

The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Revolution Along the Gwins¹ Falls **Baltimore County, Maryland**

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Colonial Period: The Baltimore Company in Iron Works

England prohibited colonial development of industries competitive with those in England. Processing of raw materials was permitted only for local consumption or to the extent necessary for transport to England. Examples of the former were the operation of small grist mills, which were often combined with saw mills for year-round activity. An example of processing of raw materials for exportation was the processing of raw iron ore into “pigs” which would then be shipped to England.

Around 1720, the Maryland General Assembly passed laws that granted one hundred acres if an iron mill was established within four years. Permission was given to an iron company to confiscate both sides of a stream for 80 years, with the operating iron mill paying only a very small quitrent each year. Also, all workmen in Maryland furnaces, forges and mills were exempted from work on highways. In response to these inducements, five of the wealthiest men in colonial Maryland founded The Baltimore Company in Iron Works in 1731.²ⁱ The five (5) men investigated the process of iron making and concluded that only a bayside location would be profitable, given the very poor condition of roads. After consideration of several locations, the project narrowed to Gwynn’s Falls on the Patapsco. It was considered an ideal location because it was “...directly adjacent to port facilities, ...ore beds near abundant wood.”³ John McGrain, Baltimore County historian, writes that “The first furnace [of the Baltimore Company was located on Charles Run, a small stream that flows into the west side of Gwynns Falls, south of the present Washington Boulevard.”⁴ The close availability of bog iron on Whetstone Point made the mouth of the Gwins falls particularly convenient for a furnace. At that time, [the early to mid-1700s] the water at the mouth of the Gwins Falls was deep enough for ships to reach the furnace docks.

The Baltimore Company confiscated large tracts of lands along both sides of the Gwynns Falls and the northwestern branch of the Patapsco River as far as the Fall line. Both water for the three forges and the wheels of the furnaces and trees for charcoal were

¹ The early spelling of names tended to be phonetic, i.e., Gwynns, Gwynn’s, Gwins, Gwin’s, Guins, Queens, etc. The use hereinafter usually reflects the spelling in source documents.

² The founders included Charles Carroll of Annapolis; Dr. Charles Carroll, the physician and surgeon, owner of Mt. Clare; Daniel Carroll of Duddington Manor; Daniel Dulany (the elder); and Benjamin Tasker. The 80-year period ran from 1731 through 1811, by which time the Company had ceased operation and divided the vast acquired acreage among the surviving members and the descendants of the deceased members.

³ Land, Aubrey C., *THE DULANEYS OF MARYLAND: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulaney, The Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulaney the Younger (1722-1797)*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, 1968), p. 108.

⁴ McGrain, John W., *From PIG IRON to COTTON DUCK: A History of Manufacturing Villages in Baltimore, County*, Vol. 1 (Towson, MD: Baltimore County Public Library, 1985), p. 12. McGrain provides a thoughtful history of not only The Baltimore Company, but a dozen other Baltimore County Maryland iron works over two centuries.

necessary to put the furnaces into blast. Huge numbers of trees were reduced to charcoal^{5]} to keep the furnaces in blast during most of the year.⁶ In the 1798 Tax Assessment, The Baltimore Company was listed as having 16,557 acres, plus another 117 acres, in the Patapsco Upper Hundred⁷.

Consequently, development of other forms of industry along the Gwynns Falls was impeded by both the British colonial restrictions and by the activities of the Baltimore Company in Iron Works. The distribution of the Baltimore Company land parcels was finalized in 1811 following the case of Charles Carroll of Carrollton vs. John Tasker Carter, et al, H.C.C. Docket 1807-1808, which employed a survey conducted by Samuel Green. Although the Green Survey was intended to have included all mutually owned Baltimore Company property, some jointly owned Company property had inadvertently been omitted in the division. Consequently, the General Assembly passed “Chapter 147, An Act for the relief of the Baltimore Company” in the 1815 December Session which concerned “...all the Lands heretofore unsold and undivided.”⁸

Baltimore Company **Lots numbered 81 and 82** were purchased by the Powhatan Manufacturing Company and **Lots 86, 87, 88, 89 and 91** were bought by either the Franklin Manufacturing Company or its successor, Wethered and Brothers. Baltimore Company Lot Number 89 had been deeded to Samuel Tschudy in 1821, but was sold at auction to Charles E. Wethered in 1844⁹. In 1830 Samuel Tschudy also bought two parts of the Baltimore Company **Lot No. 147** on Dead Run.¹⁰

Jeffersonian Embargo Acts of 1806--1808:

Despite the United States’ effort to remain neutral and trade with both England and France during the Napoleonic Wars, both combatants tried to prevent trade with their enemy. England enacted Orders of Council (1803 to 1807) that established blockades of French ports and France developed the Continental System. Both England and France blamed the other for the escalating economic warfare.¹¹ Although there were conditions under which a neutral

⁵ For a detailed description of the process of charcoal production during 18th and 19th century America, see Pool, J. Lawrence and Pool, Angeline, ed., *America’s Valley Forges and Valley Furnaces*, (Dalton, MA: The Studley Press, Inc., 1982), pp. 93-99.

⁶ For an estimation of the quantity of wood consumed by the Baltimore Company iron works, see Bain, Daniel J., “Land Records and Early Landscapes in the Lower Gwynns Falls Watershed,” pages 31-34 in Orser, W. Edward, *The GWYNNNS FALLS: Baltimore Greenway to the Chesapeake Bay*, (Charleston: History Press, 2008).

⁷ *The Particular Assessment Lists for Baltimore and Carroll Counties, Maryland—1798*, (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2001), pp. 79-80.

⁸ A survey by Cornelius Howard designated a sixty-acre parcel of land previously owned, in partnership by the Baltimore Company. Designated as Lot 147 it included parts of two colonial patented tracts known as *Parker’s Palace* and *Marsh’s Victory enlarged* and was purchased by James Ginn in 1830.

⁹ Martin Tschudy, father of Winbert and Samuel, had contracted with Nicholas Carroll on August 26, 1810 for the purchase of Baltimore Company Lot 89 that was adjacent to his property *Shly’s Venture Resurveyed*. After the death of Nicholas Carroll in 1812, Martin Tschudy proposed to pay off the entire remaining purchase price, which had been scheduled to be paid in three (3) more annual payments. Two (2) of Nicholas Carroll’s male children, Thomas H. and John Carroll, objected. Despite Martin Tschudy’s appeal to the Court, a deed was not obtained until 1821.

¹⁰ Dead Run flows into the west side of the Gwynns Falls, downstream from the present day Windsor Mill Road bridge over the Gwynns Falls, near the Franklinton Road bridge.

¹¹ On May 16, 1806, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs instructed President Monroe that “...taking into consideration the new and extraordinary means resorted to by the enemy for the purpose of distressing the

nation's commerce might be permitted through the blockade, their complexity put most neutral countries' merchant shipping at high risk of seizure. It is reported that from 1803 through 1806, 528 American flag ships had been seized by the British and 206 by the French. British war ships also impressed American merchant sailors alleged to be British deserters. On June 22, 1807, the British warship *Leopard* fired upon and boarded the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake* off the coast of Norfolk Virginia in search of British deserters.¹² These conditions contributed to the enactment of a series of Embargo Acts by Congress, including the Embargo Act of 1807 that prohibited all ships and vessels in all U.S. ports and harbors from leaving without having obtained a clearance, or having submitted a manifest of the entire cargo, including both domestic, as well as foreign merchandise. Within a month of departure, proof of landing the entire cargo in a U.S. port was required.¹³

This embargo caused considerable hardship to certain sectors such as shipping merchants, while encouraging development of domestic manufacture in other sectors such as textiles. The flour merchants Samuel and Thomas Hollingsworth stated in a letter of March 28, 1808 to their brother Levi in Philadelphia: "Our Mills are all Idle here [.]We stopped grinding in Decr. & have only abt 500Barls flour on hand. Millers discharged & One Team of Horses sold to reduce the expence. Crews discharged & Our Vessels Three *now laid up in Dry Dock*—in Jeffersonian Style."¹⁴

Among the merchants of Baltimore, as elsewhere, the embargoes stimulated the development of certain types of domestic manufacture. Richard W. Griffin has discussed some of the factors that contributed to the transition from the economically depressed post-Revolutionary War America to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland.¹⁵ He highlights Eli Whitney's successful refinement of the cotton gin, Samuel Slater's successful implementation of cotton manufacturing in Rhode Island, the successful introduction of several cotton mills in southern states, and, importantly, the accumulation of surplus capital through wartime profits.¹⁶

Under the leadership of William Patterson, President of the Bank of Maryland, a number of "prosperous Baltimore merchants" met and studied the feasibility of establishing a large cotton mill. They sold shares, bought land from the Ellicotts of Ellicott Mills and established the

commerce of [His Majesty's] subjects,[His Majesty] has thought fit to direct that the necessary measures be taken for the blockade of the coast, rivers and ports, from the river Elbe to the port of Brest, both inclusive; and the said coast rivers and ports are and must be considered as blockaded; ...the coast, rivers and ports from Ostend [Belgium] to the river Seine, already in a state of strict and rigorous blockade and which are to be considered as so continued...." Napoleon's reaction, laid out in what is known as the Berlin Decree, November 21, 1806, declared all of the British Isles and all British dominions in a state of blockade. All commerce and all correspondence written in the English language were subject to seizure. Documents upon the Continental System. [http:// www.napoleon-series.org](http://www.napoleon-series.org)

¹² Four sailors were identified and were taken to Halifax where they were tried. The one of the four who had been born in England was found guilty of desertion and hung on the *Halifax*; the other three were ordered to receive 500 lashes each, a sentence that was eventually overturned.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Hollingsworth Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789 – 1861*, (Chapel Hill: U. of N.Ca., 1980). p. 261.

¹⁵ Griffin, Richard W., "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789 – 1826." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (March 1966), pp. 24-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

Union Manufacturing Company in 1808. By 1810, 11 cotton manufacturing factories were reported in Maryland; no woolen factories were reported.¹⁷

Industries Noted on the Baltimore Company in Iron Works Plat 1807-08

The survey plat prepared by Sidney Green¹⁸ that reputedly represented all of the Baltimore Company in Iron Works properties shows two industrial operations along the three and a half (3 1/2) mile section of the Gwynn's Falls in which Wetheredville, now named Dickeyville, is located. The two factories noted on the plat were: (1) to the North, "**Leverings' Factory**," at the present-day Woodlawn Cemetery and, (2) to the South, "**Powder Mill**" that lay below the junction of Dead Run with the Gwynn's Falls.¹⁹ Smaller mills, such as the Martin Tschudy's gristmill, the Cornthwait and Baxley grist and chocolate mills, and the Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth merchant "Holly Mill" were not identified on the Green survey plat.

Leverings' Factory: "Leverings' Factory" to make cotton products was established by Nathan Levering²⁰ and two of his younger brothers, Jesse and Enoch, on Baltimore Company in Iron Works **Lot No. 82**, the property of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Annapolis, and **Lot No. 81**, the property of William Smith and Abraham and Isaac Van Bibber. Because it is verified that Aaron R. Levering et al's Franklin Paper Mill at present-day Dickeyville was hiring employees in the Spring of 1808,²¹ but does not appear on the Green plat, it is likely that Green surveyed this section of the Gwynn's Falls before 1808. On the basis of the Green plat, it appears that the Levering Factory that became known as the Powhatan [pronounced Pow HA tan] Mill was probably the earliest comprehensive, mechanized cotton factory in or around Baltimore; rather than the so-credited Union Mill in present-day Oella.²² Nathan Levering also invested in the

¹⁷ *Niles Weekly Register—Manufactures* (July 9, 1814) p. 323.

¹⁸ Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, S. J. Martenet & Co., Inc. Collection, MSA SC 5087-13-6. Plat filed in the case of Charles Carroll of Carrollton vs. John Tasker Carter et al, HCC Docket 1807-1808, folio 184. Recorded in Liber No. 79 folio 67. Division of Baltimore Iron Works Land.

¹⁹ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. SS, folio 253 etc.; Liber W.G. No. 81 folio 321 etc.; Liber W.G. No. 81 folio 330 etc.

²⁰ Nathan Levering, a prosperous Baltimore merchant, was a descendant of the German Mennonite Wigart Levering, who was inspired by William Penn's speech in Germany encouraging settlement in his new Pennsylvania colony. Aaron, Enoch and Sarah Levering Brown, children of William and Hannah Levering, moved from Philadelphia to Baltimore around 1780 and prospered in their respective businesses. Aaron Righter Levering was the son of Aaron Levering. His cousins, Nathan, John and Aaron, were sons of Enoch Levering.

²¹ Pennsylvania State Archives: Harrisburg, PA. *Brandywine Paper Mill Letterbook 1808*, in the Joshua and Thomas Gilpin Collection (Manuscript Group 58).

²² Griffin, Richard W., "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789 – 1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (March 1966). The Articles of Association of the Union Manufacturing Company of Maryland were printed in *The Maryland Gazette*, February 25 and March 17, 1808. Nathan Levering was designated as one of the original commissioners to receive subscriptions for Company stock in Baltimore. On December 23, 1808, when the Legislature granted a charter for the Union Manufacturing Company of Maryland, Nathan Levering was one of the 13 directors. See also: Bagnall, William R., *The Textile Industries of the United States, including Sketches and Notices of Cotton, Woolen, Silk and Linen Manufacturers in the Colonial Period, (1893)* Reprints of Economic Classics (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1971), pp. 489-497.

Union Mill, the Franklin Paper Factory, the Franklin Woollen Mill and numerous other new industrial operations.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Annapolis, recorded a Contract of Agreement²³ for the sale of Baltimore Company **Lot No. 82**, (120 acres) for \$4,800 with William Wilson, James Wilson and Thomas Wilson, trading under the firm of William Wilson and Sons, Enoch Levering and Jesse Levering, Peter Levering, Henry Payson,²⁴ Christian Mayer, Louis Bantz [sic], Samuel Harden and William Wilson, Jr., Samuel Taylor, Frederick Swartz [sic] and Augustus Swartz [sic], Nathan Levering and Alexander McDonald and Nicholas Ridgely. The agreement had been made December 3, 1808. Equal payments of \$1,200 were due December 3, 1808, December 3, 1809, December 3, 1810 and December 3, 1811. Twelve days after the recordation of the deed, Jesse and Enoch Levering advertised in the *Baltimore Evening Post* for a manager for the clearing of land and other improvements near the city [Baltimore]. They also wished to hire Negroes by the year.”²⁵

Six months later, on the ninth of September 1809, William Smith and Isaac Van Bibber gave a Bond Conveyance to the same 17 Baltimore merchants, who were then operating as The Baltimore Manufacturing Company. It entailed a 1,000-year lease of the 249 ¼ acre Baltimore Company **Lot No. 81** for the amount of \$20,000. The annual ground rent was one (1) cent, if requested. In addition, for consideration of the premises on the property [the Factory buildings], the purchasers agreed to pay nine thousand nine hundred seventy dollars (\$9,970). Payments that included interest were due May 10th of each 1811 (\$2,660), 1812 (\$2,658) and 1813 (\$2,658).²⁶ Baltimore Company **Lot No.81** is immediately upstream from **Lot No. 82** on the Gwin’s Falls.

In addition to the presence of the Levering Factory on Green’s plat of the Baltimore Company in Iron Works, the cotton factory of Messrs. Levering and Co. is noted in a July 3, 1810 advertisement by Richard Caton for the sale of an adjacent wooded parcel.²⁷ It appears that additional construction was underway in 1810, given the language used in Chapter CXXXV, Laws of Maryland which authorized that five men lay out and open, at the expense of the petitioners [The Baltimore Manufacturing Company], “a road not exceeding thirty feet in width, *from the new cotton factory now erecting on Gwinn’s Falls,*[emphasis added] to the new Liberty road, on the straightest and best direction the nature of the ground will admit of, and with as little inconvenience to the land-holders as possible, and the said road, when so laid out, and the valuation herein after directed to be made shall have taken place, and a plot thereof made out and returned to the clerk of Baltimore county court...shall for ever thereafter be deemed a public highway, and kept in repair as other public roads are in said county.”²⁸

²³ Baltimore County Land Records Folio W. G. No. 102, folio 210 etc. On the fourth day of December, 1811, Charles Carroll again leased Baltimore Company Lot #82 to the seventeen (17) Baltimore merchants, as tenants in common, not as joint tenants, for the additional sum of \$5,520. See Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. No.115, folio 703, etc.

²⁴ William Smith and Henry Payson were business partners.

²⁵ Source provided by John McGrain.

²⁶ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 103, folio 609 etc.

²⁷ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1810.

²⁸ Chapter CXXXV, *Laws of Maryland, made and passed at a Session of Assembly Begun and Held at the City of Annapolis on Monday the Fifth of November, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ten* (Annapolis: Printed by Jonas Green).

On January 13, 1814, Nathan Levering, agent for the Baltimore Manufactory Company advertised that workers were “Wanted Immediately, at the Powhattan Cotton Works.” Specifically, the advertisement mentioned “A good Blacksmith, A good Wood Turner²⁹, A complete Carder³⁰, A complete Mule Spinner³¹ and A complete Weaver.” The Mule Spinner “is wanted to attend the management of a number of Mules, the Carder to attend the Carding, and the Roving³² and Drawing³³, and the Weaver to attend a number of Hands.”³⁴ The following year the company incorporated. An “Act to incorporate the Powhatan Manufacturing Company of Maryland” was passed on January 24, 1815.³⁵ The capital stock of the corporation was to be \$400,000, consisting of 400 shares of \$1,000 each.³⁶ Two months later the newly incorporated Powhatan Manufacturing Company of Maryland obtained from the executors of the estate of William Smith, deceased, and Isaac Van Bibber, a deed of conveyance for the former Baltimore Company **Lot 81** and the premises. The Powhatan Manufacturing Company of Maryland paid the heirs of Smith \$5,318 and \$1,994 to Isaac Van Bibber³⁷ The deed specifies that the corporate stockholders would be Tenants in Common, not Joint Tenants until the full end of the term of 1,000 years.³⁸

The 1820 Census shows 115 persons employed at the Powhatan Cotton Manufactory. At that time the Company had an office/warehouse on Market Street, above Hanover Street.³⁹ By 1837 the Powhatan factory had 100 power looms, 5,000 spindles, and 150 workers, annually producing “...about 840,000 yards of brown

²⁹ One who operates a lathe. *New World Dictionary of the American Language*, Second College Edition (New York: Simon and Schuster) p.. 1534.

³⁰ A Carder was a person who either manually or with a machine brushed cotton or wool fibers to get rid of dirt, placing the fibers in a roughly parallel alignment, and then forming them into a thick rope in readiness for spinning. Cotton carding produced a continuous rope of sliver; woolen carding, before the condenser, yielded short lengths of rope called rolls. Source: Jeremy, David. J., *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: Diffusion of Textile Technologies Between Britain and America, 1790-1830*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 289. An operator of the spinning machine invented by Samuel Crompton in the 1770s that combined the drafting rollers of Arkwright’s water frame with the moving clasp or carriage of Hargreave’s spinning jenny. Working on the intermittent spinning principle, technically it was the most versatile of the spinning machines, capable of making all counts and twists of yarn and with maximum uniformity.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 291. Roving [sic] Roving is a process by which the carded and drafted cotton sliver or carded woolen slubbing is slightly twisted in readiness for spinning into yarn .Slubbing, in woolen manufacture, is a slightly twisted rope of fibers produced on either the billy or a condenser. *Ibid.*, p. 292. A billy was a machine used only in the woolen industry during the 1790-1830 period for piecing together rolls from a finisher card which was the final card in a set; covered with finer card clothing than the breaker and having a delivery mechanism for making a sliver or rolls. *Ibid.*, p. 288..The breaker card is the first card in a set of carding machines; its rollers are covered with a relatively coarse card clothing. It is also known as a scibbler. *Ibid.*, p.287.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 287. Drawing, in a mule, is the outward movement away from the spindles, or the clasp or carriage during which the yarn is drafted [stretched] by the movement of the clasp or carriage and is twisted by spindle rotation. “Drafting is one of three component actions of spinning, the other being twisting and winding.”

³⁴ January 13, 1814, *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*.

³⁵ The corporate body politic included Nathan Levering, Enoch Levering, Jesse Levering, William Wilson, Jr., Samuel Harden, John McKim, Jr., J. F. Schwartze, A. J. Schwartze and William Lorman.

³⁶ Chapter LXXXIII, *The Laws of Maryland from the End of the Year 1799*, vol. 192, Page 1629.

³⁷ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 131, folio 354, etc.

³⁸ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 115, folio 703 etc.

³⁹ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1820.

shirtings, besides a great quantity of carpet chain, seine twine, candle wick and cotton wrapping twine.”⁴⁰

Gilmor & Company Powder Manufactory: The [gun] Powder Factory drawn on Green’s Survey plat on the western bank of the Gwynn’s Falls, downstream of Dead Run,⁴¹ began circa 1790. On January 29, 1791, Robert Gilmor, John O’Donnell, Stephen Wilson and Charles Ghequiere and John Holmes, Jr., trading as the firm of Ghequiere and Holmes, all Baltimore merchants, and William Bell, gentleman, of Philadelphia, bought two parcels, totaling 44 acres, from the estate of John Wooden: *Wooden’s Venture* and *Addition to Wooden’s Venture*.⁴² Gunpowder was advertised for sale in 1792 by Robert Gilmor and Co.⁴³

The following year, on May 22, 1793, there was a slightly different group of partners in the Baltimore Gunpowder Manufactory: Gilmor, O’Donnell, Wilson, John Smith, Jr. of Baltimore and Mordecai Lewis and William Bell of Philadelphia, who were deeded the 14 acre patent, *Prospect Hill*.⁴⁴ by Richard Lawrence for 37 pounds and ten shillings current money.⁴⁵ It lay adjacent to *Parker’s Palace*. In 1795, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Anne Arundel Co., Nicholas Carroll of Anne Arundel Co., Daniel Carter of Prince Georges Co., William Smith and Abraham and Isaac Van Bibber of Baltimore, Gentlemen, partners in the Baltimore Company in Iron Works, deeded to Gilmor, Smith, Lewis and Bell 210 acres that were parts of five (5) tracts of land in *Marsh’s Victory Enlarged* and *Parish’s Range*, near *Wooden’s Venture*, for 1,400 pounds current money.⁴⁶

William Bell of Pennsylvania sold his one-sixth share to John Smith, a Philadelphia merchant, in 1798.⁴⁷ The 1798 tax assessment for the Patapsco Upper Hundred shows the Robert Gitmore [*sic*] and Company with 190 acres of *Crowley’s Adventure* and *Wooden’s Venture*, a three story dwelling house, one of stone and two frame, 44’ by 18’, [probably a boarding house] a two (2) story 12’ by 12’ brick milk house and four (4) two (2)-story powder mill houses. In addition there were five (5) other houses and a 14’ by 14’ log house.⁴⁸

Stephen Wilson died and his widow married Moore Falls, a physician. A Chancery Court decision of February 11, 1804, ordered William Lorman and John

⁴⁰ *Matchett’s Baltimore Director for 1837*

⁴¹ 1791 road plat, MSA # 19,957-184-5-16-0. [Source credited to John McGrain.] Green’s survey did not draw in Dead Run.

⁴² Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. FF, folio 475 etc. The purchase price was 450 pounds current money. *Wooden’s Venture* had been patented to John Wooden by the Lord Proprietary June 15, 1759, the same year John Sligh was patented 50 acres upstream as *Sligh’s Venture*. *Addition to Wooden’s Venture* was patented by the State of Maryland on May 16, 1785.

⁴³ *Maryland Journal*, October 21, 1792. [Credit for the reference to John McGrain.]

⁴⁴ Zachariah Maccubbin, Jr. sold the 14 acres of Prospect Hill to Richard Lawrence on May 24, 1785 for the amount of 46 pounds, 17 shillings. Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. # W; folio 325, etc.

⁴⁵ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. LL, folio 238 etc. According to John McGrain, this was the second gunpowder mill in Maryland; the first having been established by Samuel Purviance about 1775.

⁴⁶ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. SS, folio 253 etc.

⁴⁷ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. SS, folio 333 etc.

⁴⁸ *The Particular Assessment Lists for Baltimore and Carroll Counties, Maryland—1798*. (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2001) pp. 81-82.

O'Donnell to pay, in three installments, a total sum of \$23,000, plus interest [\$25,000 total], for four one-sixth parts of the Manufactory of Gunpowder to Moore Falls, representative of the "infant children" of the deceased John Smith. The 44 acres were part of two tracts: *Wooden's Venture* and *Addition to Wooden's Venture*. The sale also included the tracts acquired in 1795 mentioned above.⁴⁹ By 1803 William Bingham of Philadelphia owned one-sixth share of the Company. Having moved to London, Bingham sold his one-sixth share to John Donnell and William Lorman for \$6,250.⁵⁰

By 1810 Lorman and Company, capitalized with \$80,000 dollars and making 30 quarter-casks of gunpowder daily, owned the powder mills.⁵¹ On September 18, 1812, the four (4) mill buildings blew up for a second time. "[T]he powder mill and works...belonging to Messrs. Lorman, ...etc. were blown up. The fire originated in the salt-petre refinery. The loss is estimated at \$10,000. The workmen fortunately escaped. The times [during the War of 1812] and the merit of the owners, cause this accident to be much regretted." After this event, the powder mills were not rebuilt.⁵²

The following year the properties were sold to Andrew Ellicott, Thomas Ellicott, James Cheston, Charles Worthington, Baltimore merchants, and Francis Hollingsworth, a Frederick County merchant, all from Quaker families.⁵³ These men were the builders of the five- (5) mills at Calverton with the three- (3) mile millrace built by John Davis.⁵⁴

Leverings' Paper Factory: The Beginning of the Village:

The land upon which the Leverings' Franklin Paper Mill was constructed was **Lot No. 88** of the Baltimore Company in Iron Works, which had belonged to Daniel Dulaney.

⁴⁹ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 81, folio 327 etc.

⁵⁰ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. # 81, folio 330 etc.

⁵¹ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis). June 13, 1810; a similar article was reported by John D. Craig, "Domestic Manufactures," *Agricultural Museum*, 2 (November 1811), p. 169. [Credit for the second reference to John McGrain.] The *Maryland Gazette* article also noted the gunpowder work on the Jones Falls owned by Nathan Levering and Company. It was capitalized with \$80,000 and made 32 quarter casks daily. Nathan Levering was the founder of Powhatan Cotton Mill in present-day Woodlawn and the Franklin Paper Mill in present-day Dickeyville.

⁵² *Niles Register*, Sept. 19, 1812(3:48); *Maryland Historical Magazine* 52:188, 52: 190, 52: 192 and 52: 191. References by John McGrain. In the Assessment of 1813 the only remaining "improvement" on the property was a small grist mill valued at \$500.

⁵³ "Unfortunate" *American*, September 19, 1812, October 3, 1812. Advertisement to sell "remaining part of William Lorman and Company's Powder Mill and Machinery, including 258 acres on Gwynns Falls, 3 1/2 miles from Baltimore." [Credit for the references to John McGrain.] Baltimore County Land Records Liber W. G. No. 123, folio 593, etc. and Liber W. G. No. 123, folio 598, etc. Andrew and Thomas Ellicott of Andrew Ellicott and Esther Brown, second wife, were younger half brothers of Jonathan, Elias, and George Ellicott, sons of Andrew Ellicott and first wife, Elizabeth Brown, and cousins of John of John Ellicott, the owners of the three (3) merchant flour mills downstream on the Gwins Falls, located along the Frederick Turnpike. See Baltimore County Land Records Liber W. G. No. 119, folio 330, etc. See also: Mallonnee, Barbara C., Bonny, Jane Karkalits and Fessenden Nicholas B., *Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run* (.Printed in the U.S.A., 1992).and Peden, Henry C., Jr. *Quaker Records of Baltimore and Harford Counties Maryland, 1801-1825*, (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 2000). John Baxley and John Cornthwaith were also Quaker millers. Elias Ellicott's eldest child, Elizabeth, married Lewin Wethered, a prosperous Baltimore dry goods merchant who in 1830 bought the Franklin Paper and Woollen Mills about two miles upstream from the "Three Mills."

⁵⁴ "Autobiography of John Davis 1770-1864." *Maryland Historical Society Magazine*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (March 1935), pp. 11-38.

Because heirs returned to England during the Revolution, the parcel was confiscated and sold by the State of Maryland to Abraham and Isaac Van Bibber and William Smith, all successful Baltimore merchants who engaged in land speculation⁵⁵. In 1808 Henry Payson, Nathan Levering and his younger brothers John and Aaron Levering and cousin Aaron R. Levering⁵⁶ established the Levering paper mill about a mile and a half downstream from the Levering Cotton Factory.

During this period of domestic industrial development and expansion, speculators who had the capital to build a factory often lacked the knowledge and skills necessary to operate it. Therefore, the Leverings and other such aspiring industrialists had to recruit skilled paper makers and millwrights from existing mills. In March 1808, Lawrence Greatrake, Sr., manager of the Brandywine Paper Mill in Delaware, wrote a series of letters to the Philadelphia-based owners, Joshua and Thomas Gilpin, that paper makers from Baltimore and Virginia had been around in his absence and lured away several of his best journeymen. He wrote that Isaac Wilson had just announced that he would be leaving to join Levering outside of Baltimore with three Millwrights from the Brandywine Mill and joining up with eight others.⁵⁷ Two of the three workmen who left the employ of the Brandywine Paper Mill in 1808, Isaac and Uriah Wilson, are both listed in the 1810 U.S. Census as living in the Upper Patapsco Hundred of District 1 of Maryland. It appears that Isaac Wilson became the Manager of the Franklin Paper Mill. Besides hiring personnel in March through May of 1808, the Leverings ran advertisements for clean linen and cotton rags in July.⁵⁸ Also in July 1808, Aaron R. Levering placed orders for watermarks and moulds.⁵⁹

Housing was a problem for rural mills, especially for apprentices, as is noted in one of Lawrence Greatrake Sr.'s letters to the Gilpins. In it Greatrake complains about the refusal of two of the workers' wives to board only girls [This complaint probably was related to the low wages paid to females as compared to the male workers, and hence what could be charged of a boarder.] Greatrake also complained that a speculator from Virginia was attempting to lure away workers with promises that they would all have their own houses, garden space to till, pasturage for a cow and even a servant girl for each household, in addition to higher salaries. Greatrake noted that work was underway on a [boarding] house at the Brandywine Mill, but that not much progress had been made. He noted that furniture would have to be acquired. He was hopeful that a woman interested in the position of managing the boarding house had some furniture.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ The merchants who owned or used the fast Chesapeake "Clipper" ships to avoid the British naval blockades made great profits through trade in the Caribbean. Many of the "prosperous Baltimore merchants" used their wealth to establish banks, speculate in land and/or invest in new industries around Baltimore. William Smith was a business partner of Henry Payson.

⁵⁶ Several authors have made the mistake of confusing Aaron Levering with his cousin Aaron R[ighter] Levering.

⁵⁷ Pennsylvania State Archives, Manuscript Group 58 Joshua and Thomas Gilpin Collection, *Brandywine Paper Mill Letterbook*, March 25, 1808.

⁵⁸ *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, July 7, 1808.

⁵⁹ As recorded in Nathan Seller's journals, Aaron R. Levering ordered the watermarks "L & Co" and "LEVERING & Co" in 1808. Gravell, Thomas L. and Miller, George. *American Watermarks: 1690 -1835*. (New Castle, DE, Oak Knoll Press, 2002.), p.283.

⁶⁰ Pennsylvania State Archives, PA Historical & Museum Commission, Manuscript Group 58: Joshua and Thomas Gilpin Collection, *Brandywine Paper Mill Letterbook*, March 24, 1808.

The Leverings seem to have addressed the housing problem by constructing (1) a row of eight (8) attached two-story stone dwellings, each 20 ½' by, 18 ½' (2) a row of three two story separate stone dwellings, each 20 ½' by 25 ½', plus (3) a large two story, stone boarding-house. 33' by 65 ½', which was later referred to as a "mansion." Twenty-seven (27) persons are counted in one dwelling, the boardinghouse, in the 1810 U.S. Census. In 1810 the Franklin Paper Factory appears to have had a population of 97 individuals: 77 free whites, 12 free "others" and eight slaves.⁶¹ The Census of 1810 seems to indicate that Joshua Wilson, previously with the Brandywine mill, was the on-site manager of the Levering paper-mill. Aaron R. Levering lived in Baltimore City, not at the mill site.⁶²

The Franklin Paper Mill was three (3) stories high⁶³, 36 feet wide by 180 feet long, extending from the present-day Forest Park Avenue bridge abutment on the western side of the Gwynns Falls, along the stream bank behind present-day **2449 and 2447 Pickwick Road**. It contained four vats and "...all the apparatus for conduction [of making paper] on an enlarged scale."⁶⁴ In June of 1810 a newspaper article stated that the "Levering and Co. Paper Mill" on Gwynn's Falls was capitalized at \$70,000 and made 40,000 reams yearly.⁶⁵ The Baltimore City Archives contains Levering paper that was used in an 1810 petition to the Mayor and City Council.⁶⁶ Levering watermarked papers used in 1813 for military muster rolls and pay records are also found in the Baltimore City Archives. The 1813 Tax Assessment Records of Baltimore County Election District #1 list Aaron R. Leverings & Company's "Franklin Mills", on 93 ¾ acres, had four (4) slaves and the Value of the Paper Mill was \$5,000.⁶⁷

On March 14, 1810, Aaron R. Levering and Co. advertised that they had for sale at their paper warehouse:

"...a large Quantity of both printing and writing papers of various qualities. [including]...SUPER-ROYAL, MEDIUM & DEMY, FOLIO VELLUM POST in flat of very superior quality, and QUARTO VELLUM and LAID POST and a general assortment of FOOLSCAP, Manufactured at their Mills near Baltimore. [They also advertised for] Apprentices: WANTED for the *Franklin Paper Mills*, Four or Five active, healthy BOYS from 14 to 16 years of age."⁶⁸

⁶¹The Census enumerator initially wrote the name Jacob Warner as the slave owner, but struck out the name and wrote above it "Aaron R. Levering." This may indicate that Levering hired some of Warner's slaves to help clear the land, build the factory, mill races and houses and/or do farm work

⁶² On his way home in Baltimore City from his paper mill in Baltimore County, Aaron R. Levering was waylaid on October 24, 1809 and shot through his coat lapel. Levering's attempt to capture the assailant was hindered by "the woods and the darkness..." A reward of \$500 was offered, but no further mention was found in the newspapers. See *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, October 25 and 28, 1809.

⁶³ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, January 23, 1828.

⁶⁴ "Valuable LANDED PROPERTY.THE FRANKLIN MANUFACTURING COMPANY OF MARYLAND," *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1817.

⁶⁵ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 1, 1810.

⁶⁶ Chambers, James (Sr.), Petition to Mayor and City Council February 21, 1810. Baltimore City Archives. RG16S1 #317. Gravel & Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁶⁷ Copied from microfilm by George Horvath on April 1, 1985.

⁶⁸ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 14, 1810.

After the Baltimore Company division Court decree, William Smith⁶⁹, Isaac Van Bibber and Washington Van Bibber, son of Abraham, sold Aaron R. Levering, Nathan Levering, John Levering, Aaron Levering and Henry Payson a one thousand year, renewable forever, lease on the 93 ½ acre Lot 88 of the Baltimore Company. on January 8, 1811.⁷⁰ It cost \$3,000 and a three-cent annual ground rent, if such were requested. The lease specifies that the improvements upon Lot 88 include "...the Mill and Mill-dam called and known by the name of 'The Franklin Paper Mill'" The 1813 Tax Assessment records for Election District 1 of Baltimore County list Aaron R. Levering and Company as the "Franklin Mills" and lists the value of the paper mill as \$5,000. Four (4) slaves are listed.

The previous month Beale Randall, General Assembly member from Baltimore County, introduced a bill entitled "Act to lay out and open a road from the Franklin paper mills, on Gwinn's Falls, in Baltimore County, to the new Liberty Town road." The Act was passed December 23, 1810.⁷¹ The road was to be no more than two perches (33 feet) wide and be in the best and straightest direction that the ground would permit from the Franklin paper-mill. The road was paid for by the owners of the Franklin Paper Mill, but was to be publicly maintained. It has had many names over the years, including Factory Road, Gwynn Oak Road, Forest Road, Forest Park and is presently West Forest Park Avenue.

Franklin Manufacturing Company of Maryland:

The Leverings and Payson doubled the shares of the company from the original four to eight on January 4, 1814.⁷² They sold four (4) undivided one-eighth parts to William Wilson (1/16), James Wilson (1/32), Thomas Wilson (1/32), William Wilson, Jr. (1/16), Richard D. Mulliken (1/16), George Williams (1/8) and Charles H. Appleton (1/8) for the amount of \$23,100 per one-eighth share.⁷³ The Act of incorporation of the Franklin Manufacturing Company of Maryland that was passed by the General Assembly on January 3, 1815 expanded the purpose of the company from only the manufacture of paper to include the operation of a woollen factory and the raising and vending of sheep⁷⁴.

On April 23, 1814, the twelve shareholders of the Franklin Manufacturing Company had leased a 483 acre farm, part of the patent called *The Plains of Paran*" for which they paid \$10,845 and an annual ground rent of one cent due every 29th of September to Ellis Jones.⁷⁵ The names in the incorporation Act are: Nathaniel W. Appleton, Charles H. Appleton, George Williams, Aaron R. Levering, John Levering, William Wilson, James Wilson and Richard D. Mulliken. On April 20, 1816, all of the shareholders assigned three parcels of property to the newly incorporated Franklin

⁶⁹ William Smith and Henry Payson were business partners.

⁷⁰ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. 111, folio 635.

⁷¹ Maryland State Archives, Volume 0599, Page 0011—Session Laws 1810.

⁷² Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. 126, Folio 117 etc.

⁷³ The Wilson and the Levering families were interrelated through marriage.

⁷⁴ Chapter 23, "An act to incorporate the Franklin Manufacturing Company of Maryland" *LAWS MADE AND PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND*, Annapolis: Printed by Jehu Chandler, printer to the State. 1816.

⁷⁵ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W. G. 127, Folio 394, etc.

Manufacturing Company of Maryland for the sum of \$80,845. The three parcels were Baltimore Company Lot Numbers. 88 and 86 and “The Plains of Paran” farm.⁷⁶

In August of 1815 Aaron R. Levering, listed as agent for the Franklin Manufacturing Company, advertised for 10 to 12: “...smart Boys, from 9 to 14 years of age....” to be taken as apprentices and “...taught the manufacturing **of superfine Cloths or Paper**,”⁷⁷ [emphasis added], showing that both mills were operational. In September 1814, the Franklin Manufacturing Company advertised that “A number of Journeymen Stone Masons are Wanted at the *Franklin Manufacturing Company’s Works*, about five miles from the City.”⁷⁸ The four-story stone woollen factory was then constructed, along with seven (7) single-story stone dwellings [16 ½’ by 15 ¼’].⁷⁹

However, on the other side of the world, the deadliest volcanic eruption since 1500 A.D. occurred in Mt. Tambora, on the island of Sumbawa, Indonesia, on April 5, through 15th, 1815. This monumental eruption was the greatest of a series of volcanic eruptions between 1812 and 1817. Dust from preceding eruptions in the West Indies in 1812 and the Philippines in 1814 are believed to still have been in the air when Mt Tambora erupted in 1815. The vapors that rose into the stratosphere reflected the sun’s rays, significantly reducing the Earth’s temperature, making 1816 the “Year Without Summer” across the Northern Hemisphere. Throughout the summer months of 1816 crops were rotted by heavy rainfalls, frozen by freezing temperatures and snow, and beaten down by hail. The immediate and long-term consequences killed an estimated 92,000 people around the world, mostly from starvation.⁸⁰

The direct consequences of the eruption on Baltimore are not known precisely, but the Franklin Manufacturing Company offered their farm for sale on April 30, 1817. On May 5, 1817, the farm was auctioned, including 483 acres on the Liberty Road, 100 head of full blood Merino sheep and a “number of MILCH COWS,” etc.”⁸¹ It was deeded to John Worthington for \$7,005⁸² on July 14, 1818. Compared with the purchase price of \$10,845 in April 1814, The Franklin Manufacturing Company incurred a 35 percent loss on the farm in four years, excluding the value of the 100 imported Marino sheep that had been bought by the Company.

On January 14, 1817, the legislature repealed the third section of the Incorporation Act passed in 1814 and substituted that “...the capital stock of the Franklin Manufacturing Company of Maryland shall be three hundred thousand dollars, and shall consist of three thousand shares of one hundred dollars each.”⁸³ However, there is no evidence that the

⁷⁶ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. 135, Folio 662 etc.

⁷⁷ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 4, 1815.

⁷⁸ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser*, September 30, 1814.

⁷⁹ *The Stranger in Baltimore: A NEW HANDBOOK, containing Sketches of the Early History and Present Condition of Baltimore, with a Description of its Notable Localities, and other Information useful to both Citizens and Strangers*, Compiled and Published by J. F. Weishampel, Jr., 1866. Three (3) of the single story residences currently exist at 2401 Hillhouse Road as the basement for the later constructed two story frame manager’s house.

⁸⁰ Blong, R. J., *Volcanic Hazards: A Sourcebook on the Effects of Eruptions*. (Orlando FL: Academic Press, 1984), p. 424.

⁸¹ “The Sale by Auction,” *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1817.

⁸² Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G.142, Folio 618 etc.

⁸³ Chapter 73, *Laws Made and Passed by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the State of Maryland. At a Session Begun and Held at the City of Annapolis, on Monday the Second Day of December, Eighteen Hundred and Sixteen*. (Annapolis: Printer to the State Jonas Green, 1817), p. 49.

company ever expanded the stock base beyond the eight (8) shares. On August 28, 1817 the “Large Woollen Factory and the Extensive Paper Mill” were both offered for sale, with James Dall serving as the Agent for the Franklin Manufacturing Company.⁸⁴ The mills did not sell.

Lawrence Greatrake, Jr.⁸⁵ was manager of the Franklin Paper Mill by 1815 when he advertised for a housekeeper.⁸⁶ The housekeeper advertisement seems to indicate that the “mansion” was not being used exclusively as a boarding house as it appears to have been in 1810. The August 28, 1817 advertisement to sell both the Paper Mill and the Woollen Mill seems to indicate that the large stone structure was being used as both a manager’s Mansion and a boarding house. The advertisement states that among the buildings associated with the Paper Mill was “...a large Stone Mansion House, on a commanding elevation, within 50 rods of the factories, which would accommodate any number of workmen as boarders.” In 1819 Lawrence Greatrake is listed as a paper merchant in the *Baltimore Director*. In the 1820 U.S. Census, Lawrence Greatrake is enumerated at the Franklin site, but the paper mill is identified as the Franklin Paper mill, Lawrence Greatrake & Co.

A brief article by G. W. Archer⁸⁷ about the sale of the Franklin Paper mill equipment in 1831 to Harford County paper mill owner Thomas Hayes raises questions about the nature and origin of the cylindrical paper machine purchased. The wording in Archer’s article raises the question as to whether Greatrake may have introduced a continuous paper machine into the Franklin Mill, or whether the cylindrical machine was developed by either John Ames, who reputedly stole the Thomas Gilpin continuous paper machine, or Isaac Sanderson of Massachusetts. Archer notes that a sales agreement with Jeremiah Evans, who may have been the last manager of the Franklin Paper Mill, and who leased Hayes’ mill for seven (7) years in 1831, that Hays had “the privilege to “...use the said machine without any molestation or charge by any person claiming on behalf of Sanderson, for a patent right to any part thereof.” Isaac Sanderson of Milton Massachusetts patented a cylindrical machine for paper making from salt grass in 1829. Hays and Jeremiah Evans proposed to make paper from straw. Given the financial difficulties of the Franklin Manufacturing during the years 1829 and 1830, it seems unlikely that they would have been investing in newly patented equipment at that time. Therefore, one might question the value of the above cited protection from patent violation of Sanderson’s 1829 patent.

The reason that one might suspect that Lawrence Greatrake, Jr. might have been the one to introduce a continuous papermaking machine is because Greatrake’s father had assisted the Gilpins, through industrial espionage, learn the operations of a cylinder paper making machine while in England on family business. Greatrake visited some of his former colleagues and friends, including Henry Fourdrinier and John Dickinson, who were engaged in developing automated papermaking machines. Thomas Gilpin built and

⁸⁴ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1817.

⁸⁵ Lawrence Greatrake was the son of Lawrence Greatrake, Sr., who managed the Gilpins’ Brandywine Paper Mills in Delaware until his sudden death in 1817. His grandfather, Roger Greatrake, had also been a paper-maker, at the Apsley Mill in Hertfordshire England, where both Lawrence Sr. and Jr. were born.

⁸⁶ Greatrake, Lawrence, advertisement, *Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser*, Jan. 4, 1815.

⁸⁷ Archer, G. W., “PAPER MILL—It Was Near Bel Air: The Varied Fortunes of an Early Harford Enterprise, History of What Was Doubtless the First Paper Mill in this County,” *Harford Historical Bulletin*, No. 31 (Winter 1987), pp. 1-4.

patented a similar machine to that which Dickinson, patented in England in 1809, after Greatrake, Sr. returned from England in the Spring of 1816. The prototype was patented on December 24, 1816.⁸⁸ In a similar manner of industrial espionage, John Ames of Springfield, Massachusetts visited the Gilpin Paper Mill at Brandywine in 1822, and patented a similar cyclical continuous paper making machine two months later. Archer quotes a letter from an attorney representing Ames sent to Hays and his brother in 1834 demanding payment for the use of the patent of Ames, “now in general use for making paper....” Archer provides no information as to the outcome of Ames’ legal efforts.

The Panic of 1819: The periods of economic stability and prosperity during the beginning of the young country’s entry into the Industrial Revolution were short lived, of only two or three years duration. The three years following the Peace with England in 1815 were among the most prosperous for Baltimore businesses. Ships returned to the Port of Baltimore and were then used for trade with China, Southeast Asia, India and Europe. However, with the return of peace came a decrease in the demand for commodities by the U.S. government, a fall in prices and a resumption of importation of foreign goods, including the “dumping” of inexpensively priced goods, by the British. Perhaps more important to the bursting of the bubble of prosperity in 1819, were the problems with currency and banks⁸⁹. Before the end of the War of 1812, many banks issued paper money for which they did not have adequate specie and often credit was issued injudiciously. There was great discrepancy in value of the paper currency issued by banks, with about a 20 percent difference between Boston and Baltimore.

However, the country was quite unprepared for its first major depression and Panic in 1819. The economy dropped dramatically into full depressions during 1818, 1819 and 1821.⁹⁰ “[T]he country entered upon a period of prostration and stagnation of all industrial effort which has had no parallel in all its history, except possibly during the darkest hours of the Revolution.”⁹¹ Alexander Brown wrote to Robert Dickey of New York City on April 6, 1819, that “We have an immense stock of goods, no market for them, nor do we know to whom it would be safe to sell.”⁹² An 1819 first-hand observation by a well-to-do English farmer, John Woods, noted that “Trade at Baltimore extremely dull, and paper credit very bad....”⁹³

The Winter of 1819-20 was severe and so 72 Baltimoreans, including Philip E. Thomas, established a Society for the Prevention of Pauperism that investigated conditions and was to make recommendations. The study addressed the many bankruptcies that were occurring, the lack of circulating medium, a general decline of commerce and high unemployment and an “influx of foreign paupers.” However, the findings, of the study attributed poverty to heavy drinking, prostitution, lotteries and

⁸⁸ Bidwell, John, *The Brandywine Paper Mill and the Anglo-American Book Trade, 1787-1837*, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of English, University of Oxford, 1992, p.218.

⁸⁹ “Baltimore,” *The North American Review*, Vol. XX. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard and Co., 1825, p. 116.

⁹⁰ Kent, Frank R., *The Story of Alexander Brown and Sons*. (Baltimore: The Barton-Gillet Co., 1950), p. 76.

⁹¹ “The First Century of the Republic,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. L (December 1874 – May 1875). New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1875, p. 719.

⁹² *Ibid*, p.77.

⁹³ Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *Early Western Travels 1748 – 1846*. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1907), p. 186.

charity, i.e., getting something for nothing.⁹⁴ No actions were taken and the committee was soon abolished. This attribution of unemployment and poverty to individuals was common across the country. The Detroit *Gazette* attributed unemployment to laziness of workers.⁹⁵ Rothbard's analysis of the reactions to the depression notes that many believed that the depression would be relieved through individual moral resurgence through industry and economy and also a theological view that the only remedy for the depression was for individuals to "turn from wicked ways to religious Devotion."⁹⁶

Although the number of persons listed as living at the Franklin Mills was similar in the 1810 and 1820 Censuses, the number of persons reported at the Paper Mill had dropped to 50, about half of the 1810 number. Only twelve (12) are listed as employed in the paper manufacture in 1820. The Franklin Paper Mill was known as Lawrence Greatrake and Company in the 1820 U.S. Census.⁹⁷ The 1820 Census of Manufacturers also lists the Franklin Paper Mill as being bankrupt, probably due to the Panic of 1819.⁹⁸ Forty (40) persons are associated with the Franklin Woollen Mill, 25 who were employed in woollen manufacture.

The Franklin Manufacturing Company tried to sell the Paper and the Woollen factories again in 1820. In addition to the Paper mill building, the advertisement notes that "Contiguous to the paper mill are two ranges of stone dwellings, and a range of frame dwellings; also a large stone Mansion House...cultivated gardens, fields, orchards, meadows and woodland."⁹⁹ The Franklin Woollen Factory was four (4) or five (5) stories high¹⁰⁰, 81' long by 41' wide, built of stone. It contained 16 broad looms and four (4) narrow looms; one (1) Brewster's patent Spinning Frame of 144 spindles; four (4) large Carding Engines, Spinning Jennies, Shear Frames; and "...all other machinery requisite for the manufacture of Woollen Cloths."¹⁰¹ Again, there was no sale. The Company was forced to mortgage the two (2) former Baltimore Company lots (numbers 86 and 88) for \$3,000 to the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States, Baltimore on

⁹⁴ *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Vol. LXI, No. 1, pp. 80-86. By 1822, the Society was disbanded

⁹⁵ *Detroit Gazette*, December 17, 1819

⁹⁶ *Annapolis Maryland Gazette*, June 3, 1819, quoted in Rothbard, Murray N. *The Panic of 1819: Reactions and Policies*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 23 of Online edition.

⁹⁷ U.S. Census, *1810 Upper Patapsco Hundred, Baltimore County, MD*, p. 631.

⁹⁸ Communication with John Bidwell, Ph.D., December 2006. In the 1819 *Baltimore Director*, Lawrence Greatrake is listed as a paper dealer. He was also an ordained Baptist minister, among the first ministers licensed by the First Baptist Church of Baltimore; a church dominated by the Levering and related families such as Wilson and Appleton. It is unknown whether Aaron R. Levering learned of this skilled paper maker through contacts at the church, or whether he was lured away from Brandywine by the "Baltimore merchants" who visited the Brandywine Paper Mill and "stole" some of the workers. It is known that Lawrence Greatrake moved to the Pittsburgh area by 1823 because he published there a number of religious tracts disagreeing with Alexander Campbell in 1824, 1827, 1830 and 1837. Greatrake was characterized as a restless spirit with strong passions who occupied him by itinerating through the country.

⁹⁹ *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, February 19, 1820 advertisement is almost identical to that of August 28, 1817 in the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*.

¹⁰⁰ Most of the sale ads listed it as four stories, but one stated that it had five stories. This might have been due to inclusion or exclusion of a basement.

¹⁰¹ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1817. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, February 19, 1820.

September 27, 1819.¹⁰² The depression following the Panic of 1819 began to lift in the early 1820s, but did not lift until about 1824.

The 1820 Census of Manufacturers reported that the Fleecy Dale Woollen Mill in Frederick County, owned by Matthew Brown and rented to James Sykes, was in “languishing condition.” By 1822, James Sykes had become the manager of the Franklin Woollen Mill and he was being praised for the “...piece of superfine blue [broad] cloth, which was exhibited by Mr. James Sykes...of the Franklin Mills....” The cloth was described as having been made of the “...finest wool, very well dressed, and of a beautiful blue colour. It attracted the attention, and unqualified admiration of the [Maryland Agricultural] society.”¹⁰³

In about 1823, Griffith described “...a thriving woollen factory five miles from town, [the Franklin Woollen Mill] containing 650 spindles, and 22 power and hand looms, with every branch of machinery necessary for manufacturing superfine [broad] cloth and kerseymeres¹⁰⁴.” Griffith reported 70 employees processing 750 pounds of wool per week.¹⁰⁵ Despite this appearance of prosperity, the Franklin Manufacturing Company was in financial difficulty, as were most businesses and individuals during this depressed economy.

Partners in the corporation were obliged to pay \$23,250, plus interest per share. By 1823, nonpayment of the full amount of money for three (3) of the 1/8th shares exceeded \$28,000, excluding interest. Consequently, the Company requested the Court to order sale of the shares. The share of Charles H. Appleton, in which William Appleton was invested, was deficient \$1,000; plus the final \$5,000 payment for each share and accrued interest. Aaron R. Levering had transferred his share to the Bank of Baltimore and was deficient \$6,993.77, plus interest and the final payment. John and Aaron Levering transferred their single share to Samuel Wood, Trustee under the Insolvent Laws, and were deficient \$5,792.19, plus interest and the final payment. The required announcement of the Court-ordered sale was duly published once a week in the *Baltimore Patriot*, ending on June 5, 1824. It was also advertised in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* on May 28, 1824. Two of the three 1/8th shares were bought back by the Franklin Manufacturing Company for \$5 each and the third 1/8th share was bought by William Appleton of Boston for \$2,475.¹⁰⁶

By 1825 The Franklin Woollen Mill and its’ manager, James Sykes, were well recognized for the production of high quality broadcloth, cassimere and satinette.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 207, folio 603.

¹⁰³ “Report on Maryland Agricultural Society Convention—May 30 and 31, 1822,” *American Farmer*, Vol. 4, No. 15 (July 5, 1822).

¹⁰⁴ See cassimeres.

¹⁰⁵ Griffith, Thomas W., “Annals of Baltimore,” Vol. 1, p. 240, in *North American Review*, No. XLVI, New Series, No. XXI, January 1825. Publisher, Cedar Rapids, IA: University of Northern Iowa. p.129. Cornell University Library, Making of America, digital document, Baltimore. 1824 [http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/moa/moa-cgi?notisid-ABQ7578-0020-6] The woolen mill used the power looms for the satinette and the hand looms, for the broadcloth and cassimeres.

¹⁰⁶ *The Franklin Manufacturing Company vs. Charles H. Appleton and others*. Recorded in W. G. No. 2, Folio 231 etc. 19 August 1822; Certification of sale by Trustee, Nathaniel J. Williams, before James Pickering, June 4, 1824.

¹⁰⁷ Definitions: *Broadcloth* is very fine cloth woven in plain weave and heavily milled; [another word for *fulling* which is a woolen finishing process in which the cloth, immersed in warm, soapy water, is pounded by wooden hammers in order to be cleansed, shrunk, and felted]. *Felting* describes the action by which

After a couple years of prosperity, the economy dropped back into depression from 1826 through 1829. The Franklin Manufacturing Company's Works were advertised for rent or sale on January 23, 1828, at which time both the woollen and the paper mill were in full operation.¹⁰⁸ It did not rent or sell, despite being advertised widely in Washington, Philadelphia, New York City and Boston.

These depressed times may have spurred James Sykes to use an innovative sales approach—auction, that was contrary to the financial wisdom of the time¹⁰⁹. The October 1828 auction of 400 pieces of broad cloths and cassimeres and 450 pieces of satinette reportedly was well attended and that the cloths sold quickly.¹¹⁰ Despite the success of the fabric auctions, the company continued to flounder financially. “In dire straits,” the Franklin Woollen Factory's Thomas Wilson appealed to the mortgage holder, the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States, Baltimore, on May 19, 1829, stating that the Factory did not make any profits in 1828 or 1829¹¹¹. A secondary post-war depression developed in 1826 and reached its trough in the years 1828 and 1829.

Thomas Wilson personally loaned the Franklin Manufacturing Company \$1,500 on May 30, 1829, in a mortgage on the two former Baltimore Company Lots 86 and 88.¹¹² Three (3) days later, The Franklin Manufacturing Company assigned all of its property in trust to James and David S. Wilson, charging them to auction the properties at any time after the first of October 1829, in order to pay the full debt to the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States, Baltimore, the loan from William Wilson, up to \$1,500, the outstanding judgment by the Court of Appeals a few years previous for \$2,900 to Robert Bigham's administrators¹¹³ and lastly, to “...pay and satisfy *pari passu*, rateably and proportionally without priority or preferences, all other debts due and owing by said Company.”¹¹⁴ In the event of surplus after all debts are paid in full, the money would be returned to the Franklin Manufacturing Co, specifically, Henry Payson, Thomas Wilson, James Wilson, Nathan Levering and Henry P. Summer.¹¹⁵

An auction was ordered by the Trustees of the Franklin Manufacturing Company's Works, to be held on the 4th of October 1830 and was advertised in the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*. The Bank of the United States released the mortgaged premises to James Wilson and David S. Wilson, Trustees on October 22, 1830.¹¹⁶

proportions of wool fibers move out of their respective yarns and intertwine, adding strength and giving a nap to the cloth.] *Cassimere* is a light, durable woollen cloth made in twill weave patented in England by Francis Yerbury in 1766. *Twill* weave is one of the three basic weaves, the others being *plain* and *satine*. It is characterized by a diagonal line or variations of it, like chevrons, on the cloth surface. *Satinette* is a mixed woven fabric with a cotton warp and a woollen filling. Source: Jeremy, David J., *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies between Britain and America, 1790—1830s*.

¹⁰⁸ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, January 23, 1828. The manager of the paper mill at this time is unknown.

¹⁰⁹ *Niles Weekly Register*, Vol. XXIV (September 24, 1825), p. 49.

¹¹⁰ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, October 4, 1828; *Niles Weekly Register*, Vol. XXXV (October 11, 1828), p. 103.

¹¹¹ Browne, Gary Lawson. *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789 – 1861*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), footnote 7, p. 272.

¹¹² Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 199 folio 45, etc.

¹¹³ The referenced case has not yet been located.

¹¹⁴ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 199 folio 422, etc.

¹¹⁵ Henry P. Summer was a nephew of Henry Payson.

¹¹⁶ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. 207 folio 603.

November 1, 1830, the Trustees for the Franklin Manufacturing Company of Maryland deeded the single former Baltimore Company **Lot No. 88** and the paper and woollen mills thereupon to Mr. Lewin Wethered, Merchant of Baltimore, for \$21,000.¹¹⁷

Lewin Wethered's wife, Elizabeth Ellicott, was a daughter of Elias Ellicott, one of the three Ellicott millers located on the Frederick Turnpike at the Gwynn's Falls. Although married in the Episcopal church in Baltimore, Lewin and Elizabeth practiced the Quaker faith and raised their children in the faith. Besides bringing Lewin Wethered into the faith, his marriage integrated Lewin and his children into the powerful and intertwined business world of the Baltimore Quaker community. For example, Elizabeth Ellicott Wethered's uncle was Philip E. Thomas, the first President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Two of Philip E. Thomas' children married two of his niece Elizabeth's children. Such family connections served Lewin well in business. It has been said that the Quaker family intermarriages and businesses were as closely interwoven as "fibers in cloth."

Grist and Merchant Mills between Levering Factory and the Gunpowder Factory on the Gwinn Falls that were not identified by Green

Shly's Mill:¹¹⁸ A steep, narrow section of the Gwynn's Falls valley not acquired by the Baltimore Company was patented as *Shly's Venture* to John Shly in 1759.¹¹⁹ Little is known about John Shly, other than in 1753, according to Griffith, "Mr. John Sly came to settle in Baltimore and erected a house on the north side of south Gay street and that Mr. Conrad Smith another on the opposite side;..."¹²⁰ Conrad Smith later sold lot 70 to Winbert Tschudy, a butcher who will be discussed later.

On November 28, 1763 a John Shly and Peter Wolfe bought part of a tract of land patented to Edward Pontany in 1755, named *Eagles Nest* and *Mill Dam* at the first falls of the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River, near the beginning of the Gwynn's Falls, and near Liberty Road.¹²¹ Whether this is the same John Shly, miller, who patented *Shly's Venture* in 1759, has not been determined.

In 1776 John Shly/Sligh bought 15 acres of *Parker's Palace* from Luke Brown only to resell it to him the following year.¹²² On November 24, 1778, John Shly sold the 50-

¹¹⁷ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. 208, folio 39 etc. The fate of Lot No. 86 has not been researched yet.

¹¹⁸ Shly, Schly, Schley, Sly, Sligh; Tschudy; Tschudi; Schudy; Judey; Judah and Judy are different English phonetic spellings of these two German names.

¹¹⁹ Barnes, Robert, *Baltimore County Families, 1659 – 1759*. p. 578.

¹²⁰ Griffith, Thomas W., *Annals of Baltimore*, (Baltimore: William Woody Printer, 1833) p. 19. http://www.archive.org/stream/annalsofbaltimor00grif/annalsofbaltimor00grif_djvu.txt John Sly leased Lot 69 from Thomas Harrison on July 4, 1754. Sly is noted as being a "Taylor" [tailor] by trade. Baltimore County Land Records Liber BB No. L, folio 285 etc. Perhaps John Sly the Miller was the son of John Sly the Tailor.

¹²¹ Baltimore County MD Land Records Liber B # M, folio 62.

¹²² *Parker's Palace* was a 500-acre tract patented to Robert Parker in 1695. Parker sold 50 acres to Nicholas Rogers and Christopher Randall in June, 1716. Parker's daughter, Keturah, married Henry Lewis, who sold 250 acres of *Parker's Palace* to George Buchanan, the husband of Eleanor Rogers, who was the daughter of Nicholas Rogers and sister of William Rogers. William Rogers bought 100 acres of *Crowley's First Venture*, which had been patented to Dennis Crowley in 1699 and is located immediately south of *Parker's Palace*. By 1750, John Brown owned 125 acres of *Parker's Palace*, and at the 1774 death of Dixon Brown, probably a son of John, Dixon left 250 acres of *Parker's Palace* to his son, Luke Brown.

acre *Shly's Venture* to John Myers and Martin Tschudy, a son of the Swiss immigrant butcher named Winbert Tschudy, for 1,900 pounds current money.¹²³ The following year Martin Tschudy bought John Myers' share.¹²⁴ It appears that the Tschudy family resided opposite John Sly on Gay street and the Myers were three lots away, adjacent to Winbert Tschudy's inn on the corner of Baltimore and Gay streets.

Although the deed of sale from John Shly to Myers and Tschudy refers to premises on the *Sly's Venture* property, it does not specify a mill or a dam. However, the wording of an advertisement by Martin Tschudy four years later confirms that Shly had operated a gristmill there and that it was still extant in 1782.¹²⁵

“The “MILL and LAND on Queen's Falls [sic], formerly known by the name of *Sligh's Mill*, five miles from Baltimore-Town, containing about fifty acres, very convenient for a Merchant-Mill; is to be sold for ready cash, or at least half of the purchase-money paid in hand, and the other half in bonds, with sufficient security, if required. For further particulars, inquire of the subscriber, living on the premises. MARTIN TSCHUDY. Feb. 28, 1782.”¹²⁶

Martin Tschudy's Mill: As noted above, Martin Tschudy and John Myers, probably a relative of Martin's wife Mary Magdalene Myers Tschudy, bought the 50-acre Shly's Venture in 1778. About 1782-84, Martin Tschudy entered into an unsuccessful partnership with William Jessop, a millwright¹²⁷. An undated memorandum by “Mr. M. Tschudy,” apparently for an unidentified lawsuit, states that

“William Jessep did not finish the mill, according to Partnership agreement. It was to have been finished the 20th Nov” [no year]. but was not and Jessop ...had 3 hands onboard all winter...[H]e attended at Baxley's mill ... a month during which time his Family and Stock remained at M.T. [Martin Tschudy] mill at the Expense of the Partnership.” [Martin Tschudy also charged that Jessep put] “...60 odd

Luke Brown sold 15 acres of *Parker's Palace* to John Sligh on June 4, 1776, only to have Sligh sell the 15 acres back to him the following year, on December 6, 1777. [See Baltimore County Land Records Liber W. G. # A, folio 544 etc.] Brown later sold the 15-acre parcel to Jacob Myers, possibly a relative of Martin Tschudy's wife. [Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. # D, folio 399. and Liber W. G. # U, folio 710. On August 1784, Luke Brown sold 12 acres to John Baxley, owner of Baxley's Mill, see Liber W.G. # U, folio 710.etc.

¹²³ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. No. C, folio 219 *etc.*

¹²⁴ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. D, folio 399 *etc.* Griffith records that in 1753 Mr. George N. Myers, a Pennsylvania German moved to Baltimore along with Mr. Valentine Larsh. Larsh built an inn at the south west corner of Baltimore and Gay streets. That was Lot 70 which Larsh sold to Winbert Tschudy in 1762. It would be logical that the inn remained on the parcel because Winbert Tschudy, born in Frenchendorff, Canton Basel, had operated The Three Kings Inn in Riechen, Canton Basel, Switzerland. for a number of years.

¹²⁵ The location of the Tschudy Mill is clearly identified on a road survey plat of 1818. The road began at the Tschudy home, which was located above the mill, on the western side of the Gwynns Falls, near the present-day remaining trolley bridge abutment on Wetheredsville Road.

¹²⁶ *Maryland Journal*, March 5, 1782; obviously the mill did not sell because the property named “Shly's Venture” remained in the Tschudy family until 1847 when it was auctioned off for nonpayment of the mortgage by Martin Tschudy's heir Samuel Tschudy.

¹²⁷ According to genealogical sources, William Jessop's father was from England and worked as a manager of the Baltimore Company in Iron Works near the mouth of the Gwins Falls.

pound Cash into partnership with Baxley before he made a Settlement with M. T. [Martin Tschudy,] had quit the Partnership with him and paid the debts of said partnership. [and]...left the mill in bad order, contrary to the partnership agreement.”¹²⁸

Martin Tschudy had a resurvey of *Sly's Venture* conducted in 1785 that added 10 acres of adjacent vacant parcels, thereby increasing the acreage to 60. It was patented as *Sly's Venture Resurveyed*.¹²⁹ On October 1, 1798, tax commissioners assessed the value of Martin Tschudy's property. It included a two-story stone dwelling house, 34'x 22'; a one-story kitchen 17'x 14'; a one-story stone milk house, 17'x14'; a two-story barn, one story of stone, the other frame 30'x 20' which had an additional frame shed, 20'x10'; and a stone coopers' shop 20'x14'. The two-story gristmill was 30'x 24', one story stone, the second story made of hewn logs. It had a one-story, 24'x10' stone addition.¹³⁰ The mill appears to have been rebuilt or enlarged after 1798, as reflected in the following April 2, 1802, *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser* advertisement placed by Martin's son Winbert:

“To Flour Dealers

Any person wishing to have wheat manufactured, may be accommodated by applying to the subscriber, who will grind by the hundred on reasonable terms, or give twenty-one barrels of superfine flour for every hundred bushels of merchantable wheat. The mill can manufacture from 100 to 150 bushels a day, and is now ready to commence grinding

He has for sale,

400 or 500 white oak POSTS, for fencing.

WINBERT TSCHUDY”

Contrary to some previous authors' assertions, the Swiss immigrant butcher, Winbert Tschudy, did not build a gristmill on *Shly's Venture* in 1762. The confusion may have been attributable to the fact that his grandson had the same name, as is seen in the above referenced 1802 advertisement. The immigrant Swiss butcher Winbert Tschudy bought Baltimore Town Lot # 97 and 2 feet of Lot # 98 from Conrade Smith on May 23, 1761.¹³¹ On the third of October, 1761, Winbert Tschudy of Baltimore Towne, leased from Benjamin Swoope of Pipe Creek Hundred, Frederick County, for 99 years and the payment of three (3) pounds sterling money by the 25th of March annually, a part of Baltimore Town Lot # 70, which had a 45 foot front on Baltimore Street. He moved his family in April 1762.¹³² The following month, Winbert Tschudy leased another part

¹²⁸ Located in Dickeyville Community Association Archives, the “Tschudy Mill” file; also in the Maryland Historical Society 's special collection “Tschudy.”

¹²⁹ *Shly's Venture resurveyed*, 1785 to Martin Juda; certificate 1C #B, f.247, and Patent 2C #A f. 425.

¹³⁰ *The Particular Assessment Lists for Baltimore and Carroll Counties Maryland-1798* (Westminster MD: Willow Bend Books, 1986, 2001), p. 85.

¹³¹ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber B No. I, folio 123, etc.

¹³² Hindr, E. [Edward or Elias, depending on source], “EXTRACT FROM SECOND STREET CHURCH BOOKS, 1844,” *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer, 2004), pp. 412 – 414. [The First German Reformed Church was founded about 1750. A division within the congregation resulted in a break-off group that formed the Second Reformed (later called the Old Otterbein) church. The Tschudys remained with the First Reformed on the northeast corner of Baltimore and Front streets. This building was later sold to St. Paul's Episcopal Church and the congregation moved to the north side of

of Baltimore Towne Lot # 70 from Valentine Larsh.¹³³ Two years later, on June 1764, he bought a 6 ½ acre lot in *Coles Adventure* from John Dimmitt.¹³⁴

Winbert the butcher wrote that he had been baptized August 3, 1710 in Frenchendorf, Canton Basel, Switzerland, the son of Winbert Tschudy, School Master, and Annie Reiner. He became a butcher and married Elizabeth Rover from Rische on April 30, 1736. Their first child, Ann, was born February 17, 1737; the second, Winbert died on November 22, 1739 at 17 days of age; the third child, Martin, was born December 11, 1740; a daughter, Elizabeth, was born March 17, 1743; the fifth child, Anna Maria, died April 5, 1748 after 15 days. Winbert, wife and three surviving children immigrated to Pennsylvania, arriving in Philadelphia on December 2, 1752. They settled near the Conawaga creek, west of York for 5 years and 2 ½ years in George Town. A second boy named Winbert was born in Pennsylvania on June 29, 1754. Their final child, an unnamed male, was stillborn on March 10, 1756, near the Great Conawaga. Daughter Elizabeth married Jacob Mohler.¹³⁵ As noted above, Winbert Tschudy moved his family to the young city of Baltimore in April 1762. Daughter Ann did not move with the family to Baltimore Town and information about her has not been located. Nor has information about the youngest son, Winbert. In his will of March 30, 1777, Winbert Tschudy refers only to his wife and two children, Martin and Elizabeth. The Tschudy and Myers families were members of the German Reform Congregation in Baltimore.

Martin Tschudy Family¹³⁶ and the Methodist Movement

Soon after moving to *Shly's Venture*, Martin, wife Mary Magdalene Myers Tschudy and daughters Sarah and Mary Barbara Tschudy joined the Methodist movement. Their home became a "preaching place" where the circuit-riding preachers held services and Bible study classes. Dalton reports that "...in 1796 and later this preaching place was reported as 'Judah' in the quarterly conference records of the Baltimore Circuit."¹³⁷ An old Methodist minister, Henry Smith, described Martin, as "...a man of few words but as honest as the day was long. The family was a pattern of order, neatness, piety and hospitality."¹³⁸ "Joseph Peregoy, the leader of the class for many

Second Street. That church was later demolished when Holliday street was extended. A drawing of the Second Street German Reformed Church resides with the Maryland Historical Society. Source: Elizabeth J. Rivers Peters, Family Ties web site.

¹³³ Baltimore City, in Baltimore County Land Records, Liber B No. K, folio 158 etc.

¹³⁴ Baltimore City, in Baltimore County Land Records, Liber A.L.No. A., folio 210 etc.

¹³⁵ Loeser, Rudolf, "Peter, Joseph and Caroline Sheetz of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio and Missouri," *Maryland Genealogical Society, Inc.*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Summer 2005), pp. 333-334; Dunning, Cora Garber, ed., *Genealogy of the Ludwig Mohler Family in America: Covering a Period from April 4, 1696 to June 15, 1921.* (Dunning, Stanley New Mexico, 1921.); Hindr, E. (Pastor), "Extract From Second Street Church Books, 1844: Tschudy Family Records," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Vol. 45 No. 3 (Summer, 2004), pp.413-414.

¹³⁶ Martin and Mary Magdalene Tschudy had nine (9) children, only four (4) of whom survived: Winbert, Sarah, Mary Barbara and Samuel.

¹³⁷ Dalton, Annie P. *Methodists on the Gwynns Falls* (Baltimore, MD, 1962). Her romanticized tale of the settling of the family in the Gwynns Valley is not accurate and has unfortunately been cited by others.

¹³⁸ Despite the Methodist opposition to slavery, small rural operations like the Tschudy family [Martin, Mary Magdalene, Mary Barbara, Winbert and Samuel] grist mill used the additional work of five slaves in 1810. [U.S. 1810 Census, Upper Patapsco Hundred, Baltimore County Maryland] In the 1820 Census Martin Tschudy had 3 slaves. Martin died in 1828. In the 1830 Census, Samuel Tschudy had 7 slaves.

years [after 1805] was beloved by the pious, respected by all in life and honored in death.”¹³⁹

Daughter Sarah Tschudy married Charles Peregoy, a son of the Circuit rider minister, Joseph Peregoy. Charles was appointed a Justice of the Peace for many years. They lived in the area of present-day Windsor Hills. After the death of Charles, “Mrs. Peregoy” is located on Sidney's 1850 map of the City and County of Baltimore, as well as an 1860 Howard/Baltimore County map. Daughter Mary Barbara Tschudy appears to have been very pious, as is reflected in the daily prayer journals she kept, beginning in 1809.¹⁴⁰ Based on comments in her prayer books, it seems that she suffered from a painful “affliction.” In 1810 she wrote her wishes for her funeral service, including preferred and alternate ministers; the Bible readings; and the hymn to be sung. Unfortunately, the letter was found after her 1820 burial in the family, stone walled cemetery. Her death, at age 44, predated that of her parents. Martin Tschudy died in August 1828; and his wife, Mary Magdalene Myers Tschudy, died in 1833.¹⁴¹

Somehow a rumor developed that the pious Mary Barbara Tschudy was buried resplendent in jewels. According to a 1923 newspaper clipping, two men worked two nights, digging 4 ½ feet into the soil in search of the casket. “The two ghoulish marauders were interrupted in the midst of their task....” Two passing hunters observed the men and hurried to call the police. However, the police only found the graveyard “...deserted in its desolation.” They did find “...a cavernous hole where the vandals had sought to reach a casket in which, as the legend of Hillsdale has it, are buried the jewels and money of a wealthy woman who died 103 years ago”¹⁴².

It appears in the 1830 Census that Mary Magdalene Myers Tschudy, widow, had moved from the *Shly's Venture Resurveyed* house to live with Samuel's family on the eastern side of the adjacent property, Baltimore Company **Lot 89**. After the deaths of Martin and Mary Magdalene Tschudy, the local Methodists built Ridge Methodist Episcopal Chapel in 1834, at the intersection of present-day Ridge and Windsor Mill roads. Elias Reed, who was married to Ann Peregoy, daughter of Charles and Sarah Tschudy Peregoy, donated a piece of his property on *Parker's Palace* for the chapel.¹⁴³ By 1847 when “*Shly's Venture Resurveyed*” was advertised for the trustee auction, no mention is made of a mill or dam and the premises are described as “...old and dilapidated.”¹⁴⁴

Samuel Tschudy's Baltimore Company Lot 89

¹³⁹ Armstrong, James Edward, *History of the Old Baltimore Conference – From the Planting of Methodism in 1773 to the Division of the Conference in 1837*. (Baltimore, Md., Kings Brothers Publishers), 1907, pp. 66-67. Methodist records at Lovely Lane Methodist Church Museum and Library have no mention of Martin's sons, Samuel and Winbert.

¹⁴⁰ The originals are located at Lovely Lane Methodist Church Library and Museum, Baltimore.

¹⁴¹ When the property was sold at auction in 1847, the right of access to the family graveyard, (five perches square) was “...reserved to the descendants of the late Martin Tschudy.”

¹⁴² This incident may have been what motivated Dickeyville resident Howard Tschudy, a grandson of Samuel, to have some of the bodies relocated to Lorraine Cemetery. A few ruins of the cemetery were still visible in 2007.

¹⁴³ The Chapel later became a private residence, 4821 Windsor Mill Road. It was torn down to become a gas station, which then became a presently empty auto repair shop near the entrance to Carrie Murray Nature Center in Leakin Park.

¹⁴⁴ *The SUN*, June 5, 1847 and June 7, 1847. The property was sold for \$5,100 to J. H. Orndorff.

On August 27, 1810 Martin Tschudy contracted with Nicholas Carroll for the purchase of the upstream lot adjacent to *Shly's Venture Enlarged*, which was known as Baltimore Company in Iron Works. **Lot No. 89**, containing parts of *Marsh's Victory Enlarged*¹⁴⁵ and *Frederickstadt*¹⁴⁶ for the sum of \$5,415, which was to be paid in annual installments of \$1.054, plus interest, on or before March 1st of 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814 and 1815. It was to be deeded in the names of Martin's two (2) sons, Samuel and Winbert Tschudy.¹⁴⁷ The entire purchase price had not been paid when Nicholas Carroll died in May 1812. Therefore the deed had not been recorded. In 1812, when Martin Tschudy petitioned to pay the entire amount remaining, two of Nicholas Carroll's "infant" children [under age 21] contested the sale.¹⁴⁸ Nine years later, in 1821, Nicholas Carroll's widow, Anne Carroll, and her children, gave a deed for Baltimore Company **Lot No. 89**.

At the request of Martin Tschudy, the Lot No 89 property was deeded only in the name of his son Samuel Tschudy. Martin Tschudy's son Winbert no longer resided in Baltimore County, having purchased the Red Lion mill in Queen Anne's County before 1813.¹⁴⁹ Winbert had married Acton Hissey in 1799 and they were living on her inherited property, "*Hissey's First Venture*,"¹⁵⁰ in the U.S. Census of 1800. It seems that Acton died and Winbert remarried Barbara Wells in Kent County Maryland on February 6, 1823.¹⁵¹ The Maryland General Assembly, Session 1816, chapter 180, Private Acts—Winbert Tschudy, "An Act to authorize Winbert Tschudy to erect a dam and cut a millrace on and through the lands therein mentioned whereas it is represented to this General Assembly by the petition of Winbert Tschudy of Queen Anne County that he is possessed of a valuable grist and Merchant mill on the Red Lion Branch in the upper part of said county...." Despite being a respected person who was appointed as a Justice of the Peace in Queen Anne's County and a surveyor responsible for laying out roads, and a canal, Winbert became deeply in debt by the time of his death about 1833. By court

¹⁴⁵ *Marsh's Victory* [200 acres] was patented by John Marsh July 10, 1724. Maryland State Archives, MSA S1190-3261, Reference Patented Certificate 3139 Storage Location 01/25/02/28.

¹⁴⁶ *Frederickstadt* was originally patented [certificate 1781] to Benjamin Tasker on August 1, 1732; and resurveyed and patented as *Frederickstadt enlarged* [Certificate 1782] March 20, 1752 by Charles Carroll, Benjamin Tasker and the other partners in the Baltimore Company in Iron Works. See Maryland State Archives S1190-1888, Storage Location 01/25/02/10.

¹⁴⁷ Caleb Merryman, Thomas Wooden and John McClellan were the Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly to "survey and lay out a road not exceeding thirty three feet in width in the best and straightest direction the Ground will admit of, from the Franklin Paper mill on Gwinns falls to the new Liberty road, in the direction towards the City of Baltimore and to value the damages sustained by individuals through whoes [*sic*] land the said road passes." On April 15, 1811, they certified that the road [presently named Forest Park Avenue] was so laid out and that the 115 perches of land confiscated from Winbert and Samuel Tschudy was worth "Ninety Dollars." Four other land owners were named and the value of the damages done by the road were specified.

¹⁴⁸ Chancery Court 1813 Baltimore County. MSA No. 5160. Tschudy, Martin vs. Thomas H. & John Carroll heirs of Nicholas Carroll

¹⁴⁹ Queen Anne's County 1835 Chancery Court MSA S517-174, Location 1/35/4/20 and *Tschudy et al. vs. Lambert et al.*, Queen Anne's County, 1837 Chancery Court. S512-14-11297. :location 1/39/3/71.

¹⁵⁰ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W. G. No. 66; folio 438 etc.

¹⁵¹ "Maryland Marriages, 1667-1899," Ancestry.com.

order, his property was sold to reimburse his numerous creditors, leaving his family impoverished.¹⁵²

Martin's son Samuel Tschudy married Elizabeth Clemm, a daughter of Col. William Clemm who owned property to the south on the east side of Gwins Falls and part of *Ashman's Hope* in the area of Franklinton, as well as property affected by the Franklin Paper Mill road to Liberty Road.¹⁵³ On December 10, 1821, Samuel and his wife, Elizabeth Clemm Tschudy, mortgaged a lot on Baltimore Street in Baltimore City which she had inherited from her father, Col. William Clemm, for a 12 month loan of \$742 with interest from Thomas Deye Worthington of Baltimore County. Only one hundred of the \$742 had been paid by April 21, 1830, when Cornelius Howard, trustee for Thomas Deye Worthington filed suit. The period for repayment had long elapsed and Howard requested that the Court order sale of the City lot.¹⁵⁴

The U.S. Census of 1820 for the First District of Baltimore County shows three (3) Tschudy entries: (1) Martin Tschudy living on *Shly's Venture Resurveyed*, (2) Samuel Tschudy and family on Lot No. 89 and (3) Samuel Tschudy and George Hosselbock/Hisselbaugh in partnership on Baltimore Company Lot No. 89. Martin Tschudy's household had eight (8) persons: one (1) white male and four (4) white females, plus two (2) male slaves and one (1) female slave. Samuel Tschudy's household listed 13 persons: seven (7) white males and two (2) white females, plus four (4) male and two (2) female slaves. Two (2) persons were listed as engaged in agriculture, one (1) in commerce and two (2) in manufacture.

The third Tschudy entry in the 1820 Census was a partnership of Samuel Tschudy and John Hosselbock. The Tschudy-Hosselbock¹⁵⁵ partnership appears to have involved farming on Baltimore Company Lot 89, plus a sawmill and possibly a paper mill. Samuel Tschudy certified that he constructed a dam in 1820.¹⁵⁶ The 1820 Census reported that Tschudy and Hosselbock had twelve (12) persons engaged in agriculture and six (6) persons engaged in manufacture. There were 15 white males and no white females, four (4) were naturalized foreigners, plus eight (8) male slaves and one (1) female slave. On August 5, 1822, Samuel Tschudy mortgaged the Baltimore Company **Lot 89** property to George Hosselbock of Baltimore City, for the amount of \$1,800. The loan was to be repaid, with interest, in two years from the first day of August 1822. Hosselbock filed for foreclosure after the two years passed with no payment of any amount¹⁵⁷. During the March Term, 1825, the Court ordered that the mortgaged property be sold.

¹⁵² Queen Anne's County Land Records, Liber T.M. Nol 4, folio326, et al. John McGrain provided information that in 1844 widow "Barbara Tschudy deeded to Martin Tschudy, son of Winbert, her dower interest in Red Lion Mills, which was sold to Ezekiel F. Chambers of Kent County...."

¹⁵³ The heirs of William Clemm owned the property between Garrison and Liberty at the end of present-day Forest Park Avenue. The section of road was closed at some time and developed, causing Forest Park Ave to end at Garrison. The Clemm family was intermarried with the Poe family.

¹⁵⁴ Maryland State Archives, Baltimore County Court, Chancery, MSA # C 2295-993. Cornelius Howard vs. Samuel Tschudy and Elizabeth Tschudy, January 21, 1830. The results of the auction have not been located yet.

¹⁵⁵ 1820 U.S. Federal Census, District 1, Baltimore County, Maryland.

¹⁵⁶ Response by Samuel Tschudy to Request for Injunction to prevent Tschudy from raising the height of his mill dam, filed by Lewin Wethered and Brothers, 1837.

¹⁵⁷ Maryland State Archives, Baltimore County Court, Chancery, MSA # C 295-528. George Hosselbock vs. Samuel Tschudy. August 6, 1824.

William Frick, the Court-appointed permanent Trustee, placed an advertisement for the auction of the property in the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* on May 16, 1825. The premises constructed on the property were described as "...a sawmill and a large two story stone building designed for a Paper Mill, but might readily be appropriated to other milling purposes...." This gives the impression that the paper mill was not in operation in 1825. The highest bidder, at \$3,800, was James Sykes, manager of the adjacent Franklin Woollen Mill. However, Samuel Tschudy filed an appeal through the politically connected attorneys Roger B. Taney, J. Purviance and Reverdy Johnson. They alleged that the "proceedings in said case were irregular..." and that the property had been sold at less than half its value. In a letter of July 2, 1825, James Sykes declined to insist on the validity of the sale and withdrew his bid. The sale was then nullified and the time for Tschudy to repay Hosselbock was extended. Communication from Dr. John Bidwell notes that Samuel Tschudy ordered paper moulds from Sellers in 1826 and 1827, obviously outfitting the structure to become an operational paper mill.

In 1827 The Franklin Manufacturing Company and Samuel Tschudy had surveyed the dividing line between their respective Baltimore Company **Lots No. 88 and No. 89**. Rocks on both sides of the river were marked. Tschudy had constructed a dam in 1820 in the vicinity of today's reconstructed dam. Law prohibits the owner of a millpond from flooding adjacent properties. Hence, the likelihood that the need for clarification and visible marking of the properties common line may have been due to anticipated or actual up-stream flooding. In 1837, the next owner of the former Baltimore Company **Lot No. 88**, Lewin Wethered and sons Charles E. and Samuel Wethered, sought a Court injunction to prevent Samuel Tschudy from raising the height of his dam and consequently increasing the likelihood of flooding the Wethered property and factory.¹⁵⁸

On November 11, 1830, ten days after Lewin Wethered bought **Lot No. 88**, Samuel Tschudy bought two lots flanking Dead Run, in *Parker's Palace*, from James Ginn for the amount of \$1,339.¹⁵⁹ On the same day Tschudy borrowed \$3,060 from William Lorman; half to be paid back, with interest, in 12 months and the other half, with interest, in 24 months.¹⁶⁰ Despite the notes being due in 1831 and 1832, and nothing having been paid to Lorman, Samuel Tschudy purchased a parcel in *Marsh's Victory enlarged* from James Ginn in 1831.¹⁶¹ In 1834 Lorman sought a Court order for the auction of the mortgaged properties.¹⁶² Finally, seven years later Lorman obtained a Court Order that the property be sold at auction¹⁶³. The advertisement for the sale of "Valuable Mill

¹⁵⁸Maryland State Archives, Chancery Court Papers, MSA S512, *Lewin, Charles E. & Samuel Wethered vs. Samuel Tschudy*. File # 17898-12287 1-39-4. The case finally was heard by a jury on April 5, 1842. The jury verdict was for Wethered plaintiffs, awarding one (1) cent damages.

¹⁵⁹ Maryland State Archives, Baltimore County Land Records, WG 208, folio 115-117.

¹⁶⁰ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G. 208, folio 117, etc.

¹⁶¹ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W.G.213, folio 485. *The SUN*, June 8, 1854 announced the trustee's sale of the parcel. It also announced the sale of the two acre parcel on which Samuel Tschudy was probably living at the time. Sidney and Browne's *Map of City and County of Baltimore Maryland* (Baltimore: James M. Stephens Publisher, 1850) show "S.T.Scuty" on Windsor Mill Road, near his sister Mrs Peregoe. In 1809 Martin Tschudy purchased two (2) two acre parcels on Windsor Mill Road, one for each son, Samuel and Winbert. See Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. No.103, folio 508.

¹⁶² Maryland State Archives. *William Lorman vs. Samuel Tschudy*. Mortgage foreclosure on *Parker's Palace* September 30, 1834; MSA No.C 295-1598. Location 2/15/12/55.

¹⁶³ Maryland State Archives. *William Lorman vs. Samuel Tschudy*. Mortgage foreclosure on *Parker's Palace* 1839/01/28, MSA No.C295-2207. Location: 2/15/13/2.

Property” was in the August 17, 1839 Baltimore *SUN*. It emphasized that “The improvements on this property consist of a paper mill, well known as ‘Tschudy’s Paper Mill,’ and convenient out buildings.”¹⁶⁴

In 1844 Samuel Tschudy’s creditors again forced **Lot No. 89** of the Baltimore Company to be auctioned. The property consisted of two parcels: one of 59 1/2 acres that had a “spacious double stone dwelling, with all necessary out houses, Stabling, Carriage House, etc.” There was also a large double frame dwelling, a paper mill built of stone, three stories high not in operation, and a sawmill and a grist mill.¹⁶⁵ The second adjoining parcel contained 30 1/2 acres that was occupied by Samuel Tschudy, with a good orchard. This time the highest bidder was Charles E. Wethered. Again Samuel Tschudy protested the price; failed to file an appeal in the requisite time, and even requested that the General Assembly extend the period for filing and appeal. Samuel Tschudy failed to file an appeal even within the six-month extension. The property was sold in 1844 and the deed recorded to Charles E. Wethered in 1847.¹⁶⁶ The Wethereds promptly converted the paper mill building into a cotton mill under the supervision of James S. Gary and the Ashland Manufacturing Corporation was incorporated in 1845 with William George Thomas, brother-in-law of the Wethered Brothers as President.

Baxley & Cornthwait’s Mill

The Baxley mill referenced above was located immediately downstream, adjacent to *Sly’s Venture Resurveyed*, on 66 ½ acres of *Roger’s Enlargement* and 100 acres of *Crowley’s First Venture*.¹⁶⁷ It was located on the western bank of the Gwins Falls, near the northwestern corner of the present day Windsor Mill Road bridge. The Jessop-Baxley partnership does not appear to have lasted very long.

John Cornthwait had established a grist mill in the Patapsco valley at Ilchester in 1761, ten years before the three Ellicott brothers purchased land in the valley¹⁶⁸. Cornthwait’s mill, named *Dismal Mill*, later became the mill of George Ellicott.¹⁶⁹ The 1798 tax list cites John Cornthwait as the owner and William Mathews the tenant. Cornthwait was married to Mary Matthews in Baltimore County on April 17, 1771. She had a brother William who may have been the referenced tenant miller.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ It seems that the Tschudy paper mill on Dead Run may have been in the vicinity of the Winan’s Water Wheel. John McGrain is researching the likely location,

¹⁶⁵ The *SUN*, March 28, 1944.

¹⁶⁶ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber A.W.B. No. 381, folio 331 etc.

¹⁶⁷ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. No. AA, folio 447, etc. Baxley also owned other lots on *Roger’s Enlargement* and *Crowley’s First Venture*. *Crowley’s First Venture* was patented to Daniel Crowley November 4, 1699 by James Carroll, Deputy Lord. Fifty acres were assigned to Dennis Crowley and heirs. Daniel and Dennis Crowley together were subject to Rent of 4 pounds, 3 shilling per annum. See Maryland State Archives, Liber CC, No. 4, folio 156.

¹⁶⁸ John Cornthwait was born on June 29, 1744 in Bucks Co., PA, a son of Thomas and Elizabeth Cornthwaite. Watring, Anna Miller and Wright, F. Edward, *Bucks County, PA Church Records of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, v. 2 (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1994), section from Falls Monthly Meeting, births and deaths.

¹⁶⁹ Correspondence from John McGrain Aug.6, 2008.

¹⁷⁰ Sbertoli-Anthony. <http://homepage.cooketech.net/~Ims103e4/matt~1.html>.

Baxley descendants indicate that John Baxley was associated with mills in Delaware, Harford Co. MD, Anne Arundel Co. MD and Baltimore Co. MD¹⁷¹. One might speculate that Baxley had worked with Cornthwait at the Ilchester mill. The Ilchester mill was also referred to as the Brown-Cornthwait mill.

Cornthwait bought property on the Gwynns Falls from Jacob Myers for 15,000 pounds in 1779 and for 3,000 pounds in 1780.¹⁷² He died in 1782 leaving two sons, John and Robert, under the age of 21.¹⁷³ At some point before 1784, Baxley bought Cornthwait's share of the mill seat and meadow parcels. On February 13, 1784, John Baxley, the miller who owned and operated the mill advertised in the *Maryland Journal* a **new** [emphasis added] merchant mill, sawmill, and chocolate mill on the Gwynns Falls, four miles from Baltimore in operation. Baxley bought 12 acres of *Parker's Palace* from Luke Brown on August 18, 1784 for 52 Pounds, 10 shillings current money¹⁷⁴ On January 7, 1785, John Baxley bought a lot on Front Street in Baltimore Town from George Matthews¹⁷⁵ for 100 pounds.¹⁷⁶

Despite Baxley's apparent prosperity during the early 1780s, his fortune changed dramatically. On January 23, 1787, John Baxley, advertised his Gwynn's Falls Merchant mill and chocolate mill with a 36' by 20' dwelling house for sale, as well as a town house and a "Negro wench."¹⁷⁷ Also in 1787 he sold 39 1/4 acres to William Stenson on June 25th and seven (7) more acres to Stenson on June 25, 1788, at which time Baxley was residing in Harford County.¹⁷⁸

The two mill parcels had been sold by Baxley to Robert Gilmor and William Bingham on August 7, 1787.¹⁷⁹ By 1790, Baxley was imprisoned for debts¹⁸⁰. After appealing to the General Assembly, Baxley and others were released in 1791 under A *special Act for the relief of sundry insolvent debtors confined in sundry gaols of this state*. The release was conditioned upon Baxley and the others "delivering up all their property

¹⁷¹ Conversation with Jack Baxley, Seymour Indiana, November 2008.

¹⁷² Baltimore County Land Records Liber W. G. No. D; folio 322 etc. and Liber W. G. No. D; folio 614.etc.

¹⁷³ Executors for Cornthwait sold his undivided half share of two parcels to Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth May 7, 1791. See Baltimore County Land Records W.G. # FF, folio 606. John McGrain, Baltimore County Historian, communicated that John Cornthwait died in 1782 and that there was a lawsuit by John Baxley vs. John Cornthwait and the estate of John Cornthwait, see Chancery Liber 15, folio 303.

¹⁷⁴ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. # U, folio 710 etc.

¹⁷⁵ John Cornthwait and Gerard T. Hopkins were deeded in 1773 and 1779 72 ½ square perches upon which the new "Old Town" Baltimore Quaker meetinghouse was built. It was designed by George Matthews. In August 1781, Philip Hopkins and John Cornthwait were appointed to collect the costs of "building this house." [See Mallonee, Barbara C., Bonny, Jane Karkalits and Fessenden, Nicholas B. *MINUTE BY MINUTE: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run*. (Baltimore, 1992), p. 15.

¹⁷⁶ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. # U, folio 713 etc.

¹⁷⁷ John McGrain source: January 23, 1787, *Maryland Journal*.

¹⁷⁸ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. # BB, folio 627 etc. and 630 etc.

¹⁷⁹ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. # AA, folio 447. AA, folio 447 etc to Archibald Stewart, a Baltimore Merchant, and Richard Owings, an Anne Arundel County farmer for 4,500 pounds on November 26, 1797.

¹⁸⁰ Incarceration of debtors was abolished by the Maryland legislature in 1819.

for the use of their creditors.” Baxley was left with only the clothes on his body.¹⁸¹ Fortunately for John Baxley, he had sold the mill before it burned in April 1789.¹⁸² He died in 1799.¹⁸³

Gilmore and Bingham Windsor Mill: Robert Gilmore and William Bingham rebuilt the merchant mill after the fire and installed Oliver Evans’ machinery.¹⁸⁴ Ten years later, on November 26, 1797, they sold the mills on the 166 acres for 4,500 pounds to Archibald Stewart, a Baltimore merchant, and to Richard Owings, a farmer in Anne Arundel County.¹⁸⁵ Two years later Stewart sold his share to Beale Owings, son of his partner Richard Owings.¹⁸⁶ Thomas Chase, auctioneer, advertised the sale of the Mill and Farm for sale by auction on July 16, 1807. The property could be shown by the resident Miller, Mr. Hugh McGregory. The Windsor Mill on the Gwynn’s Falls was described as 166 acres of land, one half of which was cleared and under good fence and well for with clover and other grass. “The improvements are a neat and well-finished two story Stone Dwelling House, Coopers’ Shop, large stables and other convenient out houses all built with stone. The Mill has lately undergone a thorough repair, there are between twenty and thirty feet head and fall. She has two water wheels which work three pair of Burr Stones and are calculated to manufacture about 60 bushels of flour per day.”¹⁸⁷ In 1811 the property was deeded to William Jessup and Richard Owings. The mill buildings were assessed in 1813 at \$1,500 and two (2) slaves were listed.

Hollingsworth’s mill

On the east side of the Gwynns Falls, Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth, sons of Zebulon Hollingsworth, a large land owner and miller in Cecil County and his second wife, bought property from John Baxley and the administrators of John Cornthwait’s estate in 1791 upon which they constructed a merchant mill called “Holly Mill” on the east side of the Gwynns Falls, about opposite from the mouth of Dead Run. The merchant mill used the Oliver Evans patented inventions. In 1779, Thomas Hollingsworth had bought from John Cornthwait Lots 58 and 59 in the East addition to Baltimore with access to the water. Samuel and Thomas Hollingsworth had also bought a grist mill on the Jones Falls from William Jessop in 1789, called the Rock Mill, later the Timanus Mill.¹⁸⁸

As noted above, the Embargoes of 1807-09 caused exporters like the Hollingsworths great financial distress. A fire that destroyed the Holly Mill probably

¹⁸¹ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. No. FF, folio 590 *etc.* John Baxley is identified as a Quaker. His partner John Cornthwait and his neighbors Hollingsworth were also from Quaker families, active in the “Old Towne” meetinghouse.

¹⁸² Oliver Evans, the inventor and machinist, visited the mill from May 4 through May 15, 1789. CHECK NILES REGISTER for details.

¹⁸³ Correspondence of August 7, 2008, with John McGrain.

¹⁸⁴ Hazen, Theodore R., “The Automation of Flour Milling in America,”

<http://www.angelfire.com/journal/millrestoration/learn.html>; also Evans, Oliver, *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller’s Guide*, (Philadelphia: first edition 1795; 13th edition. Lea & Blanchard, 1850).

¹⁸⁵ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. 53, folio 382, *etc.*

¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁶ Baltimore County Land Records. Liber W.G. 60, folio 484, *etc.*

¹⁸⁷ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, July 1, 1807 Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. # AA, folio 447 *etc.*

¹⁸⁸ Baltimore County Land Records Liber W.G. No. II, folio 112.

occurred in 1830. A *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* August 28, 1830 listing by Charles Cheston states that “The Subscriber offers for sale the MILL SEAT on which the Holly Mill stood, with the walls, fourbay, water wheels and all the materials remaining from the late fire....The Lot contains 7 acres and a fall of about 18 feet.” The property also contained a “comfortable stone dwelling and stone stables.”
