obey. Washington subsequently was able to remove his troops based on information secured by Tilghman.

Because he had been at Washington's side at Monmouth and had considerable knowledge of the affair, Tilghman testified as a witness in the court martial of Lee and gave important testimony against that general.

During the trial of General Charles Lee, Tilghman learned from deserters that the British in Newport were dangerously situated and seriously in need of supplies. An attack on Newport by land and sea was planned in conjunction with Count d'Estaing, commander of the French fleet, as part of Washington's effort to take the port cities from the English during the summer. However, the French had to wait for the Continental troops to mass for the attack, thus giving the British fleet in New York an opportunity to cause trouble. Temporarily abandoning his attack on Newport, d'Estaing sailed out to meet the English. But before any action started, a storm arose which disrupted the battle plans and drove the battered French fleet into port for repairs. The entire plan was then dropped and Washington went into winter quarters at Middlebrook, having placed his troops in strategic positions around New York.

Another winter brought the usual secretarial tasks to Tilghman. When Washington was obliged to confer with Congress in Philadelphia in December, 1778, he selected Tilghman to go with him. They arrived there on the evening of the twenty-second and were entertained at the home of Henry Laurens. As the Capital had been occupied by Lord Howe the preceding year, and abandoned by his successor, Clinton, during the 1778 campaign, it now rejoiced at the visit of the commander-in-chief. Used to the rigorous, plain life of the field, Washington and Tilghman, surprisingly enough, did not particularly enjoy their trip.

Realizing the danger of excessive expenditures, Tilghman pleaded for economy, while pointing out his awareness that no one admitted to extravagance. When the conference was over, he asked and was allowed to visit his father in Chestertown.

Aware that the British would make no great offensive in the north that winter, a large Continental force was sent to the south. This left Washington with insufficient troops and supplies for sustained action, thus forcing him to watch and wait. For this reason, the summer of 1779 came and went without any important action. Only minor raids or skirmishes were possible.

The winter of 1779-1780 found Washington's army encamped at Morristown. This was another bitterly cold winter which, like that at Valley Forge, was made the more unbearable by insufficient supplies.

In spite of the hardships of the winter, there was enjoyment during the respite from campaigns. Mrs. Washington came to Morristown before Christmas, and a social season of sorts ensued. The general was fond of dancing, so Tilghman and Hamilton invited young women to parties in camp. Among them was Betsy Schuyler, with whom Hamilton became infatuated. In good natured comradery Hamilton once wrote to Betsy Schuyler that he was sending Tench Tilghman as a substitute to transport her, for he himself was "so bad a Charioteer as hardly

to dare to trust himself with so precious a charge, ..."[35] Tilghman noted that his fellow aide was "a gone man"—and so it was that Hamilton and Betsy were married in Albany the following December.

The Marylander's secretarial duties had decreased as the main action had shifted to the south, giving him time to write letters condemning the actions of Congress and the unsuitable means of conducting the war. The states were no less to blame. About the government of Pennsylvania, for example, he wrote:

> I am very certain that I am no favorite with those who have had the principal Share in the Administration of Pennsylvania since the present form of government was settled. I have always spoken my sentiments freely of the constitution, and have upon late occasions publickly and in my letters reprobated the very small exertions made by the State to support the army in the article of Bread particularly.[36]

These letters were somewhat indiscreet and coupled with the pro-British attitude of several members of the Tilghman family, they caused Tench Tilghman to be criticized and suspected. There had been attempts to cause Washington to distrust his aide, but the General paid no attention to whisperings aimed at discrediting the friend and companion who had been at his side constantly during this critical period. For the Marylander he had high regard. Both the General and his aide cherished their mutual affection and the fatherly attitude with which the chief looked upon his assistant. Tench Tilghman quite naturally resented the gossip about him. He justifiably believed that few had spent as much time and effort as had he in the fight for independence. Having faith in Washington's confidence in him, he had earlier written:

> The General has treated in a Manner the most confidential, he has intrusted me and one other Gentleman of his Family, his Secretary, with his most private Opinions on more Occasions than one, and I am sure they have been given in a different Manner than they would have been to some others that the World imagines have great Influence over him.[37]

Later, when his brother, William, asked Tilghman to get him permission to go to England to study law, the aide replied:

> I am placed in as delicate a situation as it is possible for a Man to be. I am, from my situation, master of the most valuable Secrets of the Cabinet and the Field, and it might give cause of umbrage and suspicion were I, at this critical moment, to interest myself in procuring the passage of a Brother to England . . . You cannot conceive how many attempts have been made . . . to alarm the General's suspicions as to my being near his person. Thank God—he has been too generous to listen to them, and the many proofs I have given of my attachment have silenced every malignant whisper of the kind. As I have never given the least handle for censure, I am determined never to do it.[38]

Tilghman's unblemished record in work and action proved his loyalty to his general and their cause.

Among Washington's official family, Tench Tilghman was well regarded. He apparently enjoyed a warm relationship to the other members, based on his own good nature and charity. Hamilton mentioned, for example, some jesting in which

Tilghman and Meade doubted the authenticity of the purported variety of an apple sent to him for showing to Washington.[39] His relationship to Hamilton, subsequently the most illustrious of the aides-de-camp, was apparently a good one.

Hamilton's ambitions were obviously greater than Tilghman's—as was apparently his capacity for quick-tempered action. In February, 1781, Hamilton was angered by a brief outburst of rebuke by Washington, and said that he would leave. Tilghman was called upon to be the intermediary in the General's effort to repair relations.[40] Of the fact that the two aides liked and respected each other there can be no doubt.[41]

Headquarters for the winter of 1780-1781 had been established at New Windsor, New York. Tilghman and Colonel Harrison handled most of the correspondence—the former with the Board of War and general officers, the latter with Congress. Harrison was ill and often absent from headquarters, leaving only Hamilton and Tilghman to carry the load. The strain of the four and a half years of continuous work during the war likewise bore down on Tilghman, resulting in a period of illness that winter.[42] Earlier some of their evenings during the fall had been spent with Lafayette developing plans for an attack on New York—which never happened.[43]

During these years Tench Tilghman had served as a volunteer and had never been given a commission—although he had been called "colonel." Following the resignation of Colonel Harrison in the spring of 1781, Tilghman became senior officer on the staff. He then applied for a commission as a lieutenant colonel. General Washington wrote to Delegate John Sullivan in Congress:

> I also wish, though it is more a matter of private than public consideration, that the business could be taken up on account of Mr. Tilghman, whose appointment seems to depend on it; for, if there are men in the army deserving of the commission proposed for him, he is one of them.
>
> This gentleman came out a captain of one of the light infantry companies of Philadelphia, and served in the flying camp in 1776. In August of the same year he joined my family, and has been in every action in which the main army was concerned. He has been a zealous servant and slave to the public, and a faithful assistant to me for nearly five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay. Honor and gratitude interest me in his favor, and make me solicitous to obtain his commission. His modesty and love of concord placed the date of his expected commission at the first of April, 1777, because he would not take rank of Hamilton and Meade, who were declared aides in order (which he did not choose to be) before that period, although he had joined my family, and done all the duties of one, from the 1st of September preceding.[44]

This letter of Washington's indicates the General's high esteem for Tench Tilghman, attesting his record of service and giving an insight into his character. The Marylander had stayed in the background; he did not wish to cause trouble by taking precedence over Hamilton. Unlike perhaps Alexander Hamilton, the faithful Tilghman was not at all uncomfortable in his subordinate role to George Washington. Therefore, Congress issued Tench Tilghman a commission as a lieutenant colonel on May 30, 1781, to date from April 1, 1777.[45]

An unpaid army and a bankrupt Congress resulted from the low financial

condition to which the country had sunk by 1781. Robert Morris, an old friend with whom Tench Tilghman was corresponding, was made Superintendent of Finance.[46] His handling of financial affairs coupled with a foreign loan would, in Colonel Tilghman's opinion, strengthen the country's position. Upon the chartering of the Bank of North America in 1781, Robert Morris asked Tilghman to secure subscriptions for the Bank among the army officers. Tilghman was delighted at the appointment of Morris, but since soldiers with no money could not buy subscriptions, he had to be content merely with promises that the men stood behind the Superintendent's program. Tilghman himself subscribed for only one share of Bank of North America stock up to 1784.[47]

Lack of finances had resulted in Washington's inability to plan significant military action, but, in the late summer of 1781, money from France arrived. The early fall found Lord Cornwallis in a precarious situation at Yorktown, Virginia. At Newport, Washington and Count de Rochambeau planned an attack on Yorktown, the final decision being reached upon the appearance of a French fleet under Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake Bay. General Washington led his army to the head of the Elk River, from which it sailed down the Chesapeake Bay for Yorktown. Highly secret messages from de Grasse to the American general had to be translated; Lafayette chose two men to undertake the task, one of whom was Colonel Tilghman.

On September 28, Tilghman wrote in his journal that "The army moved down before York, without any interruption from the Enemy."[48] The French troops took position on the west and southwest of the British; Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York regulars formed to the south, Washington's headquarters to the left of them; and the light infantry, the Rhode Island and New Jersey troops, and the Virginia militia were on the southeast.[49] The first four days of October were spent in "throwing up Redoubts to cover our approaches and bring Cannon & Stores from Turbetts landing upon James River."[50] A good deal of time was consumed in constructing fortifications.

The ensuing battle of Yorktown resulted in the surrender of Lord Cornwallis on October 19, 1781. This significant battle ending in the capture of Cornwallis's army, with French assistance, was a great boost to the Americans and a telling blow to the British. Washington bestowed a high honor on Tench Tilghman by choosing him to carry the good news to Congress in Philadelphia. This was a most important duty, for Washington wanted Congress to receive the news of this surrender promptly. The mission was also a reward for a proven, effective aide.[51]

Tilghman left Yorktown for Annapolis by boat early the following morning. Annoyances soon arose as one whole night was lost on Tangier Shoals. Arriving in Annapolis, he found that that town had gotten the news the day before from Count de Grasse who had also sent a letter on to Philadelphia. All the more anxious, Colonel Tilghman set out across the Chesapeake for Rock Hall, but unfortunately the bay was calm and an entire day was consumed in crossing. Landing at Rock Hall late in the afternoon of the twenty-second, Tilghman pushed on to Chestertown.

The tidings of victory which he brought to the home of his father sparked a great celebration. Several days later a Baltimore newspaper carried a dispatch

from "Newtown on Chester-River":

> Last Evening the Hon. Col. Tilghman, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General Washington, arrived here, on his way to Philadelphia, with Despatches for Congress, containing an Account of the happy Reduction of the British Army in Virginia, under Command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis.—This great Event was no sooner announced to the Public, that a large Number of worthy Citizens assembled, to celebrate this signal Victory, (in a high Degree auspicious to the Cause of Freedom and Virtue,) which was done with a Decency and Dignity becoming firm Patriots, liberal Citizens, and prudent Members of the Community.—Amidst the Roaring of Cannon, and the Exhibition of Bonfires, Illuminations, &c. the Gentlemen (having repaired to a Hall suitable for the Purpose) drank the following Toasts, . . .
> The next Evening an elegant Ball was given by the Gentlemen of the Town, that the Ladies might participate in the general Joy of their Country . . . [52]

How James Tilghman received the news is not known, but one may conjecture that the old loyalist would not be likely to view the celebration with much joy.

From Chestertown, Colonel Tilghman rode on to Georgetown and Wilmington. Whenever he needed a fresh horse, he would announce his purpose at a farmhouse and the horse would be provided. Later, when he sought reimbursement, the members of Congress went into their own pockets, each furnishing a dollar. Completing his 245-mile journey in four days, Tilghman arrived in Philadelphia in the early morning of October 24, and rode straight to the house of Thomas McKean, President of the Continental Congress. One account says that

> Tilghman knocked at his door so vehemently, that a watchman was disposed to arrest him as a disturber of the peace. M'Kean arose, and presently the glad tidings were made known. The watchmen throughout the city proclaimed the hour, adding '*and Cornwallis is taken*!' That anunciation, ringing out upon the frosty night air, aroused thousands from their beds. Lights were seen moving in almost every house; and soon the streets were thronged with men and women eager to hear the details . . . The old State House bell rang out its note of gladness, and the first blush of morning was greeted with the booming of cannons.[53]

That morning Congress was called together earlier than usual to hear Washington's letter which Colonel Tilghman had brought. Randolph, Carroll, and Boudinot comprised a committee which secured the details of the victory from Washington's aide. Congress also decided that a properly caparisoned horse and a dress sword be given to Tilghman in recognition of services well rendered.

Tench Tilghman was forced to rest rather than join in the celebration, for he had caught some kind of fever on the trip. Because there was now little work for him to do at headquarters, he went to Maryland to visit his family. Until the General should send for him, the aide planned to enjoy a much-deserved rest.

Time passed pleasantly and Tench Tilghman's letters to headquarters became fewer. In the summer of 1782, Washington wrote to his aide to inquire about his activities and express a desire to see him again. His long absence had caused rumors to circulate that Colonel Tilghman had possibly died, given up his friends, or gotten married. Replying, he denied the first two thoughts, but remained silent on the third, for he was at that time courting Anna Maria Tilghman, the daughter of his uncle, Matthew Tilghman. Tench Tilghman had met her in 1779, but had

"thought it most prudent then to stifle my feelings and to await a more favorable opportunity of making known to her the fondest wishes of my heart."[54] Rather than rejoin Washington, Tilghman pursued a return to the mercantile business, and was able to marry his cousin on June 9, 1783.

Now married and planning a new business, Colonel Tilghman did not go back to active duty. Congress did not want to keep a large army and consequently the pay would be small. When on December 23, 1783, George Washington resigned his commission, Tench Tilghman did likewise.

In the fall of 1783, Tench Tilghman returned to the mercantile career which he had begun before the war. However, he had no savings—his creditors were either bankrupt or had paid him in depreciated currency. Limited financially, he was aware of the necessity of relatively large credits and contacts abroad for success in the import-export business. Because Robert Morris wanted a business partner in Maryland and as Tilghman naturally looked toward his old friend for advice in financial ventures, the two formed a partnership on January 1, 1784, to be in effect for seven years. The importation of foreign manufactured products and the exportation of American tobacco was their aim. Seeing the possibilities of a successful commercial future in Baltimore, Colonel Tilghman established his business there in January, 1784, under the name of Tench Tilghman and Company. In addition to half of the profits resulting from the 2,500 pounds which each invested, Tilghman was to get 400 pounds yearly for his management of the Baltimore house.

With the same personal integrity and good judgment that had made him a valuable member of Washington's military family, Tench Tilghman conducted his trading affairs. Not only did the firm run an exchange and banking business, but it owned ships to transport cargoes to and from Europe. Letters were sent at once to firms in Europe to secure future markets. The replies indicated that the chief desire in Europe was for wheat and flour. A Bordeaux firm encouraged trade with France, particularly in tobacco, grain, wines, and silks. European houses promised woolen and linen cloths, wines, oils, soap, glass, fruits, and coal in return for American products.[55] Continental merchants were anxious to get American agricultural products—especially tobacco and grain—but British companies were not able to start any profitable trade. Colonel Tench Tilghman was one of the first to engage in trade with China, for he invested in the *Empress of China* which sailed to Canton in 1784.

Conditions in America making foreign speculation inadvisable and inflation increasing American prices substantially, Tilghman, in the summer of 1785, decided to curtail drastically his foreign trade. Better harvests in Europe caused prices to fall there; in addition, the Barbary pirates who menaced the Mediterranean trade took one of his ships. However, several shiploads of wheat and tobacco were sent abroad and coastal trade to New York and Norfolk was profitable. His business was limited, but Tilghman was building up his firm for future expansion. Financially successful, he enjoyed a pleasant life at his home on Lombard Street near Howard—it was there that his wartime friend, Lafayette, visited him in 1784.

Unfortunately, Robert Morris, after leaving his government post, became involved in financial difficulties which would have embarrassed Colonel Tilghman

had he lived. Although separate accounts were maintained by Tilghman for his Baltimore house, he was unknowingly involved. Morris connected his personal business with government finance and secured in 1785 a monopoly on the tobacco trade with France. Because he was located in the tobacco country, Tilghman was naturally in a position to aid in carrying out the contract, while Morris was trying to control the price of tobacco. However, the scarcity and high price of tobacco, combined with French complaints about its quality, aided in ruining this scheme.

While devoting much time to his mercantile business, Tench Tilghman still maintained his close friendship with Washington and his interest in national affairs. Acting as Washington's business agent, he sold the products of the General's farm and bought supplies for Mount Vernon. Signing contracts, securing workmen, and hiring servants for Washington, the former aide was of much assistance to the General and his advice was well received. Washington invited Tilghman to Mount Vernon a number of times, for he had long thought that "there are few men in the world to whom I am more attached by inclination than I am to you."[56] The Marylander, although he strongly wished to go, was prevented by his business from accepting the invitations.

Tilghman was definitely dissatisfied with the government under the Articles of Confederation. Expressing his opinions to his uncle he wrote:

> It is a melancholy truth, but so it is, that we are at this time the most contemptible and abject nation on the face of the earth. We have neither reputation abroad nor union at home. We hang together merely because it is not the interest of any other power to shake us to pieces, and not from any well cemented bond of our own. How should it be otherwise? The best men we have are all basking at home in lucrative posts, and we send the scum to represent us in the grand national council . . . All joking apart, I view our federal affairs as in the most desperate state. I have been long convinced that we cannot exist as republics. We have too great a contrariety of interests ever to draw together. It will be a long time before any one man will be hardy enough to undertake the task of uniting us under one head. I do not wish to see the time. One revolution has been sufficient for me, but sure I am another of some kind will take place much earlier than those who do not think deeply on the subject suppose.[57]

His disgust for the loose government caused him to take a gloomier view of the future than was later seen to be warranted. The Confederation was weak, but the revolution which he predicted may have been the framing of the Constitution and establishment of the federal government—a development Tilghman probably did not expect.

The malady which he had contracted in the army attacked Colonel Tilghman again in the fall of 1785, forcing him to bed for about a month. Although able to attend to his business by the middle of October, he was in extremely poor health. In December, Tilghman received a letter from General Knox containing an order on the treasury for 400 dollars, to buy the horse and caparisons which Congress had awarded him for his war service; the sword it had authorized did not arrive until well after his death. Another attack in early 1786 sent him to his bed again. Although pains in his side prevented him from doing much work, he wrote his former chief that he hoped to be up soon. He wrote Washington again on April 15 saying that he felt better, but his condition suddenly grew critical. On April 18,

1786, Colonel Tench Tilghman died in his Baltimore home and was buried two days later in St. Paul's churchyard.[58]

Several days later *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* paid him tribute:

> Yesterday Evening were interred, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, with the greatest Marks of Respect, the Remains of the late Colonel TENCH TILGHMAN, an eminent Merchant of this Town. He departed this Life on Tuesday Evening, after languishing a long Time under a most distressing Illness, in the 42d Year of his Age.—In Public Life his Name stands high as a Soldier and Patriot, his political Conduct during the late War having entitled him to the noblest Praise, *that of an independent honest Man*—and his Services in the honorable and confidential Character of Aid de Camp to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, in the Course of the late glorious Contest for Freedom and Independence, deservedly obtained the Approbation of his Chief and his Country.—As a private Character, the deep Affection of his Family, the Sorrow of his Friends, and the universal Regret of his Fellow-Citizens, best shew their Sense of the heavy Loss they have sustained in the Death of this very worthy and amiable Man.[59]

Expressions of grief and tributes of praise for Tench Tilghman came from many friends. Robert Morris wrote to Washington: "You have lost in him a most faithful and valuable friend. He was to me the same. I esteemed him very much and I lament his loss exceedingly."[60] General Knox attempted to console Mrs. Tilghman: "Colonel Tilghman acted well, his part in the theatre of human life, . . . the supreme authority of the United States have expressly given sanction to his merit."[61] In a letter to Thomas Jefferson, Washington showed his esteem for his former aide: "Col. Tilghman, who was formerly of my family, died lately, and left as fair a reputation as ever belonged to a human character. Thus some of the pillars of the revolution fall. May our country never want props to support the glorious fabric."[62] Another expression of Washington's feelings was given in a letter to Colonel Tilghman's father:

> Of all the numerous acquaintances of your lately deceased son, and amidst all the sorrowings that are mingled on that melancholy occasion, I may venture to assert (that excepting those of his nearest relatives) none could have felt his death with more regret than I did, because no one entertained a higher opinion of his worth or had imbibed sentiments of greater friendship for him than I had done. That you, sir, should have felt the keenest anguish for this loss, I can readily conceive—the ties of parental affection, united with those of friendship could not fail to have produced this effect. It is however a dispensation, the wisdom of which is inscrutable; and amidst all your grief, there is this consolation to be drawn; that while living no man could be more esteemed, and since dead, none more lamented than Col. Tilghman.[63]

These expressions of the esteem with which he was regarded by his contemporaries were well deserved, for few had skillfully given as much to the cause of American independence yet maintained so modest a view of their service as had Tench Tilghman. Only 41 at the time of his death, Tench Tilghman served George Washington well during the war for independence. His contribution was quietly effective performance of duty as aide to the Commander-in-Chief. Son of a distinguished family, he served it and his country well.

References

1. Curtis P. Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston, 1951), p. 277, uses Matthew Tilghman as an example when writing, "The provincial leaders, a cohesive group of wealthy planters, dominated the government and guided the resistance with a steady hand.... None of the colonists surpassed the Marylanders in the will to resist the British imperium." See also Bruce Lancaster, *From Lexington to Liberty, The Story of the American Revolution* (Garden City, 1955), p. 65.
2. James Tilghman's grave is in St. Paul's churchyard near Chestertown, Maryland.
3. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, April 21, 1777, Samuel A. Harrison, *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany, 1876), p. 158. This volume contains an unedited group of Tench Tilghman's letters, as well as his journal written while serving on the Indian Commission and his diary kept at Yorktown (hereafter cited as *Memoir*).
4. Richard K. Showman, ed., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (Chapel Hill, 1980), II:223. Tench Francis became a colonel of a militia group in Pennsylvania. Presumably he was captured by the British at one point, for General Greene, in a letter to Washington, November 28, 1777, wrote, "Mr. Tench Francis, an uncle of Col. Tilghman, was brought to me a prisoner this morning."
5. Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, June 10, 1782, *Memoir*, pp. 124–125.
6. Tilghmans were on both sides of the controversy, as an interesting letter from another James Tilghman (presumably Tench's brother) indicates:
   James Tilghman to Horatio Gates, June 8, 1774, *The Horatio Gates Papers*, Library of Congress, Reel 2, frames 632-3:

   > I suppose you have seen the Boston Port Bill, as it is call'd, what will be the Consequences of it I will not pretend to say; more able Politicians, I believe, know as little. The grand Question which has been so long in Dispute, seems, I think to be drawing to a crisis, and the Ministry appear desirous of hastening it; and naturally, the longer they put it off, the better able We shall be to support our Side of it; I wish it could be finally determin'd as it has hitherto been carried on, by Words only; but in Disputes of this Nature, it must not be expected. The most powerful Argument on the other Side of the Question, is superior strength, and they too well know the Force of it not to make use of it; I believe We shall never tamely submit to it, whatever We may be compell'd to by force. In a twelve month perhaps the Cloud may be cleared away, at present, We are in Darkness and Uncertainty; but of this one Point I think I am certain, that the Americans never will acknowledge the Right of Taxation, the Rest, time must bring to light."
7. "Journal of Tench Tilghman," *Memoir*, p. 82.
8. Ibid., p. 85.
9. Ibid., p. 86.
10. Ibid., p. 99.
11. Ibid., p. 94.
12. Ibid., p. 99.
13. In joining the patriots in arms, Tilghman did as did many another man of the leading families. Britain's General Howe was impressed with the number of outstanding young Americans rallying to Washington's banner. They included Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens, as well as "Light-Horse" Harry Lee, John Marshall and James Monroe. See John R. Alden, *A History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976), pp. 253–254.
14. See also Broadus Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton: The Revolutionary Years* (New York, 1970), pp. 54–56.
15. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, August 18, 1776, *Memoir*, p. 133.
16. Tench Tilghman to New York Convention, October 3, 1776, ibid., p. 33.
17. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 3, 1776, ibid., p. 139.
18. Bruce Catton and William B. Catton, *The Bold and Magnificent Dream: America's Founding Years, 1492–1815* (Garden City, 1978), p. 273.
19. Sidney G. Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence* (New York, 1908), I:523. See also Alden, *A History of the American Revolution*, p. 267.
20. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, January 11, 1977, *Memoir*, p. 150.
21. Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 52–54, 63.
22. Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1961), I:203, A letter in Tilghman's handwriting, was sent from Washington to the Quartermaster General, Thomas Mifflin, March 11, 1777, regarding the military preparations.
23. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 6, 1777, *Memoir*, pp. 160–161.
24. Alden, *A History of the American Revolution*, pp. 326–327.
25. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, I:430. Washington wrote to William Livingston, February 16, 1778, that he was sending Tilghman to describe the unfortunate state of the Army.

26. Ibid., pp. 264–265. Difficulties with the procurement and distribution of supplies had plagued the American Army from the outset. Hamilton had written in June, 1777, expressing Washington's concern at the lack of clothing, and noting that the Clothier General had advised Tilghman concerning amounts held in Massachusetts. See also Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence* (New York, 1971), pp. 304–305.
27. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 7, 1776, *Memoir*, p. 142.
28. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, February 22, 1777, ibid., p. 153.
29. Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, March 2, 1777, "Revolutionary Papers," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Years 1878, 1879* (New York, 1879, 1880), I:426. Tilghman's devotion to the spirit of his land can be seen in a letter to the Germans in Burgoyne's army, in which he says, "Here the poor Labourer can go a fishing and hunting where and when he will . . . ." (*The Horatio Gates Papers*, Reel 5, frames 840–841).
30. See also Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 53–69; Catton and Catton, *The Bold and Magnificent Dream*, p. 289; and *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, I:231, 245, 284, 443.
31. General Charles Lee is the subject of mixed evaluations. When he arrived in New York in August, 1776, Tilghman wrote, "You ask if General Lee is in Health and our people feel bold? I answer both in the affirmative. His appearance among us has not contributed a little to the latter." This is quoted in John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed* (New York, 1976), p. 145. He has been called both the most daring (Nettels, p. 145) and an "inglorious General," in Broadus Mitchell, *The Price of Independence* (New York, 1974), p. 58.
32. Catton and Catton, *The Bold and Magnificent Dream*, p. 287.
33. Marcus Cunliffe, "George Washington: George Washington's Generalship," in George A. Billias, ed., *George Washington's Generals* (New York, 1964), p. 14. See also James T. Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution* (1775–1783) (Boston, 1967), pp. 271–277; and Mitchell, *The Price of Independence*, p. 73, who writes that the affair was not a conspiracy because the opponents of Washington were no secret.
34. See Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution*, p. 311, and Mitchell, *The Price of Independence*, p. 70.
35. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, II:262.
36. Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, December 22, 1780, "Revolutionary Papers", p. 455.
37. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 7, 1776, *Memoir*, p. 143.
38. Tench Tilghman to William Tilghman, June 12, 1781, ibid, p. 174.
39. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, II:174, Hamilton to James Duane, September 14, 1779. Duane, in his reply to Hamilton, September 23, 1779, wrote, "I will not say of Tilghman that his tongue runs faster than his mind, because I know that he has a penetrating intellect that flies like an arrow from a bow." (pp. 185–186).
40. Ibid., pp. 563–568, Hamilton to Philip Schuyler, February 18, 1781.
41. Ibid., p. 600. The following note from Tilghman to Hamilton, April 27, 1781, reveals Tilghman's regard for Hamilton, as well as his wit and geniality:

    My dear Hamilton

    Between me and thee there is a Gulph, or I should not have been thus long without seeing you. My faith is strong, but not strong enough to attempt walking upon the Waters. You must not suppose from my dealing so much in scripture phrases, that I am either drunk with Religion or with Wine, tho' Had I been inclined to the latter, I might have found a jolly Companion in My Lord who came here yesterday.

    We have not a word of News. Whenever any arrives worth communicating, and good, you shall have it instantly; if bad, I will not promise so much dispatch.

    I must go over and see you soon, for I am not yet weaned from you nor do I desire to be. I will not present so cold Words as Compliments to Mrs. Hamilton. She has an equal share of the best wishes of Yr most affectionate

    T. Tilghman
42. Ibid., p. 596, Hamilton to James McHenry, February 18, 1781, who had been one of Washington's aides.
43. Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 217–218.
44. Jared Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington*, (Boston, 1835), VIII:38.
45. See *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, II:491. Harrison, in a letter to Hamilton enclosing his commission, October 27, 1780, wrote, "There must be something done with /res/pect to our worthy Tilghman now or on a future /o/ccasion. It would have been well if it had taken place before."
46. E. James Fergerson, ed., *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784* (Pittsburgh, 1973), I:74–75, Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, May 17, 1781.

47. Ibid, p. 110, Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, June 4, 1781, and p. 175, Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, June 24, 1781:

    I have received your favor of the 11th instant accompanied by a delegation from Messrs. Clymer and Nixon to take in subscriptions to the Bank. I am afraid I shall be a very unprofitable Agent, for I believe it may with truth be said that there is not an Officer in the Army from the Commr. in Chief downwards who is at this time able to pay in a single subscription. You know they have received no real Money from the public for a long time past and consequently have been /torn/ to spend all they could possibly raise for their own support. I am however happy to inform you that there is no scheme of Oeconomy which you can propose, that the Army will not cheerfully comply with, and they will do what is in fact subscribing, they will be content with very little of their pay untill the state of our finances can enable you to furnish it regularly. The General desires me to inform you candidly that desirous as he is to patronize and support the scheme, he has it not in his power to set his name to the subscription just now. He assures me that so far has the income of his Estate for several years back fallen short of his family expences and Taxes that he has lately been obliged to sell part of his real Estate to pay his taxes.

    Paper Money of all kinds has so far become useless, that I must beg the favor of you to send me twenty or thirty dollars in specie by Doctor Craick who accompanies Mrs. Washington as far as Philada.

    We are all very anxious to see you at the Army; you will find us in the Field somewhere between Peekskill and Kings bridge.

    I am with very sincere Respect and Affection Dear Sir your most obedient Servant

    Tench Tilghman

    Robert Morris Esq:
48. "Col. Tilghman's Diary of the Siege of Yorktown," *Memoir*, p. 103.
49. Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution*, p. 453.
50. *Memoir*, p. 104.
51. Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington*, VIII:184, "Colonel Tilghman, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these despatches to your Excellency; he will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance, which is not particularly mentioned in my letter. His merits, which are too well known to need any observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your Excellency and Congress." See also Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington*, (New York, 1952), V:379. He writes that Washington "could entrust the delivery of the paper to a staff officer he wished particularly to honor . . . it must be placed in the devoted hands of the faithful, selfless Tench Tilghman, for delivery in person to Congress. No officer of the Army had earned a better right to this conspicuous distinction."
52. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, November 13, 1781.
53. Benton J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1855), II:321. See also Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. John R. Alder (New York, 1952), II:895.
54. Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, June 10, 1782, *Memoir*, p. 123.
55. The Tilghman papers, Maryland Historical Society, and those of Tench Tilghman, Library of Congress, contain letters relevant to Tilghman's business. In particular, the Maryland Historical Society's holdings contain a number of letters from European trading houses. See also Clarence L. VerSteeg, *Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier* (New York, 1972), p. 190.
56. George Washington to Tench Tilghman, January 10, 1783, *Memoir*, p. 114.
57. Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, February 5, 1786, ibid., pp. 56–57.
58. When the old churchyard of St. Paul's at Charles and Lexington Streets was broken up, his remains were removed to the cemetery at Redwood Street and Fremont Avenue. In 1971 the grave was transferred to Oxford. See *The Sun*, November 30, 1971, p. C7, and December 1, 1971, p. A18.
59. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, April 21, 1786.
60. Robert Morris to George Washington, *Memoir*, p. 65.
61. General Henry Knox to Mrs. Tench Tilghman, May 30, 1786, ibid., p. 130.
62. George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, August 1, 1786, ibid., p. 66.
63. George Washington to James Tilghman, June 5, 1786, ibid., pp. 119–120.

"Good Bye Old Burr": The Roller Mill Revolution in Maryland, 1882

JOHN W. McGRAIN

THE COUNTRY MILLERS OF MARYLAND AND OTHER EASTERN AND SOUTHERN States passed through one mechanical revolution in the decade of the 1870s and another in the 1880s. By the end of the century, many a fortune had been sunk into buying a complete array of highly specialized apparatus that in numerous instances generated insufficient revenue to pay for its installation. The dazzling machines that were within reach of the average miller's credit were for many a businessman the passport to ruin.

Beginning in 1629, when William Claiborne built Maryland's first grain processor, a windmill on Kent Island, grinding was done by millstones, one stone placed atop the other like two stacked-up auto tires—the bottom stone stood still while the top one revolved. The corn, wheat, or buckwheat was hoppered into the center hole in the upper stone; the raw material then passed into the space between the opposed faces of the two millstones and was crushed to a powder while moving through the minute space between ridges carved into the stones themselves. During the colonial period, the only available flour from such mills was called "white" but actually had a yellowish and speckled appearance even after being sifted through silk screens in a method called "bolting." Just about the time the color problem was solved, an old Massachusetts farmer was quoted in a milling journal, saying that he didn't care about getting fine white flour and stated, "I c'n bolt my own meal fast enuf when 'tis made into cakes."[1]

Just before the American Revolution, large and well financed mills were built by merchant millers who bought wheat for cash and sold the flour for town consumption or export overseas. The invention of automatic milling sytems by Oliver Evans in 1787 cut the labor costs of mills, and most mills, whether large merchant enterprises or smaller rural mills dealing by barter, adopted the Evans system.[2] There was a boom in the construction of mills in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, especially in such western valleys as the Cumberland and the Shenandoah. In Maryland's Middletown Valley, some 67 mill sites can be identified.[3] By 1820 the Baltimore region, in spite of its vast maritime trade in flour, had acquired an excess of milling capacity in proportion to the crop available for purchase.[4]

The milling industry managed to remain prosperous for more than a century after this country's political revolution. After Oliver Evans' technical revolution, millers were not confronted with radical discoveries for almost nine decades. Through all that period, millstones did the work and most of them were driven

Mr. McGrain is the author of *Grist Mills in Baltimore County, Maryland*, published in 1980.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
VOL. 77, NO. 2, SUMMER 1982

by water power, little impinged upon by steam-equipped plants. Millers hated the idea of paying for wood or coal. Water power gave the illusion of free energy, although costs could run high for buying land and water rights, paying for the digging of millraces and for annual cleaning out of sediment and occasional repair of washouts and flood damage.

Water-driven turbines came on the market in the mid-nineteenth-century but did not in themselves constitute a revolution. The New Process of milling occurred in the 1870s. The New Process involved some minor changes in the grinding technique—millers tried "high grinding," setting the old millstones farther apart. The new method also involved a total change in the approach to milling; under the traditional system, the millers kept the stones close together and tried to get the maximum of flour at the first pass through the stones—at the "first break." The old method involved a second attempt to get more flour out of the leftovers and bran (known as "middlings") on a set of middlings stones. The old system produced an undesirable quantity of middlings which could not be made into marketable flour. Under the new process, the miller tried to produce a minimum of flour at the first break and extract instead the maximum of middlings to refine during the successive regrindings and purifications. To employ the improved technique, the miller had to buy new equipment for the end of the production line to regrind the middlings under iron rolls and sift the product through silk screens into finer and finer particles.[5]

The key machine was the middlings purifier. The basic purifier was invented about 1860 by a French scientist, Joseph Perngault, after noticing the phenomenon that dust particles penetrated all the farthest corners of a pigeon-hole desk and then settled evenly as if attracted to the wooden shelving. The purifier was a wooden box, organized as many horizontal but narrow compartments, where partially ground flour particles could settle on silk screens rather than on shelves. General Cadwallader Colden Washburn brought the purifier from Paris to Minneapolis, where, in 1871, it was vastly improved by Edmond W. La Croix and George T. Smith, both experienced head millers. Smith added moving brushes to unclog the silk screen.[6] Needless to say, experts carried on endless discussion as to which variation was the "pure" new process and which was a "bastard" method. And of course, the usual litigation ensued about infringements on purifier patents, in this case between La Croix and Smith, who soon went their separate ways.[7] But the "famous purifier war" merely set the stage for the real revolution.

The questionnaire printed for the 1880 census of manufacturers made no distinction between old or new process. Every miller was asked how many sets of stones there were in his plant: there was no need to ask about other types of grinders because they were scarcely known. Possibly only two mills in the entire nation were not dependent on stones. By the next census, more than 25 percent of American flour would be ground without stones. The 1880 statistics showed a remarkable number of stones in some mills. C.A. Gambrill and Company, successor of the original Ellicott Brothers business at Ellicott City and owner of the Orange Grove Mill on Patapsco River, had a combined total of 45 stones enumerated by the census at their two locations.[8] A large new plant in Hagerstown, the Artesian Mill, at the southwest corner of Walnut and West Church Streets, contained seven sets of stones.[9]

The Eastern millers had always ground soft winter wheat, planted in the

autumn, harvested during late June in Maryland. In the West, wheat was sown in spring, harvested in the fall. Kansas spring wheat made a very dark flour when ground under millstones, and the "Number One Hard" red wheat that would grow well in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Manitoba, made an even darker flour that could scarcely be marketed in the East or in Europe. The millers of the Northwest realized that the New Process could not refine white flour from their local crops and they turned to the concept of milling with rollers rather than stones. As early as 1830, European inventors had tried various methods of grinding wheat between iron or porcelain-covered rollers that would pop grains open as they passed between the cylinders rather than subject the wheat to abrasion, friction, and heating as was the case with millstones. The millers of Pesth in Hungary had enjoyed some success with rollers in 1833 or 1844 (various dates are published); in fact, the term Hungarian Flour came to stand for a ghostly white flour never before offered the public. A successful roller mill was built in 1864 at the Hungarian seaport of Fiume (now Rijeka, Yugoslavia).[10]

A "Hungarian" type mill was set up at Milwaukee in 1876, but was not successful because the pure Hungarian method entailed a considerable amount of hand transfer of batches of flour and constant sampling by touch on the part of the head miller. General Washburn built an "experimental" roller mill at Minneapolis and it started up in mid-1879; even this was not an all-roller mill, because the last stage of grinding was done with stones.[11]

It was a Wisconsin inventor, John Stevens, from the town of Neenah, who in 1874 developed a chilled-steel roller mill for flour and received a patent in 1880.[12]

These "roller mills" were self-contained units that stood on the floor of a mill building with grain funneled into them via overhead chutes; the flour produced inside the device was further sifted by middlings purifiers and reground under other rollers in a system of seemingly endless complexity. Companies sprang up to make and market the equipment and the associated refining apparatus. In the first nine months of 1880, Edward P. Allis and Company of Milwaukee sold 1,000 sets of rollers.[13] A small country mill could order four or so roller units and the rest of the system from the same manufacturer or acquire a mixed installation from jobbers and millwrights. In Minneapolis, large plants were specially designed for roller milling, with hundreds of units operating in a block-long building under the supervision of a handful of technicians. The *American Miller* magazine was a trade journal that began publication at Ottawa, Illinois, in 1873, and its pages heralded the endeavors of the Western flour millers who were building the monster plants on "the platform" at the Falls of Saint Anthony and making table flour out of the previously despised hard red wheat. The letter pages and advertising columns of the *American Miller* showed the achievements of the rising giants of industry cheek-by-jowl with crusty opinions from Eastern country folk who had little plants only 37 feet long. Anyone who owned two millstones was a miller and in the same arcane profession with General Washburn.

In the old agricultural states of the East and South, the millers tried to adapt existing buildings by buying a few roller units and a minimal number of corresponding purifiers. Once a country miller had a few stands of rolls (a stand being at least two rollers inside their metal frame), he could call his whole building a "roller mill" and have paper sacks lithographed and metal stencils cut with such fanciful names as Comet Roller Mills, Maple Grove Roller Mills, and the like.

A veritable stampede was on, judging from the pages of the trade journals from 1881 and into the early 1890s. In Maryland, the Gambrill Mill at Orange Grove had installed some chilled iron and porcelain rolls for regrinding of middlings in 1879, but the first all-roller mill in the State was put up by the same company on Pratt Street in Baltimore over 1881-1882.[14] Gambrill had acquired the two steam mills at the end of Smith's Wharf, the present Pier Three, and they tore down all or most of the Phoenix Mill or McKim Steam Mill of 1817 and built an efficient new works of granite. The seven-story mill was equipped with cleaning equipment, magnets to pick nails out of the wheat supply, and six stages of reduction for grinding the wheat and seven stages of purification for the middlings. The whole works stood on 461 granite and masonry piles. Gambrill's mill was the only Maryland enterprise listed among the satisfied users of George T. Smith's middlings purifier in an advertisement the year of its opening.[15]

Gambrill's Patapsco brand of flour had always commanded a premium price over other local and Western products and it was advertised as the oldest trade-name product in the country. The words "Modern Roller Process" were added to the company's almost daily advertisements in the city papers, first appearing on March 28, 1882.[16] Described as the largest mill in the East, it had commenced operation on March 15, and a local paper described the technology:

> The mill has twenty-three double sets of the Dawson Bros., chilled iron rolls, made by the J. Morton Poole Manufacturing Company of Wilmington, Del., sixteen Smith's purifiers; six aspirators, ten dust catchers, made by Kirk & Fender of Minneapolis; two boilers, 160 horse power each, made by Poole and Hunt, who also made the machinery; a 24-inch cylinder with a Corliss engine, made by Robert Wetherill & Co., of Chester, Pa.
>
> Mr. A.F. Dawson, of Preston, Minn. designed the construction of the mill. The millwright work was done by Mr. E. Valentine, assisted by D. Schultz, V. Valentine

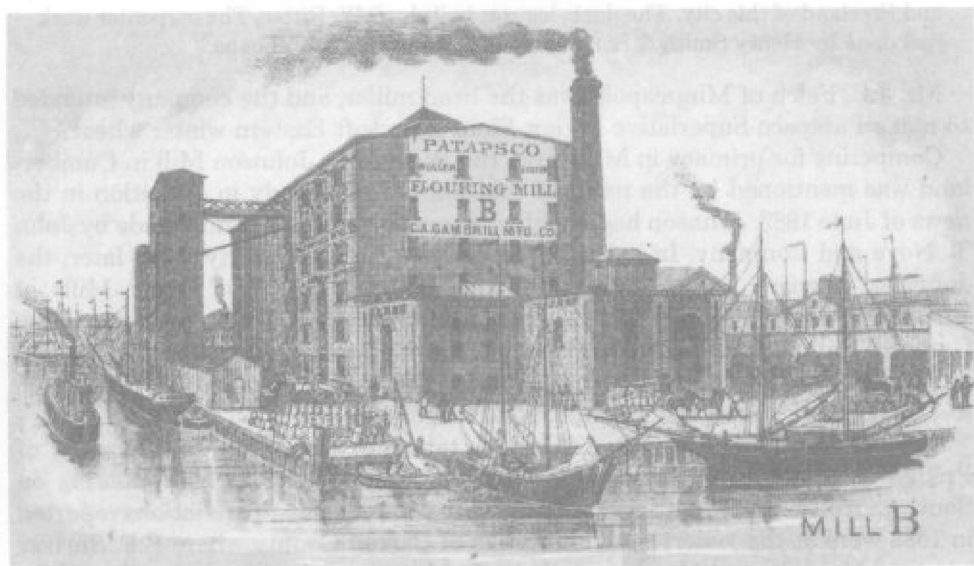


FIGURE 1.
Patapsco Mill-B at Smith's Wharf on Pratt Street (Pier 3) was Maryland's first all-roller mill, 1882. From a Hoen lithograph.

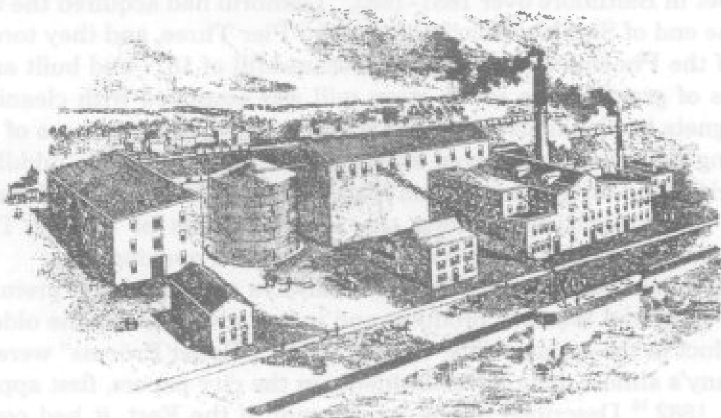


FIGURE 2.
Maryland's second roller mill was R.D. Johnson's Atlas Mill shown in a 1915 Cumberland city directory.

> and Freeland of this city. The dock-leg was built by S.W. Ritter. The carpenter work was done by Henry Smith & Son and the brick work by J.W. Loane.[17]

Mr. J.C. Felch of Minneapolis was the head miller, and the company intended to make Patapsco Superlative Patent Flour from soft Eastern winter wheat.

Competing for primacy in Maryland, the Richard D. Johnson Mill in Cumberland was mentioned by the national mill journal as already in operation in the news of June 1882. Johnson had installed a concentrated roller mill made by John T. Noye and Company. In its corporate advertising some thirty years later, the Johnson company called its Atlas Roller Mill the "Pioneer Roller Mills of Allegany County."[18] Both of Maryland's first two roller mills have perished: Gambrill Patapsco Mill-B at Pratt Street survived one serious fire in 1887, only to be totally destroyed in the great Baltimore fire of 1904. Atlas Roller Mill at 106 to 110 Wineow Street, Cumberland, is no longer standing.[19]

Maryland's runners-up are difficult to tabulate, but James H. Gambrill of Frederick was reported as installing rolls in 1882 at a works still standing on South Carroll Street known as Frederick City Mills.[20] Other installations reported in 1882 were at the venerable Union Mills of Carroll County where E.F. Shriver acquired Nordyke and Marmon Rolls for finishing; at John Phillips' mill on Kent Island "off the coast of Maryland"; at the Ardinger Mill near Williamsport in

Washington County; and at John Ream's mill (formerly Sprecher's) in the same vicinity.[21]

Again in Cumberland, L.D. Rohrer of No. 6 George Street adapted his year-old stone-grinding steam mill to a "complete gradual reduction mill on the Case System" in mid-1883.[22] Rohrer's location was advertised as opposite the Queen City Hotel and he used the brand name Anchor Mills. Since the late 1960s both mill and hotel have disappeared in the recent wave of "gradual reduction" of Cumberland itself. The same year, 1883, Seevers and Anderson re-equipped their Paragon Mill at President and Fawn Streets, Baltimore, as did the owners of Keller's Pine Mills, Middletown; also W.S. Myer and Brother at Westminister; and Thomas Humphrey at Salisbury. Daniel Huyett of Conococheague put in Stevens-designed "bran and tailing rolls." In Baltimore County, the mass-production Orange Grove Mill, or Gambrill Mill-C, also went roller in 1883.[23]

Statistics for 1884 are voluminous and possibly tedious to all but the most dedicated molinologists. However, a perusal of the miller's journal shows a number of mentions of suicide around the nation on the part of millers who had already met ruin through buying too much equipment.[24] There were editorial warnings about injudicious purchasing. In an article entitled "Too Much Mill," the editor noted, "We might cite examples, plenty of them, .. in the last four years ... where the increased capacity resulted in ruin .... "[25] A miller from Colora, Cecil County, who signed himself "E.B.L.," wrote to the editor that he was tottering on the brink of going roller:

> I am an old burr miller but aim to keep posted on the improvements of the age. I do not draw my conclusions hastily; I believe in analyzing, with the aid of practical experience, and while as yet I have not condemned my old comrade, the millstone, I think close observing millers cannot fail to see that it is laboring under a heavy burden in competing with rollers in making a clear flour ... I have had about forty years' practice with burrs, and am not yet a broken-down miller. I have endeavored to study the theory of roller milling, and have visited a number of good roller mills, and having seen them in operation have a strong desire to try working with them practically. I think it no disadvantage the having been a stone miller, in learning to operate rolls, unless wedded to the old notions, which I think I am not. I am a plain, unpretending miller and do not think I shall ever be too old to learn something new.[26]

The unpretending miller's townsman, John S. Ewing, took the plunge the next year, buying a Willford Belt Roller Mill.[27]

Two mills in Howard County, the Mayfield Mills and W. T. Carr's Howard Mills, chose 1884 as the year to move only as far as the New Process system, retaining their millstones for the "first break," where the old stones would be set for the maximum of middlings rather than the maximum of flour.[28]

Baltimore County's first rural roller mill was James R. Clark's Rockland Mills on Falls Road near Brooklandville, re-equipped in 1884. In 1885, Joseph Y. Keeney, a Baltimore County miller operating near the Pennsylvania line, selected several different brands of rolls for a mixed system. His mill was a large frame and weatherboard structure of cavernous aspect near Middletown or Eklo, and it had replaced the old Bollinger Mill shown on Sidney's 1850 county map. Keeney's Mill stood until January 1973 and in its last configuration it contained both

FIGURE 3.
Typical self-contained roller mill unit, Keeney's Mill, Baltimore County, 1971.

millstones and a third generation of roller equipment, the American Marvel Midget Roller Mill.[29]

Yet in the same county, an unmodernized mill had plummeted to one-third of its past market value: in 1885, when Reese's Mill on Long Green Run was sold for $5,000 to Phineas Hartley, a Towson paper commented, "A few years ago, Mr. Reese paid $15,000 for this property."[30] Hartley soon turned it into a roller plant.[31] By 1886, D.B. Anstine, who had the old Turner family's mill north of Parkton near the Northern Central Railroad, was listed among the satisfied users of George T. Smith's Centrifugal Reels along with William E. Woodyear of the large Mount Clare Mills in Baltimore City.[32]

Eleven new mills had been built in Maryland that year. Millers were now talking about "flow charts," which were diagrams indicating the progress of the product through successive stages of preparation. The flow chart was a befuddling document—one on blueprint paper is still tacked on the wall in the Circuit Rider

FIGURE 4.
Keeney's Mill contained both burrs and roller units. Demolished in 1973.

Antique Shop in Woodsboro, Frederick County, which was originally a roller mill. Designed by specialists, the flow chart was akin to present-day "computer software" and the entire rush to buy machinery that its purchaser scarcely understood cannot but suggest the unseemly haste to acquire glittering data-processing hardware on the part of U.S. and European management personnel in the 1960s and 1970s—whether or not it was useful to their daily routines.[33]

The advertising pages of the trade publications by no means appear quaint to the eye of 1982. Well made and glistening machines with rounded corners announce a pragmatic world; no longer are steam engines set in cast-iron Corinthian columns and encrusted with brass florentine work. Advertising copy is smart and catchy, sometimes including folksy statements by perceptive millers who had taken pen or blunt pencil in hand. One manufacturer, Willford and Northway, advertised the durability of their device in a parody of an Anglo-Nipponesian operetta, then the rage and still popular today:

There's a beauty in a machine's old age
If it's vigorous and capable enough
Our machines will last the longest,
Are the very best and strongest

And therefore all the better 'cause they're tough.
Throughout this wide dominion
It's the popular opinion
That they'll last a good deal longer 'cause
they're tough.[34]

Taciturn country millers turned eloquent in the letter columns of the late 1880s. Charles T. Stratton of Fairlee, Kent County, wrote that he wanted to build a *small* mill:

> We are driven to the wall. Our flour, which our fathers and mothers thought was good, is turned down; we are losing our trade, and our old water wheels will soon cease to turn over, if it goes on this way. Where is the rescue?[35]

Ernest W. Pearre of Unionville, Frederick County, hoped that the roller craze was ebbing, but his order was already placed:

> I am going to change my old burr mill into a 25-barrel full roller mill. I once thought I could hold my trade with the burr, but I find I cannot, so I will say, "Goodbye, old burr." I have given my contract to A. O. Young & Co., of Double Pipe Creek, Md. I would like some brother dusty of the West to answer the questions: I have heard a great many times of late that *all* the roller mills in the West are throwing out the rolls, and putting back the old burr. I would like to know if this is correct, and do you think that they will ever go back to the old burr again?[36]

On the Eastern Shore, J.E. Biscoe of Queen Anne's County, put Case's rollers into the old Unicorn Mill near the head of Chester River.[37] J.F.T. Brown owned the Wye Mills on the Talbot-Queen Anne's county line where milling had gone on since at least 1682. This 1½-story building is 37 by 25 feet, and in 1889, Brown described the installation as "A Very Short System Mill" in his letter to the editor:

> *Editor American Miller*:—I have recently remodeled my mill to the roller system. I expect to have the shortest system you ever heard of. I hardly know whether to call it a one or two-break mill. It has one pair of smooth rolls to grind all the middlings. I have three Silver Creek Flour Bolts, one single and one double scalper, one purifier, one Excelsior Bran Duster, one Eureka and one Hercules Wheat Cleaner, these are all the machines I have in the mill. The two-break mills are 9 × 15, manufactured by John T. Noye Mfg. Co., Buffalo, N.Y. I send all the tails over from the bolts and scalpers, such as bran and ship stuff, to the bran duster, and it gets all the flour out of it. The flour that comes from the bran duster I send to No. 3 bolt, clothed with No. 12 cloth; about one-half of this bolt is cut off and sent to purifier, which makes very good middlings. I am making a straight grade equal to patent flour, and have a capacity of thirty barrels in twenty-four hours. I am running my mill with water power and have sufficient water all the year to drive it. I engineer the mill myself, and it suits me in every respect.[38]

In Carroll County, F. L. Hering tore down the Stocksdale Mill (of 1812) near Finksburg and built a new works, the Comet Roller Mills, on the old foundation in 1883. His description appeared under the heading, "Mr. Hering's Bob-Tail Mill." A bob-tail mill was a set-up with a minimum of parts—an unusually short

short system:

> .... after remodeling to the roller short system .... I have one double set of 6 × 12 Case Rolls, with the H.A. Hueffner Special Corrugations, one single stand of 6 × 12 Case Rolls, smooth, and 24-inch pony burr that I used before remodeling. Mr. Hueffner of Palmer, Ill., made my flow sheet, and arranged it so that I could use all the separating machinery I had on hand, the only additional machinery being scalpers. We are making a barrel of splendid straight grade flour (not an ounce of low grade) out of 273 pounds of wheat. We have made several tests, and find the same results following each test. I will have to say that I quit guessing at milling twenty years ago. Someone said in the last *American Miller* that he did not believe in small test runs. There is a difference between running a test of a hundred bushels of wheat in a 25-barrel mill and a six month's run: the former tests the mill, while the latter tests the miller. If a mill will make a barrel of flour out of 4:30 bushels of wheat today and doesn't do it tomorrow under the same conditions, it is the miller's fault. Now boys, come around and see the little "Bobbest-tailed" mill you ever saw doing work. I am not ashamed of it after following the business for thirty seven years.

Hering declared that he still believed in the small local roller mill.[39]

The Ceresville Mill built by William E. Williams in 1813 was featured as an *American Miller* cover story in 1888:

> We give on this page an engraving of one of the most complete medium short system roller mills in the State of Maryland. It is located near Ceresville, near Frederick and is owned by E.A. Shriner & Son.... As the cut shows, it is a solid stone building, 60 × 40 feet, and six stories high, including basement and dormitories, with ample room for storage .... Last year the old machinery was removed and the mill remodeled to the roller system, using eight pairs of Allis Rolls and cleaning, bolting, and purifying machinery of approved excellence. The mill is doing a good business, and turning out flour of excellent quality.

This mill looks substantially the same today as it did in the magazine's line drawing, although less than a year after that publicity, the waters from the Johnstown Flood rains reached the third floor.[40]

The D.S. Boyer Mill at 159 West Franklin Street, Hagerstown, was illustrated in cross-section in the trade papers of 1889, and it was so impressive with its four double 9 by 18 Allis Roller Mills and 10½ by 30 Cooper Corliss Engine, that it was called the Model Mill, "talked about in almost every nook and corner of the east." The prime contractor, August Wolf and Company of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, chartered a train from that town where the State Association of Pennsylvania Millers was holding its convention and conveyed a party of 211 to see their handiwork.[41]

One of the pithy testimonials used in a roller mill advertisement of 1890 was a miller's statement, "People are praising our flour and cussing our offal in a manner that makes our heart glad."[42]

No sooner was pure white flour available than the suspicion surfaced that roller flour possessed no food value. The stone-grinding millers held that the hard steel rollers burned the life out of the wheat. Certainly there were people who were uneasy about ingesting the middlings that had previously been thrown out into the tailrace to nourish the elvers or eels.[43] The technique of bleaching flour,

FIGURE 5.
Ceresville Mill, Frederick County, looks much as it did in 1888 when featured on the cover of the *American Miller*.

adopted by mass manufacturers about 1901-1903, aroused further suspicion.[44] These controversies brought into the arena distinguished scientists as well as the lunatic fringe. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture, was a prominent champion of whole-wheat flour. The mill journal editorialized in 1899 that there was "no danger in over-preaching the truth in regard to flour in these days of dietetic fads." The public was "in danger of losing its head . . . and going daft on Graham flour" for the second time in forty years.[45] The Rev. Sylvester Graham had started the first food scare in 1837 with a book advocating the grinding of all the grain kernel, including the husk, into brown flour. But the concept that colonial Americans lived on "whole wheat" flour is entirely erroneous, for they wanted as white a flour as the inadequate machinery of the times could make.[46]

Running parallel to the misgivings that consumption of "Snow Bird," "Sea Foam," "Lilly White," or "Cream Float" flour might be as nutritious as devouring the *Atlanta Constitution*, was the fear of inert or even harmful adulterants used to thin out the lifeless flour. In the 1880s a few Georgia and Missouri millers who added wood pulp and talc were exposed to the indignation of the rest of the trade—millers then looked upon themselves with an attitude of self-canonization now found only in the legal profession. Yet, an elderly resident of Tappahannock, Virginia—a draw-bridge attendant—recalled when beds of commercially useless chalk deposits were dug up, loaded into schooners, and shipped off to the Chesapeake Bay—the assignees being dockside flour mills in Baltimore.[47] But in

reality, sharp practices were unheard of in the Monumental City, or so said the editor of the local booster book: "The Trade wont stand it."[48]

Through almost a century, distrust of white flour has persisted, supported by people well read in science and also by persons who batten onto astrology. This undercurrent in our culinary culture may be merely a subdivision of anti-intellectualism or just early American cussedness. In a sense, food faddists were proved right when vitamins were discovered, and few vitamins were found to reside in commercial white flour. Vitamin enrichment of flour was ordered in 1943 under war-time Federal powers and has been extended by law in peace time; clearly, some food elements were being lost in the gradual reduction system of milling, and vitamin enrichment permits the sale of white flour as the national staple and is preferable to forcing the public to eat gray bread, which was found to make a large portion of population ill when pushed upon them by government regulations in the 1914 war.[49]

True believers in stone-ground flour continued to seek out whatever rustic mills managed to function during eight decades of declining business. In recent years, there has been an upsurge of interest in unadulterated foods and a few surviving mills have benefited. Stores now carry water-ground, stone-ground flour, although it is the stones that make the difference, rather than the source of motive power—Maryland's only large-scale producer of cornmeal drives its burr stones with electric power rather than by the Patapsco River water available near its walls.

Statistics are somewhat unreliable for documenting the shrinkage of the milling industry. The Bureau of the Census reported over 500 mills in Maryland in 1880, which gave that State 2.2 percent of the national total, even though a few well known mills had obviously been missed. "Little Maryland returned 546," noted the *American Miller*.[50] In 1888, *Calker's Flour Mill Directory* counted 221.[51]

At first, Maryland millers failed to see the 2- to 5.4-million-barrel annual output of Minneapolis as a threat. Possibly the small mill-owners hoped that dust explosions in the big new plants would occur with regularity. A series of explosions on May 2, 1878, had leveled the new process Washburn Mill-A and its four adjoining mills (all stone grinders) more effectively than any military weapon of the time could have done. Other Western companies experienced explosions after that, but eventually dust collectors were installed and Washburn rebuilt and ground on, later merging with the equally farsighted Pillsbury Company. The Panic of 1893 had less effect on milling than some other industries. The mill journal reported mixed news in the summer of that depression. Washburn-Pillsbury suspended dividends, but Gambrill of Baltimore voted a 50 percent dividend, and several new mills were under construction. Stickell's mill in Hagerstown (still standing next to City Park) was running day and night. John Ream, who had been listed among the roller mill pioneers of the Williamsport vicinity, was reported as having assigned to his creditors in 1887, and a little later in the panic, the journal recorded that, "W.S. Meyer & Bro., miller at Westminster, Md., failed June 14. Liabilities, $100,000; assets $60,000."[52]

The milling editor openly speculated on the connection between "Fire Losses and Hard Times," noting that mills "all through the present year have been burning with alacrity and regularity" and suggested that millers were "selling

their mills to the insurance companies." Maryland had a few mill fires, but only one thought suspicious, blamed on a "miscreant."[53]

After the hard times abated, new mills were still being built or enlarged, and "oscillator systems" were the glamour hardware item at century's end. The mill journal published an editorial squib citing one State as a bright spot:

> The Baltimore *Sun* holds up Maryland as an example to other states as to what can be done in the way of fostering a home milling industry. Roller mills are to be found in nearly every Maryland town, and although the production of wheat has increased, Maryland ships even less of it out than formerly.[54]

What the small operator dreaded was big business in the form of a "flour trust." The "trust" may have been more mythical than real, but large companies were marketing flour under national brand names, undercutting the small producers in their home markets. An 1899 cartoon in the form of a "flow chart" was about all the mill journal could offer in the way of sympathy for the "honest local flour mill" swamped by the trust.[55] The advertising in the same papers displayed larger and more expensive machines, monstrosities beyond the pocketbooks of small businessmen. The adjoining news columns helped make the big operators and corporate presidents legends in their own times. The story was related how General Washburn, from the depths of his armchair waved his cigar (price not recorded) at the assembled insurance adjustors and told them he expected 100 cents on the dollar for his exploded mill complex—even though the policies did not cover explosions per se. And the companies paid without cavil.[56]

At least one Maryland mill tried the scheme of importing Western wheat to grind for steady customers in the Philadelphia baking industry; this was the now extinct Mountain City Mill near Frederick Junction, Frederick County, and the entire shipment was billed under a single freight charge.[57]

Another rescue for a few mills was their conversion into hydroelectric plants. A small mill could provide enough power to light a town the size of Federalsburg or Fawn Grove, lighted respectively by the Idlewylde Mill and by the Eden Mill. These plants sometimes provided current only at night, and of course only when nature provided a supply of water. The public at first only required lighting, and there was little demand to supply power-hungry appliances. In Federalsburg, the sole employee turned on the water at night, returned home on his bike, and came back at sunrise to shut the works down. The present Buckey feed mill in Frederick County took the opposite route, having been built as a small power plant for Union Bridge but later turned into a mill when the regional electric company overwhelmed such makeshift installations.[58]

It was bad enough to have Minneapolis as a competitor, but the local millers were competing with each other every time they installed a roller unit to increase daily output to 30 or 50 barrels. Even with growing city populations, a region that had been adequately served by the milling capacity of 1880 could scarcely justify such a build-up in a mere decade or two. The Liberty Mill of Germantown was able to outproduce all the rural mills of Montgomery County when it came upon the scene. Hindsight may well suggest that Eastern country millers should have gone no farther than the New Process equipment—that they should have settled for the middlings purifier alone; after all, their rivals in the West and Northwest

FIGURE 6.
Middlings purifier manufactured by August Wolf & Company. Shown installed at Richards-Lee Mill, Carroll County.

needed roller crushers only because the red wheat grown out there was too hard for millstone grinding. The Eastern millers still had the advantage of soft winter wheat supplied from fields just over the fence. The advantage they could not attain was the economy of scale possible under mass production; cost-saving measures in the West allowed Minnesota millers to reap fortunes even after shipping their goods half-way aross the continent.

Even middlings purifers may not have been necessary for the Eastern miller. F. Lightner, owner of Park Mills in Frederick County, sent a sample of his middlings to the *American Miller* in 1893, and the editor commented on the excellence of the product:

> A sample of middlings is sent us by Mr. F. Lightner of Park Mills, Md., made without the aid of a purifier. The middlings are very clean and nice and we would like to publish the flow of the plant on which they were made, and hear from Mr. Lightner as to "how he does it" and what percentage of his flour can be made from such middlings.[59]

Lightner, signing himself as "The Miller, Park Mills," was also in financial trouble and had advertised the property a few months before, stating, "Must have money. $6,000 buys the whole." It was a 50-barrel per day roller mill with new machinery.[60]

Certainly the number of mills began to decline after 1900; burned mills were not rebuilt as regularly as before, and few new mills were constructed. In 1906,

Mrs. Elizabeth D. Groff was faced with condemnation of the water rights at Eureka Mills in Owings Mills village, Baltimore County. This large brick mill, dating from 1793, had been rollerized by her late husband in 1888 and had been converted to the "Wolf System" in 1893, but was no longer profitable. Mrs. Groff told the court that she would accept the cash offer of the Western Maryland Railroad because the money could be invested, "besides the small country mills are growing less in demand every year and in a short time I think it would probably be a difficult matter to find a tenant for the property, in which event the water power would be worthless."[61]

Yet the large Mountain Top Roller Mill was constructed near Oakland, Garrett County, in 1911 and the very large Liberty Mill at Germantown, Montgomery County, 1918.[62] And young men still ventured into this uncertain industry. The First World War caused a spurt of overproduction in flour, followed by a surplus and economic slump; Magill Milling Company at Ellicott City and Rockland Roller Mills in Brooklandville, Baltimore County, were two plants that closed up.[63] By 1930, the *Northwestern Miller's* annual directory showed 132 Maryland mills in business.[64] Two years later, the same manual found only 122 sites.[65] The Second World War gave a last measure of prosperity to the mills that had endured the decline.[66]

Total disappearance of small mills had been slowed down by turning some of them to poultry and hog feed. But then feed production, especially for the Delmarva broiler industry, became an exact science and a field where only the

FIGURE 7.
The late Frank S. Langrell of Linchester Mill, Caroline County, was a pioneer in switching flour mills to broiler feed. Photographed in March, 1968.

most heavily capitalized organizations could compete.[67] Gradually, local mills had dropped white flour as a product, holding on to cornmeal and buckwheat. By the mid-1960s, there was only a handful of local private flour brands being made, and the floods of the early 1970s (June 1972 and September 1975) left only one country mill business capable of running on water power—that one carried on at Mockingbird Pond in Wicomico County by Sherman Cooper, more hobby than viable industry, and even there the only product was meal. As to roller mill flour, by 1981, only three brands were left—none of them water-ground—Washington Flour made in vast quantities at the former Ellicott City Continental Milling (and later DCA) "doughnut factory" by Wilkins-Rogers; Snow Drift Flour of Kelly Brothers at Ceresville, Frederick County; and Kline's Best and Blue Ribbon brands made by Earl W. Hoffman & Son at Benevola on Alternate U.S. 40 between Boonsboro and Funkstown, Washington County.[68] But mill admirers and persons concerned with health wanted their flour from antique stones rather than ninety-year-old roller units. At the moment, no stone-ground flour is commercially manufactured in Maryland. The two-run of millstones at the Wilkens-Rogers mill are saved for making Indian Head Cornmeal; these burrs were brought from the company's old plant between Potomac and 33rd Streets in Georgetown, D.C., where they had been powered by outflow water from the C. & O. Canal. The Ellicott City installation looks more like Minneapolis than the supposedly "romantic" Ellicott Mill that occupied the spot in 1772; the mill structure dates from a 1941 reconstruction following a fire and is at least the fifth mill to occupy the premises; the concrete bins take on a peach-colored glow at sunset, however practical they may appear by day. The plant makes an unbleached, but enriched, roller flour.

The only other Maryland mills that run on water or wind are museum-type operations, capable of grinding some golden corn meal, very authentic and educational, but surviving the roller mill revolution in contradiction to the economic ground rules of Adam Smith.[69]

Why did any small mills survive into the post-industrial era? Possibly the answer is that quitting without a fight is not in the American character, or is not supposed to be. The history of industry is full of stories of supposedly hard-headed businessmen who tried to ignore the proverbial "bottom line." Everything from luxuriously appointed corporate offices to Karnak-like and art-filled railroad stations indicates that there are times when business sense falls victim to emotions and attitudes not logically linked to the profit motive.

As to the companies that manufactured the roller mill gear, George T. Smith Company failed in 1890, although swamped by orders.[70] But many of the other firms that filled the front and back pages of the mill journals with lively advertising have left behind corporate descendants. These enterprises took their expertise in machining into the exploding new fields of twentieth-century industry, where we can still find offspring of the Allis Company, Nordyke and Marmon, Pratt and Whitney, Westinghouse, and the nuclear engineering firm Babcock & Wilcox.

References

1. *American Miller,* 13 (September 1, 1885): 449 [hereafter cited as AM].
2. Oliver Evans, *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1795), p. 125.

3. Map by author, 1973, including all types of mills. Ralph F. Martz, "Mills of Middletown Valley," Middletown *Valley Register*, March 9, 1973.
4. U.S. Census of 1820, Maryland Manufacturers, comment of Elias Ellicott, Baltimore County First District; National Archives.
5. Eugene V. Smalley, "The Flour Mills of Minneapolis," *The Century Magazine*, 32 (May, 1886): 41. John W. Oliver, *History of American Technology* (New York, 1956), pp. 368–369.
6. Smalley, "Flour Mills of Minneapolis," pp. 40, 45.
7. B.W. Dedrick, *Practical Milling* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 31, 32, 97. "The Famous Purifier War," AM, 50 (May 1, 1922): 487.
8. U.S. Census of 1880, Maryland Manufacturers, Microfilm, Maryland State Library, Annapolis.
9. Baltimore *American*, May 27, 1873.
10. "A Brief History of Roller Mills," AM, 11 (October 1, 1883): 488.
11. Dedrick, *Practical Milling*, p. 97. AM, 7 (April 1, 1879): 115.
12. Publius Virgilius Lawson, "The Invention of the Roller Flour Mill," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, Wisc., 1908), pp. 250, 251, 258.
13. AM, 8 (October 1, 1880): 407. Dedrick, *Practical Milling*, p. 97.
14. AM, 7 (September 1, 1879): 274; 12 (October 1, 1884): 531.
15. AM, 10 (March 1, 1882): 138.
16. Baltimore *American*, March 28, 1882.
17. Baltimore *Morning Herald*, March 16, 1882.
18. AM, 10 (June 1, 1882): 282. R.L. Polk, *Cumberland, Md. Directory* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1901), p. 357.
19. Baltimore *American*, July 16, 1887. Harold A. Williams, *Baltimore Afire* (Baltimore, 1954), p. 53.
20. AM, 10 (December 1, 1882): 649.
21. AM, 10 (June 1, 1882): 264; 10 (December 1, 1882): 569.
22. AM, 11 (October 1, 1883): 500. The local papers had given five mentions to Rohrer's conventional, stone-grinding mill, apparently overlooking R.D. Johnson's switchover to the roller process, *Cumberland Daily News*, January 13; March 13, 14, 27; June 13, 1882.
23. AM, 11 (January 1, 1883): 29; 11 (February 1, 1883): 76; 11 (August 1, 1883): 380, 390; 11 (October 1, 1883): 500.
24. AM, 17 (November 1, 1889): 773.
25. "Too Much Mill," AM, 12 (July 1, 1884): 361.
26. AM, 12 (April 1, 1884): 199.
27. AM, 13 (November 1, 1885): 572.
28. AM, 12 (May 1, 1884): 260.
29. AM, 13 (June 1, 1885): 300, 301. Towson *Maryland Journal*, February 16, 1884.
30. Towson *Baltimore County Union*, December 19, 1885.
31. *Baltimore County Union*, March 10, 1894.
32. AM, 14 (October 1, 1886): 612.
33. AM, 14 (December 1, 1886): 710.
34. AM, 16 (August 1, 1886): 477. The verse is a parody of Katisha and Ko-Ko's duet in *The Mikado*, Act II.
35. AM, 16 (June 1, 1888): 36.
36. AM, 17 (July 1, 1889): 562.
37. AM, 15 (April 1, 1885): 192.
38. "A Very Short System Mill," AM, 17 (May 1, 1889): 340.
39. "Mr. Hering's Bob-Tail Mill," AM, 17 (July 1, 1889): 467.
40. AM, 16 (July 1, 1888): 461. The same illustration was used in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 624. Frederick *Daily News*, June 4, 1889.
41. AM, 17 (October 1, 1889): 678.
42. AM, 18 (March 1, 1890): 222.
43. Marie Shriver Biggs, Westminster, Md., to author, 1972.
44. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Flour and Flour Manufacture." Electric-arc bleaching was patented in 1903 by J.N. Alsop of Kentucky; the nitrogen peroxide method by J. and S. Andrews of Belfast in 1901.
45. AM, 27 (February 1, 1899): 135.
46. F.L. Dunlap, *White vs Brown Flour* (n.p., 1945), p. 1.
47. The late William B. Marye of Baltimore collected this tradition; personal communication to author, 1978. AM, 12 (October 1, 1884): 531.
48. George W. Howard, *The Monumental City: Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1873), p. 134.
49. Dunlap, *White vs Brown*, pp. 16–28, 173–181. Miss Anna Eugenia Schneider has had a remarkable career as supplier of whole wheat flour to a select clientele in Baltimore. Her battery of electrically-driven mills with neither stones nor rollers inside was for some years set up near

Lexington Market. See biography and further references in Marianne Ellis Alexander, *Notable Maryland Women* (Cambridge, Md., 1977), pp. 330–335.

50. AM, 12 (January 1, 1884): 21.
51. AM, 16 (March 1, 1888): 191.
52. AM, 14 (September 1, 1887): 510; 21 (June 1, 1893): 446, 21 (July 1, 1893): 538; 21 (August 1, 1893): 613, 616.
53. AM, 21 (November 1, 1893): 830, 843.
54. AM, 27 (April 1, 1899): 279.
55. AM, 27 (August 1, 1899): 624.
56. AM, 20 (January 1, 1892): 37.
57. "History of Old Mills Given at Seminar of Society," undated clipping of April 1956, Frederick, Md.
58. Salisbury *Wicomico News*, September 8, 1908; personal communication from Robert Holt, Federalsburg, 1974. C. Milton Wright, *Our Harford Heritage* (Bel Air, 1967), pp. 178–179. Westminster *The Democratic Advocate*, October 21, 1910, Supplement, p. 53.
59. AM, 21 (November 1, 1893): 826.
60. AM, 21 (June 1, 1893): 470.
61. Baltimore County Judicial Records, WPC 207:318.
62. "Mountain Top Mill to Begin Operating Saturday," Oakland *Republican*, April 1, 1911, p. 1.
63. Garland Golladay, "An Economic History of Ellicott City," mss., 1938–1939, p. 6, in Enoch Pratt Free Library, Maryland Department, VF. Helen Mixter, Katherine Merritt, and Roger Hecklinger, "Rockland Mills," mss., 1938–1939, p. 9
64. *Flour Mills in the United States and Canada* (Minneapolis, 1930), p. 46.
65. *Flour Mills*, 1932, p. 44.
66. "They Prosper, The Millers of Maryland," Baltimore *Sunday Sun*, March 1, 1942.
67. Frank S. Langrell, interview with author, March 15, 1968, Linchester Mill. In the 1920s the early operators shoveled the desired proportions of various grains for broiler feed onto the mill floor and mixed it with lawn rakes.
68. Suzanne Bohn, "Ceresville Flour Mill: Nearly 200 Years Old, Still Producing," Frederick *News*, July 27, 1978.
69. The stone-grinding mills that still function are Spocott Windmill at Lloyds, Dorchester County; Wye Mills, Talbot County; Stump or Rock Run Mill in Susquehanna State Park, Harford County; and Pierces Mill, Rock Creek Park, Washington, D.C. The privately owned Kaese Mill in Garrett County near Accident, the property of former State Senator Clifford Friend, is used annually to make "Kaese Mill" brand burr-ground buckwheat, using farm-tractor power rather than water; its two stand of Wolf roler units have not been employed for several years.
70. AM, 18 (April 1, 1890): 279.

The Great Fire of Emmitsburg, Maryland: Does a Catastrophic Event Cause Mobility?

ROBERT M. PRESTON

A HOST OF SOCIAL HISTORIANS IN THE LAST COUPLE OF DECADES have studied the social, economic, and geographical mobility of Americans in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[1] Most of these studies have centered on growing industrial urban centers with massive immigrant populations. As Richard Jensen pointed out at the 1976 Organization of American Historians Convention, historians are perhaps concentrating a disproportional amount of time, energy, and attention on a very small segment of the population.[2] The cities of Philadelphia, Salem, Kingston, Pittsburgh and Poughkeepsie have all been scrutinized in major studies that have contributed much to our knowledge of nineteenth century urban life. But each of these cities had an 1860 population of 13,000 or more, and each was among the seventy-five largest cities in America. The problem with concentrating upon such populous areas is that less than fifteen percent of the population in 1860 lived in such places.[3] If historians are to understand America in the twentieth century, the appreciation of the urban experience is imperative. And thus to study such cities is important. But to understand the experience of the majority of the American population in the late nineteenth century, to understand the many and not just the few, one must study small towns—towns with populations below 2,500. Eighty percent of Americans lived in such areas or towns. Emmitsburg, Maryland was such a town.

Emmitsburg was a small, rural, pre-industrial town in 1860 with a population of 973 persons, ninety-seven percent of whom were native-born. This study of Emmitsburg measures the effect of the same social and economic factors, such as familial, occupational, and property ownership status, on mobility that social historians have analyzed in their work with nineteenth century large, industrial, immigrant crowded cities. In addition to this, however, the factor of a catastrophic event, such as the Great Fire of Emmitsburg, is considered in relation to mobility.

The Great Fire of Emmitsburg started in the loft of the Beam and Guthrie Livery Stable about eleven o'clock on Monday night, 15 June 1863.[4] According to town gossip, the fire was the work of an arsonist, the "mean devil" Eli Smith.[5]

The fire spread eastward along Main Street (see maps) until it reached the

---

Dr. Preston is Professor of History at Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg. A shortened form of this article was presented as a paper, titled "The Great Fire of Emmitsburg, June 15, 1863: What's Left When The Smoke Clears," at the Second Annual American Culture Association Convention at Detroit, Michigan, April 18, 1980.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
VOL. 77, No. 2, SUMMER 1982

FIGURE 1.
Main Street, Emmitsburg, looking east. The fire burned both sides of the street.

FIGURE 2.
Looking west from the Army of the Potomac marker.

town's Square and then continued for two blocks, jumped Main Street and then burned westward toward the Square again. This left three of the four corners of the town's Square blackened by fire. In all, twenty-eight houses and nine business establishments were damaged or destroyed.

The last structure to burn was the town's largest hotel. This hotel, along with a few other inns in Emmitsburg, were integral parts of the town's economy. Emmitsburg, a north central Maryland town, was situated along one of the main commercial arteries between the growing industrial city of Baltimore and Pitts-

FIGURE 3.
Northwest corner of the town square. The fire started in a barn behind Elder's Drug Store (shown); these buildings were among the first to burn.

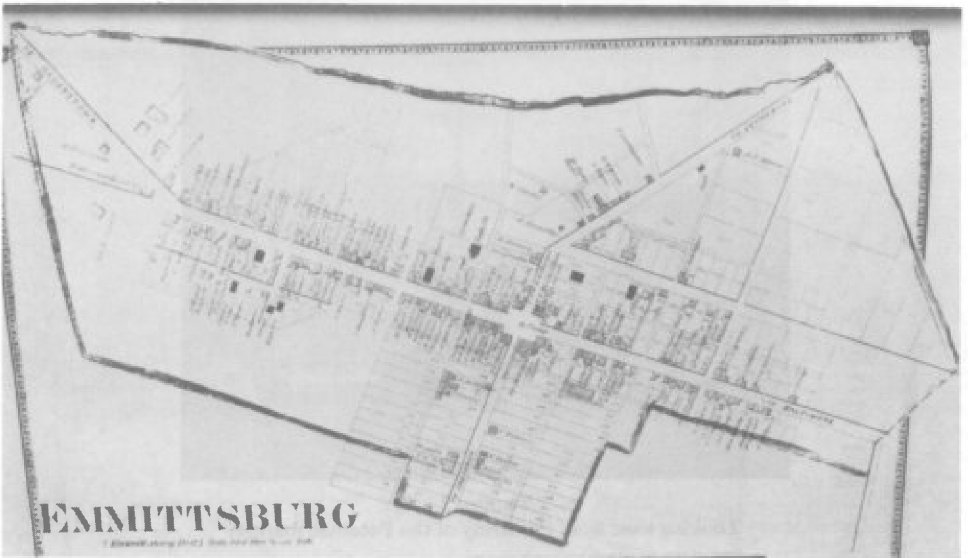


FIGURE 4.
Emmitsburg, 1873.

burgh, one of America's gateways to the agricultural west. Many wagons from the east and west stopped at Emmitsburg.[6] Of the 168 skilled and semi-skilled workers in Emmitsburg in 1860, thirty-two, or nineteen percent, were employed in transportation as wagon makers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, saddlers, and drivers.[7]

Not only did the fire interrupt this economic life of the town, but its effect on

FIGURE 5.
Water from this fountain at the northwest corner of the square was used to extinguish the fire.

FIGURE 6.
The Annan property, northeast corner of Main and Seton Streets.

individuals was awesome. One hundred and eighty-nine persons, or about twenty percent of the town's population, were victimized by the fire through loss of homes, furnishings, farm animals, business inventories, or business establishments. Forty-two fire victims who were property owners suffered losses totalling almost $82,000 or twenty-two percent of the value of all the property (real and personal) owned by citizens of Emmitsburg in 1860.[8]

After raging all night, the fire was finally brought under control after dawn

with the help of the townspeople and students from nearby Mount Saint Mary's College and Seminary. The placement of wet blankets on the roof of the building on the only corner of the Square that did not burn was credited with the containment of the fire.[9]

The great fires of history in ancient Rome, in Civil-War Atlanta, in Chicago, and in hundreds of other towns and cities have destroyed lives, properties, and hopes. But until social historians developed in the last decade and a half the method of analyzing mobility, the study of the effects of catastrophic events on the victims could not be easily accomplished. Indeed, the discovery of the massive 1860's migration from Emmitsburg alone could easily lead one to conclude that the catastrophic Great Fire caused this migration. However, after applying the same mobility methodology to the study of Emmitsburg in the 1860's that other historians have applied to the analysis of mobility in cities,[10] such as Pittsburgh, Salem, Boston, Northampton, etc., it becomes obvious that social and economic factors, rather than the Great Fire, were the dominant causes of geographical mobility in Emmitsburg in the 1860's.[11]

Migration from Emmitsburg caused the town's population to fall twenty-seven percent from 983 in 1860 to 706 in 1870. That decline represented more than simply 267 persons leaving Emmitsburg in the decade of the 1860's. By tracing the migration history of the adult males listed in the 1860 Census, we find that seventy-one percent of them did not reappear in the 1970 Census. If we can assume that the entire population was moving in a manner similar to the adult male population, then we can calculate the minimum number of persons who moved in and out of Emmitsburg in the 1860's.

Seventy-one percent of the adult males left Emmitsburg during the 1860's out

FIGURE 7.
Northwest corner of the town square. Dr. J. W. Eichelberger's home is shown at right.

of a population of 983. This means that 691 persons left Emmitsburg in the 1860's and 424 had to move into Emmitsburg for the population to reach 706 by 1870. Thus 1,115 persons moved in and out of Emmitsburg in the decade. This is only an estimated minimum, because those that moved in and out between the census years (as did seven of the property owning fire victims) are not considered.

This massive 1860's migration of Emmitsburg townspeople, however, included only a minority of those who were directly affected by the Great Fire. Presumably, one would think, since the town experienced a massive migration, the victims of the fire would be numbered among the migrants. After tracing the history of the thirty-two families who were present in Emmitsburg in 1860 and who were victimized by the Great Fire, one finds that less than a third (31%) actually left Emmitsburg within seven years after the fire. This is contrasted sharply with the nearly three-quarters (71%) of the town's adult population as a whole who left.

The sixty-nine percent of the fire victims who remained in Emmitsburg throughout the 1860's had reported in 1860 that the value of their property was $45,400. In the 1863 fire, they lost $32,900 worth of that property, or seventy-two percent of their 1860 property. Despite the huge loss, though, they remained. Other similar studies may in the future reveal that Emmitsburg is not a unique example of a town that experienced a catastrophe, but that did not see that catastrophe cause a major migration, at least of the catastrophe's victims.

Beyond this, however, a comparison of the fire victims to the population of the town as a whole suggests that the victims possessed certain social and economic characteristics that may have lead most to see a bright future in Emmitsburg, even while they were standing in the smoldering embers of their ruined past.

Numerous studies by social historians have centered on a set of social and

FIGURE 8.
Hotel Slagle, formerly owned by Daniel Wile.

economic traits that can be considered to be causes of persistence or migration. Occupation, wealth, and familial status have all previously been identified as characteristics that distinguished those who left a city or town, from those who remained.

During the 1860's in Emmitsburg there was, first of all, a similarity between the adult male fire victims who remained and the adult males in the town population as a whole who remained. Table I shows that both a majority of the fire victims and adult males in the town who remained were heads of households and property owners.

The similarity between the adult male fire victims who remained and all adult males in Emmitsburg in the 1860's who remained is also demonstrated in Table II. In each category of property owners whose property was valued in excess of $1,000, in excess of $500, less than $500, and the average value of real property, the adult male fire victims are more similar to all adult males who remained, than they are to the adult males who left. Table II–A indicates that forty-one percent of the fire victims who remained and thirty-three percent of all adult males who remained owned property in excess of $1,000. Although these percentages are not identical, they are descriptive of two groups that are more similar to each other than the group that left which had only ten percent with property in excess of $1,000. So too the two groups that remained are more similar when those with property in excess of $500 (Table II–B) and less than $500 (Table II–C) are considered in comparison with the group that left. Table II–D considers only the value of real estate. Again the percentages of the fire victims (50%) who had less than $500 worth of real property and all adult males who remained (44%)

TABLE I

Persistency Rate, Emmitsburg During the 1860's
(Percentages)

	Adult male fire victims who remained	All adult males in town who remained
HHH	100%	55%
Property Owners	77	58

TABLE II

Property Ownership and Value, 1860 Adult Male HHH
(% in first four groups)

Property value	Fire victims who remained	Townspeople who Remained	Townspeople who Left
A) Owned Property In Excess of $1000	41%	33%	10%
B) Owned Property In Excess of $500	55	48	17
C) Owned Property Less than $500	45	36	62
D) Owned Real Property Less Than $500	50	44	73
E) Average Value of Real Property Owned	$2814.	$3752	$1255.

are more similar to each other than to the group that left (73%). Finally, Table II-E compares the average value of real property of all property owners in the three groups. Obviously since the property values of the two groups that remained are within $1,000 of each other, they are more similar than the group that left whose average property value was over $1,500 less than the average value of the fire victims' property.

There is also similarity between the fire victims who remained and all adult males in the town who remained in regard to occupation classification. Eighty-four percent of the fire victims who remained were professional or skilled workers. There were farmers, doctors, druggists, teachers, justices of the peace, merchants, tavern owners, shoemakers, carpenters, hatters, wheelwrights, plasterers, machinists and blacksmiths among them. In the town population in general these were the types of workers that produced the highest persistency rates. In fact forty percent of all professionals, merchants, farmers, clerical and skilled workers remained in Emmitsburg in the 1860's. On the other hand only seventeen percent of the semiskilled and unskilled workers, and unemployed remains. Again the characteristics of the fire victims who remained match those of the adult males in the population as a whole who remained more closely than those of the townspeople who left Emmitsburg.

The minority of fire victims who left within the 1860's and thus joined the majority of townspeople on the road out of Emmitsburg were in some ways similar to the fire victims who remained. They too were property owners, heads of households, and numbered among the ranks of the skilled craftsmen and professionals. As such it may appear that they "should have" stayed in Emmitsburg, if social and economic factors were dominant, rather than the catastrophic fire, as the cause for migration. But a sampling of the circumstances faced by the fire victims who left suggests that even strong social and economic factors are occasionally overridden.

Daniel Wile, for instance, had been the owner of the large hotel on the Square, the last structure to burn in the fire. If he concluded that Emmitsburg was a jinx for him, most would agree. He, his wife, Mary, and their children, Anna and Henry, moved to Emmitsburg in the 1850's. His family continued to grow but his luck did not. In 1856 or 1857 Wile purchased the City Hotel. A few days after the purchase, the former owner and he were looking at a gun. The gun accidentally discharged and Wile was shot through the neck. After recovering, he decided to raze the hotel and build a new four-story structure. Four years later the Great Fire of Emmitsburg destroyed it, causing $10,000 worth of damage.[12]

Some fire victims who left, soon returned to Emmitsburg. George Beam, for instance, whose farm animals and horses were destroyed in the stable where the fire started, left Emmitsburg after the fire, but returned during the 1870's and continued his livery stable business into the twentieth century.[13] Another who returned was William Patterson, a medical doctor whose office was on one of the three corners of the town Square that was destroyed. He was sixty-one at the time of the fire. Soon after leaving Emmitsburg he returned in the 1870's and died in Emmitsburg in 1876.[14]

Joshua Shorb is counted among those who left after the fire, but more than likely he did not leave because of the fire. He incurred a $4,000 loss when the fire

destroyed his machine shop and foundry. But he rebuilt his business and not until 1868, four years after the fire, moved his business to Westminster, a town east of and much larger than Emmitsburg.[15]

Some, like Charles Shorb, did seem to leave town in response to the catastrophe. Charles Shorb was just thirty-one at the time of the fire, but he and his wife had amassed considerable wealth, most of it invested in his store's inventory. In the fire he lost $12,000, or one half of his 1860 wealth. Shorb and his wife, in fact, lost more than any other fire victim. Possibly this motivated them to leave the town that once gave them a fortune, and then misfortune.[16]

But Charles Shorb and a few others were quite clearly in the minority. Most with social and economic backgrounds similar to Shorb's remained in town throughout the 1860's, whether or not they had been fire victims.

There is one possible economic explanation for why certain fire victims left Emmitsburg, and others did not. The type of property lost may account for why some migrated and others remained. While about the same proportion of those that left lost houses in comparison to those who remained, one half of those who left lost their business establishments and inventories in the fire, as opposed to less than a quarter of those who remained. Because so few of the fire victims left, the sample may be too small to draw any definitive conclusions. But attention to such an economic factor as the type of property lost would be wise in other studies of catastrophes. The fact remains, nonetheless, that the majority of fire victims remained and at the same time matched the social and economic characteristics of those in the populations as a whole who remained in Emmitsburg during the 1860's.

In his dramatic conclusion to his section on the Great Fire, James A. Helman, author of the *History of Emmitsburg, Maryland*, wrote: "Oh, the desolation a fire makes; most of the people lost their all, and never recovered."[17] Helman was a twenty-three year old resident of Emmitsburg at the time of the Great Fire. It is difficult, and perhaps presumptuous, for an historian over a century after the event to say that an eyewitness was wrong. But such is the arrogance of the historian!

Of the forty-two who lost property in the fire, most lost much, and most recovered. Or at least most of those who remained recovered. By 1870, just seven years after the fire, three-quarters of those who remained were doing as well or better than they were in 1860, according to the value of their property. By 1870 only two who remained seem to have suffered unrecoverable losses. Patrick Kelly, the highly successful tailor who had done much work for the students and teachers at Mount Saint Mary's College, lost his property in the fire and by 1870, still owned no real estate, although his personal property was valued at $2,000, which made him one of the more successful men in town in 1870. Kelly was growing old, and by 1872 would be dead. The other fire victim who did not seem to recover was Francis Smith, a German immigrant who owned King's Tavern in 1860, but who was propertyless by 1870. However, while some of his property was lost in the fire, the Tavern had not been destroyed, so apparently he lost it after the fire, and probably unrelated to the fire.

Of those who left Emmitsburg, it is difficult to say whether they recovered or not. Some, however, as indicated above, were soon back in business and on the road to recovery.

The personal progress that each fire victim would have experienced in the 1860's, if the fire had not occurred, can never be known. But with the use of the mobility methodology that social historians have developed in recent decades, the actual progress the fire victims did experience can be known. The Great Fire of Emmitsburg was not a major factor causing migration for fire victims. Instead, as the above evidence indicates, social position, such as one's position as head of a household, and economic position, such as one's occupation and status as a property owner, were more important factors in determining whether someone, regardless of whether one has personally suffered the tragedy of a catastrophe, would remain or leave one's home town.

Richard Jensen's comments at the 1976 Organization of American Historians' convention about the need for historians to study small nineteenth century towns are valuable. And possibly they are prophetic. For as this study illustrates, the very factors that were involved in the massive migration from and within large, industrial, immigrant-crowded cities were also operative in at least one small, pre-industrial, rural town, whose population was ninety-seven percent native-born.

And these factors were even operative in the face of a major catastrophe, such as the 1863 Great Fire of Emmitsburg, Maryland.

References

1. Among the works that have contributed to our understanding of mobility are: Stephen Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility In a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Sam Bass Warner, Jr. *The Private City: Philadelphia In Three Periods Of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (eds.) *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays In The New Urban History* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1969); William G. Robbins, "Opportunity and Persistence In The Pacific Northwest: A Quantitative Study of Early Roseburg, Oregon," *Pacific Historical Review* 39 (1970): 279–296; Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Michael H. Frisch, *Town Into City: Springfield, Massachusetts And The Meaning of Community, 1840–1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Dean R. Esslinger, *Immigrants and The City: Ethnicity and Mobility In a Nineteenth Century Mid-Western City* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975); Stuart M. Blumin, *The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change In a Nineteenth Century American Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Robert Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns, 1800–1860* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977); Clyde Griffen, *Natives and Newcomer: The Ordering Of Opportunity In Mid-Nineteenth Century Poughkeepsie* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).
2. Richard Jensen, "New Directions In the History of Social Mobility," Paper Read at the *Organization of American Historians Convention*, St. Louis, Missouri, 8 April 1976.
3. U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, "Series A6–8" and "Series A57–72", *Historical Statistics of the U.S.: Colonial Times to 1970*, Part 1 (Washingotn, D.C.: GPO, 1975); Stuart M. Blumin, *The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change In a Nineteenth-Century American Community* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1976).
4. *The* (Frederick, Md.) *Examiner*, 17 June 1863; *The* (Gettysburg, Pa.) *Compiler*, 22 June 1863; *The Adams* (County, Pa.) *Sentinel*, 23 June 1863.
5. Interview with Joseph Elder, Emmitsburg, Maryland, 16 August 1978.
6. James A. Helman, *History of Emmitsburg, Md.* (Frederick, Md.: Citizen Press, 1906; reprint ed., Emmitsburg, Md.: Chronicle Press, 1975), pp. 69–70.
7. The demographic statistics for Emmitsburg throughout this article, unless otherwise noted, are based on the author's analysis of the manuscript schedules of the U.S. Census of 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880.
8. *The Examiner*; *The Compiler*; *The Adams Sentinel* and 1860 *Census*.
9. Helman, p. 87.
10. See footnote 1 above.
11. Identifying social and economic factors as "dominant causes" of geographical mobility is not meant to imply that any single individual (or group of persons) was not specifically motivated to

migrate because of personal reasons. In his brilliant article, "On Becoming An Emmigrant," Leo Schelbert illustrates how a certain set of persons, in his case in the Glarus region of 19th Century Switzerland, can seem to have a host of endocumented social and economic reasons for migrating, any or all of which could lead historians to announce confidently that the massive migration from the Glarus Valley was due to these social and economic factors functioning as "dominant causes." In fact, Schelbert finds a series of bazaar personal reasons for why some migrated. Thus "dominant causes" is not used in this article as an exclusive term. See Schelbert, "On Becoming an Emmigrant; A Structural View of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Swiss Data," *Perspectives In American History* (1973): 441–495.

12. Helman, p. 58 and 1860 *Census.*
13. Helman, p. 81 and 1860 *Census.*
14. John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland From The Earliest Period To The Present Day*, Vol. 2 (n. p.: n. p., 1879; Reprint ed., Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967) p. 593.
15. Helman, p. 75, *Adams Sentinel.*
16. *Adams Sentinel.*
17. Helman, p. 87.

Louis H. Levin of Baltimore: A Pioneer in Cultural Pluralism

J. VINCENZA SCARPACI

TODAY, WHEN THE CELEBRATION OF ETHNICITY COVERS THE SPECTRUM from Chicago's dynastic politics to interdisciplinary courses describing the pluralistic nature of American society, one sometimes loses sight of the fact that the concept of cultural pluralism is comparatively new. *E Pluribus Unum* is the melting pot which haunts the pages of American history and literature from the late eighteenth century until the recent past.

In an essay printed in *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America*, John Higham describes the process by which Horace Kallen formulated and then expounded upon the ideal of cultural pluralism. Kallen's odyssey from a second generation drifting into a sense of ethnic consciousness occurred during his educational and life experiences while at Harvard. Exposed to the teachings and writings of Barrett Wendell who taught American literature, and William James who taught philosophy, Kallen employed his renewed sense of ethnic pride and understanding of the pluralistic nature of American political institutions to explain his awareness of "an American union of ethnic collectivities in which each enjoys both the irreducible singularity and the full civic leadership" with his own life.[1] Kallen translated his thoughts into a structured statement when his famous article, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot," appeared in the *Nation* in 1915. His concept emphasized the natural pluralism of human expression which he found powerfully expressed in culture as the "locus of group identity."[2]

While Kallen developed and popularized the concept of cultural pluralism in the halls of academia and in the national media, a contemporary, Louis H. Levin of Baltimore worked out a similar theory which he used to serve the subjects of this intellectual debate, the ethnics. His examination of the ethnic experience suggested that despite the magnetism of the melting pot concept, and the institutional adaptation of its message in the school and social service systems, the ethnics themselves operated in a culturally pluralistic milieu. They did not wait for the formulation of an intellectual theory; their daily lives incorporated their old world heritage with their American environment.

Louis Levin, a journalist, charity worker and educator, was active at the turn of the century. His marriage to Bertha, a younger sister of Henrietta Szold, brought him into a circle of social activism. In 1889 his sister-in-law introduced one of the first schools for adult education for immigrants in the United States.

Dr. Scarpaci has published widely on the ethnic experience in Maryland.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
VOL. 77, No. 2, SUMMER 1982

FIGURE 1.
Louis Hiram Levin
(January 13, 1866—April 21, 1923)

Szold conceived the school as a way of bridging the distance between Jews arriving from Eastern Europe and the older established German Jewish community. She believed that education would help the newcomers to adjust to their new home. Although the primary purpose of the school reflected a concern for the East European Jewish community, all nationalities were admitted to its classes.[3]

Levin applied this principle of promoting internal ethnic group harmony when he suggested in his newspaper, the *Jewish Comment*, that all the German Jewish charities federate into one organization. The merger occurred in 1906 and Levin served as the group's first executive secretary. The spirit of cooperation spread to the downtown charities organizations (mainly East European) which federated as the United Hebrew Charities in the fall of 1907. Levin was elected vice president.

At the Fifth Biennial National Conference of Jewish Charities held in Richmond in 1908, Levin, representing both the "uptown" and "downtown" Baltimore organizations, argued that the split between East European and German Jews

was not irreconcilable. He believed that time would defuse hostilities and suggested that his role as representative of both charity organizations in Baltimore augured well for the future. He was elected Conference secretary.[4]

Levin's professional interest in charity work, his personal background of strong religious identity, and his involvement as a teacher and social worker in a multi-ethnic society provided a sensitive consciousness to his environment. Where Kallen first needed to recapture a sense of religious identity, Levin operated from a firmer foundation of belief and experience.[5] His confidence in the value of ethnic harmony and persistence enabled him to recognize the artificial aspects of the melting pot. He explained his reservations in a 1908 review of Israel Zangwill's play, *The Melting Pot*:

> But is it necessary that the Jew be something else in order to be the best that he can be? Does the wealth of opportunity America affords require the great renunciation? Here is where I think Mr. Zangwill makes a fatal mistake.
>
> In America, freedom and equality have increased the Jew's confidence and belief in himself, and made him perhaps the staunchest Jew we have. The immigrant, looking forward, can see opportunity, fostered by a real brotherhood converting the American of the future into a composite, alert, free and happy being. But he can also realize that the new type of man does not require that he must throw upon the scrap heap all that he has stood for in times past. On the contrary, the new type is predicated upon his maintaining intact the real contribution that he can make to the betterment of the New American.[6]

Levin identified the social dynamic of cultural interaction in a way that preserved the dignity and free choice of the individual.

His emphasis on maintaining a respect for individual expression which allowed for cultural diversity developed as the focus in social work moved from volunteerism and philanthropy towards professionalism and organizational sponsorship. Levin incorporated the two themes, respect for individual needs and professionalism, in a paper "Social Work as a Profession" which he delivered at the Sixth Biennial Session of the National Conference of Jewish Charities in St. Louis in 1910. In Baltimore he supported preventive social work. The City would be divided into beats in which a resident social worker would interpret information useful to disseminate to families, and to direct people to the proper agencies.[7] In 1913 he also attempted to meet the special needs of the East European population by establishing the Baltimore Jewish Court of Arbitration. Here mediators familiar with Talmudic Law settled many disputes among the Jewish residents. Not only did this action remove some of the heavy volume of cases from the shoulders of the public courts, it also provided a social control mechanism that reflected the cultural values of that community.[8]

Levin's concern about the caliber and training of social workers prompted him in May, 1912, to print a notice in the *Jewish Comment* that the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Baltimore would receive applications from persons desiring to train for social service. Two young women signed up and completed the twelve month course. The following year he persuaded the Baltimore Association of Jewish Women to plan a school for training Jewish social workers.[9] The plan, was to map a course of practical training that would include the activities of the

Jewish, non-Jewish, and public charities of the city. One early trainee described the situation:

> At that time there were few if any courses in sociology at the colleges, in fact it was a completely new profession. I was one of the first trainees. His idea was to have the young workers receive one year of practical training in case work and family welfare work at the office. He arranged for courses in sociology and philanthropy at Goucher College, which we took in connection with the practical work.[10]

The Association offered scholarships to two likely applicants, and a library of social literature was brought together for use by the students at Goucher College. In October, 1915, Levin initiated a series of lectures on "Immigration" for Goucher College's Philanthropy Class. To these social work trainees he stressed the importance of fostering appreciation of the heritage and traditions of immigrants among the second generation:

> Many articles have been written upon the break between parent and child, the failure of the younger generation to see the beauty and value of their parents' industry, household arts, sense of color and design, and attachment to the folkstories, folk music and folk dances they brought with them to their new home. All is swept away as useless baggage and in their place we have an imitation of superficial Americanism, shallow but smart, lively but unbeautiful, daring without conviction or courage. It is no wonder that a larger number of this generation than its quota warrants are in the juvenile courts, that a percentage not known in the old country of girls are wayward, and that the strain of life has shown an increase in mental troubles.[11]

The link between concerns for professionalism in social work and a growing awareness of the ethnic cultural diversity of the client-population that highlights Levin's career was somewhat reflected on the national level. Earlier, Mary Richmond, the general secretary of the Charity Organization of Baltimore, had discussed the importance of case work approach to training. Her suggestions catalyzed a movement in 1898 by the New York Charity Organization to establish the first "school" of social work which started as an annual six week summer program designed to increase the knowledge and efficiency of those already in the field. A few years later the program was extended to an academic year and redesigned primarily for students without experience in social work.[12]

Two years after Levin started teaching courses on the immigrant at Goucher College, Grace Abbott discussed the importance at the social worker in understanding the life of the new American at the 1917 meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Social Work. She described the inability of most Americans to understand that foreign settlements in America reflected pluralism. Her comments acknowledged the ethnic cultural reality Levin had addressed himself to when establishing the Baltimore Jewish Court of Arbitration. Abbott's argument cited below sketched the misconceptions of Americans about their foreign population and the importance for community planners to know about the old world traditions and the new world adjustments experienced by immigrants:

> To many Americans the so-called foreign colonies in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh or Cleveland seem to be reproductions of sections of Italy, Greece, Poland or Russia.

> But to the immigrant the street on which he lives here is so unlike the one on which he lived at home that he believes it to be thoroughly American. These "foreign neighborhoods" of ours are neither Italian, nor Polish, nor Russian, nor Greek. Nor are they American. A sympathetic knowledge of the life and hopes of the people of these un-American neighborhoods is rare among us. An understanding of the racial history, of the social and economic development and of present political tendencies in the countries from which the inhabitants of such a neighborhood came from is much more unusual. A knowledge of both their life here and their life at home is necessary for intelligent community planning. In the attempts made to help those who have been unable to make the necessary adjustments to the new conditions they encounter here, we have usually acted quite without the information which is necessary for the proper diagnosis of the source of their difficulties and as long as individual cases are not properly diagnosed successful treatment is only a happy accident and cannot form the basis for a program of prevention.[13]

Levin incorporated the two themes of professional training and education for future social workers in his 1921–22 lectures at Johns Hopkins on the immigrant experience. Theo Jacobs, Associate Professor of Social Economics at the University, requested that his lectures "Immigrant Peoples" include "the Lithuanian, the Pole, the Jew, the Italian, the Czecho-Slovakian and the Negro." Levin's lectures moved beyond the case work approach to a review of the then current assumptions of social workers regarding their ethnic clients contrasted with an analysis of the background/origins and settlement/adjustment of these same peoples. Levin wrote to many individuals and institutions requesting opinions, charts, and statistics concerning the immigrant population. Mary Richmond, a colleague from his early days in the Baltimore community programs, sent him a bibliography from the Russell Sage Foundation of New York which she thought he might find helpful as collateral reading suggestions for his class.[14] In 1920, Richmond pointed to the difficulty, "however skillful our powers of personal analysis, to *realize* our clients for lack of any vivid conception of their social past or their traditions of neighborliness."[15]

Levin's lectures illustrated the special problems of immigrants as they adapted themselves to twentieth-century America. He made no attempt to survey all immigration nor to relate the complete history of immigration. Instead, he focused on the "consideration of those problems which flow from the maladjustment of immigrants and arise out of the fact of their foreign birth, and dealt mainly with the problems of the twentieth century."[16] His innovative approach to the subject of cultural diversity and movement beyond case work teaching anticipated the 1930s crop of academic pluralism advocates and the leaders of social work who advocated broadening the curriculum in professional schools to include a whole range of subjects.[17]

At a time when officially-established as well as self-appointed spokesmen saw unrestricted immigration of some ethnic groups as a major peril to America, Levin offered another viewpoint. In his first lecture, he warned of the tendency to place the colonial settlers on a pedestal for worship. He described the composition of the population which included convicts, indentured servants, and redemptioners. Some of these were considered of inferior quality, and colonial legislatures took steps to limit their entry. But, he continued, their background

did not block their eventual accommodation with the social order:

> The fact that there was so large an element, poverty-stricken, socially unadjusted, and perhaps even anti-social, among the early settlers of our country should not be regarded as a weakness in our makeup; on the contrary, it will strengthen the faith of social workers in the human material they have to deal with, for it is a complete demonstration of the reaction of the most unfortunate classes to a real opportunity for self-improvement.[18]

Levin, did not, then, attribute social maladjustment to an inherent, immutable condition of a people. He stressed the need for the social worker to see the immigrant as an individual. The foreigner ought not to be blamed for the shortcomings of his countrymen, nor ought he benefit from the virtues of other conationals. Levin questioned the value of lumping groups into pigeonholes for study. As he explained:

> Because immigrants look alike, speak alike, seemingly think alike, does not mean that they have no individuality. They have too often been simply known as Greeks, or Italians, or the like, as if there were a specific remedy for Greek or Italian ills, a sort of social pill to be given to the patient suffering from Greekitis, etc. What should we think if all Americans, because they are Americans, should be handled in a predetermined routine![19]

His subsequent lectures discussed the problems of language, work, the law, housing, and divergent life styles of the immigrant. He blamed the lack of vocational guidance and training as the major reason for immigrants going into occupations for which they had no background. (He did not consider the variable of discrimination). He attributed many of the immigrant's violations of American standards of health and sanitation to their old world attitudes:

> Immigrants do not follow the Health Department's teachings and warnings, they do not understand the necessity for isolating contagious cases, they may even object to vaccination, they eat food with little value as nutrient, they shun air, they do not object to dark rooms, and there's dirt everywhere.[20]

To document the fact that no group had a monopoly of health and sanitation problems, Levin wrote to Baltimore's Commissioner of Health, Dr. C. Hampson Jones.[21] The Commissioner's reply included reports from the following: Dr. Mary Sherwood, Director of the Bureau of Child Welfare, Jane B. Newman, Superintendent of Nurses, and Dr. J. H. Shrader, Director of the Bureau of Food and Chemistry.[22] Their answers include the range of assumptions that distorted social workers' knowledge of the immigrant experience.

To Levin's questions regarding language difficulties, unhygienic racial or national practices, difficult prejudices to deal with, groups who were particularly cooperative or particularly uncooperative, Dr. Sherwood produced replies from twelve public health nurses who worked in districts having substantial numbers of foreigners. Five nurses found no language difficulties and seven did. The nationalities having the most difficult language problems were Italians, Bohemians, and Germans. A nurse in the first ward complained that even the children of the Poles and Italians could not serve as interpreters because they attended parochial schools where English was not used.

Six nurses noted "unhygienic customs" such as sucking a nipple and then putting it in the baby's mouth, swaddling the newborn baby, giving young babies heavy food the same as adults, using pacifiers, nursing the baby whenever it cried, tying the baby up in feather pillows, employing midwives, and using breast milk in newborn babies' eyes. Eight nurses found foreigners superstitious about nursing babies. Five nurses reported that the Jews were especially cooperative, also the Italians, if they understood. Next were Bohemians and Poles who were becoming Americanized. The most uncooperative groups reported were the Poles, the Greeks, and Germans.[23]

On the other hand, Superintendent Newman did not report language difficulties because her workers usually found a neighbor or child to serve as interpreter. Her nurses cited the Poles and Lithuanians for having unhygienic practices. Her workers also found foreigners to be very suspicious. But contrary to Dr. Sherwood's reply, these nurses reported that the Greeks, Italians, and Germans were the most cooperative and appreciative, while the Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians (Jews) were uncooperative or "dull of comprehension."[24]

Dr. Shrader found language difficulties among all groups, even the Pennsylvania Dutch. He reported that the Russian Jews, Poles, Greeks, Italians, and Chinese, seemed unable to understand the American concept of cleanliness. "They are naturally dirty and are at home in unsanitary surroundings." He reported that Russian Jews and Poles seemed prejudiced against the laws and did only what they were compelled to do. The most cooperative groups were the Greeks, Italians, Bohemians, Pennsylvania Dutch, and Chinese. Again, Poles and Russian Jews were singled out as uncooperative. "Russian Jews and Poles we find seem to quickly revert to their original conditions of uncleanliness unless our inspectors jack them up from time to time." Because he estimated that Poles and Russian Jews owned or controlled about 90 percent of the grocery stores in Baltimore, their unclean habits seemed doubly dangerous to the community.[25]

It is obvious that Levin used the contradictory judgment of social service personnel to prove that all immigrants were not alike and that what these reports best illustrated was the inability of the worker to understand and interpret the behavior of his/her client from the ethno-cultural perspective. Levin chose not to include damaging statements which did not serve to enlighten his students. For example, Baltimore Juvenile Court Judge T. J. C. William's report on his experience with the foreign born as having little regard for the law and looking upon the government as an enemy was not passed on in class.[26]

The theme of the individuality of the immigrant runs throughout Levin's lectures. He cited a monograph published by the Russell Sage Foundation which described three Italian families to emphasize the need for the social worker to understand that social background of the family in Europe, the problems of housing congestion, the lodger, certain food habits, influence (both good and evil) of fellow countrymen, split families, and the diluted second generation.[27]

Much of the legislation proposed in the 1920s reflected the belief that the melting pot had not worked, and that the foreign element in the population would forever remain undigested. Thus at the same time that pressures increased to cut off immigration, a renewed effort was made toward Americanization. The ability to read and write English was often equated with successful assimilation. Levin felt that language was a faulty barometer for measuring commitment to America.

He cited the case of the Pennsylvania Dutch and the French in Louisiana as examples of non-English speaking peoples whose loyalty to America was unquestioned. Paraphrasing Julius Drachsler's argument in *Democracy and Assimilation*, Levin supported the contention that a too rapid throwing off of old world language and culture was detrimental to the immigrant because he

> relinquishes cultural values that he possesses before he has had time to acquire new ones. The result is that he fails to bring to America the one great contribution that he can make, [sic] All peoples have developed traits, capacities or customs valuable to civilization, and if America is to draw full strength from the co-mingling of so many people, each must be encouraged to make its most characteristic contribution . . . [28]

He cited the Italian laborers' love of opera as one trait that Americans ought to cherish. And he used the model of the English-German schools in Baltimore (1873-1914), as an example of how a foreign people could be helped to pass gradually from one language to another. Again, to make the course especially useful for Baltimore students, Levin selected three groups—the Jews, Italians, and Poles to describe in some detail. In the 1920 census these groups represented the most numerous of the so-called new immigrants in the city of Baltimore (Russia-23,202; Poland-11,109; Italy-7,911).[29]

Much of the material on these three groups centered on their old world backgrounds. For, as Levin noted in his final lecture of the course:

> a man is what he has lived, the resultant of many forces, acting in all directions, and we cannot consider him a finished prospect, as a *tabula rasa*, on which we can write at pleasure any message that we may deem useful . . . [30]

And in language that seems more typical of recent statements concerning cultural pluralism, Levin questioned the need of the immigrant to throw off his foreign characteristics.

> Naturally immigrants bring with them national customs, prejudices, yearnings, and capacities of one kind or another. These constitute a large part of their lives, and they can not drop these practices until they have acquired others to take their place. There is no gain—there may, indeed, be a great loss, in debasing in their eyes so much of the life that they and their forefathers have lived, as if America was worthless and despicable. No man is bettered by losing respect for his inheritance. Many old world ideas must, we know, be gotten rid of, for here they are only an obstruction; but some may be preserved, for they often embody a beautiful art, for which we have no substitute. This evaluation of the gifts of the immigrant is a high duty of a social worker, in the discharge of which, a great service can be rendered both the immigrant and to our country.[31]

Louis Levin died in 1923 just when his position as president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service might have provided a broader forum for his unique approach to the professionalization of social work and the importance for these community planners to understand the background and cultures of the people they served.[32]

Levin questioned the need for the immigrant to leave "behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners," and to receive "new ones from the new mode

of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds."[33] He suggested that this process destroyed rather than created personalities. He believed that American society was enriched by citizens of diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. Coexistence rather than absorption preserved the dignity of the individual without threatening his identity or introducing a conflict of dual allegiance. Levin's conviction that the foreign born could retain pride in the country of their birth as well as in the country of their residence was simply stated by an immigrant who asked, "Can a man not love both his mother and his wife?"

References

I wish to thank Alexandra Lee Levin for sharing with me the class notes of Louis H. Levin, and for her suggestions in revising this paper for publication. I appreciate the bibliographical suggestions of Louise Carroll Wade, University of Oregon.

1. John Higham, *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (New York, 1975), p. 207. *See* Chapter Ten, "Ethnic Pluralism in Modern American Thought."
2. Horace Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot," *The Nation* (1915), and *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (New York, 1970, originally Boni and Liveright, 1924).
3. Alexandra Lee Levin, *Dare to Be Different: A Biography of Louis Levin of Baltimore, A Pioneer in Jewish Social Service* (New York, 1972). Henrietta Szold gained national and international prominence for the role she played in the founding of Hadassah and her work in Palestine. Her career is described in Alexandra Lee Levin, *The Szolds of Lombard Street: A Baltimore Family 1859-1909* (Philadelphia, 1960), and in Irving Fineman, *Woman of Valor: The Life of Henrietta Szold 1860-1945* (New York, 1961).
4. Levin, *Dare to Be Different*, pp. 49–50, 59 and 260–261.
5. Ibid. Chapter 7, "Not By Bread Alone," pp. 66–74.
6. Ibid. pp. 62–63.
7. Ibid. pp. 65 and 117. *See Proceedings of National Conference of Jewish Charities* (St. Louis, 1910), p. 278.
8. Levin, *Dare to Be Different*, p. 117. Some of the cases arose from problems internal to the community. "A case in point was that of an impecunious *Shammash*, or sexton, of some little synagogue whose members had not paid him his salary. In reprisal, the *Shammash* walked off with the synagogue's Torah scrolls, and was hauled before the magistrate." Oral testimony of the Honorable Simon E. Sobeloff to Alexandra Lee Levin, *Dare To be Different* footnote 4, pp. 278–279. Either English or Yiddish could be used, and court members included laymen and rabbis, 119.
9. Levin, *Dare To Be Different*, p. 134.
10. Letter from Jennie Brodie Crohn (Mrs. Laurence Crohn), Detroit, Mich. to Alexandra Lee Levin, October 5, 1965, cited in Levin, *Dare to Be Different*, footnote 1, p. 279.
11. Levin, *Dare to Be Different*, pp. 198–199, and see *Jewish Comment* published by the Federated Jewish Charities of Baltimore, Vol. XLVII, No. 8, 19 May, 1916, p. 91.
12. Walter Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A. History of Social Welfare in America* (Glencoe, Ill., 1974), pp. 199–120.
13. "The Immigrant in Community Planning," American Sociological Society, *Proceedings* XIV (1919):169.
14. Levin, *Dare to Be Different* p. 277. In addition to Levin's lectures the course used "Social Medicine" by Dr. Francis Lee Dunham, "Home Economics" by Professor Elmer J. McCollum, "Social Case Work" by Miss Theo Jacobs, and "Social Legislation" by Dr. Broadus Mitchell. Ibid., footnote 8, p. 295.
15. Mary Richmond, *The Long View: Papers and Addresses* (New York, 1930), p. 490.
16. Lecture I, "Immigrant Peoples," Louis H. Levin Papers, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.
17. Trattner, *Poor Law to Welfare*, p. 201.
18. The emphasis upon practical application was reflected in the questions he devised for course examinations. Two examples follow. "Detail the processes through which the immigrant has to go in entering this country" (Quiz, October 20, 1922). And, "A young man desires to emigrate from Poland to America, and he has an uncle in this country, who is a naturalized citizen. What should be done to expedite his coming, and what difficulties may arise before he is admitted to America?" (Examination, January 24, 1923). Levin Papers.

19. Lecture II, Levin Papers.
20. Lecture V, "The City and the Immigrant," Ibid.
21. Dr. C. Hampson Jones, Commissioner of Health to Levin, 13 October 1921, Levin Papers.
22. Dr. C. Hampson Jones to Jane B. Newman, Superintendent of Nurses, 14 September 1921, Levin Papers.
23. Dr. Mary Sherwood, Director of Bureau of Child Welfare to Dr. C. Hampson Jones, 13 October 1921, Levin Papers.
24. Superintendent Newman to Dr. C. H. Jones, 3 October 1921, Levin Papers.
25. J. H. Shrader, Ph.D., Director, Bureau of Chemistry and Food to Dr. C. H. Jones, 29 September 1921, Levin Papers.
26. Levin, *Dare to Be Different*, p. 228.
27. The pamphlet is "South Italians," Case Monograph Series, *Charity Organization Bulletin* VII (Sept.-Oct.-Nov., 1917) Russell Sage Foundation.
28. Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation: The Blending of Immigrant Heritages in America* (New York, 1920) and Lecture VII, "Americanization and Naturalization," Levin Papers.
29. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population*: 1920, "Composition and Characteristics of the Population," Washington, D.C. 1922.
30. Lecture X, Levin Papers.
31. Ibid. For an interesting discussion of how the nationality quotas reflected the pre-conceived notions of desirability of one group of immigrants over others, see Oscar Handlin's essay, "Old Immigrants and New," in *Race and Nationality in American Life* (New York, 1957).
32. Levin, *Dare To Be Different*, pp. 222–223.
33. Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crevecoeur, "What Is An American," *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1957), p. 39.

Hans Froelicher, Jr.: Civic Educator

KAREN A. STAKEM

IN THE MID 1940S AND EARLY 1950S CIVIC INTEREST IN BALTIMORE City centered around the Citizen's Planning and Housing Association and its efforts to revitalize the slum areas of the city. The purpose of the C.P.H.A., as stated in the organization's constitution, was " . . . to improve housing and living conditions . . . by means of research, education, public discussion, legislation, law enforcement and any other means."[1] Community education played an important role in the group's philosophy. In this particular aspect the group was strongly influenced by its president, Hans Froelicher, Jr. This essay will examine the reform philosophy of Froelicher, one of Baltimore's outstanding civic leaders. His involvement with the C.P.H.A. and the Baltimore Plan illustrate most forcefully his philosophy of community education.

The call for civic service, spearheaded by Froelicher, was a response to decades of need for urban reform. In 1820 only one out of every fourteen Americans lived in an urban area. But the period between 1860 and 1914 brought rapid urban growth and the industrial boom of the 1920s encouraged fifteen million more people to seek city living.[2] The growth of urban America steadily increased; between 1940 and 1970 an additional 55 million people (74 percent of our population) resided in metropolitan areas.[3]

Along with its many social, economic and cultural opportunities, the city also harbored overcrowding, sub-standard housing, crime and disease. All of the latter were attributes of an urban phenomenon, the ghetto. Richard O. Davies makes this comment concerning this urban problem:

> The total atmosphere of the ghetto contributed to social disintegration. Instead of providing hoped for opportunity, it created instead a self-perpetuating cycle of disillusionment and frustration. A vicious cycle existed that perpetuated economic and social problems.[4]

Civic action by private citizens has been a mainstay of American reform. Many times, small groups of organized citizens have been responsible for pointing out to the larger community serious social problems.[5] Reform in Baltimore has followed this tradition. In 1885, for example, the Reform League was established under the leadership of a local lawyer Charles J. Bonaparte. The development of the League marked the beginning of the first real reform effort in the city.[6] Bonaparte and his followers felt that the underlying cause of urban problems was the fact that the city's government was under the power of boss rule. Isaac

Ms. Stakem is a student in the University of Maryland's School of Law. The study for this paper was undertaken while a student at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
VOL. 77, No. 2, SUMMER 1982

Freeman Rasin was Baltimore's boss; he controlled the Democratic party in the area.[7] The elections of this era were characterized by fraud and violence, aimed at securing Democratic control. The purpose of the Reform League was to "secure fair elections, promote honest and efficient government, and to expose and bring to punishment official misconduct."[8]

Social reform in Baltimore also began in the 1880s. The pioneer of local social improvement was the first president of the Johns Hopkins University, Daniel Coit Gilman. In 1881 Gilman spearheaded the founding of Baltimore's Charity Organization Society, which provided the city's poor with food, clothing and shelter.[9]

Clergymen also played a prominent role in supporting urban reform. Outstanding among such leaders was James Cardinal Gibbons, head of the Baltimore Archdiocese and contributor to the development of Catholic higher education. He was the founder of the Catholic University and supported the development of the first Catholic all-women institute, the College of Notre Dame of Maryland.[10] Cardinal Gibbons was also a strong supporter of the controversial issue of organized labor. He helped block an ecclesiastical condemnation by conservative bishops which would have prohibited Catholics from joining labor unions. He was also a supporter of voting rights of Blacks and planned public improvements.[11]

Social reform acquired national attention through the Progressive Movement, which reached its peak in the years from 1900 to 1917. Although the Progressive Movement lacked unity during the 1920s and, therefore, wielded little political power, this largely middle class movement did succeed in making the public aware of the plight of the urban poor.[12]

The economic depression led to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal during the 1930s. Although some historians question the effectiveness of New Deal policies in addressing the plight of the most downtrodden in American society,[13] it is also generally recognized that Roosevelt used the emergency-like atmosphere of the nation to support those advocating social reform. James T. Patterson refers to the years from 1933 to 35 as a "burst of reform."[14] However, after the economic situation in the nation began to stabilize, it was difficult to encourage additional reform. Even the poor at this time seemed to strive for security rather than change.[15]

It was during this era, at the end of the depression, that the Citizen's Planning and Housing Association developed in Baltimore. The organization seemed to follow the progressive tradition of reform; the leaders were generally upper middle class, white, businessmen and professionals. The C.P.H.A. began its work and made its biggest strides between 1945 and 1955, a time when Washington political leaders were giving little attention to social reform.[16]

The C.P.H.A. was established through a merger of two citizen groups. Frances Morton, a young social worker, was Chairman and Founder of the Citizen's Housing Council. A similar organization, the Citizen's Planning and Redevelopment Association, under the leadership of John H. Scarf, was assisted by Frances Morton. The two organizations felt that both groups could gain strength by merging their separate memberships. In April of 1941, the two groups became one and adopted the name, the Citizen's Planning and Housing Association. In

1944, Hans Froelicher, Jr., was elected President of the organization, and he served in that office until his retirement in 1956.[17]

Froelicher was a native Baltimorean born on February 18, 1891. His father was born in Solothurn, Switzerland, but as a young adult he moved to the United States and assumed a position as Professor of German and French literature at Goucher College. Hans Froelicher, Sr., later became acting President of Goucher. His wife, also a Professor of German at Goucher, was a Philadelphia Quaker. They met while both were students at the University of Zurich.[18] Mrs. Froelicher's devotion to the Friends Community instilled the Quaker faith firmly in her children.[19]

Froelicher, Jr., spent his boyhood in the area of Baltimore known as Charles Village.[20] He attended Friends School and City College of Baltimore and graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1912 from Haverford College in Haverford, Pennsylvania. By teaching English at Gilman School in Baltimore, Froelicher put himself through the University of Maryland Law School, graduating in 1917. That same year he was married to Joyce Sangree of Philadelphia. The Froelichers settled in Baltimore and Hans accepted a position with the law firm of Piper, Carey and Hall. But he left that firm after only a year in order to establish his own practice. In 1920 he also became director of the endowment fund for Haverford College. Subsequently, in 1921, he gave up his law practice and moved to New Jersey and worked for an investment company in Philadelphia.[21]

In 1932 the Froelichers returned to Baltimore and Froelicher began his career as an educator. He was appointed headmaster of Park School, which his father had been instrumental in founding. While at Park, he became involved in the field of education on a state and national level. He was president of the Private School Association, secretary of the Educational Society of Baltimore, Chairman of Independent Schools, Secretary Treasurer of the National Council of Independent Schools and, for two years, director of the Vassar Summer Institute.[22]

In 1944 Froelicher became interested in the problem of urban housing in Baltimore. During his many years of civic service, he served on a variety of committees and boards including the Mayor's Advisory Council to the Housing Bureau, the Mt. Royal Improvement Association and the Baltimore City Health Department Advisory Committee on Sanitation. In 1956 after he retired as headmaster from Park School and the presidency of the C.P.H.A., he became very interested in photography and poetry. And he then also had time to enjoy tennis and his favorite sport, bass fishing.[23] Froelicher died, after a prolonged illness, on November 16, 1976 at the age of 85.[24]

Froelicher believed that it was his duty as a citizen to be deeply concerned with the improvement of his community. A "birth-right" Quaker, he was greatly influenced by the Friends' philosophy, which Margaret H. Bacon has aptly summarized, "To have concern means to have such compassion, to feel so keenly the plight of others, to care so much that one's duty is to take action"[25] Froelicher's approach to civic improvement stemmed also from his philosophy of education. Convinced that the classroom setting should aid students in developing self-respect and self-confidence,[26] he reasoned that the same process must occur in reform efforts, that genuine social change could only be achieved through com-

munity education. He insisted that it is the job of the civic leader to promote confidence and respect in the neighborhood environment, thereby encouraging change from within. It was this philosophy that characterized the work of the C.P.H.A.

Because Froelicher's philosophy of civic reform stemmed from his philosophy of education, it is significant to note how he was influenced by his father's contributions in this field. In 1912 the Park School was opened with Froelicher, Sr. as the president of the Board of Trustees. In the early 1900s there was a shift in the Baltimore area from public to private education because the Baltimore Public School System seemed to be lowering its academic standards.[27] This development caused a particularly serious problem for local Jewish families, for many of the private schools in the area did not accept Jewish children. In response to this situation, the Jewish Charities forged plans to create a private non-sectarian school.[28]

Those involved indiscussing plans for the new school, including Froelicher, Sr., agreed that they wanted to develop a new type of school devoted to progressive education. As he saw it, this new school, should " . . . awaken in . . . children an exalted consciousness of their personality, physically, spiritually and intellectually. In and out of school they were to give a better account of themselves than would the driven and drilled product of the average private school."[29]

The founders of Park School set out to establish a unique educational institution. There was a thrust to employ young teachers who could provide the needed vitality to stimulate and motivate the students. The teachers were to be looked upon as fellow workers in the educational process, not superiors. Park School's academic program ran from kindergarten through high school, and at all levels freedom and self-government were encouraged. Although the administrators of the school felt that college preparedness would be a natural outcome, they did not see this as the sole or primary purpose for education.[30]

The ideas for the establishment of Park School are in the tradition of the progressive education movement which began to gain favor in the early part of the twentieth century. Based to a large extent on the ideas of Thomas Dewey, the method emphasized naturalism and individualism and an intimate relationship between student and teacher.[31] Dewey felt that education should provide a proper balance between individual freedom and social responsibility. It is not difficult to see how the philosophy of the founders of Park School, and particularly Froelicher, Sr., reflect the Dewey ideology. They fit easily the definition of the progressive idealist, " . . . who would not hamper individual freedom in mature life nor interfere with the child's right to develop his natural potentialities in school."[32]

In 1932, when Park School was in need of a new headmaster, the Board of Trustees offered the position to Froelicher, Jr. In his next twenty-four years as headmaster at Park, he followed in the progressive tradition laid down by his father. His sincere concern for and profound influence on the academic and personal growth of his students is eloquently expressed in the following testimony by Morton K. Blaustein, one of Park's former students: "He had such a tremendous impact on our lives . . . and he shaped Park School into the kind of institution

which prepared us for life in a way that no other school did during those days and that not many do now."[33]

A particular experience as headmaster at Park School, in fact, was a major reason for Froelicher's involvement with the Citizen's Planning and Housing Association. Mrs. Peter Ainslie, the instructor of the sixth grade at Park, decided that her students should become aware of Baltimore's urban housing problem. Froelicher suggested that the students should not only be made aware of the problem, but that they should also suggest solutions to it. After the students' visit to the slum neighborhoods, they constructed models which contrasted good and bad housing.[34] The C.P.H.A. heard of the Park School project and asked that the school participate in a housing exhibit that the group was holding at the Enoch Pratt Library.[35] It was this experience that convinced Froelicher that he must heed the advice he had given to his students. It was time, he decided, for him to become involved in the serious problem of sub-standard housing in Baltimore.[36]

In 1940 Baltimore's slum problem was increasing. The census in that year revealed that this city had more dilapidated housing than did any other major city in the United States.[37] Inspection of blighted areas disclosed 26,000 homes with outdoor plumbing, structural defects which posed fire and safety hazards, and a serious rat infestation problem.[38] It was found, through comparative studies, that depressed areas had higher rates of juvenile delinquency than other sections of the city. In addition, and perhaps posing the greatest threat to the general populace, was the serious health problem that slums created. In 1940 Baltimore city had the highest number of tuberculosis cases among cities in the United States of comparable size.[39]

Although the problem was apparent, city officials at this time had no authority to condemn dwellings as sub-standard housing. Nor were there city ordinances that would allow officials to prosecute offenders. Subsequently, one of the first tasks undertaken by the C.P.H.A. was to encourage the City Council to pass city ordinances to help alleviate the housing problem. In 1941 the Council passed several regulations establishing minimum housing standards for city dwellings. For example, each habitable room was required to have window space equal to 10 percent of the floor space and sleeping rooms were required to have 400 cubic feet of air space and 50 square feet of floor space for every adult occupant. In every one or two room unit, running water with at least one sink was to be installed and in a dwelling occupied by two or more persons food could not be prepared in a sleeping room.[40]

Although Baltimore had managed to get ordinances on the books which would allow health officials to enforce sanitation rules, the problem of urban blight remained. Baltimore's Housing Authority was established under the United States Housing Act of 1937,[41] but the C.P.H.A. disagreed strongly with the practices of the Authority. In the view of the C.P.H.A., the Housing Authority was incompetent and ineffective. In 1945 the C.P.H.A. drew up a report in that vein, citing examples of rent violations, discrimination and failure to answer citizens' complaints. In April of 1946, after submitting copies of their report to the Mayor and to the Housing Authority, the C.P.H.A. released their findings to the public.[42]

Some felt that the C.P.H.A. had overstepped its bounds in this particular instance. As a result, the organization was refused funds from the Community Chest in 1947, because the C.P.H.A. was considered too controversial in nature.[43] However, this circumstance did not prevent the group's growth. In 1946 the C.P.H.A. had 800 members; within five years the membership grew to 1,700. More importantly, the C.P.H.A. proved it had muscle in the area of reform. In 1947 a member of the C.P.H.A. was appointed to the Housing Authority.[44] Between 1948 and 1951 all five members of the Housing Authority were members of the C.P.H.A. and each citizen's advisory board of the city government was dominated by the group's members.[45]

Perhaps the greatest contribution the C.P.H.A. made to urban renewal under Froelicher's leadership occurred through the nationally acclaimed Baltimore Plan. Basically, this was a program to clean up the city's slum areas. The approach taken by the C.P.H.A. in implementing the Baltimore Plan reflects very strongly the reform philosophy of Froelicher. The plan's thrust was aimed at rehabilitating existing dwellings through minimum housing and sanitary code enforcement.[46] Froelicher explained the plan as one aimed at eliminating health and safety hazards, providing public education concerning more hygienic standards and trying to prevent the further decline of poor neighborhoods.[47] The following statement best sums up his views on reform and the individual's role in reform:

> We must set a standard of living which is not of things, but of responsibility . . . there is no 'they' to do it for 'us' . . . this myth must be exposed. It is given to each generation to give new meaning to the honored phrase "We, the people. . . ."[48]

The early years of the Baltimore Plan coordinated the efforts of the departments of Health, Fire, Police and Public Works. Although these departments were working more efficiently, code enforcement was being held up in the overcrowded court system. Housing Code violators were taken to magistrate court, but often the cases were not heard because of more serious cases on the dockets.[49] C. William Brooks, a zoning officer, made the suggestion at a C.P.H.A. meeting that a special court be set up that dealt solely with cases involving housing code violations. The legal means to devise the court were worked out by the City Solicitor, the Deputy Attorney General and the Board of Directors of the C.P.H.A. The idea of the new court was publicized by the Baltimore *Evening Sun* and several groups including the C.P.H.A. and the Real Estate Board approached Governor Lane and Mayor D'Alesandro about the idea. In July of 1947, the Housing Court was established with Judge Harry S. Kruger presiding. Baltimore's Housing Court was the first of its kind in the nation and was considered a stride forward in the alleviation of the problem of sub-standard housing.[50]

Soon after the Housing Court was established, a Sanitary Division of the Police Department was organized. The Sanitary Division was made up of a team of twenty police officers who answered housing violation complaints and were authorized to cite offenders. Through the joint efforts of the Court and the Sanitary Division, 1,596 cases were brought to trial the first year of the Housing

Court's existence and between the years from 1947 to 1950, 63,000 premises were investigated.[51]

Within the first 10 years of the Plan's existence, 132 slum blocks had been renovated. Froelicher felt that the successs of the Baltimore Plan had hinged upon making a great many people aware of the City's housing problem through citizen sponsored groups. In his own words, " . . . housing officials must use the necessary skills and take the necessary time and patience to work with the citizen group . . . In this way your housing authorities and redevelopment commissions become the legitimate children of your cities."[52]

Of all the endeavors undertaken by the C.P.H.A. from 1944 to 1956, the Baltimore Plan seems to be the one project which best reflected Froelicher's philosophy of neighborhood improvement through community education. This effort proved the vital role a citizen's group can play in city urban renewal.

As with any group in the public eye, the Citizens Planning and Housing Association has had its critics. William T. Dürr, in his dissertation on the C.P.H.A., criticized the group for its failure to carry out the Baltimore Pilot Program which was proposed in 1950.[53] The Pilot Program was initially defined as a vigorous social and educational program, for the improvement of attitudes and the development of an alert citizenry in local neighborhoods.[54] Ostensibly, the Pilot Program should have been consistent with Froelicher's philosophy of civic reform. But once the C.P.H.A. began working on the Pilot Program, opinions divided and Froelicher led those who opposed the plan. The most important issue was whether a separate housing agency should be developed which would incorporate all city departments concerned with code enforcement. One faction, headed by James Rouse, supported the change while the other faction, under Froelicher, rejected the proposal. Froelicher maintained that the problems that needed attention within the departments were not ready for such a drastic change and he advocated working to improve the system as the best course. The faction which opposed the proposal prevailed, and that result, Dr. Dürr contends, indicated that the C.P.H.A. had lost its effectiveness. The organization, Dürr concludes, had become too conservative, part of the system, and therefore, had lessened its identification with the slum's poor.[55]

But another view is more consistent with the evidence. The housing agency proposal, in fact, seems to be in direct conflict with not only Froelicher's philosophy of reform, but also with the accomplishments the C.P.H.A. had achieved in previous years. One of the organization's main goals in the Baltimore Plan was to better the communication between city departments and citizen's groups. To destroy the existing city agencies would undermine the inroads the C.P.H.A. had made.

Dr. Dürr fails to point out that the proposed sweeping change of the system lacked the feasibility that the group's previous undertakings had. Moreover, the Housing Court had been generally accepted as a necessary means to expedite code enforcement and the steps taken to establish it had been worked through both in terms of community involvement and support of political leaders. In contrast, the proposal for a separate housing agency did not carry with it plans for its formation or regulation.[56] There was limited community involvement; and,

in addition, Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro categorically stated that he would not support the proposed new agency.

Dürr correctly states that the C.P.H.A. had an " . . . inheritance of an older democratic-progressive tradition."[57] The group saw the benefits of working in cooperation with the existing system. The C.P.H.A. advocated reform and improvement but did not see radical change as the means to solve a problem. They saw benefit in the process of working through issues by way of investigation and discussion. Therefore, one can conclude, the C.P.H.A. did not become ineffective and conservative, but rather it refused under the leadership of Froelicher to abandon its tradition of liberal, progressive reform.

In 1956 Froelicher retired as Headmaster of Park School as well as President of the C.P.H.A. But even after his retirement he remained active in both areas of civic improvement and education. Froelicher's career as a civic reformer brought concrete results to the people of Baltimore City, but perhaps a more important contribution was his formula for civic action: "People must change . . . Yet before people can change people must know. And when they know there must be a clamor . . . The voice of a few must become the voice of many."[58] This combination of knowing and doing, of putting one's ideals into the tangible act of problem solving, is Hans Froelicher, Jr.'s lasting legacy to the society of which he was a part.

REFERENCES

1. William T. Dürr, "The Conscious 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", (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1972), p. 380.
2. James T. Patterson, ed, *Paths to the Present. Interpretive Essays on American History Since 1930*, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1975), p. 150.
3. Ibid, p. 150.
4. Ibid., p. 159.
5. See for example, Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in The Urban Age*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954).
6. James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), p. 13.
7. Ibid., p. 9.
8. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, March 26, 1937.
9. Crooks, p. 159.
10. Ibid., p. 161.
11. Ibid., p. 161.
12. Ibid., p. 161.
13. Patterson, p. 175.
14. Ibid., p. 57.
15. Ibid., p. 65.
16. Ibid., p. 66.
17. Interview with Mrs. Frances Morton Froelicher, Baltimore, Md., 22 October 1979.
18. Hans Froelicher, Jr., "What Do We Want From Our Schools?", Hans Froelicher, Jr. Papers, University of Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland.
19. Earl Arnett, "Impact of Citizens on Government Noted by Educator, Civic Worker", Baltimore *Sun*, 15 February 1971.
20. "Hans Froelicher, Jr. A Chronological Biography", Froelicher Papers.
21. C.P.H.A., *News and Views*, Froelicher Papers.
22. "A Chronological Biography", p. 2.
23. Ibid., p. 1.
24. "Traded A Jekyll and Hyde Role for Life of an Educator", Baltimore *Evening Sun*, 8 April 1936.
25. Margaret H. Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969), p. 122.
26. "Hans Froelicher, Educator, Dies at 85", Baltimore *Sun*, 17 November 1976.

27. "Hans Froelicher Honored", *The Postscript*, Vol. XXV, Issue 8, 3 May 1978.
28. Hans Froelicher, Sr., "Park School Beginning in Baltimore, One Man's Story", Froelicher Papers.
29. Ibid., p. 4.
30. Ibid., p. 4.
31. Ibid., p. 9.
32. Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education*, (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1970), p. 491.
33. "Selections from Letters Addressed to Frances M. Froelicher on the Death of Her Husband, Hans Froelicher, Jr.," 16 November 1976, Froelicher Papers.
34. "Fete to Honor Froelicher as Head of C.P.H.A.", Baltimore *Evening Sun*, 1 June 1954.
35. "Froelicher Outlines Housing Aims", Baltimore *Evening Sun*, 3 February 1949.
36. "Ten Years as a Volunteer", Address by Hans Froelicher, Jr., 1 June 1954, Froelicher Papers.
37. "Baltimore Plan of Law Enforcement and the Housing Court", ibid.
38. Hans Froelicher, Jr. to Mrs. D. Elwood Williams, ibid.
39. "Baltimore Plan of Law Enforcement and the Housing Court", ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Albert J. Silverman, ed., *Baltimore City of Promise*, (Baltimore, Md.: H. G. Roebuck and Son, 1953), p. 164.
42. Dürr, p. 252.
43. Ibid., p. 258.
44. Ibid., p. 258.
45. Ibid., p. 356.
46. Karl Detzer, "Baltimore Cleans Up Its Slums", *Readers Digest*, August, 1949.
47. Hans Froelicher, Jr. to Mrs. D. Elwood Williams, Froelicher Papers.
48. *News and Views*.
49. "Baltimore Plan of Law Enforcement and the Housing Court", Froelicher Papers.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. "Mobilizing Citizen Support for Housing and Redevelopment", Froelicher Papers.
53. Dürr, p. iv.
54. "Baltimore Plan of Law Enforcement and the Housing Court", Froelicher Papers.
55. Dürr, p. 463.
56. Ibid., p. 27.
57. Ibid., p. 52.
58. *News and Views*, Froelicher Papers.

BOOK REVIEWS

Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution. Edited by Ernest McNeill Eller. (Centreville, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, Inc., 1981. Pp. xxxv, 602. $29.50)

This volume was part of a larger undertaking—the establishment at Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, of a permanent archive and library of materials relating to the Chesapeake Bay during the American Revolution. This broader project was the largest single-funded program sponsored by the Maryland Bicentennial Commission, and this volume justifies its promise. It contains fourteen meaty and wide-ranging chapters about various aspects of the Revolution on the Bay; a chronology of important events mainly local though some are national; reference notes; a bibliography; an index; identification of the authors; and ninety-three illustrations. And Tidewater Publishers deserves special citation for the handsome design of this book.

Following an overview of the general nature of the subject in chapter one, the remaining thirteen chapters address a wide variety of topics: Lord Dunmore's operations on the Bay; shipping and shipbuilding technology; the Continental, Virginia and Maryland Navies; privateering; the impact of the war upon seaports; the British invasions; Tory operations; and General Washington's maritime strategy. The themes chiefly address biographical, economic, military—especially naval, political, and technological history.

Unlike other collections of essays, those in this volume are surprisingly even, of high quality, and relate to one another. An enormous fund of factual information within them has been culled from original sources—correspondence, newspapers, port records, ships' logs, and the like—and several of the essays include nicely arranged appendices. In addition, each of the essays successfully places its facts within a broader, interpretive framework that makes the information intelligible. At this point, specialists will quickly realize the secret behind the success of this volume: the frameworks of the individual essays interrelate to form a composite picture—defined, of course, by the thematic limitations of the essays—of the impact of the Revolution upon the Bay.

In short, this is a fact-filled account of various aspects of the Revolution on the Bay that provides us with much new information. I have but two quibbles about the volume. One is about the footnotes. Reference information especially about the location of the various primary sources should have been more explicit. Readers who are unfamiliar with the original sources will not always know where to begin their own research. My other quibble relates to what I think is a deficient perspective: the volume lacks a discussion of the broad-based and long-range historical significance of the Revolution for the Bay. A few individual essays do this for their narrow topics, but we have no overall integrated discussion. These quibbles aside, the book is excellent and contributes much to our understanding of what happened on the Bay during the Revolution.

University of Maryland, Baltimore County GARY L. BROWNE

From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South, By Henry Lumpkin. ([Columbia]: University of South Carolina Press [1981], 332 pages, $24.95.)

This handsomely produced, biggish volume seems to have evolved from an educational-television program narrated by the author, who is professor of history at the University of South Carolina. It is lavish in clearly printed illustrations of battle scenes, individuals, weapons, and a few contemporary maps. At rear are an extended chronology, which

encapsulates events covered in the main text, and an appendix comprising painstaking orders of battle. The overall coverage is wide: besides chapters on the major engagements, others treat such topics as the Cherokee war, weapons and uniforms, loyalists, and partisan warfare. A closing chapter tells us "Why the British Lost the War in the South."

But there are certain minuses here at which Revolutionary buffs might cavil. The index, while adequate, does not embrace the chronology; and genealogists may well stage a *levée en masse* to denounce Dr. Lumpkin for leaving so many surnames abandoned. As one example, the North Carolina officers Ashe, Armstrong, and Blount (p. 214) were Lieutenant Colonel John Baptist Ashe and Majors John Armstrong and Reading Blount—tidbits which would not have required profound research to establish. There is no table of illustrations, which is deplorable, and also no theater-wide maps, which is almost inexcusable. There is no annotation; so when the author lauds "two excellent eyewitness accounts of Williamson's campaign" by persons named Fairies and Ross, a beguiled reader is left moorless. The moderately extensive bibliography, which is presented by topic (including archaeology), is so selective as to seem almost whimsical. The dust jacket, for example, advises us that this volume is the "first comprehensive military history devoted to the American Revolution in the South. . . . " Where does that leave John R. Alden's *The South in the Revolution, 1763–1789* (1957)—which is not carried in the bibliography? The section headed General Sources lists none of today's on-going scholarly compilations of correspondence from the period, not even Richard K. Showman's edition of the *Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (1967–). The section headed General Histories also includes biographies, but contains nothing, for example, on that Georgia partisan leader so frequently mentioned in the text, Elijah Clarke. And there is a final section headed simply Articles which boasts two entries only.

Dr. Lumpkin's style is unremittingly pedestrian. From the rich primary literature, bringing the times to life, he quotes but minimally. Every now and then he indulges in such rhetoric as "tragically" or "this dreadful fact" or "ultimate tragedy," moralizings which the present reviewer confesses to finding refreshing but the employment of which many academic historians would probably eschew. Yet withal this volume should serve usefully at the high school-senior or college-freshman level.

For Maryland readers it is pleasant to report that, while the Free State does not figure heavily here, the author finds space to call Otho Holland Williams a "brilliant" officer (p. 63) and to hail the Maryland Line as containing "some of the finest Continental foot soldiers in the American regular army . . . " (p. 123). Lastly, the paintings and portraits in color by South Carolina artist Robert Wilson stand forth so sparklingly scarlet for the enemy, and so heavenly blue for the rebels, that it is at times difficult to correlate this bravura conception of affairs with the author's frequent reminders that here was a sweaty, smelly, chigger-bitten species of warfare.

Baltimore, Maryland CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Canals and Railroads of the Mid-Atlantic States, 1800–1860. By Christopher T. Baer. (Greenville, Del.: Regional Economic History Center, 1981. Pp. iv, 68. Tables, maps, graphs, and 5 maps in pocket. $15.00, paper.)

This is a valuable source book for scholars and researchers. It opens with a brief but pithy essay which reviews the development of canal and railroad transportation in the mid-Atlantic states (including Maryland) during the antebellum period and ties it to larger economic, technical, and political questions. There follows a substantial bibliography which concentrates on nineteenth century printed materials rather than on manuscripts or historical works. The heart of the volume, however, is a set of maps and tables which provide basic data on each canal and railroad enterprise. They are the result of exhaustive

research by a staff of assistants under the auspices of the Regional Economic History Center at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware. The method of gathering the data and the rationale for its presentation are carefully explained, which is important for the scholar who would like to make use of the laboriously gathered and, in some cases, carefully estimated statistics. Some significant information is not given, such as the amount of a company's capitalization, its construction costs, and its chief engineer.

Maryland is represented by 18 railroads and 5 canals. The maps show clearly the state's early and effective entrance into the internal improvements race.

Case Western Reserve University DARWIN H. STAPLETON

Biographical Dictionary of American Mayors, 1820–1980: Big City Mayors. Edited by Melvin G. Holli and Peter D'A. Jones. (Westport: Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981. Pp. xii, 451. $69.50).

Since 1794, and the publication of the first volume of Jeremy Belknap's *American Biography,* biographical dictionaries have been a staple of the American historical literature. Some, like the multi-volume *Dictionary of American Biography,* have attained high levels of excellence and secured niches as standard references, while others were little more than "mug-books" and of little value other than fodder for one's vanity if included. The majority, like the one under review here, were unremarkable except for the convenience of providing biographical information on certain individuals in one accessible source.

Biographical Dictionary of American Mayors, 1820–1980 is, according to its editors, the "first and only definitive treatment" of mayors of fifteen leading American cities, including nearly seven hundred biographies composed by over one hundred scholars. The cities (Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and St. Louis) were selected because of their historical importance and size and the year 1820 was chosen as a starting date because of the formation of the modern mayoral office by that time. The lengths of the biographical entries seem generally to range from five hundred to one thousand words, each including personal information, information on the population and historical situation of the cities at the time of the administrations, the achievements of the mayors, and their careers after having left office. Each biography is signed. The book also contains appendices on mayors by political party, ethnic backgrounds, religion, birthplace, and population statistics on the various cities.

I would be remiss if, in reviewing for this journal, I did not comment on the biographies of the Baltimore mayors; this also will afford me the opportunity to more fully discuss the relative strengths and weaknesses of this publication. There are forty-four Baltimore mayors included in this volume, from Edward Johnson (1808–16, 1819–20, 1822–24) to the current incumbent, William Donald Schaefer (1971–). Regarding the authors of these sketches, few could complain, all being familiar names in the local historical writing (Whitman H. Ridgway, Jean H. Baker, Richard R. Duncan, Joseph L. Arnold, Jo Ann Eady Argersinger, Gary L. Browne, James B. Crooks, Suzanne Ellery Greene, and W. T. Dürr); in fact, this would be a hard list to improve upon. Beyond this, the sketches are all competently written and certainly will be helpful to the individual quickly seeking basic information on these men and their careers. However, the majority are so straightforward as to simply list career information and accomplishments with little assessment of their actual importance to the city.

Regarding the latter statement, I suspect this may be more a problem of the direction that the contributors received than fundamental problems with the authors' own research and writing. For one, the word limit of the individual sketches certainly must have

discouraged much original research. Many of the earlier mayoral sketches are hardly improvements upon Wilbur F. Coyle's *The Mayors of Baltimore*, an official municipal mug-book of 1919. A few of the authors—notably Ridgway, Arnold, and Dürr—break out of these limitations and draw upon original extensive research or, at least, dare to more fully personalize their subjects and assess their administrations.

I think there were more serious weaknesses in this project, however, than even the limitations of length could produce. There seems to have been a lack of attention to detail. For one, there is the inconsistency in the citation of sources, a minor point perhaps, but a problem easily avoided. In some of the Baltimore sections I found statements that were ambiguous and, in one case, hilarious. A statement such as "it was generally considered that he [Howard W. Jackson] spent New Deal monies on valuable and lasting projects" makes me wonder what the projects were and who considered them significant. The ending of the essay on Robert M. McLane is even more confusing, implying a cause and effect relationship that I am sure was not meant to be so implied: "Contemporaries praised McLane's first mayoral year as enlightened and progressive. He committed suicide on 30 May 1904." Both could have been corrected with closer attention by the editors.

That librarians in general reference collections will find this book helpful I am certain. To the more scholarly inclined community, however, I think it promises more than it delivers. The preface states that these biographies are the products of scholars "working mainly with original sources in local city archives." Of the fifteen cities represented in this book only five, at last count, even *had* municipal archives. Of the Baltimore sketches only one author cites records in the Baltimore City Archives and his is obviously the result of very old research; the records are cited as being at City Hall where they have not resided, lo, these last eight years.

Baltimore City Archives RICHARD J. COX

From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research. By Barbara Allen and Lynwood Montell. (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1981. Pp. xii, 172. Bibliography, index. $12.50.)

Undoubtedly the title alone will draw the attention of oral historians to this newest publication by Lynwood Montell and his collaborator, Barbara Allen. He is well-known in the scholarly community for his *The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History* (University of Tennessee, 1970), but he has always acted as a folk-historian, too. He has been since 1970 the head of the Department of Folklore and Intercultural Studies at Western Kentucky University and he helped to establish the Western Kentucky University Archives of Folklore, Folklife and Oral History.

It is not surprising that many people, on first hearing of oral history, equate it with folklore; when the professionals in the field begin to exchange definitions for folk history, folklife, oral tradition, ethnohistory, oral history and so on, confusion is compounded. In fact Montell himself, in a 1973 review in the Oral History Association Newsletter of *The Foxfire Book 2*, while decrying the acceptance of the *Foxfire* books as examples of ideal oral history, said "I made a similar error in the title of my *The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History.* Since I was dealing with traditional and grass roots history my subtitle should have read *A Study in Oral Folk History.*"

Montell continues to concern himself with the question and might be considered to be one of the bridges between oral historians and folklorists; as such he seems to be drawing them together in ways that will allow each to produce more scholarly historical products. These authors bring up the relationship between the two early in the book and after this statement on page 23 the term "oral history" does not appear again until the last pages.

Up to now, we have intentionally avoided giving types of orally communicated history specific labels, such as *Folklore* and *oral history*. Both terms carry meanings and connotations that we wish to avoid. For example, the word *folklore* is sometimes used popularly to designate unverified rumor, falsehood, and hearsay. When people hear or read something that is doubtful, they may remark, "That's just folklore." For our purposes, whether folklore is true or false is immaterial. The fact that it is communicated from one person to another, either orally in face-to-face conversation or visually, by example, rather than being drawn from written materials, is its significant feature for local history research.

The term *oral history* is used in two ways. It can refer to the method by which oral information about the past is collected and recorded, and it can also mean a body of knowledge that exists only in people's memories and will be lost at their deaths. We prefer to think of oral history, therefore, not only as a method of acquiring information but as a body of knowledge about the past that is uniquely different from the information contained in written records. To us, there is little difference between the methods used to collect oral history and those employed in obtaining folklore materials with historical content. Not all oral history is folklore nor is all folklore oral history. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of overlapping between the two fields. Although we deal in later chapters with certain oral forms of expression—traditional narratives, ballads, proverbs—with which folklorists concern themselves, we do not make a distinction between oral history per se and folklore per se. Such distinctions have their usefulness elsewhere, but in a guide such as this, they would serve no real purpose.

With this matter clarified, they proceed with what they call a descriptive guide to the oral material available to local historians and a manual for evaluating and interpreting those materials. Any local historian who gathers what they thenceforward call "orally communicated history" is provided with a short course in time-tested folklore methodology for locating oral sources, identifying and using them, applying tests for historical validity and recognizing submerged truths in oral testimony. The book concludes with a very practical chapter on producing a manuscript from oral sources.

The methodologies of folklorists, and anthropologists too, can do much to raise the quality of work being done by oral historians, a certain proportion of whom, in Maryland and elsewhere, are not working out of academic backgrounds, but are nevertheless eager to write local history or at least document it for future writers. In many cases they are more open to and enthusiastic about using interviews with informed citizens than a formal historian tied to conventional sources might be.

Such a guidebook as this begins by pointing out the particular contributions of orally communicated history to supplement and complement existing documentation and sometimes even to become the sole primary document. The authors go on from that basis to detail the characteristics and settings of orally communicated history. A long discussion of these characteristics draws heavily on folkloric analysis of interview content and opens up new levels of understanding for the intent, sometimes naive, oral history interviewer. Here, and in the chapter devoted to tests for historical validity, sophisticated perspectives are demonstrated that will prove useful both to the interviewer and to the user of the material, be they community volunteer or professional historian. What will be new to both is the identification of folklore themes and the handling of material which is independent of and contradictory to fact.

It is in the chapter titled "Submerged Forms of Historical Truth" that the reconciling theme for sensitizing oral historians to the folklorists' point of view is treated directly, but not for the first time. One of the usefully quotable sentences constantly found in the manual states "What people *believe* happened is often as important as what actually

happened, for people think, act and react in accordance with what they believe to be true." (page 89)

The point is made repeatedly. "The traditions of a people sometimes bear little resemblance to formal history." (page 4) but this does not mean that we may ignore those traditions. "Written records speak to the point of *what happened*, while oral sources almost invariably provide insights into *how people felt about what happened*." (page 21) Again, "Each oral account represents truth as known by its narrator." (page 77) Therefore, "Just as written documentation must be weighed for accuracy and relevance, so must information gathered from oral sources." (page 54)

In related areas the authors make other axiomatic statements. "The more variety there is in talk about an event or person in local history, the more significant that event or individual is likely to be in the community's consciousness of the past, and therefore the more deserving it is of the local historian's attention." (page 33) and, a fact which colors all oral history interviews, "Orally communicated history is always retrospective; the past is perceived through the screen of the present." (page 100).

Actually producing a manuscript for publication is given comparatively short treatment, now that so much has been offered about gathering this "orally communicated history." Well-known methodology texts are recommended for basic information in how to do (interestingly enough), *oral history*. The term appears once again, since evidently, when published, local history employing orally communicated material becomes what we have come to call oral history.

There is pragmatic advice on preparatory research, legal control, the questions of transcription style, integration of the oral materials into the written narrative, handling conflicting viewpoints, subjective comments by the author and the use of fictitious names for the informants. They suggest that the minimum bibliographic data for each interviewee should be name, residence, sex, date and place of birth, major occupations and the interview dates. Not mentioned, although they should be, is identification of the interviewer and the sponsoring oral history office, along with information on where the *full* collection of interviews can be found by those wishing to do further research.

The clearly evident structural outline of the book is enlivened by constant use of examples to explain the points the authors are making. An appendix has selections from oral testimonies gathered to complete the story of a triple murder in Tennessee, an analysis of these in comparison with published newspaper articles and court records, along with the legends which surrounded the event. A second appendix deals with the uses to which anecdotes and legends which cannot pass the validity tests may be put, remembering that their importance lies not in whether they are true or not, but in the fact that they are almost always told and accepted as true.

The bibliography is lengthy and largely of folklore references. The index is very abbreviated.

Maryland Historical Society BETTY MCKEEVER KEY

NEWS AND NOTICES

EDITORIAL NOTICE TO OUR READERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

The focus of our *Magazine* is upon historical events and people in Maryland. Most of the articles that we receive address our economic, political, and social history during the colonial, eighteenth-century, and nineteenth-century periods.

But we would like to broaden our coverage and understanding of our state's history. To this purpose, we invite scholarly articles in areas that we perceive to be neglected ones. They include: twentieth-century Maryland; Western Maryland; the Eastern Shore; art and artists; cultural associations and institutions; industry; literary history; material culture and the decorative arts—architecture, ceramics, furniture, apparel, etc.; medicine; the law; music and musicians; religion; and science, scientists, and the history of technology.

JOHN AND MARY'S JOURNAL

Manuscripts may be submitted for publication in *John and Mary's Journal* published by the Dickinson College Friends of the Library. Articles should involve or touch upon research in any of the Dickinson College Library's Special Collections. Manuscripts for the 1982 issue (no. 7) should be sent to Professor Robert P. Winston, Department of English, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013. They should be typed in conformity with the current University of Chicago Style manual and submitted before August 1, 1982.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HIGHLIGHTS

WICOMICO COUNTY

Just off the press—*Wicomico County History*, by George H. Corddry, was published by Wicomico Historical Society in late 1981. The Society inherited the project from the Wicomico Bicentennial Commission. Originally it was to have been completed as part of the Bicentennial celebration. A number of people prepared chapters on specific subjects lending to the history the benefit of specialized knowledge and research. Copies may be obtained from local book stores, the Museum Shop of the Maryland Historical Society, or by contacting the Wicomico Historical Society, P.O. Box 573, Dept. B-1, Salisbury, Md. 21801. Price is $20.95 including tax.

The Society held its Annual Cocktail Party on February 13th, at Poplar Hill Mansion in Salisbury. Approximately 160 persons attended the popular event.

The Society's Annual Dinner was held at Salisbury State College on March 8th. Cary Carson, Director of Research for Colonial Williamsburg, was the featured speaker. His subject: "Early Maryland Architecture."

In June, members from Wicomico Historical Society will join members of the Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore for lunch and tours of Mount Clare Mansion and Hampton House.

GARRETT COUNTY

Approximately 40 people gathered at Garrett Community College on two Saturday mornings, August 29 and September 12, to participate in the Garrett County Historical Society's annual tour. Overwhelming response this year called for two separate tour groups, which traveled to the Bloomington Dam and Westvaco's Luke Mill, departing GCC at 8:30 a.m.

Amid the friendly chatter of the tour participants, Paul and Ruth Calderwood provided historical information about the areas traveled through on the drive to the Bloomington Dam. The interesting talk included history of the Western Maryland Railway and the Altamont Tower, history of area settlements including Shaw, W. Va. and its elimination for construction of the Bloomington Dam, and background on the coal mining and timber industries in Garrett County.

The tour of the Bloomington Dam and Lake Project was conducted by Robert W. Craig, Area Engineer with the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, who has worked with the project since its start more than 10 years ago. Pamphlets describing the project and the unique "Waffle Rock," the only formation of its type, found at the same site, were distributed to all tour participants.

FIGURE 1.
The Bloomington Dam

At a newly-completed overlook area Craig explained the history of the Bloomington Dam, an earth and rock structure, and he pointed out and described various other structures built in conjunction with the dam. The related projects seen by the groups included the Elk Lick Run railroad bridge, the relocation of 12 miles of the Western Maryland Railroad, a tunnel connected to a massive concrete intake control tower, an emergency spillway and a 90-foot-high dike. The lake had begun to rise when the groups visited the area which was not yet open to the public.

The tour groups walked across the top of the 296-foot-high embankment while Craig offered additional information and answered questions about the project. Nearly the entire scope of the project could be seen from the roadway on top of the dam, which is now off-limits to the public.

Before leaving the dam site the groups observed a 35-ton, 10-foot-high waffle rock displayed at the overlook. Craig explained that the dedication plaque would soon be mounted on the other side of the rock. He then offered a warning of the rugged terrain down the mountain to Bloomington, and the participants soon realized his implications.

The ride to Bloomington was, at the least, bumpy, and that dirt and rock West Virginia state road dominated the topic of conversation. The good-humored groups let out a moan every time a truck attempted to pass the tour bus on the steep, narrow and dusty road. The groups arrived safely at their next destination, the Bloomington Elementary School, for a welcome break and a picnic lunch. The facility was provided for that use by the Garrett County Board of Education.

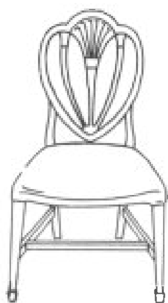
From there the tour moved on to Westvaco's Luke Mill where participants were greeted by Harris W. LeFew, Public Relations Director. The groups first viewed an award-winning film about the paper-making process, produced by Westvaco, which was followed by discussion with LeFew, including such points as steps taken by the company in the area of pollution control.

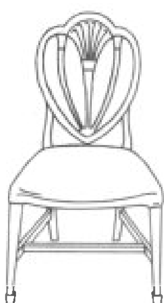
Participants were then split into smaller groups, outfitted with hard hats, and taken for a tour throughout the factory to observe the paper-making process through stretching, drying, cutting, packing and shipping. In the cutting area tour participants were given paper samples, and packets including information on the history and workings of Westvaco were also distributed. The second tour group observed the workings of the factory's lumber yard.

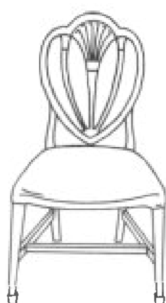
The Luke factory, which specializes in fine paper, was the start of the now-expanded Westvaco Corporation. Information presented also dealt with the corporation's impact on Luke and surrounding communities.

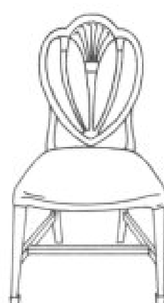
On the trip back to GCC the Calderwoods narrated history about the formation of Garrett County. Mrs. Calderwood is the society's president, and members of the arrangements committee with the society were Charles Strauss, Mr. and Mrs. Randall Kahl and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Calderwood. George Wassell served as bus driver for both of the tours.

Chairs ...an Endowment Policy for the Future


THE DIRECTOR
$500,000


HEAD LIBRARIAN
$350,000


CURATOR OF
THE GALLERY
$350,000


MARITIME
CURATOR
$300,000

MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF MARYLAND HISTORY

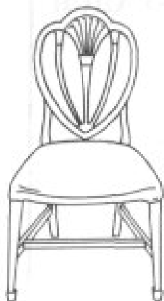
You don't generally associate chairs with an Endowment Policy but these are very special Chairs. They represent positions that are necessary to maintain continuity of programs and services to our members and the people of Maryland.

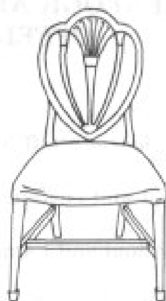
With competition for outstanding professionals becoming increasingly intense, it is essential for us to provide salaries and benefits that will attract and hold a staff of quality. To that end, the Museum and Library of Maryland History has embarked on a $3,000,000 endowment campaign. The funds will be invested and will provide income for key professionals in much the same manner that professorial chairs are endowed in colleges and universities.

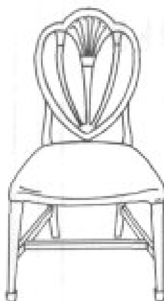
You may endow the Chair of your choice and thus be assured of lasting recognition (in a prominent place in the Museum) for yourself and the person or persons you want to honor.

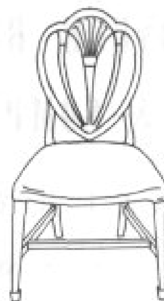
Or, your "premium" may be as large or small as you wish and can take many forms. The dividends are enormous because they will go a long way to help us maintain a professional staff of the calibre the Museum needs.

However, unlike ordinary "premiums," these have the advantage of being tax deductible, but more important is the personal satisfaction you will get from the knowledge that you are helping to preserve our Maryland heritage and making it possible for students, serious historians, researchers, genealogists, maritime buffs and casual browsers to enjoy a fine institution steeped in the past and looking forward to an exciting future.


Isaac H. Dixon Memorial Chair for Education (named and funded)


GENEALOGICAL LIBRARIAN $300,000


REGISTRAR $300,000


DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS $300,000

As a member of the Society you are already part of our present and we hope you will help endow our future. Won't you send your check or call Leonard Crewe or Fife Symington at (301) 685-3750 Ext. 64 for more information.

THE PURNELL GALLERIES

•

Original Oil Paintings
Water Colors
Signed Limited Edition prints, bronzes, wood carvings.
Contemporary Graphics
Porcelains
Lalique Crystal
Restoration
Artistic Framing

•

407 North Charles St.
Telephone 685-6033

ANTIQUES & FURNITURE RESTORATION
since 1899

J. W. BERRY & SON
222 West Read Street
Baltimore
Saratoga 7-4687

Consultants
by Appointment to
The Society

TONGUE, BROOKS & COMPANY

INSURANCE

Since 1898

— • —

213 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH OFFERED

- Experienced Staff Member
- Recent and Distant Past
- Individual and Family
- Inquiries From Near And Not So Near
- Only $20.00/hour
- Contact
  Gary E. Myer
  Maryland Historical Society
  Library

Genealogies of
PENNSYLVANIA FAMILIES

Family History Articles from
The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine

IN THREE VOLUMES

With an Introduction by Don Yoder

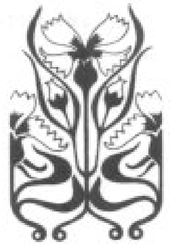
3,000 pages, illus., indexed. 1982.

$40.00 per volume / $105.00 the set.

Postage and handling: one vol., $1.00; each addl. vol. 25¢. **Maryland residents please include 5% sales tax.**

GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
111 Water St. / Baltimore, Md. 21202

The Museum and Library of Maryland History
cordially invites you
to honor a friend
on a special occasion
by sending a
Maryland Historical Society
tribute card



$15.00 minimum contribution
tax deductible

Call the Society for details
(301) 685-3750, ext. 51

IMPERIAL HALF BUSHEL

in historic Antique Row

- Antique Silver
- Antique Brass
- Antique Pewter

specialists in American and Maryland Antique Silver

• "The Duggans" • 831 N. Howard St., Baltimore, Md. 21201 • (301) 462-1192

PHOENIX·CHASE GALLERIES

5 West Chase Street Baltimore, Maryland 21201 Telephone (301) 727-0040

Restorers of Paintings, Prints and Drawings

Fine Art and Antique Appraisers
for Insurance, Estates & Donations

JOHN CHARLES BUTLER
SENIOR MEMBER
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF APPRAISERS

FAMILY COAT OF ARMS

A Symbol of Your Family's Heritage From The Proud Past

Handpainted In Oils In Full Heraldic Colors — 11½x14½ — $35.00

Research When Necessary

ANNA DORSEY LINDER

PINES OF HOCKLEY

166 Defense Highway Annapolis, Maryland 21401 *Phone:* 224-4269

823-3993

MILTON J. **DANCE** CO. INC.
AUCTIONEERS

H. STEPHENS DANCE

611 BOSLEY AVENUE
TOWSON, MARYLAND 21204

HONOR YOUR REVOLUTIONARY WAR ANCESTORS

PATRIOTISM IN ACTION

MARYLAND SOCIETY, THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

879-8447