

## TROUBLE AT TYSON ALLEY: James Mark Baldwin's Arrest in a Baltimore Bordello

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In June 1908, James Mark Baldwin, then Professor of Psychology and Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University and at the pinnacle of his career, was arrested in a Baltimore house of prostitution. Although he insisted on both his legal and moral innocence and all legal charges against him were dismissed, the threat of scandal led Hopkins authorities to demand Baldwin's resignation and Baldwin to remove himself and his family permanently to France. While this is one of the most notorious events in the early history of American psychology, almost nothing has been known about the incident itself, because both Baldwin and Hopkins took great pains to keep these details private. Based on court records, contemporary newspaper accounts, and archival materials in the Presidential Records at Hopkins and elsewhere, it is now possible to reconstruct the events of 1908 and their aftermath in detail. This article describes these occurrences; places them in the context of Baldwin's life, personality, and career; presents newly obtained information on the immediate consequences of the arrest, including circumstances leading to Baldwin's forced resignation; and describes the long-term impact of Baldwin's removal from the United States. Although no definitive conclusion with regard to Baldwin's guilt or innocence can be reached, we conclude by contrasting the treatment received at the hands of his colleagues in psychology with the lifelong support received from his wife and family, and suggest that Baldwin may have been the victim of a premature rush to judgment.

*Keywords:* James Mark Baldwin, Johns Hopkins University, prostitution, scandal, resignation

On the evening of June 9, 1908, James Mark Baldwin (1861–1934) was taking an after dinner stroll near his home at 118 West Franklin Street in

Baltimore when he “foolishly yielded to a suggestion”<sup>1</sup> that was to lead to his resignation from the Johns Hopkins University, end his productive years as a psychologist, and change his life and that of his family. Indeed, Baldwin's “foolishness” was to exert a significant impact on the history of psychology, leading as it did first to the removal from America of one of the field's most powerful intellects and important contributors, and then to Baldwin's exerting a significant influence on European developmental psychology as

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<sup>1</sup> In early 1910, Baldwin circulated a short one-page description and explanation of the incident to a few colleagues. It is headed “Extract from a letter—;” and a copy can be found accompanying a letter from Baldwin to Edward Bradford Titchener, 11 February 1910, Titchener Papers, Box 2, Folder Jan.-Mar. 19, 1910, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY. Further citations to this document will be given as “Extract.” Although we do not know why Baldwin headed this letter “Extract from a letter—;” it is possible that he took it from a longer letter that he wrote to his colleagues at Hopkins in explanation of his resignation (see n. 85).

an expatriate in Paris. Until recently, however, apart from a few facts contained in a very general statement circulated by Baldwin himself and a few pages of handwritten notes made by the Hopkins president, Ira Remsen, and a member of the Board of Trustees, Judge Henry David Harlan,<sup>2</sup> very little has been known about what actually took place on that fateful evening. Although there are still gaps and a few surmises in the narrative that follows, we can now offer a much more thorough account of the relevant events.<sup>3</sup>

### The Incident

Here is how Baldwin himself described the events in a letter circulated to a few close colleagues almost two years after the fact:

—In the early summer of 1908, I foolishly yielded to a suggestion, made after a dinner, to visit a house of a colored “social” sort and see what was done there. I did not know before going that immoral women were harbored there. I was found there by officers, entirely through my ignorance: and to save themselves the proprietors charged me with bringing a woman there. The charge was dismissed by the presiding officer, as soon as he heard my statement: and the people bringing it were subsequently convicted and “sent up.” The presiding justice called at my house afterwards and assured me that there was no evidence of anything either illegal or immoral against me . . . The police captain, I am informed, who made the raid on that occasion has since been on trial for protecting crime, and this case has appeared in the evidence against him.<sup>4</sup>

This is undoubtedly one of the most notorious events in the early history of American psychology; yet almost nothing beyond the fact that Baldwin was arrested in a house of prostitution has been known about the incident itself—not the exact date in 1908, not the location of the bawdy house, not the name of the madam, not the details surrounding the arrest, not the name of the woman Baldwin was presumed to have brought with him to the house, not the names of the arresting officers or of the presiding justice, and not, of course, whether Baldwin was, in fact, a victim of circumstance and of his own ignorance. This is not surprising, because both Baldwin and the Hopkins administration did everything in their power to hush up the affair. Baldwin had his wife and two daughters to protect; the Hopkins administration was concerned with the reputation of the institution.

It was almost nine months before word of the incident began to leak out,<sup>5</sup> and then to only a small group, including the Baltimore mayor, J(ohn) Barry Mahool (1870–1935), the Hopkins president, Ira Remsen (1846–1927), and three members of the Hopkins Board of Trustees, Judge Henry David Harlan (1858–1943), R(ober) Brent Keyser (1859–1927), and Blanchard Randall (1856–1942). Only in late December 1909, more than five months after Baldwin’s resignation from Hopkins had become public and 18 months after the arrest, did Baldwin’s colleagues at large become aware of the real reason for Baldwin’s resignation, and then in only the most general terms.

Where there are few facts, speculation thrives; and in the case of a prominent figure arrested in a house of prostitution, the direction that that speculation is likely to take is obvious. Opinions concerning Baldwin’s guilt or lack thereof circulated freely in early 1910; but the vast majority of his colleagues chose to believe the worst and turned against him. This had significant consequences both for Baldwin and for psychology.

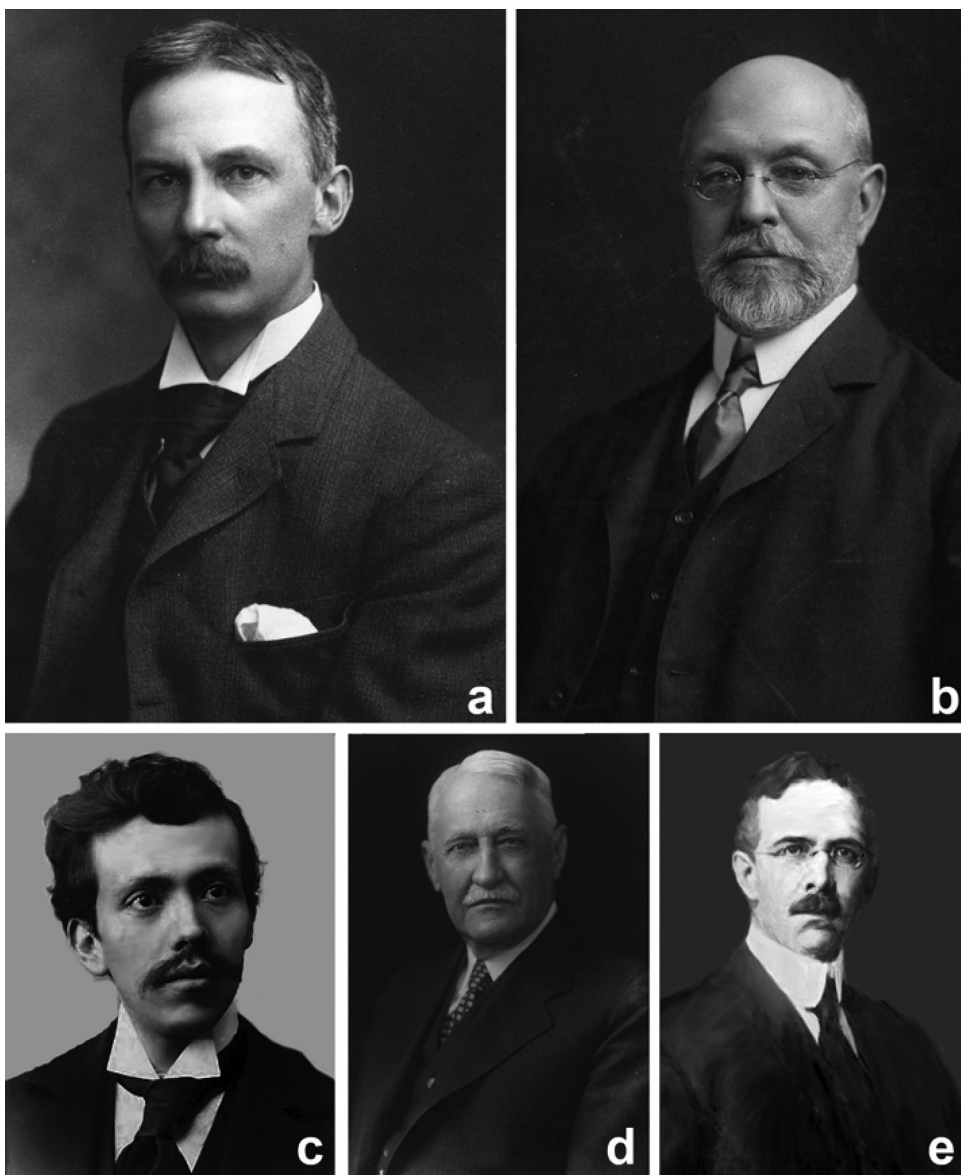
Before discussing the aftermath of the arrest, here is our best reconstruction, on the basis of the evidence now available, of what transpired on the evening of June 9, 1908. Baldwin, shown in Figure 1a, as he appeared

<sup>2</sup> Remsen notes; Harlan notes, 1910. Records of the Office of the President, Record Group RG 02.001, Series 1, File No. 56, Department of Philosophy and Psychology, Hamburger Archives, Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD. Further citations to this file will be given as “Presidential Records.”

<sup>3</sup> These gaps and surmises will be identified as such as they arise in the narrative. Although relatively little has been known about the arrest itself, valuable, albeit partial, accounts of the aftermath of the arrest can be found in Pauly (1974) and Richards (1987).

<sup>4</sup> Extract. The police captain to whom Baldwin refers was Capt. Bernard J. Ward, then in charge of the Northwestern District. In a sensational trial that began on 27 December 1909 and ended on 2 January 1910 with Ward’s dismissal from the police force, Ward was tried on charges that included police protection of bawdy houses; and a raid resulting in the “arrest of a prominent White man” figured in the trial. In this regard, Baldwin’s account is accurate. The Ward trial will be described in more detail below.

<sup>5</sup> That said, however, it appears that the affair and Baldwin’s part in it were known from the outset to at least one and perhaps several Baltimore journalists. For whatever reason, they chose not to reveal this information immediately.



*Figure 1.* James Mark Baldwin (a) and some of the principal individuals involved in the aftermath of his arrest: Ira Remsen, president of John Hopkins University (b); Ezequiel Adeodato Chávez, then Mexican Subsecretary of Public Instruction and Fine Art (c); Henry David Harlan, chief judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City and Hopkins trustee (d); and J[ohn] Barry Mahool, mayor of Baltimore (e). Images a, b, and d appear by courtesy of the Ferdinand Hamburger Archives, Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD; image c appears by courtesy of Daniel de Lira Luna; image e is adapted from Coyle (1919) and provided courtesy of David Inouye, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.

about the time of his arrest, was only a few days away from leaving the United States to summer in Europe. Although we cannot be certain, it seems likely that his wife and

daughters had already left Baltimore, perhaps for Maine, a practice fairly standard among those in the Hopkins community wishing to avoid the numerous discomforts of a Balti-

more summer.<sup>6</sup> The fact that the bawdy house in which the arrest took place was located at 510 Tyson Alley, just two blocks from the Baldwin home at 118 West Franklin Street (see Figure 2), together with the fact that Baldwin was out walking by himself after dinner, something that would have been quite natural had he dined alone, lend some credence to this supposition. Be that as it may, it was as he was taking this stroll that Baldwin encountered someone who suggested that he visit the house on Tyson Alley and “see what was done there.”

What was done in houses of a “colored ‘social’ sort” in Baltimore in 1908 and who may have made this suggestion? The answer to the initial part of this question is not as obvious as one might at first assume. Although prostitution, gambling, and illegal alcohol (and sometimes drugs) were not uncommon in houses of this sort, many such places were also home to live performances of rag-time, jazz, and other forms of African American popular music.<sup>7</sup> Although it is certainly possible that Baldwin knew that the house he was to visit was a bawdy house and that he entered it for the obvious reason, it is also possible that he was, as he later claimed, unaware that women were harbored there and that his visit was prompted by simple curiosity. We will never know; but, as we will argue, given the facts that we do have and their susceptibility to multiple interpretations, Baldwin’s colleagues’ rush to judgment, with all of the negative consequences that followed, may well have been premature.

Who suggested that Baldwin visit the house on Tyson Alley? Again, we cannot be completely certain; but, it seems likely that the individual involved was a young Black woman by the name of Annie Jones. Evidence for this comes from the fact that Jones was arrested along with Baldwin and the bawdy house madam, Sadonia Young,<sup>8</sup> that the indictments of Young included the charge of “harboring” a minor, with Annie Jones named as the minor involved,<sup>9</sup> and that in his own account Baldwin later indicated that the “proprietors charged me with bringing a woman there.”<sup>10</sup>

As far as we have been able to determine, the police raid took place almost immediately after Baldwin entered the house at 510 Tyson Alley.<sup>11</sup> The arresting officers were Patrolman William L. Scrivner (born 1871, also sometimes

spelled Scrivener) and Sergeant William H. Bush (born 1854 or 1855, also sometimes spelled Busch) of the Northwestern District (see Figure 3a and 3b). After the arrest, Young, Jones, and Baldwin were taken to the Northwestern Police District Station House (see Figure 3c) for booking.

Why, in a city beset with prostitution,<sup>12</sup> was this particular house raided? And why, in nominally southern Baltimore, where race was still very much associated with social influence, was this establishment raided just after an obviously prosperous and undoubtedly well-dressed White man entered the premises? The answer is complicated and involves allegations of corruption at multiple levels in the Northwestern Police District, conflict and infighting among members of the district force, arbitrary (and possibly corrupt) actions on the part of the district commander, Captain Bernard J. Ward (born 1859, see Figure 3d), and failure on the part of Sadonia Young to come up with protection money on the night of the raid.

The main players in this act of the drama were Ward, Sergeant Frank J. Plum (born 1860, see Figure 3e, and who appears to have been

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, “Where Hopkins Men Will Spend Summer.” *Baltimore News*, Thursday, 18 June 1908, 4. As a coastal city, Baltimore suffered during this period not only from heat in the summer but also from high humidity, swarms of mosquitoes, the stench of drains, and occasional outbreaks of disease (Stimpert, James. Personal communication, 6 June 2011).

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Southern (2002) for an article on jazz great, Eubie Blake. When Blake was a teenager, he played piano at Aggie Shelton’s Baltimore bordello.

<sup>8</sup> Also known as Sidonia Young, Sedonia Young, and Sardonina Young.

<sup>9</sup> Baltimore City Criminal Court (Criminal Papers), State v. Sadonia Young (1908), (two-count) indictment no. 1156, (four-count) indictment no. 1157, box no. 122 (MSA T495-134, HF/02/33/080), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD. Hereinafter, these will be cited as Young indictments. Unfortunately, the indictments do not give Annie Jones’s exact age, only that she was below the age of 18.

<sup>10</sup> Extract. Harlan also suggested that Baldwin was found in the company of a young woman (Harlan notes, 1910, Presidential Records).

<sup>11</sup> According to testimony given by Sadonia Young during the Ward trial (“Four Accuse Serg. Plum.” *Baltimore Sun*, 30 December 1909, 12).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, *The Maryland Vice Commission Report*. Baltimore: 1915. Five Vols. Unpublished manuscript, 1:375. Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, MD. For an interesting modern take on the Vice Commission Report, see Haag (1991).

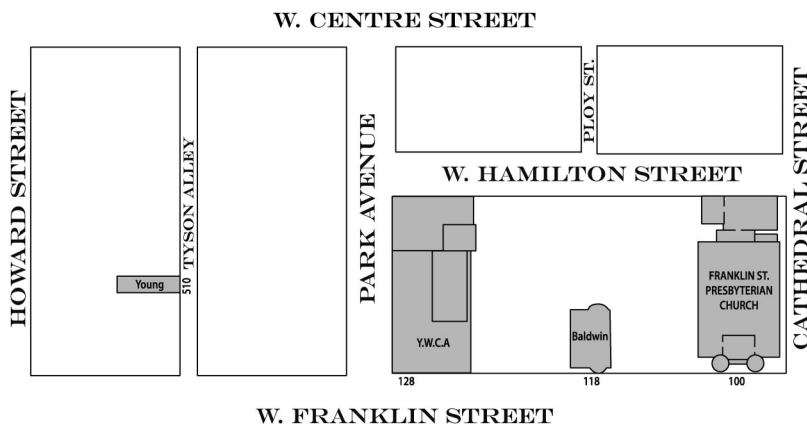


Figure 2. A map showing the relative locations of Baldwin's home (118 West Franklin Street) and Sadonia Young's establishment (510 Tyson Alley) based on information provided in Volume 2 of *Insurance Maps of Baltimore Maryland* (published in 1914 by the Sanborn Map Company).

Ward's sworn enemy), Patrolman William L. Scrivner, and, of course, Sadonia Young. The relevant information comes from testimony presented during Ward's trial before the police board, a trial that lasted from December 27, 1909, to January 2, 1910.<sup>13</sup> Ward stood accused of neglect of duty (for failure to report a disorderly house in his district—not 510 Tyson Alley—for indictment), official misconduct (for receipt of protection money from a saloonkeeper), and actions prejudicial to the service (for transferring patrolmen from one part of the district to another following raids that he himself had not authorized).<sup>14</sup> Plum and Scrivner (who, respectively, had been transferred just prior to and immediately after the raid on Tyson Alley) were called as witnesses against Ward. Young and several other women, whose testimony impugned the character of Plum, were called as witnesses for the defense.

Here is how the *Baltimore Sun* reported it: "Sidonia [sic!] Young, the first to testify that she paid the Sergeant [Plum], declared that she gave him \$3 every week and that Patrolman Scrivner was given \$2." Asked about her arrest, Young stated that "On the night of the raid Officer Scrivner had gotten only \$1.50 and I believe he raided me because he did not get the other 50 cents. He ran after the officers when he saw a White man come into my house."<sup>15</sup> Although Plum denied Young's allegations, it is not unlikely that Sadonia Young's account is

accurate. What better way, after all, for the police to call her to account for failure to pay for protection than not only to arrest her for keeping a disorderly house, but also to do so just after a prosperous White man had entered the establishment. If so, Baldwin's life may well have been completely and disastrously altered for want of 50 cents.

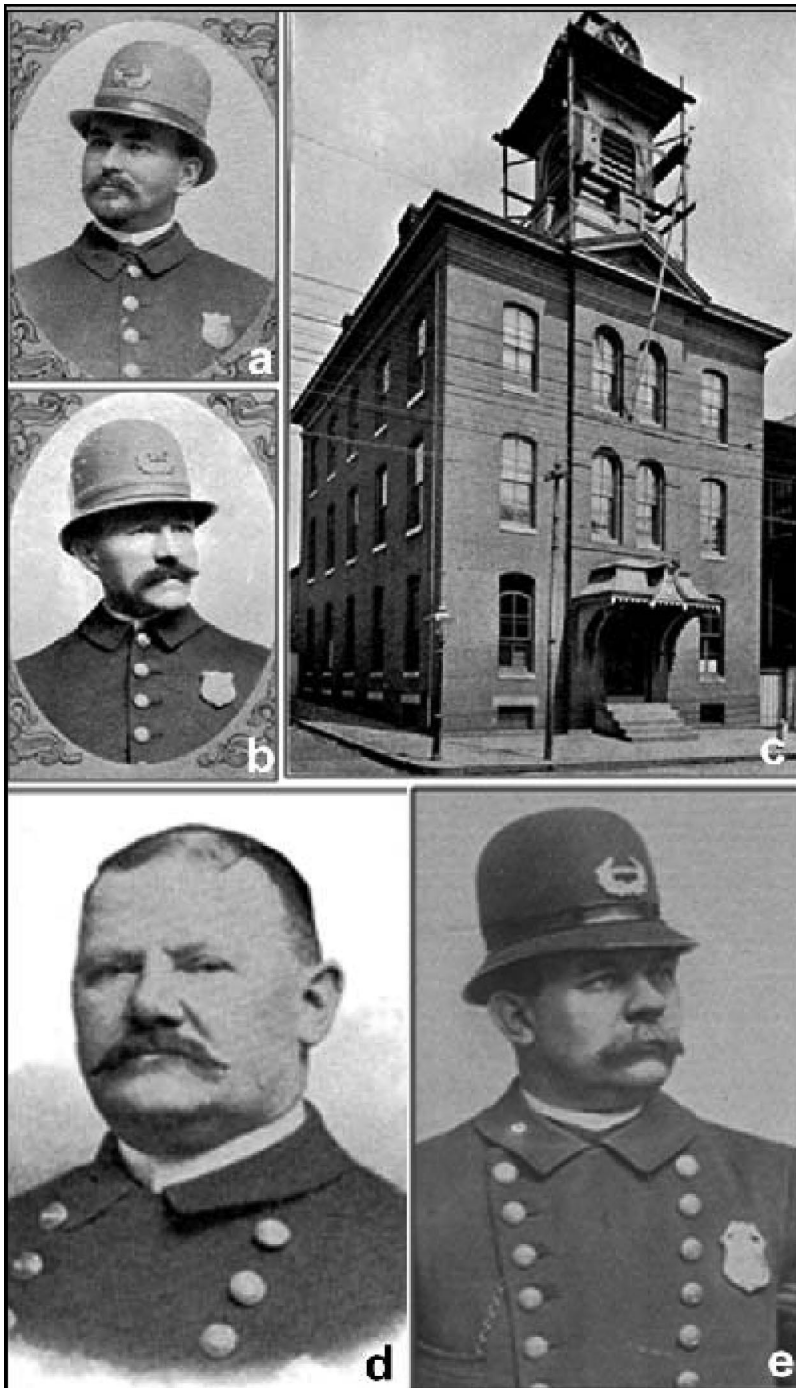
At the station house, Baldwin initially gave a false name, James Manson Brown, and claimed to be a visiting U.S. Treasury official from Washington. He was then arraigned before police court magistrate Justice Alva H. Tyson (1868–1913).<sup>16</sup> According to a later statement by Justice Tyson, it was during these proceedings that Baldwin revealed his true identity and explained the circum-

<sup>13</sup> Although we have not been able to locate any of the original court documents relating to the Ward trial, the preparations and proceedings were extensively covered in the *Baltimore Sun*, 10 December 1909, 16; 11 December 1909, 16; 16 December 1909, 14; 18 December 1909, 8; 24 December 1909, 14; 27 December 1909, 12; 29 December 1909, 9 & 12; 30 December 1909, 12; and 2 January 1910, 8 & 12.

<sup>14</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, 16 December 1909, 14.

<sup>15</sup> "Four Accuse Serg. Plum." *Baltimore Sun*, 30 December 1909, 12.

<sup>16</sup> The Northwestern District station house included a police magistrate's court to provide immediate judicial review of evidence on which arrests were based. As far as we are aware, the fact that the magistrate's last name was Tyson and the street on which Baldwin was arrested was named Tyson Alley is purely coincidental.



*Figure 3.* The arresting officers: Patrolman William L. Scrivner (a) and Sergeant William H. Bush (b); the Northwestern District station house where Baldwin was taken on the evening of his arrest (c); Captain Bernard J. Ward, whose trial provided important testimony relative to the raid on Tyson Alley (d); and Sergeant Frank J. Plum, accused by Sadonia Young of taking money to protect her establishment (e). Images adapted from McCabe (1907).

stantial nature of his presence in the Young house. The charges against him were then dismissed by Tyson on their merits.<sup>17</sup>

On June 10, Sadonia Young was bound over for trial by Justice Tyson and sent to the Baltimore City Jail.<sup>18</sup> Two indictments were then returned against her by the grand jury.<sup>19</sup> The first contained two counts, one for keeping a bawdy house and one for keeping a disorderly house. The second indictment charged her with four counts of criminal conduct (i.e., abducting, enticing, secreting, and harboring) involving a minor under the age of 18 for the purposes of prostitution, fornication, and concubinage. The minor named was Annie Jones. On June 16, Sadonia Young was brought to trial before Judge Henry Stockbridge (1856–1924) of the Baltimore Supreme Bench. Coverage of the trial appeared on the front page of the *Baltimore World*:

As an undercurrent of events that have kept the Northwestern district busy during the past few weeks, Sadonia Young, a notorious negro woman, was today fined \$500 and sent to jail for a year for conducting a disorderly house at 510 Tyson Alley. Considerable interest has been aroused in the case because of the incidents surrounding the arrest of the woman. At the time Officer Scrivener and Sgt. Bush, Northwestern, arrested the woman for keeping a disorderly house, a young colored girl named Annie Jones was also arrested, as was a White man in company with her at the time. At the station the man gave the name of "James Manson Brown," and at that time it was reported that he was a Treasury Official from Washington. Later it developed that he was a Hopkins man and is said to have sailed for Europe. Despite that the Young woman was held and that Annie Jones was also taken into custody and detained by the authorities, the case against "Brown" was dismissed.<sup>20</sup>

Because Officer Scrivner was on leave and failed to appear in court,<sup>21</sup> the charges involving Young's harboring a minor were dismissed. However, on the testimony of neighborhood witnesses, most of whom lived in the 200 block of Franklin Street, Young was convicted on two counts of keeping a bawdy and disorderly house.<sup>22</sup>

That might have been the end of it; but, unfortunately for Baldwin, in another piece of bad luck, a journalist who happened to be at the station house on the night of the raid recognized him. That this is the case is evident from the fact that the above newspaper account of the Young trial, appearing just a few days after Baldwin's arrest, refers to the so-called "James Manson Brown" as a "Hopkins man . . . said to have sailed for Europe." Although we cannot be cer-

tain, it is likely that the journalist in question was Lawrason Riggs (1861–1940). Riggs, who was then affiliated with the *Baltimore News*,<sup>23</sup> had graduated from Princeton in the Class of 1883; Baldwin had graduated in 1884. If so, Baldwin's attempt to disguise his identity was doomed from the outset. It was known to the newspapers; and it was known to the judiciary (indeed, this is what allowed Tyson to visit Baldwin at home the next day to reassure him that there was nothing "either illegal or immoral" in what he had done); but, as yet it was known to only a few, and they were keeping their own counsel.

Following Justice Tyson's visit (which presumably took place on June 10), Baldwin left Baltimore for New York City; and on the morning of the 13th, traveling alone, he embarked for Europe on the *S.S. New York*, arriving at Southampton, England, on the 21st,<sup>24</sup> a mere 12 days after his arrest and 6 days after Sadonia Young went to trial. When he left for England, seem-

<sup>17</sup> "Farnan Investigating." *Baltimore Sun*, 11 December 1909, 16. Tyson is quoted as saying "after a full consideration of the case he dismissed the charge because there was no foundation for it." This account agrees perfectly with that of Baldwin. Nonetheless, there is some ambiguity here. Harlan had heard "that this man who had given an assumed name . . . had paid to a lawyer . . . a large fee to procure the dismissal of the charge" (Harlan notes, 1910, Presidential Records). In news coverage leading up to the Ward trial, there is mention of \$700 being given by a "White man . . . arrested in a raid on a colored 'joint'" (*Baltimore Sun*, 11 December 1909, 16) to someone unknown to keep his part in the arrest quiet. Indeed, it is even intimated that blackmail was involved. Inasmuch as this is all hearsay, however, and Tyson corroborates Baldwin's account that the charges were immediately dismissed because, in Tyson's view, there was nothing to them, we hesitate to give too much credence to what may simply have been rumor.

<sup>18</sup> Baltimore City Criminal Court (Criminal Papers), State v. Sadonia Young (1908), indictment no. 1157, Commitment to Jail, 10 June 1908, box no. 122 (MSA T495-134, HF/02/33/080), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.

<sup>19</sup> Young indictments.

<sup>20</sup> "Surprise in Court." *Baltimore World*, 16 June 1908, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Failure to require Scrivner to postpone his leave and to appear at the Young trial was mentioned, but did not figure prominently, in relation to problems in the Northwestern District during coverage of the Ward trial (*Baltimore Sun*, 2 January 1910, 12).

<sup>22</sup> "Surprise in Court," op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> See Crooks (1968).

<sup>24</sup> See Names and Descriptions of Alien Passengers Arriving at the Port of Southampton. Accessed 15 December 2012, <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?h=15758269&db=BT26&indiv=try/>. Available by subscription.

ingly absolved by Tyson's assurance that he had done nothing either illegal or immoral, Baldwin may well have felt secure in the belief that his troubles were over. As we shall see, however, they were just beginning.

### The Background

In June 1908, when James Mark Baldwin was arrested, he was at the pinnacle of his career: a noted academic who had made significant contributions to psychology, philosophy, biology, sociology, and education, and a professor and chair in one of America's most prestigious institutions of higher learning.<sup>25</sup> After graduating with the bachelor's degree from Princeton in 1884, Baldwin spent a year studying in Europe on the Chancellor Henry W. Green Fellowship and 2 years as a student in the Princeton Theological Seminary and sometime Instructor of French and German in Princeton College. In 1887, he accepted his first regular academic appointment, the chair of psychology, metaphysics, and logic at Lake Forest College in Illinois. While at Lake Forest, he completed work on his doctoral dissertation at Princeton<sup>26</sup> under the supervision of James McCosh (1811–1894), the president of the College, and completed the manuscript for his first book, *Handbook of Psychology: Senses and Intellect*.<sup>27</sup> This was followed in 1889 by a 4-year term as Professor of Metaphysics and Logic at the University of Toronto, during which he established Canada's first psychology laboratory, carried out a series of ground-breaking experimental studies of infant behavior,<sup>28</sup> and published the second volume of his handbook, *Handbook of Psychology: Feeling and Will*.<sup>29</sup>

### Princeton

Baldwin's ascent to real prominence began in 1893, when he accepted the Stuart Professorship of Experimental Psychology and established a new psychology laboratory at Princeton. In 1894, he collaborated with James McKeen Cattell (1860–1944) to found the *Psychological Review*, one of America's most influential psychology journals. Unfortunately, the collaboration with Cattell was sufficiently contentious that he and Baldwin had to take sole editorial control of the journal in alternate years, in order to maintain anything even resembling peaceful coexis-

tence.<sup>30</sup> At Princeton, Baldwin also completed work on two important books on the nature of mental and social development, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (Baldwin, 1895) and *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development: A Study in Social Psychology* (Baldwin, 1897). He contributed a mechanism to neo-Darwinian evolutionary theory that has since come to be known as the "Baldwin effect" (Baldwin, 1896a; cf. Wozniak, 2009a) and edited a monumental, widely cited, three-volume *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (Baldwin, 1901–1905), whose goal was to define every major term in both fields. Contributors to "Baldwin's dictionary," as it was popularly known, were drawn from a variety of disciplines, including philosophy, psychology, sociology, biology, physics, and mathematics; and they included many of the leading scholars and scientists of the day.

Unfortunately, Baldwin was a rather prickly character; he was arrogant, much given to controversy, and extraordinarily concerned with his own rights in matters of intellectual priority. Over the years, he engaged in published and unpublished conflict with many of his colleagues. The first of these occurred in *Science* in 1890, when he chose to attack none other than William James (1842–1910; Baldwin, 1890c, 1890d). James showed remarkable forbearance, however; the breach was quickly healed, and James eventually became one of Baldwin's greatest admirers. Thereafter, in relatively short order, Baldwin managed to alienate G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924; Ross, 1972) and James McKeen Cattell (Sokal, 1997). He engaged in polemics with the psychologists Edward Bradford

<sup>25</sup> Detailed information regarding Baldwin's life, career, and various aspects of his work appear in Wozniak (1998, 2001, 2004, 2009a, 2009b) as well as in the work of many others. Among the more important are the following: Broughton and Freeman-Moir (1982); Cairns (1992); Mueller (1976); Noble (1958); Pauly (1974, 1986); Richards (1987); Russell (1978) and Valsiner & van der Veer (1988).

<sup>26</sup> The dissertation, which involved a critique of materialism, formed the basis for Baldwin (1890a).

<sup>27</sup> Baldwin (1889).

<sup>28</sup> Baldwin (1890b, 1890c, 1890d, 1891b, 1892). For valuable accounts of the circumstances surrounding Baldwin's appointment at Toronto, see Green (2004) and Hoff (1992).

<sup>29</sup> Baldwin (1891a).

<sup>30</sup> See Sokal (1997) for a lovely discussion of the collaboration and its discontents.



Titchener (1867–1927; Krantz, 1969), James Sully (1842–1923; Baldwin, 1896b), and John Dewey (1859–1952; Baldwin, 1898), the biologist Wesley Mills (1847–1915; Baldwin, 1896c), and the philosopher Bernard Bosanquet (1848–1923; Baldwin, 1902); and he became involved in priority disputes with the sociologists Gabriel Tarde (1843–1904; Lubek, 1981) and Franklin Henry Giddings (Baldwin, 1899, see especially the preface to the second edition of *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*). This combativeness did not endear him to his colleagues; and although he was widely respected for his work and his efforts on behalf of the field, he was not widely liked as an individual, a fact that would come back to haunt him in the aftermath of his arrest.

Baldwin loved Princeton. It was his alma mater. It was where he met and married Helen Hayes Green (1864–1963), and where his first child, Helen Green Baldwin (1889–1984), was born.<sup>31</sup> It was home to his wife's family, not only to her mother, Elizabeth Hayes Green (1830–1901), and father, William Henry Green (1825–1900), a noted professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary, but to her only sister, Mary Elizabeth (Masry, 1859–1931), who was married to William Libbey (1855–1927), Princeton's professor of physical geography. Indeed, for most of their years in Princeton, the Baldwins shared a large house with the Greens, Baldwin's study at one end of the house, his father-in-law's at the other.<sup>32</sup> It seems likely that Baldwin would have happily spent the remainder of his career at Princeton (and never known about Tyson Alley) had it not been for two factors: his deteriorating relationship with another member of the Princeton faculty, Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), soon to be appointed president of the University,<sup>33</sup> and his growing dissatisfaction with empirical work in psychology.<sup>34</sup>

Baldwin and Wilson had known one another since childhood. Baldwin was born in 1861 and raised in Columbia, South Carolina. Wilson, 5 years Baldwin's senior, lived from 1870–1874 in Columbia, where his father, Joseph Ruggles Wilson (1822–1903), served as a professor at the Columbia Theological Seminary and minister to the First Presbyterian Church, the church attended by the Baldwin family. Whether Baldwin's antipathy for Wilson had its roots in these early years is unknown; but, within a few years

of Baldwin's arrival at Princeton in 1893,<sup>35</sup> he had formed a decidedly negative view of both Wilson's views and his style.

In 1896, for example, on the second day of the Princeton Sesquicentennial Celebration, Wilson, the humanist, gave an address in which, according to Baldwin, he spoke of "the deadening effects of the 'fumes' arising from the scientific laboratories upon the classics and upon literary studies."<sup>36</sup> Baldwin was appalled. As he later wrote of Wilson:

And with this hostility to positive knowledge went lack of information regarding the great scientific achievements of the past. If this was his attitude toward the established sciences, what was to be expected in the case of new sciences such as experimental psychology, which I represented. The "soul" confined in a laboratory? — fi! Here the fumes become absolutely stifling.<sup>37</sup>

Nor was Baldwin fond of Wilson as a colleague. As Baldwin described it: "No one wished—least of all did I—to serve on a committee with Wilson; for a report of conciliation and compromise was impossible. It was either a Wilsonian report; or an anti-Wilsonian; there

<sup>31</sup> This occurred on 14 September 1889. As Baldwin (1930) later recounted it: "It was with the birth of the first child, Helen (the "H" of the books on mental development), that interest in the problems of genesis—origin, development, evolution—became prominent" (p. 4). Helen's only sibling, Elizabeth Ford Baldwin (1891–1980), was born in Toronto on 3 November 1891.

<sup>32</sup> Baldwin (1926, vol. 1, p. 117).

<sup>33</sup> Wilson, of course, then went on to become governor of New Jersey and the 28th president of the United States.

<sup>34</sup> It is also likely that the death of Helen Baldwin's parents, her father in 1900 and her mother in 1901, freed the Baldwins to leave Princeton.

<sup>35</sup> Wilson had come to Princeton in 1890.

<sup>36</sup> Baldwin (1926, Vol. 1, p. 59). Baldwin was recalling Wilson's address 30 years after the fact, in Paris, undoubtedly without access to the original. Wilson's critique was not of science applied to the material world, but of science applied to the mind and society by those intoxicated with the successes of physical science. What he actually said was: "... the scientific spirit of the age is doing us a great disservice, working in us a certain great degeneracy... Past experience is discredited, and the laws of matter are supposed to apply to spirit and to the make-up of society... this is... the work of the noxious, intoxicating gas which has somehow got into the lungs of the rest of us from out the crevices of his [the scientist's] workshop..." (Harper, 1898, pp. 127–128).

<sup>37</sup> Baldwin (1926, vol. 1, p. 60). But in this regard Baldwin was quite correct; it was precisely toward the mental and social "sciences" that Wilson's antipathy was directed.

was no ‘middle-term.’”<sup>38</sup> When it became clear in 1902 that Wilson would be elected to the presidency of Princeton, Baldwin began to examine his options.

As it happened, the desire to escape from Wilson’s influence coincided with a shift in Baldwin’s academic interests. His experience in editing the *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (an endeavor that lasted from 1898–1902) had considerably broadened his intellectual and academic horizons, and brought him into direct contact with the major philosophical and scientific issues and some of the most important scholars of the day. By 1902, he had also begun to doubt the value of laboratory psychology. As he later described it:

The experimental vein was worked, though with lessening interest, for the 10 years of my stay at Princeton . . . the new interest in genetic psychology and general biology had become absorbing, and the meagerness of the results of the psychological laboratories (apart from direct work on sensation and movement) was becoming evident everywhere. I began to feel that there was truth in what [William] James was already proclaiming as to the barrenness of the tables and curves coming from many laboratories.<sup>39</sup>

As Baldwin was contemplating his future, the president of Johns Hopkins University, Ira Remsen<sup>40</sup> (see Figure 1b), received permission from the university’s Board of Trustees to establish two new chairs, one in philosophy and one in psychology. Writing to Baldwin in July 1903 to solicit recommendations concerning appropriate candidates, Remsen must have been surprised to receive a reply indicating that Baldwin, seeking possibly to “change my base of operations,”<sup>41</sup> would himself be willing to consider such an appointment.

Within a month or so, the terms of Baldwin’s appointment at Hopkins had been negotiated; and Baldwin had been hired as Hopkins’s new Professor of Philosophy and Psychology.<sup>42</sup> This position would relieve him of undergraduate teaching and supervision of the experimental laboratory, and justify his increased attention to philosophy. On August 18, he wrote to Wilson, then in Europe, to announce his departure as of the end of the fall semester<sup>43</sup>; and the following January, he moved to Baltimore, where his fame and accomplishments continued to grow.

## Baltimore

In Baltimore, after years of conflict with Cattell over the handling of the *Psychological Review*, Baldwin bought out Cattell’s financial interest in the journal and took over as sole owner and editor.<sup>44</sup> He also founded a new periodical, the *Psychological Bulletin*; he was elected first president of the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology (1904), which he helped organize; and he received honorary degrees from the Universities of South Carolina (1905) and Geneva (1909). He published the first two volumes of what would eventually become a three-volume work in philosophical psychology, broadly entitled *Thought and Things: A Study of the Development and Meaning of*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>39</sup> Baldwin (1930, p. 4).

<sup>40</sup> Before becoming president of Johns Hopkins, Remsen has achieved considerable eminence as a scientist (chemist). The contrast between his attitude toward the role of science in the academy and that of Wilson would surely have struck a responsive chord with Baldwin.

<sup>41</sup> Baldwin to Remsen, 25 July 1903, Presidential Records.

<sup>42</sup> Remsen to Baldwin, 27 July and 23 August, 1903; Baldwin to Remsen 28, 29, 31 July and 21, 25, 30, 31 August, 1903, Presidential Records. Baldwin’s election to the new professorship occurred at a special meeting of the board, called for that specific purpose on 27 August, 1903 (Minutes of the Trustees, Johns Hopkins University, vol. II, Feb. 7, 1895 to Oct. 7, 1907, p. 342, Ferdinand Hamburger Archives, Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD). Hereinafter these will be cited as “Trustee Minutes.”

<sup>43</sup> Link (1972, pp. 553–554). Baldwin’s departure from Princeton was anything but smooth. True to type, he became embroiled in an acrimonious exchange with Wilson and the Princeton Board of Trustees over his salary and duties for the fall semester. When Wilson and the trustees failed to accept Baldwin’s view of the agreed upon arrangements, Baldwin simply abandoned his Princeton courses mid semester and left for Baltimore (see Link, 1973, pp. 13–110). Needless to say, this finalized the break between Baldwin and Wilson. That the antipathy was mutual is reflected in a letter Wilson wrote to his wife on 6 July 1908, after a chance encounter with Baldwin at a hotel in Edinburgh. As Wilson described the meeting, which occurred more than four years after Baldwin’s departure from Princeton, “I met him [Baldwin] face to face at the door of the hotel . . . and he cut me dead,—not for the first time . . . Isn’t that hard luck?” (Link, 1974, p. 352).

<sup>44</sup> Baldwin purchased Cattell’s share of the *Review* during a silent and contentious auction held in New York, NY on 1 December 1903. He and Cattell were the only bidders. See Sokal (1997) for an amusing account of this affair.

*Thought or Genetic Logic*.<sup>45</sup> And, in 1905, at the behest of William Torrey Harris (1835–1909), then U.S. Commissioner of Education, he served as one of the “educational commissioners” at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland, Oregon (1905).<sup>46</sup> There, he met Ezequiel Adeodato Chávez (1868–1946, see Figure 1c), Mexican Subsecretary of Public Instruction and Fine Art, who arranged for Baldwin to come to Mexico as a guest of the government and advisor on educational reform to the Minister of Public Instruction, Justo Sierra Méndez (1848–1912).<sup>47</sup> This led in December 1905 to the first of four trips that Baldwin would eventually make to Mexico, to a burgeoning interest in public education that was to play a role in his eventual downfall, and to a lasting personal friendship with Chávez that Baldwin turned to his advantage in the aftermath of his arrest.

### The Aftermath

In mid-September 1908,<sup>48</sup> Baldwin returned to Baltimore from Europe to resume his duties at Hopkins. He also returned to greet a new colleague, John Broadus Watson (1878–1958), who had moved to Hopkins from the University of Chicago to accept a full professorship and to take over duties in comparative and experimental psychology. The future looked bright; and that fall, as far as we can determine, the Hopkins authorities were as yet unaware of Baldwin’s arrest.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, however, trouble was brewing.

**Judge Harlan learns of the arrest.** When trouble came, it came from several different directions. In still one more piece of bad luck for Baldwin, the chief judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City happened to be Henry David Harlan (see Figure 1d); and Henry David Harlan was also an influential member of the Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees. In his capacity as chief judge of the Supreme Bench, Harlan had supervisory responsibility for the Baltimore criminal court. Although Sadonia Young’s case was tried before an associate judge of the Supreme Bench, Henry Stockbridge, it is clear that had Harlan interested himself in the case, he would have had ready access to the relevant police documents. And interest himself he did. Whether this occurred because Harlan heard rumors that a “Hopkins man” had been arrested,

because Stockbridge alerted him to the nature of the case, or because Lawrason Riggs or someone else in the journalistic community broke their silence,<sup>50</sup> we do not know; but around the beginning of January 1909, Harlan received a copy of the police report on the arrest of Sadonia Young and learned of Baldwin’s involvement in the affair. From notes in Harlan’s hand, it appears that he too initially kept his own counsel.<sup>51</sup>

**The mayor, the school board, and discovery.** In February 1909, Colonel Albert B. Cunningham (1846–1915) resigned from the Baltimore School Board and the mayor, J(ohn) Barry Mahool (see Figure 1e), began canvassing Baltimore officials in search of an appropriate replacement. By the beginning of March, the mayor’s office was circulating Baldwin’s name as a possible selection; and by the 6th, as indicated in a rather strange and sugges-

<sup>45</sup> Baldwin (1906–1911).

<sup>46</sup> Baldwin (1926, vol. 1, p. 127). The Exposition, which was much like a world’s fair, ran from 1 June to 14 October 1905. Baldwin attended in early June, before touring Alaska and then traveling to Berkeley to lecture on “genetic logic” in the University of California summer school.

<sup>47</sup> Baldwin (1926, vol. 1, p. 128). For additional information on Chávez, see de Lira Luna (2006).

<sup>48</sup> Although we cannot be certain, it appears that Baldwin left Europe on the *S.S. St. Louis* from Cherbourg, France, on 5 September and arrived at the Port of New York on the 12th (see New York, Passenger Lists, 1820–1957. Detail: Year: 1908Arrival; Microfilm Serial: T715\_1141. Accessed 15 December 2012, <http://www.ancestry.com> available by subscription). The relevant passenger is listed on the arrival manifest only as James Baldwin, age 47. However, it seems likely that this is James Mark Baldwin inasmuch as he was sometimes simply listed as “James” on passenger lists, was 47 years old at the time of the crossing, and Cherbourg was his favorite point of departure. The timing would also have been appropriate because classes at Hopkins began on 6 October 1908.

<sup>49</sup> In a meeting on 7 December 1908, for example, the Hopkins Board of Trustees approved, without comment, Baldwin’s routine request for funds for the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology (Trustee Minutes, vol. III, Nov. 4 1907 to May 8, 1916, p. 45).

<sup>50</sup> Riggs, who had received a law degree from the University of Maryland after leaving Princeton, was well acquainted with Judge Harlan, who had been a member of the law faculty and eventually dean of the School of Law at Maryland.

<sup>51</sup> Harlan notes, 1910, Presidential Records. Harlan claimed that he did not immediately share this information with the Hopkins authorities. This claim is at variance, however, with Remsen’s later recollection that he learned of Baldwin’s involvement from Harlan not long after the arrest (Remsen notes, 1910, Presidential Records).

tive little piece in the *Baltimore News*, Mayor Mahool was apparently prepared to move ahead with the appointment (see Figure 4a for a typescript of this article discovered among the Remsen papers<sup>52</sup>).

Whether Baldwin was consulted in this process is unknown. If he was, agreeing to allow his name to be put on the mayor's short list for the appointment showed either a serious lapse in judgment or a naive belief that the arrest was behind him. It was not; and here is what the newspaper had to say:

Unless something unexpected turns up Prof. Mark Baldwin of the Johns Hopkins University will be appointed to the School Board . . . The Mayor feels a peculiar pride in the appointments he has thus far made to the School Board, and is anxious, apparently, to keep up his record by this appointment.<sup>53</sup>

What makes this piece so odd, obviously, is the cryptic phrase "unless something unexpected turns up." In the normal course of events, reporters are not known for qualifications of this sort. This would seem to suggest that the journalist who wrote the announcement had knowledge of Baldwin's 1908 arrest and expected that something would indeed come up to preclude the appointment.<sup>54</sup> And that, of course, is just what occurred.

The mayor's office was tipped off (possibly by the journalist who wrote the *News* article) to the fact that it was Baldwin who had been arrested in the raid on the Sadonia Young establishment. Because appointing someone to the school board who had been arrested in a prostitution raid would have been a major embarrassment to the mayor, Baldwin was summoned to the mayor's office; and, when he admitted that he was the man caught in the raid on Tyson Street, he was asked to decline the appointment.<sup>55</sup> Three days later, under the headline "Prof. Baldwin Out of It," the *Baltimore Sun* reported that the mayor had been notified that "Prof. Mark Baldwin, of the Johns Hopkins University, would not accept the place on the School Board if it were tendered him and thus Professor Baldwin will no longer be considered."<sup>56</sup>

**Hopkins acts.** Now that word of Baldwin's arrest was circulating among local politicians, Harlan felt that the Hopkins trustees had to act quickly to avert a scandal. In conference with Remsen, Keyser, and Randall, it was decided that Harlan should confront Baldwin and, if

Baldwin admitted responsibility, suggest that he take an immediate leave of absence and resign. When confronted, Baldwin apparently "admitted that he was the man arrested . . . that he realized that he would have to resign his Professorship and that he would leave town at once."<sup>57</sup> This is how Baldwin himself recalled it in his account of these events:

My presence there [at Sadonia Young's] was of course most unfortunate, and the affair seemed to the University authorities to threaten scandal to the institution as well as to me. It was suggested to me by the representative of the Board of Trustees delegated to see me that I resign on account of my health. Seeing that I was then under medical advice to rest my throat for a long period and was on the point of asking for a leave of absence, I agreed to this; and left details of announcement, &c., entirely to the University authorities, as I was on the point of starting to Mexico.<sup>58</sup>

Although this was not the first time that Baldwin had claimed a need to rest his throat<sup>59</sup> and he may well have been referring to a leave of absence for the academic year 1909–1910, there is certainly no prior indication that he had

<sup>52</sup> This typescript varies in only minor stylistic ways from the published version. The variations, however, suggest that the typescript may have been a draft.

<sup>53</sup> *Baltimore News*, 6 March 1909, 12. Note minor differences between the published article and the typescript reproduced in Figure 4a.

<sup>54</sup> Although the author of this peculiar little notice is unknown, there are two possible candidates, both with ties to the *Baltimore News* and to the school board. The first is Colonel Albert B. Cunningham, then on the staff of the *News*, whose resignation from the school board led to the vacancy that Baldwin would have been appointed to fill. The second is the journalist and Princeton-man, Lawrason Riggs, also affiliated with the *News*. It was Riggs who was eventually appointed to the school board to succeed Cunningham.

<sup>55</sup> Remsen notes, 1910, Presidential Records.

<sup>56</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, 9 March 1909, 12.

<sup>57</sup> Remsen notes, 1910, Presidential Records.

<sup>58</sup> Extract.

<sup>59</sup> Baldwin suffered lifelong from a variety of psychosomatic complaints. He had severe headaches as an adolescent, and much later published a paper describing his own visual symptoms during migraine (Baldwin, 1900). He fainted during his junior oration (1883) and his senior valedictory address (1884) at Princeton, his inaugural lecture at Toronto (1890), and his first major paper at an International Congress (1892). In 1897, as reported in the *American Journal of Psychology*, 9(1), 135, Baldwin even cancelled oral delivery of his American Psychological Association Presidential address because he had "been ordered by his physician to avoid public speaking." Whether his throat was really in need of rest or whether this was a convenient excuse is not known.

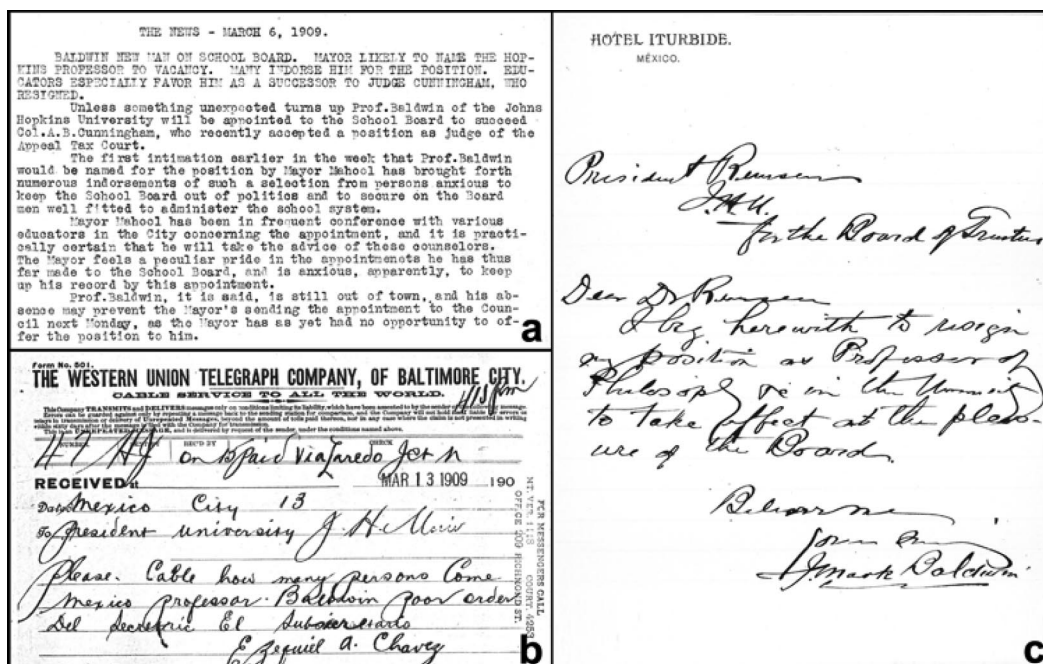


Figure 4. Key documents in the case: a typed draft of the announcement of Baldwin's appointment to the school board to appear in the *Baltimore News*, 6 March 1909 (a); a cable sent from Ezequiel Chávez to Ira Remsen asking how many people are coming to Mexico City (b); and Baldwin's undated letter of resignation (c). All documents are reproduced courtesy of the Ferdinand Hamburger Archives, Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.

been considering a leave for any part of 1908–1909.<sup>60</sup> When Hopkins acted, it must have come to Baldwin as very much a surprise.

Nor did Baldwin's colleagues in psychology have any inkling of what was to come. On December 19, for example, Watson, who was himself at Hopkins and would surely have been alive to any whisper of scandal, wrote to Cornell University psychologist Edward Bradford Titchener concerning a variety of topics of mutual interest, and nothing was said about Baldwin.<sup>61</sup> From December 29–31, the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (APA) convened in Baltimore. Baldwin was not only present, but he also hosted a dinner with at least one of the Hopkins trustees in attendance; and, according to Hugo Münsterberg, who was also present that evening, nothing occurred to suggest that things were other than perfectly normal.<sup>62</sup>

There is, in short, no indication prior to March 1909 of an upcoming leave or of an impending

trip to Mexico. Indeed, as late as March 5 (when copy for the March 15, 1909, issue of the *Psychological Bulletin* would have gone to the printer), Baldwin placed an announcement in the journal to the effect that he would be giving a lecture on the evening of April 23, 1909, at the American Philosophical Society Darwin Centennial celebration in Philadelphia.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Indeed, in the spring of 1908, in his own journal, he had announced himself as teaching "Theory of Experience" and the "Graduate Conference" for the whole academic year 1908–1909 and "Social Psychology" in the second term (see *Psychological Bulletin*, 5(4), front matter appearing before p. 97).

<sup>61</sup> Watson to Titchener, 19 December 1909, Titchener Papers. And Watson was not known for his sense of discretion. Only a few years later, his overly public affair with a graduate student, Rosalie Raynor, would lead to a messy divorce and his own forced resignation from Johns Hopkins.

<sup>62</sup> Münsterberg to Remsen, 8 February 1910, Presidential Records.

<sup>63</sup> *Psychological Bulletin*, 6(3), 120.

**Mexico and the cover story.** Baldwin did not appear for his lecture in Philadelphia in April. On March 11, he wrote to Remsen requesting an immediate leave of absence so that he could depart for Mexico on Saturday, March 13<sup>64</sup>; and the next day, Remsen granted him leave.<sup>65</sup>

But why Mexico and was Baldwin really “on the point of starting to Mexico” when he was called to account? The answer to the second part of this question is almost certainly that he was not. It was mid semester; nothing had been said about a leave. And what university grants professors leave to depart in mid semester? Baldwin was on the spot. He had been advised, presumably by Judge Harlan, to leave town immediately to minimize the likelihood that his name, and that of Johns Hopkins, would be associated with scandal. He needed a destination and a good cover story for the trip.

For both destination and cover story, Baldwin turned to his friend Ezequiel Chávez. As previously noted, Baldwin had been Chávez’s guest on his first trip to Mexico; and Chávez had returned the favor, visiting the Baldwin family in Baltimore in early May 1908. There was a lifelong bond of mutual admiration and friendship; and another visit to Mexico for purposes of consulting, even if informally, on the state of Mexican education would provide Baldwin with the cover story that he needed to excuse his sudden departure. Although Baldwin’s request that Chávez act as his host has not been found, it is likely, given the time frame, that he sent Chávez a cable with this request on or about March 11. That Baldwin’s decision was precipitous and that, at this point, Chávez had no inkling of the real reason for Baldwin’s impending arrival is clear from the fact that on March 13, the very day that Baldwin departed for Mexico, Chávez sent a cable to Remsen, of all people, asking him how many people were coming to Mexico (see Figure 4b).<sup>66</sup>

Watson was placed in temporary charge of the *Psychological Review*, the prestigious lecture at the American Philosophical Society was cancelled, and Baldwin left Baltimore, arriving in Mexico City on March 28. By this point, his cover story had become more elaborate. As reported by the *Mexican Herald*, Baldwin was in Mexico to:

spend a month in conference with the subsecretary of education, Ezequiel Chavez . . . [during] what Prof. Baldwin terms his sabbatical year . . . and according to the general custom . . . he is now entitled to a vacation of a year. He will spend much of his vacation in travel in Europe and other foreign countries.<sup>67</sup>

**Resignation.** On March 30, shortly after arriving in Mexico and perhaps as an instance of wishful thinking,<sup>68</sup> Baldwin wrote to Remsen with a formal request for leave of absence for the following academic year, 1909–1910 “on the lines suggested to me by Judge Harlan.”<sup>69</sup> In this same letter, for the first time, he mentions “the condition of my health, which is suffering from the strain of overwork, especially of lecturing which taxes my throat.” This was a justification that would grow stronger in the weeks to follow.

In the meantime, however, Remsen and key members of the Board of Trustees (i.e., Keyser, Harlan, and Randall), conferring together in early April 1909, decided among themselves that the university’s best course was to sever all ties to Baldwin.<sup>70</sup> On April 12, Remsen replied to Baldwin’s request for a leave. Indicating that presentation of Baldwin’s request to the board would necessitate “a frank statement of reasons therefore” and that that in itself would make it impossible for the board to grant Baldwin’s request, Remsen asked Baldwin instead “to send me without delay your unconditional resignation without any statement as to reason. This is to be without date & is to be acc[epted] at pleasure of B[oard]. We do not see how

<sup>64</sup> Baldwin to Remsen, 11 March 1909, Presidential Records.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Remsen’s handwritten annotation on the bottom of Baldwin’s letter.

<sup>66</sup> Chavez to Remsen, cable, 13 March 1909, Presidential Records.

<sup>67</sup> “Noted educator here to spend a month.” *The Mexican Herald*, 29 March 1909, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Before his departure, Baldwin had apparently given Judge Harlan a letter in which he resigned his position for medical reasons (Remsen notes, 1910, Presidential Records). However, this letter has not been found and, in any event, there is ambiguity in the record as to when this initial resignation would have taken effect, so Baldwin may well have thought that he needed to request a leave for 1909–1910.

<sup>69</sup> That Baldwin was in a state of high emotion at the time is suggested by the fact that he wrote 1910–1911 rather than 1909–1910 (Baldwin to Remsen, 30 March 1909, Presidential Records).

<sup>70</sup> Remsen notes, 1910, Presidential Records.

action upon this can be delayed later than end of this ac[ademic] year.”<sup>71</sup>

One can only imagine Baldwin’s reaction on receipt of this letter from Remsen. On April 17, Baldwin replied, enclosing the requested undated statement of resignation (see Figure 4c). In the cover letter accompanying this statement, he made a stronger assertion about the state of his throat: “my throat threatening serious trouble, I have for some months past—on physicians advice—contemplated giving up lecturing” and made a last ditch attempt to assert his innocence: “May I ask you and the gentlemen you name to consider that I have not acknowledged that there is evidence connecting my name with the case with which rumor connects it, or that . . . I have done what is immoral.”<sup>72</sup> Here is how Baldwin described his resignation in the explanation circulated to colleagues:

Shortly after reaching Mexico City, I received a note from President Remsen demanding my resignation without statement of reasons. I saw nothing to do but to comply; but I accompanied the resignation with a note saying that it was not in any sense to be construed as a confession of immorality: such an intimation I could not allow.

By this point, Baldwin had become something of a threat to Hopkins. When he announced his impending return from Mexico to Baltimore, Remsen cautioned against it:

[Although] that is a matter for you to decide . . . facts in case are known to a no. of ppl. One well-known reporter (a Princet. man) told me that they are known to newspapers . . . A City Councilman told story in some form . . . I mention this to let you know that there is a certain amount of risk of stirring things up involved in yr. coming to Balt. & staying here for a few weeks. It is desire of all of us to keep this thing quiet & in any event to postpone any discussion in regard to yr. withdrawal until after vacation has begun.<sup>73</sup>

Receiving Remsen’s letter at the Manhattan Hotel in New York, where he was staying after returning by sea from Mexico, Baldwin decided to heed Remsen’s advice and replied that he was instead departing for Chicago “where I have some business to close up before I sail for Europe.”<sup>74</sup> Tellingly, however, he also took this opportunity to inform Remsen that he had “accepted an appointment in connection with the National University of Mexico to take effect when the institution is opened in Sept., 1910” and that “In the mean time, I am officially representing the Dept. of Public Instruction of

Mexico at certain of the celebrations, etc. in Europe.” Hopkins may no longer have wanted him; but others, he made plain to say, still did.

#### Europe and the resignation announcements.

Returning briefly to Baltimore in late May 1909, Baldwin packed up his family for a year’s sojourn in Europe. They sailed for England on the *S.S. Minnetonka* on Saturday, June 5, arriving in London on June 14.<sup>75</sup> While the Baldwins were in the mid-Atlantic, the Hopkins trustees, convening on June 7 for the final board meeting of the year, accepted the resignation of their Professor of Philosophy and Psychology.<sup>76</sup>

At the behest of the board, no public announcement of Baldwin’s resignation was made until July, by which time the students had left campus. When it appeared, the first such announcement was published on July 15 in a short note in the *Psychological Bulletin*. After Baldwin’s departure, the *Bulletin* had been taken over by Baldwin’s former Princeton psychology colleague and academic protégé, Howard Warren (1867–1934). The note that appeared in the *Bulletin* was composed by Baldwin, who sent it to Warren. Warren then forwarded it to Hopkins to be vetted by Remsen before insertion in the journal.<sup>77</sup> It read as follows: “Professor Baldwin has resigned his position in the Johns Hopkins University. He is advised to give his voice a prolonged rest from continuous lecturing. He will spend at least a year abroad.”<sup>78</sup>

Not until mid-September did an announcement of Baldwin’s resignation appear in the Baltimore papers; and when it did, the cover

<sup>71</sup> Remsen to Baldwin, 12 April 1909, Presidential Records. The board wanted Baldwin’s letter to be undated so that it could accept it at its pleasure (Remsen notes, 1910, Presidential Records).

<sup>72</sup> Baldwin to Remsen, 17 April 1909, Presidential Records.

<sup>73</sup> Remsen to Baldwin, 12 May 1909, Presidential Records.

<sup>74</sup> Baldwin to Remsen, 13 May 1909, Presidential Records.

<sup>75</sup> Baldwin to James, 31 May 1909, William James Papers, MS Am 1092, Item 30. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. For sailing information, see <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?h=15529086&db=BT26&indiv=try>. Available by subscription. The index for this record lists the ship as the *S.S. Minnewaska*; but the arrival record fairly clearly indicates that the ship was the *S.S. Minnetonka*.

<sup>76</sup> Trustee Minutes, vol. III, Nov. 4, 1907 to May 8, 1916, p. 77.

<sup>77</sup> Buchner to Remsen, 2 July 1909, Presidential Records.

<sup>78</sup> *Psychological Bulletin*, 6(7), 256.

story had grown out of all proportion to the truth. Under the headline "Dr. Baldwin To Be Head," it read:

HOPKINS PROFESSOR WILL DIRECT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF MEXICO . . . Friends of Dr. Baldwin gave the information yesterday that . . . [he will] take up education on a broad scale in Mexico. When he resigned from Hopkins in the early summer it was said that it was with this purpose in view. His European trip was intended to broaden his scope of educational knowledge and to inform himself as to the best methods of teaching prevailing in the old universities abroad . . . As said by his friends here Dr. Baldwin will have almost entire authority over the educational system in the republic of Mexico. He will be at the head of a national university to be founded in the capital city . . . From this point of vantage, it is understood he will be expected to direct the whole school system maintained by the government.<sup>79</sup>

This story was picked up by newspapers around the world. If Baldwin read it in Europe, he must have been surprised; but, he could hardly have been as surprised as his colleagues in Mexico. When Baldwin did eventually return to Mexico, it was to no grander pursuit than representing Oxford University at the Mexican centennial celebration and opening of the National University of Mexico (1910)<sup>80</sup> and giving a series of lectures at the newly established university (1912).<sup>81</sup>

**The International Congress.** In concluding his explanatory letter to colleagues, Baldwin summed things up this way:

This is the whole case. My resignation did not take effect until Sept., 1909. The circumstantial evidence and the testimony of interested witnesses is all against me. I simply have to take the consequences: I can only protest that I committed no immoral act.<sup>82</sup>

Unfortunately for Baldwin, however, it was not merely the testimony of interested witnesses that was against him; it was the vast majority of his colleagues in psychology. Nor was he very quick to realize this.

In mid-July 1909, Baldwin traveled with his wife to Geneva, Switzerland, where they visited friends and colleagues, and where Baldwin received an honorary degree from the University of Geneva and attended functions at the Sixth International Congress of Psychology. The story of the events that took place at the Congress and of the intense power struggle that resulted among major American psychologists in the weeks and months after the Congress has been well told by Evans and Down Scott

(1978); we will only summarize it here. Suffice it to say that an international committee, formed to decide on the location of the next (Seventh) International Congress in 1913, decided in favor of holding the Congress in the United States, possibly at Harvard University, and nominated William James as Honorary President, Baldwin as Effective President, and Titchener and Cattell as Vice Presidents.

It is not known how this decision came about. Baldwin was not a member of the international committee and had not previously expressed any interest in the Congress. On the other hand, he was extremely well known internationally, friends with members of the Geneva organizing committee; and he had just received an honorary degree from the university. Be that as it may, alone in knowing just how precarious his academic situation was, Baldwin must have seen the Congress and his role in it as a lifeline, a way to hold on to a prestigious connection to American psychology. His American colleagues, however, who at this point still knew nothing of the state of Baldwin's affairs, reacted as might have been expected. Cattell had no interest whatsoever in accepting any sort of subsidiary position to Baldwin and complained loudly about the slate of officers. Thus, for example, writing to Münsterberg on August 18, 1909, Cattell expressed his disdain this way: "I scarcely know what to think about the International Psychological Congress . . . Perhaps by that time Baldwin will be president of the Republic of Mexico and be unable to attend!"<sup>83</sup> Münsterberg, at Harvard, was incensed that his university had apparently been chosen to host the Congress without his having had anything to say about it; and although somewhat less negative, Titchener too had significant reservations.<sup>84</sup>

**The cover story unravels.** Then, if the international committee's decision had not caused

<sup>79</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, 16 September 1909, 12.

<sup>80</sup> Baldwin represented Oxford University as a distinguished alumnus by virtue of his receipt in 1900 of Oxford's honorary doctorate of science (see Waven, 1910).

<sup>81</sup> Baldwin (1926, vol. 1, pp. 152-154).

<sup>82</sup> Extract.

<sup>83</sup> Cattell to Münsterberg, 18 August 1909, Münsterberg Papers, MS Acc 1614, item 24, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books

<sup>84</sup> Evans & Scott (1978).



enough of an uproar, word began to filter out about the real reason for Baldwin's resignation. This began at Hopkins. Sometime in December 1909, Baldwin's good friend and colleague, the physiologist William Henry Howell (1860–1945), wrote to warn him about rumors circulating around Hopkins, and to ask him to provide clarification. In response to Howell, just before Christmas of 1909, Baldwin sent those who had been closest to him at Hopkins a confidential letter describing the events of 1908 and the reasons for his resignation.<sup>85</sup> John B. Watson would surely have received a copy of this letter, and Watson was on the point of departing for the post-Christmas meetings of the APA, held that year in Boston.

One can only imagine how quickly after Watson's arrival in Boston that word of Baldwin's predicament would have spread among the conferees. In a unanimous vote held on December 31 and spearheaded by Cattell, the psychologists in attendance agreed that it would be better to cancel the International Congress than to hold it with Baldwin in the chair.<sup>86</sup> On January 10, shortly after the APA meetings had adjourned, Titchener, who as usual had abstained from attending the conference, wrote to Cattell to say that he had:

... just heard, in a letter from a colleague at another university, that Baldwin was caught in a negro dive at Baltimore, and in consequence was summarily dismissed from the Hopkins . . . If this thing is true, we cannot let Baldwin hold the presidency of the Congress. His scientific eminence is not impaired, but he becomes socially impossible, and the Congress is largely a social matter.<sup>87</sup>

On January 23, after learning of the APA vote, Baldwin sent letters containing his first public explanation of the affair to his long-time friend William James.<sup>88</sup> On February 5, James circulated Baldwin's letters to a few close colleagues at Harvard, including Münsterberg,<sup>89</sup> who replied to James that, given Baldwin's explanation, the action of the APA was, in his opinion, "grossly exaggerated, cruel, and somewhat hypocritical."<sup>90</sup> Indeed, as Münsterberg continued, "if matters really went on as he described, it seems to me unworthy of serious men who are not schoolgirls to treat Baldwin as if no one could shake hands with him again"<sup>91</sup>; and on February 8, Münsterberg wrote to Baldwin to express his "warm sympathy" for the "awk-

ward situation" in which Baldwin had found himself.<sup>92</sup>

But, despite his words to James and to Baldwin himself, Münsterberg was apparently not satisfied that matters really had gone on as Baldwin had described them. On the same day that he wrote to Baldwin, he also wrote to Ira Remsen to inquire about Hopkins's view of the affair. Quoting Baldwin's explanatory letters to James, he asked Remsen whether he, as "the president of Johns Hopkins University agrees that nothing either legal or moral stands against Professor Mark Baldwin."<sup>93</sup>

Remsen's reply has not been found; but, whatever he wrote (and how could he impeach the actions of the Board of Trustees by agreeing that nothing either legal or moral stood against Baldwin?), he seems to have given Münsterberg the impression that Baldwin's explanation, such as it was, was not known to Hopkins in 1909; and, in his reply to Remsen, Münsterberg took this as *prima facie* evidence for Baldwin's guilt:

The essential point for us is that the explanation which Baldwin gives to the facts now is new to you. It seems evident that he would have brought before you everything which might excuse him. As he did not present the matter in this light to you, it is obvious that his

<sup>85</sup> As far as we are aware, neither the letter from Howell to Baldwin nor the letter from Baldwin to his Hopkins colleagues is extant. The existence of these letters is known from Baldwin to Titchener, 10 March 1910, Titchener Papers. However, it may be that, in terms of its description of the events of 9 June 1908, the letter from Baldwin to his Hopkins colleagues was substantially similar to the Extract.

<sup>86</sup> Münsterberg to Remsen, 8 February 1910, Presidential Records.

<sup>87</sup> Titchener to Cattell, 10 January 1910, Cattell Papers (Subject File, APA 1), Library of Congress, Washington DC.

<sup>88</sup> The letter or letters sent by Baldwin to James have not been found. The date of this correspondence is known from Münsterberg to Baldwin, 8 February 1910, Münsterberg Papers, MS Acc 2286, Item 4. It seems likely that Baldwin's account of the affair was similar to that contained in the Extract.

<sup>89</sup> James to Münsterberg, 5 February 1910, James Papers, MS Am 1092.9, item 3303.

<sup>90</sup> Münsterberg to James, 8 February 1910, Münsterberg Papers, MS Acc 565.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Münsterberg to Baldwin, 8 February 1910, Münsterberg Papers, MS Acc 2286, item 4.

<sup>93</sup> Münsterberg to Remsen, 8 February 1910, Presidential Records.

present excuses are free inventions. This makes it entirely impossible for us to help him.<sup>94</sup>

Unfortunately, Münsterberg's conclusions do not follow. Given Baldwin's desire to keep the affair as quiet as possible in order to protect his wife and daughters from the associated scandal, it is not at all evident that in 1909 he would have brought forward everything with which he might have excused himself; and Münsterberg's inference that Baldwin's failure to do so implied that his statements to James were "free inventions" is not at all obvious. Be that as it may, however, Münsterberg's interpretation was widely accepted by his fellow psychologists.

After hearing report of Münsterberg's exchange with Remsen, for example, Titchener offered the opinion that:

[Baldwin] should have made his fight and outcry at the time, though; it is too late now. To acquiesce, and then afterward to excuse oneself by a manufactured tale, is a little contemptible. I don't so much mind honest immorality, or honest lying, but I object to a man's trying to take in his friends after the event.<sup>95</sup>

And all the while the rumors spread and grew uglier and more elaborate. As Josiah Royce (1855–1916), himself a well-known Harvard philosopher, noted to James, there was even "an apparently authentic report [that] . . . he [Baldwin] admitted at the time, that frequent and habitual practices of his own, deliberately pursued, had led to the final scene."<sup>96</sup>

Luckily for Baldwin, not everyone believed in his guilt; and especially not those closest to him. James, for example, was not impressed by the rumors. He and Baldwin had had a long professional relationship and personal friendship dating back to the earliest years of Baldwin's career; and when James went to Europe to seek medical treatment in the late spring of 1910, one of his first stops in Paris was to visit Baldwin.<sup>97</sup> Howard Warren wrote to Adolf Meyer (1866–1950), who had just been hired by Hopkins to direct the newly established Phipps Psychiatric Clinic, that Baldwin "denies that he went there with any immoral intent, and knowing him as I do I believe him."<sup>98</sup> But nobody came to Baldwin's defense as did his wife.

In December 1910, Helen Baldwin returned to the United States to spend Christmas with friends and relatives. From Philadelphia, where she was staying, and apparently without her

husband's knowledge, she wrote to Remsen asking for an interview.<sup>99</sup> Remsen replied immediately, and a meeting in his office was scheduled for December 15.<sup>100</sup> What precise turn their conversation took will never be known; but, it is clear from a following exchange of letters that Helen Baldwin went to Remsen to plead not for her husband's job but for his reputation, which she believed had been unjustly damaged by the university's public actions.

Perhaps because Helen Baldwin had no clear idea as to what the university might do in this regard, perhaps because the university president and trustees were, like many others, privately convinced of Baldwin's guilt, and certainly because the university had no interest in reopening the case to public scrutiny, the conversation with Remsen bore no fruit. All it elicited was a letter from Remsen in which he recapitulated the facts of the case as the university saw them.<sup>101</sup> What Remsen apparently failed to understand, however, was that the facts of the case were already well known to Helen Baldwin. She did not dispute them, nor, in the face of these facts, did she dispute Hopkins's right to defend itself against the possibility of scandal by asking for her husband's resignation. What she did dispute was the interpretation of guilt placed on those facts by so many; and, in the final volley in the

<sup>94</sup> Münsterberg to Remsen, 14 February 1910, Presidential Records. Münsterberg even ends the letter by taking a gratuitous swipe at Baldwin's honesty in handling the finances of the *Psychological Review*.

<sup>95</sup> Titchener to Münsterberg, 5 March 1910, Münsterberg Papers, MS Acc 2191, item 24.

<sup>96</sup> Royce to James, 10 February 1910, James Papers, MS Am 1092.9, item 560. We have found no evidence to support this "apparently authentic report."

<sup>97</sup> James and Baldwin met at Baldwin's hotel to discuss, among other things, the best way to approach cancellation of the International Congress (see copy of James to Watson, 8 May 1910, written on Baldwin's typewriter and sent to Titchener in accompaniment to Baldwin to Titchener, 8 May 1910, Titchener Papers).

<sup>98</sup> Warren to Meyer, 4 April 1910, AMCMA, Adolf Meyer Papers III/244/6, Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives, Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, Baltimore, MD.

<sup>99</sup> Helen Green Baldwin to Remsen, 7 December 1910, Presidential Records.

<sup>100</sup> Helen Green Baldwin to Remsen, 11 December 1910, Presidential Records.

<sup>101</sup> Remsen to Helen Green Baldwin, 28 December 1910, Presidential Records, known from a heavily corrected draft in Remsen's hand.

exchange, in a letter sent to Remsen in early January 1911, Helen Baldwin fashioned a remarkably powerful and moving defense of her husband:

I am unable to see the action of the university in any other light than that of declaring to be fact what is really the frightful construction that you put upon those facts. When so extraordinary an occurrence as this case takes place, before rejecting a man's explanation, it is surely a fair question to ask what such a person's regard is, & when the most searching scrutiny reveals only high & pure character, & that in whatever place he has lived, his influence has been unflinching for the good of the community, I think it is unreasonable to suppose that suddenly, such a man's whole habit of life & of thought would change & he be guilty of intent of crime in its most aggravated & revolting form. I fully understand that those facts—innocently as they were brought about—made it necessary to sever connection with the University, that I consider just; but what I consider most unjust is that no discrimination is made between your private opinion of the explanation of facts & the public statement—the equivalent of the university's action . . . I also think it unjust that you regard my husband's resignation as admitting your explanation to be correct. That I am certain it was never intended to do . . . There is an old saying that reputation is what men think we are, but that character is what God knows us to be, & with that assurance, I can safely rest.<sup>102</sup>

It is little wonder that Helen Baldwin, believing in her husband as she did, chose to remain with him during the terrible months from 1908–1910, and then, in Paris, throughout all the years that followed. Whether this remarkable woman's faith in her husband's explanation of the events of June 9, 1908, was justified will never be known. But there is no question about her faith in him as a human being; and it seems appropriate that in all of the many letters, notes, conversations, and newspaper accounts that in one way or another were prompted or influenced by the events of June 9, 1908, Helen Baldwin should have had the final word.

**Life as an expatriate.** With occasional trips to the United States for family business (e.g., the graduation in June 1914 of his daughter Elizabeth from Bryn Mawr College, the marriage of his daughter Helen to John Adlum Sterrett in December of that year, and Elizabeth's marriage to Philip Moen Stimson in June 1920), Baldwin spent the remainder of his life as an expatriate. He traveled twice more to Mexico, once in 1910, a second time in 1912; but for the most part he lived in Paris. The Mexican period is interestingly described in

Baldwin's entertaining but only moderately informative and not always accurate memoir, *Between Two Wars* (Baldwin, 1926). The European sojourn, Baldwin's reasons for settling in France, and his influence on Pierre Janet (1859–1947) and, through Janet, on Jean Piaget (1896–1980), Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky (1896–1934), and therefore modern developmental psychology, have been described in some detail in Wozniak (2009b).

While in Mexico, Baldwin lectured in the School of Higher Studies at the National University in Mexico City. He also worked on two of his final contributions to psychology: *Darwin and the Humanities*<sup>103</sup> and *The Individual and Society*.<sup>104</sup> In the first, Baldwin attempted to show how the theory of natural selection could be applied to psychology, ethics, logic, philosophy, and religion. In the latter, he analyzed the psychological basis of social solidarity and community, competition, individualism, the nature of social institutions, social invention, and social progress.

In Paris prior to the outbreak of World War I, Baldwin maintained his interest in psychology. In July 1910, despite the fact that the real reason for his resignation had by now become public knowledge, he was elected to succeed William James as corresponding member of the philosophical section of the prestigious Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. As Titchener wrote to Münsterberg on hearing of Baldwin's election to the Académie: "They do these things differently in France!"<sup>105</sup>

During this period, he also completed work on the last two volumes of his *Genetic Epistemology*, and met regularly with Pierre Janet to discuss topics of mutual interest (see Wozniak, 2009b). After the war began, however, Baldwin devoted himself increasingly (and with considerable disgust for Woodrow Wilson's vacillating neutrality) to urging American entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. In 1916, he published *American Neutrality: Its Cause and*

<sup>102</sup> Helen Green Baldwin to Remsen, 11 January 1911, Presidential Records.

<sup>103</sup> Baldwin (1909).

<sup>104</sup> Baldwin (1911).

<sup>105</sup> Titchener to Münsterberg, 24 June 1910, Münsterberg Papers, MS Acc 2191, item 28.

*Cure*,<sup>106</sup> and delivered the Herbert Spencer Lecture at Oxford—a pointed attack on German political ideology.<sup>107</sup> In that same year, Baldwin, his wife, and daughter Elizabeth were crossing the English channel on an unarmed passenger ship, the *Sussex*, when it was torpedoed by a German U-boat. Although many of those traveling aboard the ship were lost at sea, the Baldwins survived; but Elizabeth was permanently crippled in the attack. Baldwin's open telegram to Wilson regarding the affair was embodied in *The New York Times's* editorial condemnation of the German action.<sup>108</sup>

Throughout the war, Baldwin worked diligently on a variety of charity and relief missions mounted on behalf of the French people and American troops in France. In 1917, he was decorated for this work with the Legion of Honor. With American entrance into the war, he helped organize a Paris branch of the American Navy League, serving as its chairman until 1922. After the armistice, he maintained informal academic contacts and spent time in preparation of his memoirs (Baldwin, 1926). He died after a short illness in Paris on November 8, 1934.<sup>109</sup>

### Conclusion

What is one to make of this story? That it is a tale of tragedy is clear. Baldwin was a proud and famous man. His downfall deprived him of his university position and, to a large extent, his standing among his peers. It forced him into life as an expatriate and, for all intents and purposes, brought his academic career to a grinding halt. It deprived psychology of one of its most original thinkers just as that thinker's productivity was at its peak. But is it the story of a man laid low by a fatal flaw? Was Baldwin guilty of dishonesty and immorality; or was he the innocent victim of circumstance? Did Hopkins act appropriately to protect its reputation; or did the Hopkins administration sacrifice a major scholar on the altar of that reputation? Did Baldwin's colleagues, many of whom had crossed swords with him over one or another issue throughout the course of his career, do him a profound injustice by rejecting his explanation and jumping to the conclusion that he had acted with dishonesty and immorality; or were they right? Only Baldwin could have answered these questions; but, for reasons of his own and to

protect his family, he maintained a near total silence. Issuing only a single short and very general statement about the affair, he chose to accept the consequences. Readers can judge the matter of his guilt for themselves; but, on the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, we are inclined to side with Helen Baldwin. This was a man of great, if sometimes difficult, character. He may have been guilty. If he was, he certainly paid for it; but, we are inclined to think that he was not.

<sup>106</sup> Baldwin (1916a).

<sup>107</sup> Baldwin (1916b).

<sup>108</sup> *The New York Times*, 4 April 1916.

<sup>109</sup> Helen Green Baldwin returned to the United States with her husband's body and had him interred in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton. She died in Princeton on 5 July 1963, at the age of 99, and was buried next to her husband.

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## **TROUBLE AT TYSON ALLEY:: James Mark Baldwin's Arrest in a Baltimore Bordello**

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