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CONTENTS

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

The spectacular success of Alex Haley's *Roots,* both as a bestseller and a TV blockbuster, follows a decade of brilliant scholarship on the subject of slavery in the United States. Coming as it does on the heels of the election of the first southern president in over a century, and one whose election was significantly aided by the black vote, the *Roots* phenomenon may herald a rising sensitivity on the part of whites as well as blacks to the richness of the Afro-American experience. Readers interested in the topic of slavery will find a distinguished body of writing, for no other field of our common history has attracted better scholars, and upon no other subject in the last two decades has such an abundance of seminal books been published. Any list of titles-to-be-consulted should include: Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (1956); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery* (1959); Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (1964); Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1965) and *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1975); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966) and *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (1975); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (1968); Phillip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969); R. S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (1970); Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (1971); John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972); Gerald T. Mullen, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (1972); George Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (1972); Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross,* 2 vols. (1974); Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: Free Blacks in the Antebellum South* (1974); Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (1974); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (1976); Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past* (1976); and Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom* (1977). The footnotes and bibliographies of these works will lead the reader to the vast corpus of more specialized literature.

Although there is no general book on slavery in Maryland, the holdings of the Maryland Historical Society include materials that extensively document the local black experience. The Society, a private organization, does not have sufficient staff to guide a novice's probings, and indeed, the manuscript collection is restricted to those familiar with historical research. But persons seriously interested in the black heritage of Maryland should be aware of the Society's collections. Manuscript sources were surveyed by Nancy G. Boles, "Black History Collections," *Mayland Historical Magazine,* 66 (Spring 1971): 72–78, and the other guides and catalogs available will direct the student to relevant sources. The Society is interested in all aspects of the state's history, and seeks to expand its resources and services. Everyone who respects his heritage and wants to build on it should support the acquisition, processing, exhibition, and publication programs of the Maryland Historical Society.

John B. Boles

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One Family's Empire: The Russell-Lee-Clerk Connection In Maryland, Britain, and India, 1707–1857*

JACOB M. PRICE

WORK ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH centuries has since the 1950s shown a marked interest in microcosmic approaches. Investigators have realized that in the centuries before modern censuses, the only really secure data one could hope for on basic social conditions (demographic rates, marriage ages and rates, size of families and household incomes, and so on) would have to come from microscopic study of individual village communities whose parish registers and/or manorial rolls, rentals, etc. had survived. From such an approach we have had the well-known village studies of seventeenth and eighteenth century France, England, and New England. One limitation of the parish approach, however, has been to concentrate attention only on those families who remained in the same parish for generation after generation, for family reconstitution and similar approaches cannot do very much with individuals or families who are "here today and gone tomorrow." The mobile are thus ignored or relegated to the "other" or "unknown" classifications on statistical tables. But the mobile also have a place in social history. In proportion to their numbers, they are very likely more important than the well-studied immobile as innovators, accumulators, colonizers, culture carriers, and generally as instruments of economic and social change.

Socially, the parish studies in the English speaking world have told us a lot about rural communities and peasants and little about towns and town dwellers. More specifically, they have told us little about the middling strata of society, often called bourgeois, the strata or classes that increased so much in importance and numbers from the seventeenth century onwards and were so often the instruments of the most important economic, social, political, and institutional change.[1] Compared with the peasantry, the middling strata of society (whether

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Dr. Jacob M. Price is Professor of History at the University of Michigan.

* The author is indebted to Caroline R. James (Mrs. Macgill James), Edward Papenfuse, Henry J. Young, and Allan Kulikoff for valuable suggestions. He is also indebted to Mrs. R. G. Kennard for the use of the Clerk family papers.

1. This generalization does not hold true for the French or "6e Section" school, which has produced admirable studies on the bourgeoisie of numerous towns. The exceptions in England have tended to concentrate upon office-holding families, though there are notable exceptions here too such as Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London (1300–1500)* (Chicago, 1948).

traders, manufacturers, professional men, clerics, civil servants, or what have you) tended to be mobile, particularly in the English speaking world, and thus are hardly conducive to study by parish register/family reconstitution techniques. Geographic mobility was in fact very often a precondition for economic or professional advancement and upward social mobility. Going to school or university, entering an apprenticeship or articled clerkship, finding a position in church or state or counting house, seeking promotion or opportunities to practice one's profession or go into business on one's own—all usually involved a willingness to travel, at the very least outside one's natal parish, often much farther indeed.

How then can we study these middling strata? Starts have been made by studying such formal records as admissions to the bar or the Inns of the Court, to universities and schools, to the freedom of certain towns or to apprenticeships in guilds or companies. Where these records show the geographic origins of the neophyte and the calling of his father, some useful figures on professional recruitment and social mobility can be computed. Such data tell us very little, though, about the problems of professional choice and professional experience as seen by the neophyte or his family, or about the economic preconditions and vicissitudes of various callings. The study of the middle class demands a wider variety of methods.

One rather obvious way to study the middle class, particularly the upper middle class, is to study the microcosm of the individual family. Genealogists, of course, study families, though they do not usually ask the sort of questions that are of interest to the social and economic historian. Genealogists too very often concentrate upon the male line that bears the family name and ignore (relatively speaking) female descents and other families related only by marriage. Social historians may, however, perceive that the real life of a family embraces more than paternal male kindred and economic historians may observe that connections through female kin or by marriage can be as useful as the more obvious male kinships in obtaining employment, credit, or even capital. Social and economic historians should not underestimate the fruitfulness of the genealogical approach, for families of the upper middle class in particular leave much more behind them in the way of genealogical evidence (wills, inventories, marriage contracts, registered deeds, etc.) than do families in lower social strata and they have more often been studied by genealogists. The history of one particular family does not provide the basis for statistical or any other generalization. However, when we have accumulated a fair number of family histories, I think we shall have not only gained a greater feeling for the texture of society, but shall also have a keener perception of "where the action is," of what broader questions we want to ask and what quantification we might want to attempt.

The middle-class British families of the eighteenth century about which we tend to know the most[2] are those that went to the very top and produced prime ministers (the Peels, the Gladstones) or at least entered the House of Lords (the

2. A notable exception is Richard Pares, *A West-India Fortune* (London, 1950). Some brief family sketches are scattered through Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: an Economic History of the British West Indies 1623-1775* (Baltimore, 1973), and Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972).

des Bouveries earls of Radnor, the Heathcotes earls of Ancaster, the Lascelles earls of Harewood, etc.). But the brilliant successes of these families were naturally quite exceptional. Much more typical are those hundreds or thousands of families (many of whom we can find for a time in *Burke's Landed Gentry*), some of bourgeois or yeoman origin, some landless cadets of landed families, whom commercial or professional success placed in that comfortable if ill defined *ambiance* where the upper middle class and landed gentry overlap, and who thereafter managed one way or another to stay in or near that milieu, sending their sons out generation after generation into business, the church, the civil service, the armed forces—as talents and opportunities prompted. Time brought advances and reverses: the few who acquired extensive landed estates did not usually keep them more than three or four generations; but an impressive proportion were able to preserve their status in that tenuous but real modern category, the upper middle class.

One such family cluster, the Russell-Lee-Clerk connection, will be the subject of this paper. As a family, they are for our purposes defined as the descendents of James Russell (1708–88), a Scottish merchant who emigrated to Maryland and later settled in London. In the century and a half between the Act of Union of 1707 and the Indian Mutiny of 1857, talents and opportunities took this family from southeastern Scotland to America and England and ultimately to India and home again, and into a great variety of trades, professions, and callings, including military and civil service. Their horizons were very wide, but they were ultimately contained within the limits defined by the expanding and contracting British Empire. It was a redefinition of the Empire in 1707 that facilitated James Russell's passage to Maryland and it was a further redefinition of the Empire in 1776 that redirected the attention of a numerous branch of the family to India.

PEEBLESSHIRE, MARYLAND AND LONDON, 1708–75

Students of the Chesapeake in the eighteenth century are by now fully aware of the prominent role which trade with Scotland played in the economies of Virginia and Maryland and of the important place which Glasgow merchants and their employees came to play in the commercial life of those two colonies.[3] However, the Scottish influence in Chesapeake trade was not confined to direct exchanges with Scotland, and many of the Scots merchants in the Bay had nothing to do with Glasgow. Those with whom we shall be concerned came from eastern Scotland and gravitated toward the Thames and not the Clyde. Like many Scottish merchants of the eighteenth century, James Russell sprang from a cadet branch of a family of "lairds" or minor landowners. Unlike his equiva-

3. Cf. Jacob M. Price, "The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707–1775," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 11 (1954): 179–199, reprinted in Peter L. Payne, ed., *Studies in Scottish Business History* (London, 1967), pp. 299–318; ——, "Capital and Credit in the British-Chesapeake Trade, 1750–1775," in Virginia B. Platt and David Curtis Skaggs, ed., *Of Mother Country and Plantations: Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Conference in Early American History* (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1971), pp. 7–36; Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1963), ch. IX.

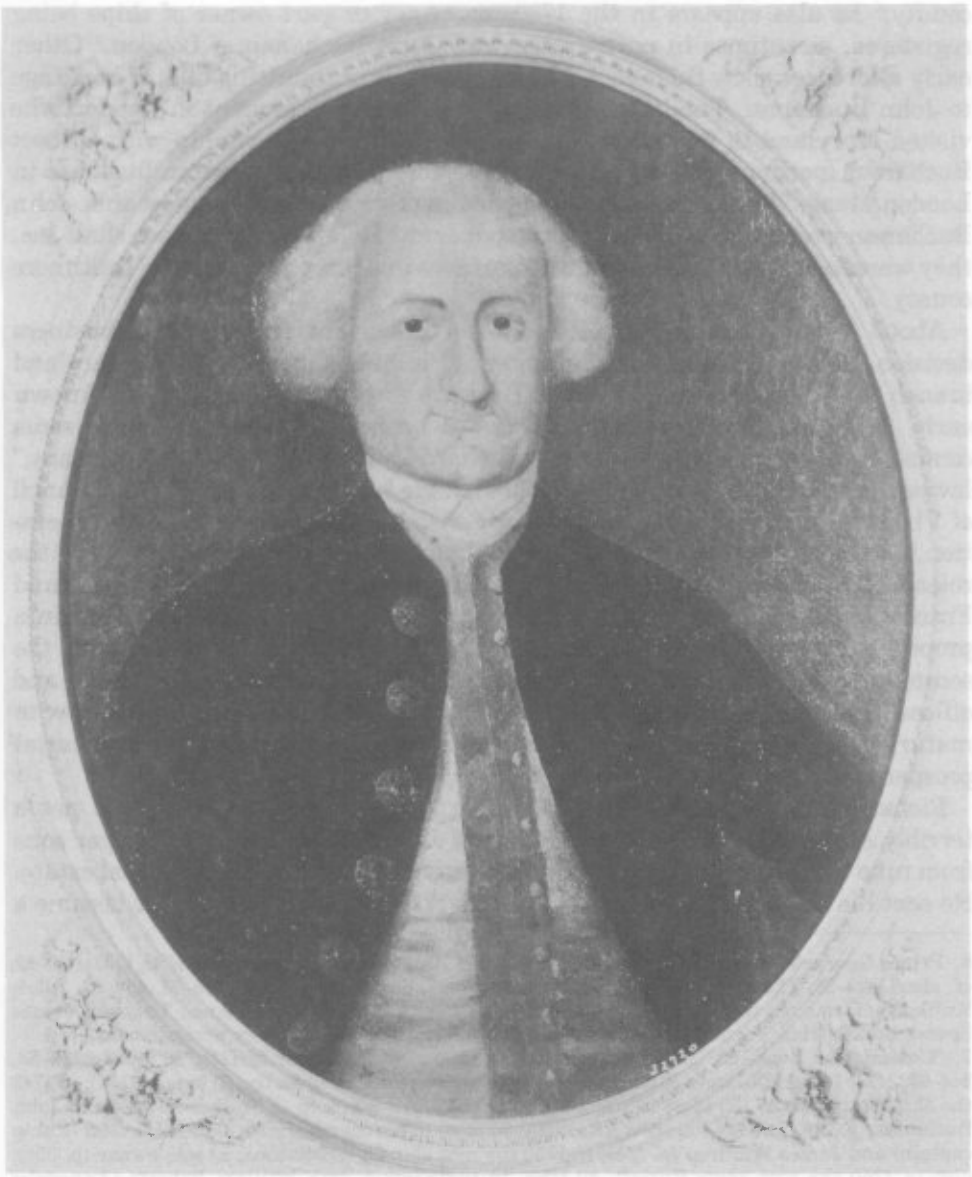
lents, the Polish *szlachcic* or French *hobereau*, the Scottish laird felt no compunctions in placing his younger sons and brothers in a wide variety of careers or callings.

The Russells of Kingseat and Slipperfield, Peeblesshire, were represented in the latter part of the seventeenth century by James Russell [1] who married Margaret Lockhart of Braidshaw (Lanarkshire), a property which also passed to the family. King's Seat is one of the Pentland Hills in the extreme northwest corner of the Peeblesshire on the borders of Midlothian, not too far from Edinburgh. It is a country more noted for scenery than activity. William (b. 1655), the eldest son of this James Russell and Margaret Lockhart, entered the church and became minister of Stobo in Peeblesshire. He as eldest son inherited Kingseat and Slipperfield which his son, also called William, was forced to sell ca. 1738. The next two sons of James Russell [1] of Kingseat, James [2] (b. 1668) and John (1672–1759), entered the legal profession in Edinburgh as Writers to the Signet (lawyers entitled to conduct business in the Court of Session). Their way there was undoubtedly made easier by the earlier marriage of their father's sister Mary to James Nasmyth, a Peeblesshire proprietor and lawyer who became Depute Clerk of Session. (The Court of Session is the highest court in Scotland.) John in his turn became Clerk to the Signet, as did his son John (b. 1710) and grandson John (b. 1758). The older brother James [2] became procurator-fiscal (public prosecutor) in Edinburgh.

James Russell [2], the procurator-fiscal, by his second marriage to Anne, daughter of Robert Wightman of Mauldslie, had at least six children. His eldest son, James [3], with whom we are principally concerned, was born on 23 April 1708.[4] For reasons unknown, this James chose not to follow his father into the law, but to become a merchant instead. Very likely a mercantile career seemed much more promising in Scotland in the 1720s than it would have in the 1680s when the elder James had to choose his life's work. We know nothing about young James's education or apprenticeship. Like many Scotsmen of the time, he was attracted to the American colonies. Sometime about 1729 or 1730 (when he would have been 21 or 22), James Russell settled in Maryland. In later years, his youngest brother William (b. 18 March 1711) also emigrated to Maryland where he became a merchant at Piscataway on the Potomac (in the 1760s) and at Baltimore (ca. 1770).[5] The earliest references found to James Russell in Maryland are of 1730 and describe him as "of Nottingham [Prince George's County]

4. James Paterson, *Scottish Surnames: a Contribution to Genealogy* (Edinburgh, 1866), pp. 55–58. John (1672–1759) married Ursula, a daughter of Claude Alexander of Newton, establishing the family's only noticeable connection with the Glasgow-Greenock mercantile world.

5. William Russell was in London in 1762 where he was a witness at the Eleanor Russell-William Molleson marriage (St. Andrew Undershaft parish register). In 1766 he was a merchant at Piscataway in correspondence with John Stewart & Campbell of London. He was probably the Russell of Russell & Hodge importing servants in Potomac that year (*Maryland Gazette*, 3 April 1766). He was in Baltimore by 1770. An account book of William Russell for the years 1774–83 survives in the Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MHS), Ms. 1989. Like other Baltimoreans, his trade was largely to the West Indies and southern Europe, but he was also agent for Duncan Campbell (successor to Stewart & Campbell) of London. William's firm in Baltimore was styled Russell & Ridley, his partner being Matthew Ridley. For the subsequent activities in Europe of Ridley, see Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: the Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the*



James Russell (artist unknown; British School). *Courtesy Mrs. William H. Creamer III and Frick Art Reference Library.*

merchant"; they show him purchasing for £20 sterling a small lot in that town on which he had built a 30′ × 20′ store. From this modest beginning, his real estate at Nottingham was to grow in extent and value down to the Revolution. From 1735 he is found lending on mortgage or buying land and slaves in the

American Revolution (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 75, 102, 105–7, 201–3. On William in Baltimore see Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), pp. 48–49, 59, 104, 134, 137, 144; or J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 43, 71, 209, 249, 261, 262, 272.

county;[6] he also appears in the 1730s as owner or part owner of ships being registered, sometimes in partnership with John Buchanan of London.[7] Other early references show Russell chartering ships for or remitting bills of exchange to John Buchanan. The latter was a young Scottish merchant in London who visited Maryland in the early 1730s on behalf of his partnership with Gilbert Buchanan (perhaps his father) and who subsequently carried on business in London alone. These references to his dealings with Russell suggest that John Buchanan was Russell's London correspondent.[8] In later years, as we shall see, they were to be equal and substantial partners in a large ironworks in Baltimore county.

About 1734–35 James Russell made an important personal and business decision. He married Ann Lee, daughter of Philip Lee, founder of the Maryland branch of that famous family.[9] The Lees are of course one of the best-known early American families. Their numerous branches sometimes create some confusion. The family was founded by Richard Lee [1] (1613–64), "the emigrant," lawyer, merchant, planter, and officeholder. He became a member of the council of Virginia, thus establishing the family's leading position in the first generation.[10] Richard Lee apparently realized that his sons could not perform all the roles he had attempted. He trained his third son Francis to be a merchant, and Francis eventually settled in London in that capacity.[11] Most of the Virginia property (after the death of Richard's first son, John) went to Richard, the second son. Richard [2] was less noteworthy as an accumulator of lands and offices, though he was also a councillor, but he did have five sons who grew to maturity, thus guaranteeing the biological if not necessarily the territorial prosperity of the family.

Richard Lee [2] (1647–1715) was an Oxford man, but as just noted not a terribly successful acquisitor. He was only able to leave his four younger sons from nine to thirteen slaves apiece and relatively modest holdings of real estate. He sent his eldest son, Richard [3] (c. 1678–1718), to London where he became a

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6. Prince George's County Land Records, Maryland Hall of Records (hereafter HR), Q51, 120–22; cf. also Q523–26, T324, 349–50, 351–52, 355, 442, 457–58, 634, Y191–92, 217, 476–78, 484–92. Allan Kulikoff informs me that in 1730 Russell also took over a store at Queen Anne Town for James Spence and Patrick Yoemans. This was probably a temporary, emergency arrangement.

7. "Commission Book, 82," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereafter *MHM*), 26 (1931): 138–58, 244–63, 342–61. In 1738 James Russell registered the sloop *Charming Molly*, 15 tons (p. 151); in 1742 the ship *Nottingham*, 150 tons, in partnership with James Wardrop (a brother-in-law) and John Buchanan (p. 246); in 1744 the snow *Elizabeth*, 90 tons, in partnership with James Johnson (a ship captain) and James Wardrop (p. 251); in 1750 the new ship *Ogle*, 300 tons, as sole owner (p. 350); also in 1750 the new snow *Russell*, 80 tons, in partnership with William Roberts (Annapolis shipbuilder) and James Dick, merchant of Annapolis (p. 351). Cf. also Prince George's County Land Records, HR, T315–16 for sloop purchased in 1735.

8. Prince George's County Land Records, HR, T312–13; Stephen Bordley to John Buchanan, 14 April 1747, Bordley letterbook 1740–47, p. 172 (Ms. 81), MHS. Notary Public [John Brice] Record Book, 1744–78, HR, re bill drawn by William Carter on Philip Smith, ca. 1736–38.

9. None of the works on the family give the date of the marriage. As the eldest child of the marriage, Margaret Russell, was married as of age in 1756, I surmise her parents to have been married ca. 1734–37. In 1735 James Russell acted with Richard Lee (Ann's brother) as sureties for an executor. Testamentary Proceedings, HR, vol. 30, p. 55.

10. Ludwell Lee Montague, "Richard Lee the emigrant 1613 (?)–1664," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 62 (1954): 3–49.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

Mrs. Ann Lee Russell (miniature attributed to Henry Benbridge). *Courtesy anonymous owner and Catalog of American Portraits (National Portrait Gallery).*

merchant in partnership with his maternal uncle, Thomas Corbin, and received tobacco consignments from his father.[12] The firm of Corbin & Lee became involved ca. 1711 in the unfortunate practice of London tobacco merchants' standing surety on each other's customs bonds. The failure in 1713 of a leading tobacco merchant, Thomas Coutts, dragged down first the eminent Sir Robert Dunckley and then undermined Corbin & Lee, who had signed bonds for both Coutts and Dunckley. They staggered on till 1716 when Lee absconded temporarily. He returned to London where he died in 1718, his children returning to Virginia. Corbin was able to resume business on a reduced scale.[13]

The other sons of Richard Lee [2] stayed in America. Henry (1691–1747) of Lee Hall, the fifth surviving son, founded the "Leesylvania" branch of the family and was the grandfather of "Light Horse Harry" Lee and the greatgrandfather of Robert E. Lee.[14] Thomas (1690–1750), the fourth surviving son, founded the "Stratford" branch of the family and became president of the council in Virginia. He was the father of the six famous Lee brothers of the revolutionary period; as a

12. Edmund Jennings Lee, *Lee of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 74–83.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 83–89, 91–92; Jacob M. Price, "The Tobacco Trade and the Treasury, 1685–1733," (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1954), pp. 869–70.
14. Lee, *Lee of Virginia,* pp. 132–36.

great accumulator, he was able to leave extensive landed estates to his four eldest sons (Philip Ludwell, Thomas Ludwell, Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot) while intending his youngest two, William and Arthur, for commerce and the learned professions respectively.[15] Philip (c. 1681–1744), the second surviving son of Richard Lee [2], was left most of his father's Maryland lands and became the founder of the Maryland branch of the family. Philip was appointed to the council in Maryland (as so many of his family were in Virginia) and was followed there by his son Richard in 1745 and the later's son, Philip Thomas, in 1773. Philip also became naval officer for North Potomac district (1727–44) in which office he was also followed by his son Richard [4] (1744–74) and his grandson Philip Thomas (1774–77). Among the properties which Philip Lee inherited in 1715 from his father Richard [2] was a tract at Cedar Point on the Maryland shore of the Potomac below the mouth of the Port Tobacco River. There Richard [4] built his naval office and nearby his residence, "Blenheim."

Philip Lee of Maryland married twice and had seventeen children. His children included the aforementioned Richard [4], his eldest son and principal heir; Thomas, the father of Thomas Sim Lee, governor of Maryland during the Revolution; Hancock, a merchant; and Ann, the wife of James Russell.[16] We have gone into this much detail about the Lees not simply because they were an important family but because their world was the world of James Russell: that is, the areas in northern Virginia and southern Maryland in which the various branches of the Lees were particularly thickly settled were the areas in which James Russell found business, both while resident in Maryland and after his move to London. With seventeen children, Philip Lee could not give his daughter Ann a very large dowry (perhaps only £500 sterling) but he could introduce his son-in-law, James Russell, into the best planter society and business.

By around 1750 James Russell had become a successful and affluent merchant. During the war he had lent £1000 sterling to the Annapolis shipbuilder, William Roberts, by a 30 percent bottomry bond on a 400-ton vessel intended for London. (Under a bottomry contract, the debt would be forgiven if the ship did not reach its destination.[17]) In 1749 he had the new 300-ton ship *Ogle* built on the eastern shore for himself (as sole owner).[18] A merchant who could operate at this level might well find Prince George's County too confining. We wonder too whether an exposure to the greater world may not have appeared attractive to

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–22. Thomas was also interested in a trading concern "in partnership with Col. Tayloe and Mr. Anthony Strother." Arthur Lee was trained both as a physician and as a lawyer.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–101; Donnell MacClure Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society Studies in Maryland History, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1953), p. 161. On this family, see also (despite some minor errors about Philip Thomas Lee and his family) Ethel Roby Hayden, "The Lees of Blenheim," *MHM*, 37 (1942): 199–207; and Effie Gwynn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond, 1947), pp. 517–27.
17. Notary Public [John Brice] Record Book, HR, contract of 7 Aug. 1746.
18. "Commission Book, 82," *MHM*, p. 350. The will of Francis Lee of Cecil County, Md. (dated 15 Sept. 1749 and probated in November) refers to a joint interest with James Russell and "Henry Red Crab" in the ship "Oagle and Ann." The widow Elizabeth resigned the executorship to James Russell who turned the same over to James Dick, merchant of Annapolis. James Russell was also surety in 1750 for the administrator of the will of Col. Thomas Lee of Prince George's County. Francis and Thomas were sons of Philip Lee and thus brothers of Russell's wife Ann. (Wills, HR, vol. 27, pp. 97–99; Testamentary Proceedings, HR, vol. 33, pt. 1, pp. 74–75, 115; Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, pp. 153–55.

James Russell (miniature attributed to Thomas Worlidge). *Courtesy anonymous owner and Catalog of American Portraits (National Portrait Gallery).*

his wife and four adolescent daughters. For whatever reasons, James Russell and family moved to London ca. 1752–53.[19]

In London, James Russell set up as a commission merchant soliciting tobacco consignments from the planters of Virginia and Maryland. While not common, there was nothing unique about a merchant moving from the Chesapeake to Britain. Some of the leading Glasgow merchants on the eve of the Revolution, such as Alexander Speirs and William Cuninghame, had served many years in America before returning to the Clyde as managing partners in their firms.[20] In the seventeenth century, John Cary had first been a merchant in Virginia

19. The first definite reference to James Russell being in London comes in a financial account. On 10 March 1753 the London trustees of Maryland's Bank of England stock (the backing of its paper money) credited the province with the proceeds of two bills of exchange drawn on *26 October 1752* on James Russell in London and remitted by naval officer Richard Lee, his brother-in-law. Accounts of Trustees in London, no. 14, Scharf Papers [Ms. 1999], MHS. On the other hand, an advertisement of newly imported slaves for sale at Nottingham appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, 21 June 1753, signed James Russell and James Dick. It is possible that Russell had already gone to London and left this unfinished business in the hands of Dick.

20. On Cuninghame, see J. H. Soltow, "Scottish Traders in Virginia, 1750–1775," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 12 (1959): 83–98.

before returning to become one of the largest tobacco dealers in London; a century later, his firm was headed by John Norton who had followed a similar itinerary.[21] Native Americans also made the move. We have seen Francis Lee and Richard Lee [3] in successive generations go over to London as merchants. A decade before Russell's move, William Anderson, a Maryland ship captain with excellent family connections on the eastern shore, established himself as a consignment merchant in London in 1743.[22] On the eve of the Revolution a noticeable stream of traders from the Chesapeake went to London either to set up as commission merchants (William Lee of the Stratford family; the Marylanders Thomas Howe Ridgate and John Barnes) or to act as London partners of Maryland houses (Joshua Johnson, John Hobson).[23] One could not do well as a tobacco commission merchant in London without effective personal connections in the Chesapeake and it was natural that many a trader in the Bay should think that his superior family connections would guarantee success even though he did not have very much capital.

James Russell, of course, made the most of his Lee connections, for to many of the important Lees he was 'one of the family.' When young Arthur Lee was sent over to school (Eton) in England in 1754, his older brother Philip Ludwell Lee wrote a mercantile correspondent in London that the boy "Goes recommended to Mr. James Russell (virg[ini]a merch[an]t) in London because he mar[rie]d a near relation of ours my Fathers Brother's daughter." At the same time, the young Etonian was urged by his older brother to be guided by "our relation Mr. James Russell."[24] When Mrs. Russell's nephew, Thomas Sim Lee, future governor of Maryland during the Revolution, visited London in 1769, he too became very much one of the family. At a more serious level, when Col. George Lee of Mount Pleasant (son of Richard [3], the unsuccessful merchant of London) drew up his will in 1761, he directed that his executors "ship all my Tobaccos and do not sell them in the Country and I recommend it to them to consign such Tobaccos to my friend Mr. James Russell as long as he continues in the Tobacco Trade."[25]

Russell also entered into closer business relations with some members of the Lee family. When he went over to London in 1752–53, he left his old store at Nottingham in the custody of his brother-in-law, Hancock Lee, the two entering into a partnership. As Hancock lacked sufficient liquid capital, Russell had to take a bond for £1100 as part of his brother-in-law's contribution to the company. This partnership was terminated in the late 1750s, but the bond had not

21. Jacob M. Price, "Who was John Norton? A Note on the Historical Character of Some Eighteenth-Century London Virginia Firms," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 19 (1962): 400–407.

22. W. Anderson to Sarah Hollyday, London, 10 Mar. 1742/3, Henry Hollyday Collection, (Ms. 1316), MHS.

23. On William Lee, see *Dictionary of American Biography*; on others, see Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit, passim*; and Jacob M. Price, "Joshua Johnson in London, 1771–1775," in Anne Whiteman *et al.*, eds. *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants, Essays . . . presented to Dame Lucy Sutherland* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 153–80.

24. P. L. Lee to Humphrey Bell, Arthur Lee, Stratford, 30 November 1754, (Ms. [photostat] 25833), Virginia State Library (hereafter VSL).

25. Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, p. 143; Horsey (Lee) Collection, (Ms. 1974), MHS, correspondence of 1769–70 and subsequent letters from Eleanor Molleson.

yet been paid off when Hancock Lee died in 1759. In addition, Russell had sent Hancock Lee a "large assortment of Goods" or "cargo" in 1759 to be disposed of on their "Joint Account" at stores at Nottingham (Prince George's County) on the Patuxent and George Town (Kent County) on the Sassafras River, Eastern Shore. This was mostly unsold when Hancock died on 4 November 1759.[26] In 1770–73 Russell was partner in another business at Dumfries, Virginia, (on the Potomac) in partnership with Philip Richard Francis Lee, a less prosperous member of the family. After Russell & Lee was wound up in 1773,[27] Russell's principal Virginia representative was William Carr, also of Dumfries, partner in the local firm of Carr & Chapman.[28]

The purpose of such principal agents was to solicit consignments from planters, to authorize planters to draw bills of exchange on their consignments when necessary, and to direct the ship's captains in Russell's employ both in collections of promised tobacco and in soliciting or "riding." On the eve of the Revolution, Russell's principal agent on the Potomac shore of Maryland was Philip Richard Fendall of Port Tobacco (Charles County), while on Patuxent his representatives were James Forbes of Benedict Town (Charles County) and Charles Grahame of Lower Marlboro (Calvert County). The chief of them all was Grahame who supervised all of Russell's interests, including a one-third interest in the "Nottingham" ironworks in Baltimore County. The others never did important things, such as chartering ships, without Grahame's concurrence. He also supplied them with cash when they needed it.[29] These agents (particularly Carr, Forbes, and Grahame) were not employees of Russell's but independent merchants in their own right. In addition to charging Russell commission on certain services performed, they expected certain favors from him, particularly maximum credit on goods they themselves ordered from London.

Russell's agents appear to have all been persons of some standing in the community. Carr, like P. R. F. Lee, was a local planter with a side interest in a store at Dumfries. The same was true of Forbes at Benedict Town. Charles

26. Lee, *Lee of Virginia,* pp. 160–61; Wills, Prince George's County, HR, vol. 1, pp. 510–11.
27. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 14 January 1773. There has been a great deal of confusion about the identity of P. R. F. Lee ever since E. J. Lee in 1895 (*Lee of Virginia,* pp. 151–52) suggested that he might be the same person as Richard Lee, Jr., son of Richard Lee [4] of "Blenheim." Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," pp. 206–207, shows why this identification is implausible, though her evidence was incomplete. James Russell's correspondence in Coutts's Bank, London, includes a letter (28 March 1774) from Philip Richard Francis Lee, which shows that he was a consigning planter then resident at Lee Hall, near Dumfries, Virginia. He was later a captain in the Continental Army and was mortally wounded at the battle of Brandywine, 11 September 1777. (F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* [Washington, 1893], p. 26; National Archives Military Land Warrant 2366–300; P. R. F. Lee file, Virginia Land Office, Virginia State Library). Richard Lee, Jr., by contrast, was, as we shall see below, a loyalist who fled to Britain at the beginning of the war. For a document witnessed by both Philip Richard Francis Lee and Richard Lee, Jr., see Ms. 11:2W2772:1, Virginia Historical Society (hereafter VHS). Cf. also Ms. 1P3374b41, VHS, for the account of George Turberville with "Russell & Lee," signed by P. R. F. Lee, 20 May 1772. One can only surmise that P. R. F. Lee was a nephew of President Richard Lee, or otherwise obliged to him, and named him residuary legatee. Cf. also J. Russell to T. S. Lee, 21 July 1770, Horsey Collection (64/2007), which indicates Russell sent P. R. F. Lee to Virginia because non-importation was less rigidly enforced there.
28. Letters from Carr (1774–75) in Russell Papers, Coutts & Co., London.
29. Letters from Fendall, Forbes and Grahame, 1773–75, in Russell Papers, Coutts & Co., London.

Grahame kept a big store at Lower Marlboro, but alone of the group does not appear to have been a planter (though our evidence here may be incomplete). He is probably the Charles Grahame of Calvert County who emigrated to Maryland ca. 1750 in the wake of his brother David who had married a cousin of Lord Baltimore (Charlotte Hyde) and was provided with various offices. After the death of his brother in 1754 and his widow in 1757, Charles Grahame was very much on his own. He is reported also to have been a lawyer and was later to be a delegate to the Maryland Constitutional Convention. There was some sense in having a lawyer as one's chief agent, for the collection of debts was a major part of his activity.[30] Fendall alone of the group appears not to have kept a store before the war. He was a substantial planter who in 1756 succeeded his father Benjamin Fendall as clerk of Charles County (a position probably worth more than £100 a year). In 1759 he married his first cousin, Sarah Lettice Lee, daughter of Richard Lee of "Blenheim" and Mrs. Russell's niece. Though Sarah Lettice died within the year, Fendall remained close to the Lees and the Russells.[31]

James Russell's business was quite successful for many years. By the 1760s he had replaced the Hanbury's as the most important London house trading to Maryland, and was probably the biggest if not the richest trading to the Chesapeake. His was at once a store, a consignment, and a "cargo" business. Least important probably were the stores at Upper Marlboro and Nottingham (Prince George's County), Joppa (Baltimore County) and Charles Town (Cecil County). These served the smaller planter and wheat farmers who did not or could not consign to London. In his consignment business, Russell dealt with scores of small, middling, and large planters (all of whom had to be cultivated by his agents, relatives, and captains in the Chesapeake) who shipped him tobacco on consignment. He sold this for the usual 2½ percent commission and remitted the proceeds to the consigning planters in goods ordered (for another commission) or permitted them to draw bills of exchange on him for the proceeds. It was a profitable business when the planters did not overorder or overdraw. Collecting small debts from small or middling planters scattered over many counties could be a very unprofitable task.

The "cargo" business was quite different, for it involved dealings with the indigenous merchants of the Chesapeake. In this, Russell would use his own credit to purchase a "cargo" of assorted manufactures in London on the usual twelve months' credit to ship to one of his mercantile correspondents in the Chesapeake who had ordered the same. The merchant in the Chesapeake was supposed to pay for the "cargo" (frequently worth several thousand pounds) by remitting bills of exchange or tobacco to Russell before the twelve months' credit from the warehousemen (linendrapers, ironmongers, etc.) was up. As the Chesapeake merchants sold to planters who were slow in making payments, they in turn could not always remit to Russell on time. While it could be a profitable

30. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage,* pp. 2–3n., 161–62, 176; David Curtis Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy 1753–1776,* Contributions in American History, no. 30 (Westport, Conn., 1973); *Archives of Maryland,* ed. William H. Browne *et al.*, 72 vols. (Baltimore, 1883–), 14: 529.
31. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage,* pp. 56–58, 150; Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," p. 202.

trade, there were often very serious "cash-flow" problems. Russell appears to have been a pioneer of the "cargo" system in the 1750s in his dealings with Hancock Lee and others, though the system reached its fullest development only in the years after 1763, particularly when higher wheat prices in Europe increased the earning power of the indigenous merchants in the Chesapeake, who were not then entirely dependent on tobacco.

Russell's business grew because he gave satisfaction. He had a reputation for getting good prices for tobacco.[32] He gave satisfaction on the goods he sent out.[33] Like the wives of many other London merchants, Ann Lee Russell personally selected many items where taste and fashion were important, and Nicholas Maccubbin, an Annapolis shopkeeper, reported that the "embroidery, laces, caps, etc." which she selected had acquired a reputation and were most in demand: "your choice has become the Standard of Taste in Annapolis."[34] Because Russell sent out more ships than his competitors, he could provide a more speedy delivery of goods ordered and a prompter return of tobaccos. Even George Washington was impressed with this. The colonel dealt with the older London house of Robert Cary & Co. (with family connections in Virginia)[35] but did not like the poor service he got from them, with his goods frequently delivered to some port on the Rappahannock. Washington asked them instead to send his goods by Capt. Johnstoun who brought an annual ship in Russell's service right past his door at Mount Vernon. Other captains in Russell's service were equally popular.[36] A spirit of energy and imagination is suggested by the surviving correspondence of James Russell. He got his London ships away on time. He built and chartered ships in the Bay as needed. He gave his agents there the discretionary powers they needed for his service.

Three bodies of papers of Maryland firms have survived containing substantial correspondence with James Russell. The papers of Samuel Galloway in the Library of Congress[37] and the New York Public Library contain numerous letters from and to Russell between the 1750s and the 1770s. Galloway, of "Tulip

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32. ". . . a grate many of y^e^ planters agree that Only you & y^r^. son in Law M^r^. Molleson knew how to sell Tob^o^." (John Weems Jr. to J. Russell, Herring Bay, Calvert County, Md., 25 July 1774, Russell Papers, Coutts & Co., London). Russell was once reported selling 900 hogsheads at one time to the French, but that was at a time of record high prices. (S. Grove to S. Galloway, 18 April 1759, Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Papers, Galloway bound vols. 1–14, ff. 8341–42, Library of Congress, MSS. Division [hereafter LC]).

33. In the same letter, Weems writes that goods just received were "the best bought I Ever had."

34. N. Maccubbin to Mrs. Ann Russell, 8 September 1774, Russell Papers, Coutts & Co., London.

35. Cf. Price, "Who was John Norton?" p. 401.

36. *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931–44), 2: 348, 427, 460. Other captains were equally praised. Capt. Blackwell "is really a worthy Good Man & has perhaps more interest below [Dumfries on Potomac] than any Person you can get, he is Esteemed by Every one that knows him." (Carr to Russell, 6 July 1774, Russell Papers, II, Coutts & Co.). Of Capt. Harrison, his kinsman Samuel Chew Sr. wrote Russell (25 August 1774), "his General Good conduct has been such that has Not only Gained you Many Ho[gshea]ds but many Friends." (Russell Papers, III, Coutts & Co.).

37. Galloway bound volumes 1–14 and S. Galloway letterbook, LC. Russell also acted as the London agent for houses at Glasgow, paying their bills of exchange on London, buying and shipping goods for them for the Chesapeake, selling any of their tobacco that was sent to London. Cf. his correspondence with James Lawson in Scottish Record Office, Court of Session: Unextracted Processes: Currie Dal 20/2, nos. 15/10, 16; and with Jamieson, Johnston & Co. in Russell Papers, Coutts & Co., London.

Hill," West River, was a Quaker merchant and shipbuilder (Galloway & Stewart) whose primary London correspondent was the wealthy Quaker, Silvanus Grove. Russell, however, frequently bought or chartered Galloway's ships and this was a connection which an active shipbuilder could only cultivate. One of the last ships which Galloway built before the Revolution—and chartered to Russell—was named the *Nancy Clerk*, after one of Russell's granddaughters.

Less happy is Russell's correspondence (in the Maryland Historical Society) with Charles Ridgely. Ridgely came of an old Baltimore County family that was then developing the "Northampton" ironworks north of Baltimore. Ridgely started out as a ship captain in Russell's service and then set up as a merchant in Baltimore. (Russell's brother William does not appear to have come to Baltimore until ca. 1769–70 and did not act for James.) Ridgely's relations with James Russell in the 1760s were typical of the "cargo system." James Russell sent him out cargoes of assorted goods which he had bought on twelve months' credit and hoped for quick payment. Payments were slow in coming, and there was much recrimination. Eventually Ridgely transferred his business to John Buchanan and others. Russell had also helped Ridgely by negotiating the purchase of a desired tract of land in Maryland from John and Herbert Hyde, the aged sons of Captain John Hyde (1655–1732), the greatest Maryland merchant in London at the beginning of the century.[38]

A quite similar correspondence (in the New-York Historical Society) was that with William Lux of Baltimore. Lux as a young man had in 1750 taken over a small local retail business from his late father, whose total estate was only £3000. In 1758 he ventured into foreign trade, sending his brother Darby Lux to Barbados—shipping out provisions and bringing back rum in particular. For this he needed a London correspondent, and he turned to James Russell whom he several times describes as first in the London tobacco trade. He, Charles Ridgely, and the Dorseys managed Russell's business on the Patapsco. Lux was very active in soliciting consignments for Russell, particularly from the planters and traders around Elk Ridge. He also bought tobacco on his own account for consignment when the market seemed attractive. From time to time he expressed annoyance at Russell's not paying a bill of exchange, but seemed quite loyal to Russell until breaking with him suddenly about 1766. Like Ridgely, he left owing Russell a considerable debt.[39]

William Lux, the Ridgelys, John Buchanan, James Russell, and many others in the Chesapeake were heavily involved in ironworks. This complemented the tobacco trade very nicely, for tobacco is not a dense product and tobacco ships required ballast home as well as out. Iron made a good remunerative ballast, even if it paid a lower freight than did tobacco; hence ironworks were an attractive investment in the Chesapeake after the British duties on colonial pig and bar iron were removed in 1750 and 1757. However, since iron was not

38. Ridgely Papers, (Ms. 692.1), MHS, boxes I-X.

39. William Lux letterbook, New-York Historical Society, particularly letters to Russell of 15 November 1765 and to J. Bradford, 15 July 1768. The breakoff of the letters to Russell in October 1766 may have had something to do with the formation of the new firm of William Lux & Bowly. Prior to 1773, Darby Lux had been partner in a rum importing business with William Russell, James's brother (D. Lux to C. Grahame, 12 October 1773, Russell Papers.)

valuable enough to pay a competitive freight as ordinary cargo on tobacco ships, shipments from the Chesapeake to Britain were largely confined to the ballast needs of the tobacco ships. Since Russell had his own iron sources, he could be of only limited help to Lux and the Ridgelys in finding freights to Britain for their iron and they inevitably drifted away.

When James Russell moved from Maryland to London ca. 1752, he took with him a family containing four soon-to-be marriageable young daughters. When he first returned to London, he resided for a while in Crutched Friars but by 1756 had moved to Jeffreys Square, St. Mary Axe, where he resided until ca. 1763, returning thereafter to Crutched Friars. From 1767 through the war, his address appears in the directories as 2, Hylord's Court, Crutched Friars. Crutched Friars lying close to Tower Hill and the river was in a neighborhood much frequented by American merchants; St. Mary Axe is further away from the river and probably was a more pleasant neighborhood for a growing family, if less convenient for ship captains. Jeffreys Square was built earlier in the century on the site of the residence and garden of John Jeffreys, a great Virginia merchant of the reign of Charles II and a friend of Richard Lee [1]. It was entirely demolished in this century and is now the site of the Baltic Exchange. For the years of residence at Jeffreys Square, we can follow the marital affairs of the family in the parish registers of the church of St. Andrew Undershaft.

All four daughters of James and Ann Russell were married without too long delays. On 16 September 1756 daughter Margaret being of age married William de Drusina, bachelor and merchant. On 6 December 1757 her sister Sarah, being a minor, with the consent of her parents married Thomas Clerk, bachelor and merchant. On 13 February 1762, sister Eleanor, also a minor, married William Molleson, bachelor and merchant.[40] Finally, at an unknown date after the family had moved back to Crutched Friars, daughter Ann (called Nancy) married her first cousin, Philip Thomas Lee, son of Richard Lee of "Blenheim."

William de Drusina was born in Hamburg on 16 July 1726 and was in 1756 a Hamburg merchant of London, partner in the firm of Paul Amsinck & Co. (which can be found in the directories from at least 1752) located in Jeffreys Square, St. Mary Axe. In the 1763 directories the style of the firm had become Paul Amsinck & de Drusina at the same address. The 1766 directories show that the partners had by then split up. William de Drusina & Co. now carried on the business at 8, Jeffreys Square, St. Mary Axe, while Paul Amsinck, perhaps in semi-retirement, moved to Hackney. More than propinquity brought de Drusina into the Russell circle. His firm traded to Hamburg, Holland, and Portugal. Hamburg and Holland merchants were among the best customers of London's Maryland merchants, for the superior bright leaf of Patuxent and Patapsco was particularly favored in Holland, Germany, and northern Europe. Among the accounts of sale that have survived from the eighteenth century in the papers of planting families, we can find a number of sales to Amsinck, to Amsinck & de Drusina, or simply to de Drusina, some of them by James Russell. (Russell was not the only Maryland merchant to marry a daughter to a customer. Joseph Adams in the 1740s married his to Andrew Grote, a Bremen merchant in

40. Transcript of register of parish of St. Andrew Undershaft in Society of Genealogists, London.

London, the grandfather of George Grote, the historian.) William de Drusina died in 1778, his wife having predeceased him, and was buried beside her in the burial grounds of the church of All Hallows Staining. William and Margaret Russell de Drusina left only one son, James, who continued his business in partnership with his father's old clerk and partner, Julius Conrad Ridder, as de Drusina & Ridder at the more modest address of Stable Yard, America Square, Minories.[41]

Russell's second son-in-law, Thomas Clerk, came of a well-known Scottish family seated close to the Russells in southeast Scotland. The family traces its descent from a William Clerk who was a merchant of Montrose at the beginning of the seventeenth century. His son John made a fortune as a merchant in Paris in the 1630s and returned to Scotland to purchase the estate of Penicuik south of Edinburgh. This property passed to his eldest son, John, who became a baronet in 1674 and from whom are descended the senior branch of the family, the Clerks of Penicuik: they included a number of politically important people in eighteenth century Scotland, a baron of the exchequer, a commissioner of customs, etc. The younger brother of the 6th baronet of Penicuik changed his name to Clerk-Maxwell and was the father of James Clerk-Maxwell (1831–1879), professor at Cambridge, regarded as perhaps the greatest physicist of the nineteenth century. A younger brother of the first baronet, Robert, chirurgeon apothecary of Edinburgh, was the progenitor of the branch of the family with whom we are concerned. His son John (1689–1757) became president of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and prospered sufficiently to purchase the properties of Listonshiels and Spittal in Midlothian. This President John Clerk married Margaret Rattray (of remote royal descent) by whom he had a large family including five sons who grew to maturity. Their careers reveal the choice of callings open to enterprising Scots in the eighteenth century. The youngest son, Duncan (1731–91), became a merchant in Lisbon and London and then an insurance broker. The fourth, Hugh (1728–56), went out in the service of the East India Company and died young. The third, David (1724–68), followed in his father's footsteps and became a physician in Edinburgh. The second, Robert (1723–97), obtained an engineer's commission in the army, later served Frederick the Great for a time, became a British general and married into the ducal family of Hamilton. The eldest, Thomas (1722–70), who inherited Listonshiels and Spittal from his father, became a merchant in London and married Sarah, the second daughter of James Russell, in 1757, the year of his father's death. From ca. 1746 he had been a partner in the London firm of Innes & Clerk whose representative in Lisbon was his brother Duncan Clerk. By 1763 Thomas Clerk had separated from William Innes and was trading on his own.

The marriage of Thomas Clerk and Sarah Russell was but brief, for she died

41. Based primarily on London directories in the British Museum and on the will of William de Drusina in PRO Prob.11/1046 (P.C.C. 395 Hay) dated 18 December 1771 and probated 6 October 1778. By his second wife, Maria Cecilia Boetefeur, widow of (Lewis?) Tonnies, W. de Drusina had no children. On the Adams-Grote connection, see will of Joseph Adams, PRO Prob.11/766 (P.C.C. 351 Strahan) and Galloway MSS., LC, ff. 8084–85, 8088, 8380. For examples of sales to Amsinck and de Drusina, cf. Carter (Keith) Scrapbook, VHS, I, p. 45 and "Robert Carter Papers"; Ridgely Papers, box V; Waring Collection, HR, D391/233, 255; Allason Papers, VSL, box 4; Jones Papers, LC, XIV, fo. 2682, XX, ff. 4514–15.

in 1763 and he in 1770. They were, however, married long enough to bring into the world five children who became the responsibility of their grandfather Russell: James (1758), John (1759), Thomas (1761), Ann (1762), and Robert (1763).[42]

The third son-in-law of James Russell, William Molleson, poses greater problems. Nothing definite is known of his immediate origins and parentage, though he claimed the most illustrious connections. In one letter he mentions in passing that the customs collector of New York (and later lieutenant-governor) Andrew Elliot was his "kinsman."[43] This was a worthy "connection," for Andrew Elliot was the third son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, 2d bart. of Minto (Roxburghshire) (c. 1693–1766), a senior Scottish judge (Lord of Session, etc.) with the nonhereditary title, Lord Minto. Andrew was also the brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3d bart. (1722–77), M.P. (1753–77), who from 1762 until his death held various minor ministerial positions (culminating in the treasurership of the navy under Lord North). However, the precise connection between Molleson and the "border Elliots" has thus far been impossible to establish.[44] When he died in 1804, Molleson left his public papers and half his residuary estate to his "nearest male relation," Charles, Lord Sinclair of Herdmanston.[45] The history of the barony of Sinclair in the Scottish peerage is complicated enough and romantic enough to fill a volume by Sir Walter Scott. The heir to the barony (created in 1449), the Master of Sinclair, was involved in the 'Fifteen and attainted. Thus, when his father, the 10th baron, died in 1723, the title was considered "forfeited," despite the existence of a younger and surviving brother, General the Hon. James St. Clair, M.P., a good Walpole Whig. When General St. Clair died in 1762, the titular barony passed to a distant cousin, Andrew St. Clair, merchant of Edinburgh (1733–75), but he did not claim the title. After his death, however, a suit was initiated in behalf of his minor son Charles (1768–1863) whose claim to the title was recognized by the House of Lords in 1782. He became a benefactor of

42. John Foster, *The Royal Lineage of Our Noble and Gentle Families together with their Paternal Ancestry*, 2 vol. (London, 1887), 1: 218–25, 280–86; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1907–1939 eds.), s.v. "Clerk of Westholme"; cf. also "Clerk-Rattray." The christenings of the five children of Thomas Clerk can be found in the transcript of the register of All Hallows, Staining, in the Society of Genealogists, London. There are letters to Innes & Clerk and Thomas Clerk, ca. 1746–55, in the Clerk Papers belonging to Mrs. R. G. Kennard. The London directories of 1763–70 show Thomas Clerk at 18 London Street, off Fenchurch Street, where his brother Duncan is also shown, 1763–69; Innes & Clerk had been at Limestreet Square. Thomas Clerk died 21 Nov. 1770 (not 1769 as in the genealogies); (W. Molleson to T. S. Lee, 1 Dec., Eleanor Molleson to same, 30 Dec. 1770, James Russell to same, 4 Feb. 1771, Horsey Collection).

43. Molleson to Capt. C. Ridgely, 25 March 1765, box V, Ridgely Papers.

44. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VII-VIII (New York, 1856–57), 8: 96; *Burke's Peerage* (1921 ed.), s.v. "Earl of Minto"; Romney Sedgwick, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715–1754*, 2 vol. (Oxford, 1970), 2: 9; Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754–1790*, 3 vol. (Oxford, 1964), 2: 390–94. There are at least two tenuous connections between the Elliots and the St. Clairs who were connected to the Mollesons. Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3d bart. married (1746) Agnes, only daughter of Hugh Dalrymple, whose sister Janet had married General James St. Clair. In addition, Sir Gilbert, the 1st bart., in his will of 1708 named as curator of his minor children Dr. Matthew St. Clair, a physician, whose daughter was probably William Molleson's mother. (George F. S. Elliot, *The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto* [Edinburgh, 1897], pp. 295–96, 329–31. Cf. fn. 46).

45. PRO Prob.11/1403 (P.C.C. 51 Heseltine).

William Molleson in subsequent years, but we know little of the family connection; it was probably through Molleson's mother.[46] The only things we know for sure about William Molleson is that he was born in 1732 or 1733[47] and at the time of his marriage to Eleanor Russell in 1762 was described as of the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury.[48] He was undoubtedly the Molleson in the firm of Fraser, Wharton & Molleson, "Scotch merchants," which directories as late as 1763 show in Love Lane, Aldermanbury.[49]

To students of Maryland history, the fourth son-in-law of James Russell is rather better known than the other three. Philip Thomas Lee (1737–78), the *elder*[50] son of Richard Lee of "Blenheim," was sent over to England for his education almost as soon as his uncle and aunt James and Ann Russell moved to London. He attended Eton from 1753 to 1756 (as did his cousin Arthur) and entered Christ's College, Cambridge in January 1757 (at age 19), where he remained through 1759. Even before his entry into Cambridge, he had been admitted to study law at the Middle Temple (24 February 1756) and was called to the bar on 10 February 1764.[51] Following his professional qualification, he would appear to have married Ann[a] Russell sometime during 1764–66.[52] After his admission to the bar Philip Thomas Lee remained in England until 1773, perhaps practising law. During that period his four daughters were born, Sarah Russell, Ann, Eleanor, and Margaret Russell. After the family's return to America, a son, Russell Lee, was born in 1776.[53]

The marriage of daughter Eleanor to William Molleson on 13 February 1762 was associated with a most significant rearrangement of the business of James Russell. On or about the day of the marriage, Russell took his new son-in-law in as a partner; the firm was now styled James Russell & Molleson, and shortly thereafter moved back to Crutched Friars. The younger man appears to have brought a lot of imagination and bustle to the firm, though it is unlikely that he

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46. G. E. C[okayne] *et al.*, *The Complete Peerage*, 13 vols. (London, 1910–59), 11:737–43; Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (London, 1904–14) 7: 585, explains that the above Andrew St. Clair (1733–75) had an aunt who married a William Molleson merchant of London. This was probably the father of our William Molleson. Earlier in the century there was a Quaker Scottish family (originally from Aberdeen) in London named Mollison or Molleson; they were related to other important Scottish Quakers in London, the Barclays and the Falconers, but I have been unable to establish any connections between them and any William Molleson.

47. Molleson was seventy-one at the time of his death in January 1804. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 74 [1804]: 90).

48. Transcript of the register of St. Andrew's Undershaft, London, in Society of Genealogists Library.

49. Cf. in particular Mortimer's *Universal Director* for 1763.

50. The description of Philip Thomas as the "second" son of Richard is an error originating in Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, pp. 304–306, and followed by subsequent writers. In his petition to the British government in 1777, Richard Lee Jr., referred to Philip Thomas as his "elder brother." (PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 102–3).

51. *The Eton College Register 1753–1790*, ed. Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh (Eton, 1921), p. 327; *Biographical Register of Christ's College 1505–1905*, ed. John Peele, 2 vol. (Cambridge, 1910–13), 2: 263; *Register of Admissions to the . . . Middle Temple*, ed. H. A. C. Sturgess, 3 vol. (London, 1949), 1: 350.

52. When Mrs. Sarah Russell [Lee] Contee, the daughter of Philip Thomas Lee and Ann Russell, died on 16 Dec. 1810, she was described as being "in the 44th year of her age," making her birth 1766 or 1767. This suggests 1764–66 as the most plausible years of her parents' marriage. (*MHM*, 42[1947]: 270).

53. Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, pp. 304–306; Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," pp. 205–206.

had more than a one-third interest in the partnership. In spring 1764 Molleson went out to Maryland to learn about the business on the ground, to attend the county courts, and to collect what he could of outstanding debts. During his stay he made his headquarters with Charles Grahame at Lower Marlboro on the Patuxent, but travelled all over the western shore of Maryland meeting the agents and correspondents of the firm. Everywhere he went there was much very deliberate entertainment, as the agents and friends of the firm strove to give Molleson an opportunity to meet and cultivate as many planters as possible. In the spring of 1765 Molleson returned to London via Philadelphia and New York (where he visited his "kinsman," the collector Andrew Elliot).[54]

The return of William Molleson to London did not bring joy to his father-in-law. Almost immediately the two men quarrelled over certain "Idle reports" about Molleson which were circulating in Maryland. These stories seemed to involve Molleson's solvency, some hint of fraud in his past, and the circumstances under which he had married Eleanor Russell. Some of the greater planters on Patuxent and Potomac were so upset by these rumors that they resolved not to ship to Russell & Molleson until reassured by the firm's local managers (Grahame, Lux et al.) who agreed personally to guarantee all shipments that year. Russell felt that the persistence of such rumors could only ruin the business and the two men agreed to end the partnership as of October 1765. James Russell, the senior partner, continued the old business at the existing address. He hoped that his son-in-law would go into another branch of commerce, but William Molleson chose to take advantage of his newly acquired experience and friendships in America and to set up in competition with his father-in-law. At first he could send out only one ship a year compared with the six or more that his father-in-law dispatched.[55] However, Molleson showed great energy and daring and his business expanded rapidly.[56] He also opened stores of

54. The earliest references to the new partnership are an invoice of goods shipped by "Ja^s Russell & Molleson" of 1 April 1762 and a letter of James Russell to C. Ridgely, 22 April 1762, box II, Ridgely Papers. See also in *ibid.*, box IV, Russell & Molleson to Ridgely, 26 March 1764, Molleson to same, 4 June, 29 July, 17, 25 November 1764, 4 February [N.B.], 10, 25 March 1765.

55. The only substantive discussion of the rumors is in the letters of William Lux to: James Russell, 17 September, 15 November 1765. 6, 23 January 1766, and to William Molleson, 23 November, 13, 23 January, 4, 24 February 1766, William Lux Letterbooks. The rumors may have been fed by Russell's refusing to pay some bills of exchange. In the letter of 15 November, Lux assured Russell that though no one attacked his good name or "Integrity, some did try to impeach your Credit, but even then acknowledged it proceeded from your great desire to Serve your Friends here, by which means you had given such extensive Credits as to injure your Own. . . . I am fully satisfied of Mollesons Innocence at the same time I think he acted not with his wanted discretion in not informing you of the Transaction [apparently with John Ridgely], that the Money might have been duly paid, and then nothing would have been said, or thought about the Matter." The letters of 4 February and 4 April indicate that Molleson sent out "certificates" to establish his "innocence" but Lux did not find them satisfactory. See also in the Ridgely Papers, boxes VI and VII, an account of sale of 1 October 1765 signed James Russell *solus*, indicating that the partnership had been dissolved by that date, and W. Molleson to C. Ridgely, 25 October 1765, 2 January 1766, J. Russell to same, 26 October, 10 December, 7 January 1766; Capt. C. Ridgely to Molleson, [10 March] 1766.

56. As late as 2 January 1766 Molleson wrote of his plans for "a small Snug Business" of one ship a year to Patapsco. By 23 July 1766, he could write to Charles Ridgely, Jr.: "I shall now have always an Annual Ship in Potomack . . . as well as the Patapsco ship, and next year I hope also to have a Ship in Patuxent of my own. . . . " (Ridgely Papers, box VII). By 1774 Molleson was reported planning to send nine ships to Maryland. (Private Accounts 1507, Joshua Johnson letterbook 1, ff.

his own run by factors in the Glasgow fashion.[57] In the 1770s Joshua Johnson, a Maryland merchant newly arrived in London, marvelled at the number of Molleson's ships, at the dispatch with which Molleson got them out and back, and at his efficiency in selling tobacco and buying acceptable merchandise.[58] For his chief agent in Maryland, Molleson characteristically chose Thomas Contee, a merchant at Port Tobacco (Charles County) and Nottingham (Prince George's County) with a considerable landed estate. Thomas Contee was very much a member of the extended Lee family. His mother was the sister of Sarah Brooke, the wife of Philip Lee, the founder of the Lees of Maryland, while Contee's own wife was Sarah Fendall, granddaughter of Philip and Sarah Lee.[59] Molleson's competition, however, meant that the extended family was no longer united behind James Russell. Others beside Contee (who was a competitor of James Russell at Nottingham) went over to Molleson, particularly the Stratford Lees.

Another break in the family front came in 1769 when William Lee, the fifth of the six Lee brothers of Stratford, went over to London as a merchant and became a partner in the firm of DeBerdts, Lee & Sayre, the partners being Dennys DeBerdt, Sr., Dennis DeBerdt, Jr., William Lee, and Stephen Sayre.[60] This was a very political and pro-American firm who called their first ship to the Potomac in 1770 the *Liberty*. Dennys DeBerdt, Sr. was agent for Massachusetts (1766–70) and Delaware (1765–70); Dennis Jr. was to be agent for the assembly of New Jersey in 1775. William Lee very quickly became a sheriff and alderman of London. Stephen Sayre, a political as well as a commercial assistant to Dennys DeBerdt, also became sheriff but was unsuccessful in his bid for an aldermancy.[61] The firm appears, however, to have been much more important politically than commercially. (William Lee was indiscreet in his credit advances and lacked liquidity to expand.) His Potomac ship, *Liberty*, was all his firm sent in 1770 and thereafter they seem to have operated mostly at the one and two ships a year level, hardly enough to threaten Russell or Molleson.

Nevertheless, William Lee wrote letter after frantic letter to his four planter brothers pleading with them to do all they could to persuade their neighbors to consign to him.[62] Brothers Philip Ludwell, Richard Henry (on Potomac), and

318–19 to Wallace, Davidson & Johnson, 26 March 1774, HR). In London Molleson established himself near Russell at Gould Square, Crutched Friars, but moved in 1770 to the new America Square, between Crutched Friars and Minories.

57. Private Accounts 9212, HR, contains (ff. 1–71) the journal of William Allein, factor for William Molleson, for a store at Huntingtown (Calvert County), 1772–73. Molleson's postwar debt claims (PRO T. 79/44 fo. 1141, and Chancery Papers 3514, HR) shows that he also had stores at Georgetown, Upper and Lower Marlboro, and Pomonkey, Nottingham, Bladensburg, and Pip Point.

58. Private Accounts 1507, HR, Joshua Johnson letterbook 1, to Wallace, Davidson & Johnson, 9 August, 4 October 1773, 26 March, 1 June 1774.

59. Molleson to C. Ridgely, 11 October 1766, Ridgely Papers; *Writings of George Washington*, 3: 290; Bowie, *Across the Years*, pp. 226–30, 671.

60. DeBerdts, Lee & Sayre to Richard Henry Lee, 27 January 1770, Lee Papers, VHS.

61. On their public character, see Michael G. Kammen, *A Rope of Sand: the Colonial Agents, British Politics and the American Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), pp. 323–24 and *passim*; Jack M. Sosin, *Agents and Merchants: British Colonial Policy and the Origins of the American Revolution, 1763–1775* (Lincoln, Neb., 1965), *passim; City Biography, containing Anecdotes and Memoirs of the . . . Corporation and City of London* (London, 1799), pp. 94–96; Alfred B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vol. (London, 1908) 1: 14, 112, 308; 2: xxxviii, 135, 211, 233.

62. P. L. Lee to W. Lee, 6 June 1770, VHS (Ms. 1L51f248). Cf. also f243, 245, 246, 249. Also P. L. Lee to W. Lee, 20 July 1773, VHS (Ms. 1L51f254). In their formal letter of 27 January 1770 to R. H.

Francis Lightfoot (on Rappahanock) all exerted themselves to find him consigners, though the master of the *Liberty*, Capt. Walker, was very slow and ineffectual in following up their leads. Philip Ludwell Lee explained to William, "I sent before Walkers arrival one of my Clerks thro' Frederic County, Loudon, Fairfax, Prince Wm. Stafford & Fredericsburg. I sent my boat over to Maryland & wrote to my Friends there, I saw in April at W^msbg^ the Gent:^n^ in every County in Virg^a^. spoke to them all pressingly for you & almost all promised me Tob^o^."[63]

Yet the brothers do not seem to have felt it incumbent on themselves to give all their business to William. Richard Henry Lee appears not to have broken entirely with Russell, and the oldest brother Philip Ludwell Lee infuriated William by writing, "I earnestly desire you & Molleson may be good friends[;] as I love you both I will take care your interest here shall not hurt one another, I know it will be much for both y[ou]r advantages to be on good terms as both y[ou]r friends & relations here are so connected."[64]

Despite the very severe losses of business to William Molleson in Maryland, and the not-so-severe losses to William Lee in Virginia, James Russell remained a major figure in the London Chesapeake trade. His position was formally recognized by Maryland in 1769. In that year the legislature passed a law for an additional issue of paper money and reconstituted the group of trustees in London who held the Bank of England stock which provided the backing for Maryland's paper. The three trustees then named were Osgood Hanbury, Silvanus Grove, and James Russell. Osgood Hanbury and Silvanus Grove were very wealthy Quakers of rock-like reputations. Hanbury's father John and Grove's father-in-law Joseph Adams had been trustees before them going back to the 1740s. Hanbury was also Lord Baltimore's personal banker and was shortly (in conjunction with his Birmingham brother-in-law, Sampson Lloyd) to open a London bank – Hanbury, Taylor, Lloyd & Bowman. Russell was then a greater importer of tobacco than either of them, but his inclusion in the trust (thanks, no doubt, to the influence of his brother-in-law Richard Lee, senior member of the Maryland Council), gave a particular cachet to his reputation.[65]

The years after 1759 in which James Russell had to face the competition of William Molleson and William Lee were very exciting ones for the merchants trading to Virginia and Maryland. Both tobacco and wheat prices had been relatively high in the late 1760s and this led to an increase in liquid wealth in the Bay. New houses sprang up in trade and many were attracted to the importation of manufactures from Britain, particularly in 1770 when the impending repeal of the Townshend duties promised a boom in the import trade. To

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Lee, in Lee Papers, VHS, DeBerdts, Lee & Sayre wrote, "We do not expect you to be able to break abruptly with your former connections, but you can divide your favors, and should you desire to break, we are prepared to assist you in it [by credit advances]." See also W. Lee to R. H. Lee, 10 December 1770, VHS.

63. P. L. Lee to W. Lee, 21 January 1771, VHS (Ms. 1L51f249); cf. also f251, 253 same to same, 18 June 1771, 24 July 1772.

64. P. L. Lee to W. Lee, 1 June 1770, VHS (Ms. 1L51f248). Cf. also *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, ed. J. C. Ballagh, 2 vol. (New York, 1911) 1: 43–44, 84–87.

65. The present writer will shortly publish a detailed study of the Maryland Bank stock trust (see fn. 136). Cf. also Samuel Lloyd, *The Lloyds of Birmingham*, 3d ed. (Birmingham, 1909), p. 56; R. S. Sayers, *Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 10–11; Amy Audrey Locke, *The Hanbury Family*, 2 vol. (London, 1916) 2: 249, 289.

get these manufactures, the indigenous merchants in the Chesapeake looked to London merchants who would send them "cargoes" on credit. James Russell had been one of the pioneers of this "cargo" trade in the 1750s, but it was very small then compared with what it was to become in 1770–72. The newer firms in the trade at London (Molleson, Lee, etc.) all pushed the cargo trade and Russell too had to expand his operations to remain competitive. The London export merchants could afford such great advances to the traders in the Chesapeake because they themselves bought their export goods from warehousemen, linendrapers, ironmongers, etc. in London on twelve months' credit. All was well provided that remittances came from the Chesapeake in time to pay the twelve month debts when due.

The bubble burst in June 1772. A Scottish merchant in London, Alexander Fordyce, whose operations were largely financial, lost a fortune in speculations in East India Company shares and absconded, bringing down both his bank, Neale, James, Fordyce & Down, and his mercantile house, Fordyce, Grant & Co. A panic ensued in which many Scottish firms in London and houses in Edinburgh (some connected with Fordyce) also collapsed. The Bank of England was for a time very sparing in its assistance and a period of great credit stringency ensued for approximately a year after the crisis of June 1772.[66] This contraction of credit could not have come at a worse time for traders to the Chesapeake in London. The high tobacco prices of the late 1760s were undermined by five great tobacco crops in 1770–74 leading to record tobacco imports in Great Britain in 1771–75. Under the pressure of these record imports, British tobacco prices started down in the latter part of 1771, broke in late 1772, and continued downward till the middle of 1774. These lower prices meant that tobacco remitted from the Chesapeake did not realize as much as the consigning planters or traders expected and bills of exchange on London became more difficult to obtain in the Bay. For the merchants of London, the same lower prices meant that insufficient assets were coming to hand in time to pay the debts coming due on the cargoes shipped in the boom times. A liquidity crisis ensued, and several firms with impressive book assets went under because they could not find the cash to pay their debts.[67]

James Russell, as one of the biggest and most indulgent merchants in the "cargo trade," was particularly hard hit by the credit squeeze and declining prices. He tried to cut back by not filling orders in full for new cargoes and by refusing to pay some bills of exchange drawn on him. This was not enough and he had to get extensions on the debts he owed his suppliers. (Such leniency was common in the year following the crash of June 1772). None of this proved enough, and in January 1773 James Russell was forced to call in his creditors and open his books. Those books have not survived, but he reportedly owed more

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66. On the crisis of 1772, cf. R. B. Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies," *Journal of Economic History*, 20 (1960): 161–86; L. S. Sutherland, "Sir George Colebrooke's World Corner in Alum, 1771–73," *Economic History*, 3 (1936): 237–58; H. Hamilton, "The Failure of the Ayr Bank, 1772," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 8 (1956): 405–17.

67. For the impact of the crash on the tobacco trade, see also Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, 2 vol. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973), 1: 639–42, 676–77; ——, "Joshua Johnson," pp., 163–68.

than £50,000. His creditors decided that Russell should continue in business so that the vaster sums owing in the Chesapeake might be recovered. This meant of course that he would have to spend money to send out more ships, buy goods, and honor bills of exchange drawn on him. It was agreed that his creditors would elect a group of "trustees" who would supervise Russell's operations and had to approve all bills of exchange paid and all "cargoes" sent out on credit. Russell did not mention the supervisory trustees when he explained almost all in a frank letter to Samuel Galloway of Maryland:

> I think it Incumbent upon me, to . . . Acquaint . . . you, that during the Course of the last two Years, I have to Oblige my Friends in Maryland, Shiped some of them larger Quantities of Goods than I now find the Situation of Business with you will Enable them to send me Punctual Remittances for
>
> In Consequence of repeated Advices to this Effect I foresaw the Probability of my being Unable to make such Regular payments to my Tradesmen [suppliers] as they might have a right to expect, I therefore thought it expedient to lay my Situation and Books open to my Principal Creditors, and they upon Examination being Concious of the Security of their Debts, have Unanimously Agreed to Grant me Twelve Months indulgence if I should require it, upon being paid Interest for their Money –
>
> This Step I thought more Eligible than Attempting to support Credit with them, by means [borrowing on unfavorable terms] which have lately been fatal to so many Eminent houses in Europe – and I flatter myself it will merit the Approbation of my Friends with you, as I am resolved to Circumscribe my Business that I may have it more in my Power to Accomodate with reasonable Advances such of my Correspondents as are Pleased to favour me with their Orders & Consignments –

Russell also announced his intention of sending out his usual number of ships that year.[68] Though his critics scoffed, he appears to have done so.

The financial crisis also caused other moves in the Russell-Lee connection. Early in 1773 Philip Thomas Lee, after a residence in England of almost twenty years, returned to Maryland with his wife, Ann Russell, and his two older daughters. (The other two were considered too young to travel and were left with their grandmother Russell.)[69] It was reported at the time that the primary reason for Philip's return was to collect the debts owing to James Russell.[70] He resided in Annapolis where his father, Richard, bought him a house. That same year (1773) Philip Thomas Lee became a member of the council in Maryland where his father was now the senior councillor. When, during the absence of Governor Eden in 1774, Richard Lee, as president of the council, became acting governor of Maryland, he resigned his post as naval officer of North Potomac to Philip Thomas, who exercised it through a deputy.[71]

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68. J. Russell to S. Galloway, 19 February 1773, XII, fo. 10064, Galloway Papers, LC. See *ibid.*, ff. 10056–57, 10087–88, 10102–3 for nonpayment of bills of exchange. See also n. 70 and Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, p. 63.

69. Memorial of Eleanor Lee, PRO A.O.13/4 ff. 95–96.

70. W. Lee to R. H. Lee, 23 February 1773, Lee Papers; W. Lee to F. L. Lee, 23 February 1773, II fo. 3, A. Lee Papers, Harvard College Library.

71. On the house and Russell's slowness in providing furniture, see P. R. Fendall to Russell, 29 November 1774, Russell Papers. See also W. Fitzhugh to Russell, 12 July 1774, Ann Lee to Russell, 8 February 1775, in same. See also Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 161; Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, p. 257.

James Russell followed his daughter and son-in-law to Maryland in the spring of 1773, leaving his business in London in the hands of his nephew(?), John Inglis.[72] He had debts to collect and had to show the flag, to reassure his correspondents, after an absence from Maryland of more than twenty years, that a man of sixty-five was still to be taken seriously as a London tobacco merchant. He travelled extensively in Maryland and northern Virginia, collecting what debts he could, securing others by bond or other specialty. We have an account of his visit to Richard Henry Lee at Chantilly. They amicably settled the debt due at £388, with Russell deleting all charges for interest and Lee forgoing any claims for commission for services rendered. Richard Henry gave him a bill on his brother William Lee in London not due till 1 February 1774 and promised to pay the balance by 1 February 1775. Richard Henry Lee also agreed to help Russell in collecting from others. In August of 1773 Russell reembarked for London, where he arrived 25 September.[73]

Many others were travelling in 1773. In the fall of 1772 William Molleson had made a partner of his brother, Robert, a former officer, changing his firm's style to "William & Robert Molleson." "Major Molleson" went out to the Chesapeake in 1773–74 to learn the business, to cultivate the firm's friends, and to collect debts.[74] Russell's old ally (and partner in the Nottingham ironworks), John Buchanan, sent his son Gilbert out to collect debts, but John's creditors were less considerate and that firm went into liquidation in April 1773.[75]

When James Russell returned to London in the fall of 1773, he had to face the hard fact that the twelve months' extension given him by his creditors in January 1773 would expire in January 1774. His enemies waited with bated breath[76] for the axe to fall, but once again Russell managed his creditors well. He got them to agree to take five shillings in the pound (25 percent) cash without interest in June, interest bearing notes due in six months for another five shillings in the pounds, and only a vague promise to pay the remaining 50

72. XII, ff. 10110–11, Galloway Papers; J. Inglis to T. S. Lee, 13 June 1773, Horsey Collection (164/71); James Weems to Russell, 27 June 1774, XVIII, Russell Papers. James Russell's sister Mary (b. 1706) married Robert Inglis, of Edinburgh, Writer to the Signet and procurator-fiscal. John was their eldest son. See Paterson, *Scottish Surnames*, p. 55 and manuscript account of Inglis family, County Record Office, Bedford.

73. R. H. Lee, *Letters*, I, 88–89, 93–94 to W. Lee, 28 June, 4(12) July 1773; R. H. Lee, to Russell, 28 April, 6 August, 15 December 1773, XI, Russell Papers; W. Lee to R. H. Lee, 4 October 1773, Lee MSS, University of Virginia; Russell to T. S. Lee, 5 October 1773, Horsey Collection (170/88).

74. Private Accounts 1507, HR, J. Johnson letterbook 1, pp. 106–108 to partners, 7 October 1772; Robert Molleson to Dr. R. L. Hall, 1 October 1773, Peckatone Papers (sec 19, Ms. 1 P3374a), VHS. The previous military career of Robert Molleson is difficult to establish. The *Army Lists* show a Robert Molleson commissioned second lieutenant of marines on 17 December 1755 and first lieutenant on 23 September 1759. He disappears after 1764 only to reappear 1767–78 as on half-pay. Nevertheless, Robert was referred to as "Major" Molleson in Maryland in 1773. Cf. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 29 April 1773; to T. S. Lee from R. Molleson, 10 October 1773, 13 May 1774; from W. Molleson, 25 January 1774; and from E. Molleson, 24 January 1774, (171/276, 180/278, 179/277, 186/296), Horsey Collection.

75. Petition of Gilbert Buchanan, PRO A.O. 13/60 fo. 156. On the trust for winding up this firm, see Private Accounts 1507, HR, J. Johnson letterbook, p. 162 to Wallace, Davidson & Johnson, 29 April 1773. J. Buchanan had another son, Samuel, who lived in Maryland, 1767–69, and who died in December 1769 after returning to London. (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, 18[1923]:275; E. Molleson to T. S. Lee, 19 January 1770, Horsey Collection [54/263]).

76. W. Lee to R. H. Lee, 1 January 1774, Lee MSS, UVa.

percent when he could.[77] With this understanding, Russell moved ahead as if nothing had happened. Though he was still being forced by his "trustees" in 1774 to refuse to honor "cargo" orders or bills of exchange drawn by those with insufficient credit or standing,[78] his friends in Maryland by and large remained loyal to him—though at some risk to themselves. (If Russell died, his London creditors might seize his effects, leaving consigning planters unprovided for.)[79]

Molleson came out of the troubles of 1772–73 in rather better shape than his father-in-law Russell. Virtually no detrimental rumors circulated about Molleson's financial condition. Perhaps his experiments with "stores" in the Bay proved less risky than Russell's great ventures in the "cargo trade." At the beginning of 1774 an impressed Joshua Johnson could report, "Molleson is to have three or four large ships in Patuxent, three in Potomack, two on the Eastern Shore & . . . [one] in Patapscoe, Russell is to have nearly an equal Quantity."[80] Virtually all of Russell's incoming correspondence for the years 1774 and 1775 has survived.[81] From this we can determine that he in fact sent out six ships to Maryland for tobacco in 1774 and his agents there chartered two more. The eight returning were divided among Patapsco (two), Patuxent (three, with one taking some eastern shore tobacco as well), North Potomac (two), and South Potomac (one). With Russell receiving eight shiploads (ca. 2,800 hogsheads) and Molleson nine or so, the old connections can be seen holding fast despite all the strains to which they had been put.

If any doubts persist, they should be dispelled by the figures we have of all tobacco imported in the port of London in 1775. These show the top seven importers in London to have been:

William & Robert Molleson	6721 hhds.	(15.3%)
C. Court & T. Eden	4179 hhds.	(9.5%)
Lyonel Lyde & Co.	3707 hhds.	(8.4%)
James Russell	3566 hhds.	(8.1%)
Dunlop & Wilson	2315 hhds.	(5.3%)
Gale, Fearon & Co.	2096 hhds.	(4.8%)
Wallace, Davidson & Johnson	1899 hhds.	(4.3%)
Other and unknown	19470 hhds.	(44.3%)
Total	43953 hhds.	

Although the account from which these figures is drawn presents some technical difficulties, the data are useable and remarkably interesting for our

77. Private Accounts 1507, HR, J. Johnson letterbook 1, p. 226 to partners, 10 January 1774. Russell's cargo customers did reduce their debts. For example, John Galloway gave a bond for £1512 on 1 January 1774 which he reduced to £630 by March 1775 (in Galloway Papers, LC, XIV, ff. 10309–10).

78. Private Accounts 1507, HR, J. Johnson letterbook 1, pp. 237–39, 332–34 to partners 10 February, 18 April 1774.

79. See note 77.

80. Private Accounts 1507, HR, J. Johnson letterbook 1, pp. 318–19 to partners, 26 March 1774.

81. At Coutts & Co., bankers, Strand. When James Russell's widow Ann died in 1800, one of the executors of her estate was Edmund Antrobus, a partner in Coutts's bank. The records were preserved at the bank by the executors, inter alia for presentation to the government claims commission, until at least 1811. The letters now at Coutts & Co. probably were saved by accident when the bulkier records were destroyed.

purposes.[82] They show that William Molleson, the rejected partner of 1765, who had to apologize for planning to send one ship a year to the Bay, had in ten years made himself the leading figure in the London tobacco trade, operating on a scale that approached that of the largest Glasgow consortia with their dozen and more partners.[83] These same figures show that James Russell, once spoken of as the leader of the London trade, had been hurt by the crisis of 1772 and by the necessity thereafter to operate under the supervision of trustees chosen by his creditors—and yet in 1775 was still the fourth largest importer in London, handling the cargoes of perhaps ten ships. Despite his difficulties, his friends in Maryland and northern Virginia had remained loyal to him till the end.

Many years later, in a letter to William Pitt, William Molleson wrote that he had "had an Income, before the War, equal to any in the City."[84] He was inclined to exaggerate, but, if one eliminates the rentier income of financiers, Molleson may have been close to the mark. A net income for his firm of well over £5000 a year is not inconceivable. All that, however, was soon to change.

THE REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

The transatlantic network of the Russells and the Lees was inevitably shaken by the advent of the revolutionary crisis, much as was everything else in the transatlantic world. Difficulties began to accumulate from about 1769. In March of that year about 600 London merchants signed an anti-Wilkes address of loyalty to the king. This was construed in America as an anti-colonial gesture. When one of John Buchanan's ships arriving in Maryland that year was charged with violating the nonimportation agreements and sent back to London without being allowed to discharge its British cargo or take on tobacco, the Buchanans felt that they had been punished for John Buchanan's signature of the address.[85] Rumors also circulated against Molleson because of his signature of the same address, and he had to send out circular letters to his correspondents, declaring "with my hand upon my heart, I had not the least intention of injuring America."[86] The failure of the London merchants to bestir themselves more against the Tea and Intolerable acts was noted in America. After news of the last named measures reached America, Fendall wrote to Russell, "Mr. Molleson is greatly injured here by a report of his having refused to sign a Petition against the Late Acts of Parliament, take care how you Act in Matters relating to America, a word to the wise is enough." Fendall was referring to a story that appeared in the Boston newspapers in July 1774 including Molleson among the London merchants who had refused to sign a "Petition for the Redress of American

82. Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam (Burke) Ms. A.xxv.74. The account shows 3037 hhds. unspecified. It also shows some imports in the name of known exporters who may have "bought at the mast," just before importation.

83. *Ibid.*, and Price, "Capital and Credit." The three largest Glasgow groups (firms with overlapping partners) imported 9–12,000 hhds. each in 1775.

84. Molleson to Pitt, 11 November 1791, PRO P.R.O.30/8/160 ff. 156–57.

85. Petition from G. Buchanan, 1778, PRO A.O.13/60 fo. 156. Cf. George Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 62–65.

86. Molleson to Mrs. Hannah Lee Corbin, and to Dr. R. L. Hall, both 20 December 1769, Peckatone Papers (Ms. 1 P3374a).

Grievances." Molleson was forced to obtain an affidavit from one of the petition's signers stating that Molleson had been willing to join but that only natives of America were asked to sign; he had to have another circular letter printed and sent to his Maryland correspondents calling attention to the affidavit which he had sent to his agent Thomas Contee for all to see.[87]

As the American situation deteriorated in the last months of 1774 and the first part of 1775, Molleson became very busy forwarding to Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary, the latest information he received from America, mostly from Matthew Tilghman, member of Congress, and president of the Maryland conventions of 1774–76. (Molleson apparently had *entrée* to Dartmouth through Lord Marchmont, an old Scottish Tory, once a collaborator of Bolingbroke and Wyndham.)[88] When the London merchants met in December 1774–January 1775 to consider the American crisis and petition the government, Molleson was involved from the start and was one of three merchants trading to Maryland elected to the steering committee. He kept his American correspondents informed of his petitioning activity, even while assuring Lord Dartmouth that he would use his influence to keep the petition as commercial and non-political as possible.[89] Molleson continued to play a double role and in March was one of three merchants who presented another address to the king asking a veto on the bill to stop all trade with New England.[90] However, with radical Americans such as Joshua Johnson and William Lee among his competitors in London, it was inevitable that stories about Molleson's ambiguous conduct should get into the papers in Maryland. In May 1775 Molleson felt it necessary to obtain a letter defending his conduct from Richard Glover, a prominent merchant and former M.P. The letter (intended for general perusal) was addressed to Matthew Tilghman.[91] By October 1775 Molleson had become sufficiently cautious to sign a petition of the merchants of London even while explaining privately to Lord Dartmouth that he did not really approve of its contents.[92]

Molleson, with his connections with the Elliots and St. Clairs, was something of a politician and courtier. Russell by contrast, with his greater knowledge of

87. P. R. Fendall to Russell, 14 Sept. 1774, V, Russell Papers; printed circular, 1 November 1774, Horsey Collection (197/2003). Cf. also *Maryland Gazette,* 27 October 1774.

88. *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth,* vol. 2, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *14th Report, Appendix,* part X (London, 1895), pp. 223, 240, 244, 245, 321, 351.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 241; W. & R. Molleson to T. S. Lee, 28 January 1775, Horsey Collection (200/281). *American Archives,* ed. Peter Force, 9 vols. (Washington, 1837–53, 4th ser.),1: 1086, and *Maryland Gazette,* 16 March 1775 for the committee chosen at the King's Tavern meeting of 4 January 1775. A garbled version of this list appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), 8 April 1775, including Russell for North Carolina. James Russell had no significant trade with North Carolina. Cf. also Bernard Donoughue, *British Politics and the American Revolution 1773–75* (London, 1964), pp. 154–55.

90. *American Archives,* ed. Force, 4th ser., 1: 1850.

91. *Ibid.*, 2: 474–75.

92. *Manuscripts of Earl of Dartmouth,* 2: 392; cf. also 415. There were two London addresses to the king at this time: one (14 October 1775), signed by 941 "merchants and traders," was simply a declaration of loyalty; the other (27 October) with 1100 signatures, asked His Majesty "to cause hostilities to cease . . . and to adopt such mode of reconciling this unhappy controversy as will best promote the interest of commerce, and the welfare of all your people." (*Maryland Gazette,* 15 February 1776). It was presumably the second which Molleson apologized to Dartmouth for signing.

America, appears to have tried avoiding involvement in sensitive public matters. Yet he did not go unscathed. Two months after the warning about Molleson, Fendall wrote Russell that a letter had been published in the *Maryland Gazette* stating that Russell was not a friend of America. This was interpreted as a ploy to damage a competitor by Wallace, Davidson & Johnson, the new bustling Annapolis firm with a partner in London.[93] Russell was of course in an embarrassing position, for he was directly involved in the *Peggy Stewart* incident. After the stoppage of John Buchanan & Son in 1773, the Annapolis firm of Dick & Stewart, owners of the *Peggy Stewart,* transferred most of their business to him. It was Russell who, as the owners' representative in London, made the fateful decision to permit several parcels of tea to be shipped "well hidden" on that ill-fated vessel. As early as 1771 Joshua Johnson in London had warned his Annapolis partners, Charles Wallace and John Davidson, that Russell and others were shipping tea. In 1774 Johnson once more got wind of Russell's activity in tea and warned his partners yet again. It was this warning which led to the destruction of the tea and the burning of the *Peggy Stewart,* in which Wallace is alleged to have played a most inflammatory role.[94] In the aftermath of the *Peggy Stewart* affair, the *Maryland Gazette* published a deposition from Captain Lambert Wickes of the *Neptune,* who had refused to carry tea to Maryland from the same London merchant (Amos Hayton) to the same Annapolis house (Williams & Co.). In this, Wickes reported "that Mr. James Russell, of London, merchant, in conversation with this deponent about his refusal to bring tea to America, said '*What need ye care mon, so as ye get your freight.*'" Russell allegedly expressed the same sentiments to the master of the *Peggy Stewart*.[95] Russell was indeed in an exposed position, and Charles Grahame warned him to be careful about what he wrote *or said.* Russell sent Grahame a letter of explanation for the revolutionary committee of Anne Arundel County, but the damage had been done.[96] "Business as usual" had gotten Russell into as much trouble as Molleson's more obviously political inclinations.

In Maryland, the Lees, Fendalls, Contees, and their kindred for the most part met the coming storm with extreme discretion. Even Richard Lee of "Blenheim," president of the council, is noteworthy only for his silence and obscurity during these years. The only exception was his erratic and unstable younger son, Richard Lee, Jr. A substantial landowner in his own right,[97] young Lee had become sheriff of Charles County and made himself particularly obnoxious to

93. P. R. Fendall to Russell, 15 November 1774, V, Russell Papers.

94. Private Accounts 1507, HR, J. Johnson letterbook 1, to partners, 18 August 1771, 4 August 1774 (p. 447); *Maryland Gazette,* 20 October 1774, 27 October 1774; Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit,* pp. 49–50. In the *Maryland Gazette,* 13 April 1775, there is another account reprinted from the *Public Ledger,* blaming the whole *Peggy Stewart* affair on the competition between the Wallace firm and the tea importers, Williams & Co., both of Annapolis.

95. *Maryland Gazette,* 10 November 1774.

96. Grahame to Russell, 9 November 1774, XIX, Russell Papers; Russell to T. S. Lee, 4 February 1775, Horsey Collection (202/449).

97. Besides land given him by his father, Richard Lee, Jr. had inherited a one-half interest (along with Thomas Sim Lee) in "Paradise" in Gloucester county, Virginia, one of the first acquisitions of Richard Lee the emigrant. Both owners were anxious to sell this to concentrate their interests further north. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 24 June 1773; Richard Lee, Jr. to Russell, 31 July 1773, Russell Papers; letters from R. Lee, Jr., Horsey Collection.

the inhabitants of that county. His removal was discussed in the Maryland legislature, but he remained in office to become a major figure in a local *cause célèbre*. The Maryland Tobacco Inspection Act of 1747—as a quid pro quo for the planter—had reduced the tax for the support of the church from 40 lb. of tobacco per poll to 30 lb. When that act expired in 1770, the friends of the church argued that the parish rate should revert to 40 lb. per poll. Others, however, argued that the act of 1702 establishing the original tax was technically deficient and that there was no legal basis for any church taxation in Maryland. The impetuous Richard Lee, Jr., as sheriff of Charles County, forced the matter to an issue by jailing one Joseph Harrison, a member of the lower house, for refusing to pay the 40 lb. poll tax. With the radical attorneys William Paca and Samuel Chase as his counsel, Harrison won the case and received £60 sterling damages.[98] The estrangement of Richard Lee, Jr. from the main current of Maryland life might have been perceived even then.

Not all in the Lee-Russell circle were so negative in their reactions to the new world aborning. If the prominent conservative Thomas Contee (Molleson's agent) lost his seat in the radical sweep of August 1776, his son Benjamin Contee made an honorable record as an officer in the Continental Army. When T. Contee was defeated, at least six correspondents of James Russell were elected members of the Maryland constitutional convention: Col. William Fitzhugh (a surprising radical), Charles Grahame (Russell's chief agent), John Hall, Thomas Sim Lee, Henry Lowes, and Capt. Charles Ridgely.[99] Thomas Sim Lee was to go on to become governor of Maryland in 1779. In Virginia, quite apart from Richard Henry Lee, Russell's most loyal correspondents included John Augustine Washington and Henry Lee of Leesylvania, the father of "Light Horse Harry" Lee.[100] Philip Richard Francis Lee, who had been unsuccessful in his joint venture with Russell in a store at Dumfries, became a captain in the Continental Army and was to die of wounds received at Brandywine in 1777.[101] James Russell's own brother William remained quietly in Baltimore throughout the war, taking care, among other things, of the interests of Duncan Campbell, merchant of London. William was one of the few pre-war J.P.s in Baltimore not to participate positively in the Revolution, but he did not suffer as a loyalist either. (After the war, he was restored to the list of J.P.s and eventually became a judge.)[102]

The Lees of "Blenheim" were less adaptable. With the progress of the Revolution, Richard Lee (Sr.) found the old council abolished and retired to "Blenheim" where he lived out the war a tolerated loyalist, subject to double and triple

98. Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," 204–5; Gerald E. Hartdagen, "The vestry as a unit of local government in colonial Maryland," *MHM*, 67 (1972): 385–87. In December 1773 the legislature renewed the parish tax at 30 lb. or 4*s*. local currency per poll, at the choice of the taxpayer. Cf. also Jean H. Vivian, "The Poll Tax Controversy in Maryland, 1770–76 . . . ," *MHM*, 71(1976): 151–76, esp. 167–70.

99. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy*, pp. 86, 180, 230–32. On Fitzhugh's *volte-face*, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 176–77.

100. Russell Papers. W. Lee to R. H. Lee, 1 January 1774, Lee MSS, UVa.

101. Heitman, *Continental Army*, p. 26.

102. W. Russell account book, 1774–83, (Ms. 1989), MHS; Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, pp. 58–59, 104, 134, 137, 144; *Archives of Maryland*, 48: 341, 383, 502, 530–31; *ibid.*, 71: 17–18, 84, 166, 233.

taxation. His elder son, Philip Thomas Lee, lost his position as naval officer of North Potomac in 1777 and was also subject to penal multiple taxation as a loyalist. Philip Thomas died in 1778—preceded by his wife Ann Russell in 1777—leaving three small orphaned children in Maryland to be taken care of by their Lee grandfather and two in England to be cared for by their Russell grandfather.[103] Others left the colony as early as 1775, including Richard Lee, Jr., the unpopular sheriff,[104] and (temporarily only) Philip Richard Fendall, Russell's discreet correspondent at Port Tobacco.[105]

Richard Lee, Jr. went from Maryland to Scotland and then to England, where in 1777 he applied to the government for an allowance as a loyalist sufferer. In consideration of his great loss of income, Richard Lee, Jr. was given a "temporary" pension of £200 a year which he appears to have continued receiving until his death in 1834. His various petitions to the government and testimony (corroborated by William Molleson) are most interesting. He was most proud of his family, than which there was no better in America. He told the commissioners that one of his cousins was minister to Spain (Arthur Lee), another governor of Maryland (Thomas Sim Lee) and two members of Congress (Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee), and so on. If he had stayed in America, his Stratford cousins promised to get him a position as aide-de-camp to General Charles Lee or General Washington, a kinsman. In England he only found a position as subaltern in the Warwickshire militia.[106] The matter of his estates was more pressing and factual. Old President Lee worried about his son and (ignorant of the government pension) wrote to James Russell in 1779 to let the young man have £300 (from his balance in Russell's hands). He entreated Russell to try to persuade his son to return to America lest his estate in Virginia be confiscated.[107] Though Richard Jr. lived in and was sheriff of Charles County, most of the land which his father had given him was in Virginia. He estimated his prewar income at £700 and his estate at £16,825:[108]

600	acres rich land in Westmoreland County, Va., @ £4	£2400 stg.
30	slaves there, including tradesmen, @ £50 ea.	1500
	black cattle, sheep, horses and farming utensils	1000
1500	acres wooded tract, "Paradise", York River, Va. (Gloucester County), @ £2	3000
2000	acres in the back settlements, @ 8s.	800
150	acres on Maryland side of Potomac, @ £4	600

103. Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," p. 205; Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 161; PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 95–96. Richard Sr. and Philip Thomas Lee reduced their liability to penal taxation by taking the prescribed loyalty oaths in 1778. Blue Book 5, nos. 23.1 and 31, HR.

104. Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, "The letter book of Alexander Hamilton . . . ," *MHM*, 62(1967): 164.

105. Philip Thomas Lee to Russell, 12 September 1775, XI, Russell Papers. He was replaced as clerk of Charles County in 1778. (Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 150). Fendall returned to America shortly and after the war was in business at Alexandria, Virginia. (*Maryland Gazette*, 20 November 1788; D. C. Skaggs and R. K. MacMaster, "Post-revolutionary letters of Alexander Hamilton . . . ," *MHM*, 63(1968): 43n.

106. PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 97, 102–3; A.O.12/103 fo. 95; A.O.13/91 ff. 111–12.

107. Richard Lee to Russell, 1 January 1779, Russell Papers.

108. R. Lee, Jr. to Board, 8 January 1783, PRO A.O.13/40 fo. 105.

225	acres adjoining preceding, @ £3	675
20	slaves in Maryland, @ £50	1000
	black cattle, horses, sheep, farm utensils in Md.	450
300	acres in Charles County, Md., @ £3	900
	bond debts (£2000) and open account debts (£2500)	4500

We know that these estimates are somewhat exaggerated, for in 1773 Richard Jr. had offered to sell the "Paradise" tract of 1446 acres for £1200 (half to himself and half to Thomas Sim Lee and his sister, the co-owners).[109] Nevertheless, the estate sketched above did represent a competency which he lost by confiscation in both Virginia and Maryland. After the war he spoke of going back to America and trying to recover some of his property, but he could not.[110] In 1786 he was certified as insane and his pension of £200 was made payable to James Russell, his uncle and now guardian.[111] When Russell died in 1788, his widow Ann (Lee) Russell assumed the guardianship;[112] after her death in 1800, the government ordered the pension paid to Richard's niece, Eleanor, and her husband, William Dawson of Wakefield, Yorkshire.[113] In 1816 the Dawsons went into Chancery to get themselves certified as legal guardians of Richard Lee, whose whole estate then was £700 in consols.[114]

The Eleanor Dawson just mentioned was the young child who with her younger sister Margaret Russell Lee was left in the care of their grandparents Russell when their parents, Philip Thomas and Ann Russell Lee, returned to America in 1773. The war cut them off from their parents who, as already noted, died in Maryland in 1777–78. That left the two girls dependent on the care of their aged grandparents and on the financial aid of their not-too-dependable uncle Richard and his £200 a year pension. In 1782 the eleven or twelve year old Eleanor in behalf of herself and her younger sister Margaret applied directly to the commissioners for financial assistance as suffering loyalists. William Molleson testified for them as he had for their uncle. The two girls then at Mrs. Munn's school in Greenwich were allowed pensions of £25 a year each, which their uncle Molleson tried to get raised.[115] In 1800 they were still collecting those pensions (now £30 each), though both were married and Margaret had gone to live in America.[116]

The Revolution brought problems of quite another magnitude for William Molleson and James Russell. Both were not only deprived of income from their

109. R. Lee, Jr. to Russell, 31 July 1773, Russell Papers. In the Horsey Collection there is a mass of correspondence between R. Lee, Jr., and T. S. Lee over the possible sale of this property.
110. 26 March 1784, PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 99, 107. He described his father then as too old and blind to answer letters.
111. PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 109–11; T.29/57 p. 333. Richard Lee, Jr. was then "under the care of Mr. Warburton at Hoxton in . . . Middlesex."
112. Molleson to Board, 24 November 1788, PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 112–13.
113. PRO T.29/76 ff. 205–6, 269–70 (Treasury Minutes).
114. Chancery Masters' Papers, "In the matter of Richard Lee, a lunatic," PRO C.118/444.
115. "The Memorial of Eleanor Lee in behalf of herself and her Sister," PRO A.O.13/40 ff. 95–96; cf. also fo. 97; and A.O.12/99 ff. 33v–4, minutes of hearing of 18 February 1783. One of the sisters (probably Margaret) was born 5 December 1771. (P. T. Lee to T. S. Lee, 30 December 1771, Horsey Collection (115/1203).
116. PRO T.29/76 fo. 452. Margaret's pension was confirmed by the Treasury in 1811. Geo. Harrison to T. Clerk, 15 October, 1 November 1811, (Kennard [Clerk] Papers).

trades, but had substantial sums owing them in America: up to £100,000 in the case of Russell, over £83,000 for Molleson.[117] In addition, Russell had £15,000 (sterling) and Molleson £1200 in real estate interests in Maryland. In order to encourage his correspondents to remit in 1775 and reduce their debts, Russell sent out a printed circular letter (dated 1 February 1775) assuring them of his concern for the American cause and personally guaranteeing them against the seizure of any such remittances by the British government. Neither Russell nor Molleson was able to profit very much from the enormous rise in European tobacco prices started by the congressional ban (adopted in 1774) on tobacco exports to Britain after September 1775 and maintained by the war-induced interruptions of trade. They were probably both too pressed for cash to retain any but a small part of their heavy imports of 1775. An account of tobacco still in the hands of London importers on 26 July 1776 shows that Molleson then had only 179,521 out of more than six million pounds imported the previous year, and Russell 245,307 out of 3.5 million pounds imported. Much smaller importers were holding onto much larger stocks, but they had greater resources (particularly Samuel Lyde and John Hanbury).[118]

Both James Russell and William Molleson kept up their correspondence with America during the war: Molleson with Matthew Tilghman, a Maryland Congressman and delegate,[119] Russell via a John Grahame of Nantes, presumably related to Charles Grahame, his old chief agent in Maryland, another delegate.[120] They were distressed to learn of the progress of paper money inflation in war-wrought America and feared that the debts owing them (the major part of their estates) might be wiped out by payment in worthless money. In early 1778 they joined other London merchants in petitioning the government that the Carlisle Commission then going out to America be specifically instructed to seek protection against this for prewar debts. (This petition greatly enraged William Lee in Paris.)[121]

The Molleson firm could not stand the loss of income. First William Molleson gave up the firm's (William & Robert Molleson) place of business at no. 2 America Square and then his own residence at no. 1. In May 1778 he was forced to call in his creditors. Since no bankruptcy was gazetted, we can only presume that some private arrangement was worked out between the Mollesons and their creditors. The stoppage may have been hastened by insurance losses associated

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117. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, p. 63; PRO A.O.12/9 ff. 10–12; A.O.13/40; Horsey Collection (201/80).

118. North MS. 6.6 ff. 372–73, Bodleian Library, Oxford. William Lee reported that Molleson would buy heavily in 1775 but characteristically exaggerated. (*Letters of William Lee*, ed W. C. Ford, 3 vols. [Brooklyn, N. Y., 1891], 1:108.), Both Russell and Molleson let consigners draw on them when the ship sailed, and would have to sell promptly to pay such bills.

119. Arthur Lee warned against this, saying that Molleson took Tilghman's information "directly to Administration" (A. Lee to [Silas Deane], 28 July 1776 [*Stevens' Facsimiles*, no. 467]). Nevertheless, the Mollesons were still corresponding with Tilghman in 1780. (R. Molleson to Charles Stuart, May 1780, National Library of Scotland, Ms. 5032. Cf. Skaggs, *Maryland Democracy*, p. 233).

120. Thos. Littledale & Co. to Russell, 10 August 1779, Russell Papers.

121. *Stevens' Facsimiles*, no. 1063; cf. also no. 1060 (originals in PRO old number S.P. America & W.I., vol. 295 ff. 99, 101); *Letters of William Lee*, 2: 376–77.

with the start of the British-French war in February 1778, for Robert Molleson appears on a 1778 list as an underwriter at Lloyds. The suspension put a great strain on Thomas Contee, the Mollesons' chief agent in Maryland, who had personally guaranteed the balances owed by the Mollesons to consigners and others in Maryland. He obtained a private act of the legislature in Maryland in 1782 enpowering him to collect debts owed by the Mollesons in Maryland and use the proceeds to pay debts owed by the Mollesons there.[122]

With their influential artistocratic and political connections, the Molleson brothers did not starve. Major Robert Molleson resumed his military career and in 1782 became "wagon master general" of the British Army in North America, based in New York. At the end of 1783 he led a group of loyalists from New York to Nova Scotia where he was both a justice of the peace and colonel of the loyalist militia.[123] Robert Molleson did not, however, take to Nova Scotia and in late 1784 moved to Philadelphia where he died on 1 January 1785, leaving his brother William his only heir.[124] The state did rather better by William. In 1780 he was made secretary to the new Commissioners of Public Accounts, a reforming body conceded by North to the economical reform agitation of the time.[125] In that capacity, William compiled and published the first volume of the reports of the Commissioners.[126] In 1783, during the Fox-North ministry, he was rewarded for these services by being made a Comptroller of Army Accounts, a position worth £1000 a year.[127] In 1785 Molleson had to give up his secretaryship of the commission when, as Comptroller of Army Accounts, he became *ex officio* one of the new board of Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts, with a further salary of £500, making £1500 total. (He complained bitterly because he and his fellow army comptroller Sir John Dick were only paid this £500, while the other new Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts were allowed

122. *Virginia Gazette* (A. Dixon), 16 October 1778; William Kilty, *The Laws of Maryland*, 2 vol. (Annapolis, 1799–1800) session April 1782, ch. 46; sess. November 1782, ch. 18; sess. November 1784, ch. 74; *Archives of Maryland*, 48:272; *Letters of William Lee*, 2: 368–77; information on membership in Lloyds supplied by Mrs. K. Kellock from *Lloyds Register* (1778).

123. Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution*, Yale Historical Publications, Miscel., XIX (New Haven, 1926), pp. 135, 182; *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, III-IV*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 59 (London, 1907–9), 3: 232, 250, 331, 339; 4: 354, 442, 454 *et passim; The Diary of Simeon Perkins 1780–1789*, ed. D. C. Harvey and C. Bruce Fergusson, Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXVI (Toronto, 1958), pp. 211, 226, 233.

124. PRO Prob.6/166 (Administrations, 1790), April 1790; PMG 4/37 fo. 477 (reference supplied by Henry J. Young); cf. *Army List* (1786) 345, (1787) 340, (1788) 357, (1789) 357, (1790) 394.

125. J. E. D. Binney, *British Public Finance and Administration 1774–92* (Oxford, 1958), p. 13; Robert Beatson, *A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3d ed., 3 vol. (London, 1806), 2: 353. In theWilliam L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Shelburne Papers 166, pp. 135–38, there is an interesting letter from Molleson to Shelburne, 14 February 1783, on the work of the commission, and a longer memoir (pp. 13–43) on the same.

126. *The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed to Examine, Take, and State the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, Presented to His Majesty, and to both Houses of Parliament* . . . By William Molleson, Secretary to the Commissioners, Vol. I (London, 1783) p. 502. The next two volumes were edited by John Lane, Molleson's successor as secretary.

127. Beatson, *Political Index*, 2: 176. In the Nisbet Papers there is a draft of a letter from the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, Dick and Molleson, to William Pitt, 26 December 1788, (National Library of Scotland, Ms. 5501, ff. 27–29), in which they survey their accomplishments since 1783 and ask for "some Testimony of your approbation."

£1000.)[128] As Comptroller of Army Accounts, he was also automatically a member of a special commission of three (along with Sir John Dick and Francis Baring, the banker) to inquire into the fees taken in public offices. (This commission issued ten reports between 1786 and 1788.)[129] Molleson now lived in Wimpole Street and his acquaintances in America were ironically impressed when they learned of the uses to which he had put adversity.[130] In the end, however, Molleson undid himself. In 1793 William Pitt caught him borrowing money from persons whose accounts he was supposed to audit. Pitt did not expose him, but insisted that he resign (ostensibly for reasons of health), allowing him a pension of £750 a year in place of his then salary of £1500.[131] Molleson died in January 1804 at the age of seventy-one, leaving his public papers, his family pictures, and half his residuary estate to his "nearest male relation," Lord Sinclair, who had helped him when he was able.[132]

The impact of the American Revolution upon the affairs of James Russell was infinitely more complicated. In his circular letter of 1 February 1775, Russell insisted that he was seeking to realize only enough of his American effects to clear his debts in Britain. The rest, including his real estate, he was leaving in Maryland. Should political developments lead to "a total Stagnation of Trade" and hence of his business, "I shall have no longer any Incitement to reside here [London], and I doubt not but many of my Friends will be glad to see me in the worst of Times. The Produce of the real Property I have in the Country [Maryland], will enable me to spend the last Stage of a Life amongst them, which has been so long dedicated to promoting a mutually beneficial commercial Intercourse." Thomas Sim Lee, future revolutionary governor of Maryland, took up this suggestion and wrote to his uncle Russell in September urging him to return to Maryland and assuring him that his friends there would do everything

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128. Binney, *Public Finance,* p. 13. In the Nisbet Papers there is a copy of the letters-patent of 14 July 1785 (Ms. 5499, ff 29–34) setting up the commission which consisted of Sir John Dick, bart., and William Molleson, auditors of army accounts, plus Sir William Musgrave, bart., John Thomas Batt and John Martin Leake. The commissioners, authorized by an act of 1785, replaced the old Auditors of the Imprest (abolished) and were responsible for auditing the Office of Works, Treasurer of the Navy, Master General of the Ordnance, Clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, Chief Butler, collectors of customs, etc. On salary, see W. Molleson to G. Rose, 11 April 1790, PRO P.R.O.30/8/160 ff. 154–5.

129. Binney, *Public Finance,* pp. 16–17. See also a letter Molleson wrote to Pitt, 11 November 1791, PRO P.R.O.30/8/160 ff. 156–57, about the Commission on Fees. He complained that he had not received any extra salary or reward for this work. He reminded Pitt of his "loss of Property . . . the fruit of twenty five Years unremitting Industry, from which I had an Income, before the War, equal to any in the City."

130. Matthew Ridley, a Marylander, wrote on 3 August 1783, "Mr Molleson is a pushing man & will make his way anywhere. The appointment he has must be a most profitable one." (Ridley Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society [information supplied by Mrs. Katherine Kellock]).

131. Pitt to Molleson, 28, 30 November 1793, PRO P.R.O.30/8/102 ff. 196–97, 198–99; Molleson to Pitt, 20 December 1793 P.R.O.30/8/160 ff. 160–61; Treasury minutes of 19 December 1793, T.29/66 p. 259; T29/75, p. 512. Cf. also P.R.O.30/8/160 ff. 162–65, 167–68, 169–70. In the last, Molleson asked Pitt for an increase in his allowance because of higher taxes and the higher cost of living. He then lived at Queen Anne Street, Westminster, and had a country place at Cannon Hill, Merton, Surrey.

132. PRO Prob.11/1403 (P.C.C. 51 Heseltine); *Gentleman's Magazine,* 74 (1804):90. The public papers of William Molleson, left to Lord Sinclair, are now in the National Library of Scotland.

possible to help him resettle.[133] Though he had real estate in America and great sums owed him there, though his wife was American born and though he had grandchildren in America, James Russell did not in fact return to Maryland. Quite apart from his political sentiments (which we do not know), he also had great family and business responsibilities in Britain. He could take his two Lee granddaughters back with him to Maryland, but there were others. His son-in-law de Drusina was to die in 1778 leaving a son (Russell's grandson James de Drusina) barely of age to take over that Hamburg and Lisbon house. Worse still, there were the five orphaned Clerk grandchildren to be cared for, and their land in Scotland o be looked after.[134] Finally, there was the matter of his own debts in London. These could best be cleared by holding onto his remaining tobacco for the best possible price. It is unlikely that his tobacco sales were settled before 1777 or even 1778. The easy opportunity of 1775 passed, if it had ever really been considered. James Russell too was to be seventy years old in 1778.

The very high tobacco prices prevailing in 1775–76 and later years probably enabled James Russell to liquidate most if not all of his debts, for we hear no more of his creditors' trustees after 1774. The war, however, ended all his earnings from American trade. It also made it impossible for him to collect any more of his American debts. These had been estimated at £100,000 in 1773, but had probably been reduced to £60–70,000 by the start of the war. In addition, the breach cut him off from the earnings of his one-third share in the "Nottingham" ironworks in Baltimore County, consisting of the White Marsh furnace and Long Caln forge. White Marsh is a hamlet on the Bird River, northeast of Baltimore, on the old road to Joppa (where Russell had a store) and Havre de Grace. Its location was particularly convenient for the shipping of iron by bay craft to tobacco ships loading in the Patapsco or Patuxent. A French officer's map of White Marsh in 1781 clearly shows a *forge* while a furnace is equally clearly marked there on a 1794 map of Maryland. The iron works were kept quite busy by the war, but none of the proceeds ever got to Russell, or the other owners, the Ewers and John Buchanan's trustees.[135]

The most pressing immediate problem presented to James Russell by the war turned out to be his largely honorific trusteeship of Maryland's bank stock. Ever since 1733, the province of Maryland had been buying Bank of England stock as backing for its paper money. From time to time this stock had also been sold to redeem that paper money. In 1775 the trust consisted of £29,000 in shares at face value, worth £41,180 at the current market price of 142. The other two trustees

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133. Horsey Collection (201/80); T. S. Lee to Russell, 6 September 1775, XI: 21, Russell Papers.
134. Russell had to manage the properties of Listonshiels and Spittal left by his deceased son-in-law, Thomas Clerk, in trust for his four sons. In the Russell Papers (I) there is a letter from one Charles Alexander, dated Park, near Peebles, 22 November 1774, offering to rent Listonshiels for £120 per annum. James's kinsman John Russell wrote from Edinburgh on 20 November 1779 of the difficulties of selling or mortgaging the Clerk estate because of the interest of the four children. (Russell Papers, XVI:16, 17).
135. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 421–24; *The American Campaign of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* (Princeton, 1972), plate no. 131; Dennis Griffith, *Map of the State of Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1795) (Wheat and Brun, no. 511); Lester J. Cappon *et al.*, *Atlas of Early American History* (Princeton, N.J., 1976), p. 29.

were rich Quakers, Osgood Hanbury and Silvanus Grove, who had been withdrawing from the Chesapeake trade in the years preceding the war, did not have real estate in the colony and had relatively little in debts outstanding there. Hanbury was redirecting his efforts towards his bank after 1770 and Grove was increasingly active in the London Assurance of which he eventually became subgovernor. By contrast, Russell, who had traded up to the hilt through 1775, had—as already noted—substantial real estate holdings and debts outstanding in Maryland.[136]

The matter of the bank-stock trust became a public issue in 1779 when Maryland started to debate the seizure of British and émigré real property in the state. Although the senate (in which Molleson's loyal correspondent, Matthew Tilghman, was quite influential and very anticonfiscation) refused to concur in expropriation that year, the matter was very much on the agenda. A measure did, however, pass in 1779 calling in the remaining notes outstanding of the paper money issue of 1766, specifically pledged against the bank stock. Those surrendering the paper money were given the option of taking sterling certificates of indebtedness from the state (which most took) or bills of exchange on London. The act provided that if the existing trustees in London refused to follow instructions, Benjamin Franklin, the American minister in Paris, was to appoint one of five named Americans then in Europe to succeed them as sole trustee.[137] Acting under this law, the governor of Maryland (Thomas Sim Lee, Mrs. Russell's nephew) and the council instructed Franklin to ascertain whether the London trustees would honor bills drawn on them under the act.[138] When the trustees received Franklin's letter of 20 May 1780, they consulted the attorney- and solicitor-general who informed them that they "could not with safety sell the Stock, or pay the Bills." The trustees so notified Franklin.[139]

Even before word of their answer reached Maryland, the legislature, angered by the delays, passed a further act in the summer of 1780 providing for the drawing of £35,000 worth of bills of exchange upon the trustees and, in the event of their refusal to pay, ordering the confiscation of their real property in the state (as well as that of the late Lord Baltimore and Henry Harford, his heir).[140] Acting under this act, the council drew a bill for £1500 on the trustees and passed it to Stephen Steward, a local merchant, who sent it to his Bordeaux correspondents, V. & P. French & Nephew. At the same time, Governor Lee wrote privately to French's in Bordeaux (who were also Russell's correspondents there) telling them that the act provided for the confiscation of the trustees'

136. For a detailed account (with background), see Jacob M. Price, "The Maryland Bank Stock Case: British-American Financial and Political Relations Before and After the American Revolution," in the forthcoming *Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland: Festschrift for Morris Radoff*, ed. Aubrey C. Land *et al.*, (Johns Hopkins University Press).
137. Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, sess. Nov. 1779, ch. 38.
138. *Archives of Maryland*, 43:50–51.
139. Memorial of James Russell, PRO T.1/582/154 ff. 131–32; cf. also PRO C.12/2135/32. Franklin's letter of 20 May 1780 is quoted in Russell's answer of 3 June 1784, PRO C.12/446/3; *Archives of Maryland*, 45: 132, trustees to Franklin, 26 September 1780.
140. Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, sess. June 1780, ch. 24; Franklin to T. S. Lee, Passy, 11 August 1780, Blue Book, II: 43, HR.

property should they refuse to pay the bills. As expected, French's so informed Russell, but the trustees still refused to pay the bill when presented by the London merchants French & Hobson in September 1780.[141] The following winter the Maryland legislature passed a law for the confiscation of British real property in the state; by article vii of this act, the ironworks in Baltimore County belonging to James Russell & Co. were to be sold to create a special fund "for making good and sinking" the bills of exchange drawn on the trustees under the act of 1780.[142] Although all British real property was confiscated by the 1781 measure, the Russell family always argued that their property had been confiscated specifially because the trustees had followed the law ocers' advice and refused to pay the bill of exchange in wartime. As James Russell alone of the trustees had substantial realty holdings in Maryland, he alone suffered by their decision. The ironworks were sold in 1782, his other property more slowly.[143]

Another act of the Maryland legislature of October 1780 gave debtors to British subjects the option of paying their debts to the state treasury in depreciated wartime paper currency. The merchants of Baltimore regarded this act as "dishonorable," contrary to the unwritten code of trust that bound merchant to merchant.[144] Traders elsewhere in the state were less delicate in their sense of honor and £37,593 in debts owing to James Russell was paid into the Treasury. Little of this came from small consigners or small planters who may have dealt at one of Russell's stores. Most came from a few large local traders, who had gotten substantial "cargoes" from Russell. This same class was the principal beneficiary of wartime inflation, for they also could use the cheap wartime money to pay off their debts to the state's Loan Office. Of the fifty-six debts paid into the Treasury, some fifteen were to Russell. Those over £1000 (sterling) were:

John Dorsey (Elk Ridge)	£9316 .11.–
Estate of John Ridgely (Baltimore County)	6978 .19. 8
Thomas Gassaway (Annapolis)	5372 . 5. 6
Charles Ridgely and Benjamin Nicholson (Baltimore County)	4908 .–.–
Harwood & Brice (Annapolis)	3000 .–.–
Samuel Harvey Howard (Annapolis)	2250 .10.–
Richard Cromwell	1800 .–.–
William Hammond (Baltimore?)	1325 .–.–
Subtotal	34,949 . 6. 2
Under £1000 (5)	2644 .–.–
Total	£37,593 . 6. 2

141. *Archives of Maryland*, 45: 131–33, 142, 144–45; PRO A.O.12/9 fo. 16.
142. Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, sess. October 1780, ch. 40; cf. also ch. 49, 51. Subsequent legislation clarified procedures for selling the iron works: *ibid.*, sess. May 1781, ch. 33; November 1781, ch. 2; sess. April 1782, ch. 60.
143. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 421–36.
144. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 85.

At a depreciation of 40:1, the debts of £37,593.6.2 (representing perhaps one half of the total owed Russell) were liquidated at a real cost to the debtors of £939.16.10 1/2.[145]

When James Russell in London received word early in 1781 of the acts of the Maryland legislature compromising his real and personal estate in Maryland, he contemplated—war or no war—going out to Maryland himself that spring to see what he could save. But his age (seventy-three) dissuaded him. Instead, in September he sent out in his stead his grandson and now partner, James Clerk, armed with letters of introduction to prominent Marylanders, including Mrs. Russell's nephew, Thomas Sim Lee, now governor of Maryland. With these letters went extensive documentation on the bank-stock trust to convince the Marylanders that the trust was still intact and that the trustees had only refused to pay the bills of exchange because of the explicit instructions of the attorney- and solicitor-general. Russell wrote his nephew the governor that he had been reduced to a "frugall mode of living having only two servant maids [and] no Carriage"; if only their "friends" (i.e., Governor Lee) would help Clerk (despite the law) to remit £300–400 yearly via France or Holland, "myself & your Aunt . . . may not become a burthen to the Parish we have so long lived in . . .. "[146] (Later one of their daughters, Eleanor Molleson, wrote Lee that the Russells had only been able to survive as comfortably as they did because of disguised help from their grandson Clerk.)[147]

James Clerk went out to Maryland by way of New York where a kinsman, "Dr. Clerk," was an army medical officer. How he got passes to proceed through the lines to Maryland we can only guess. There he was hospitably received by Governor Lee and other friends and relations.[148] Beyond that the success of his mission seems rather doubtful. He did not avert the course of confiscation in Maryland (though he was able to buy back a few small properties); the debts he collected could only have been a minute portion of the sums owed his partner and grandfather Russell. Indeed, almost the only hint that Russell might have received some remittances from Maryland during the war refers not to Clerk's collections but to funds belonging to Russell in the hands of the Maryland merchants Charles Grahame and James Dick which were lent to Congress and the interest paid in bills of exchange on Paris. The proceeds of such bills of exchange could easily have been remitted to Russell in London via the Austrian Netherlands.[149]

Struck by blows from every side, James Russell had only one consolation: he and the other trustees still controlled the bank stock which was yearly increasing in value as the dividends were reinvested. In January 1783 he submitted a memorial to the Treasury representing "that the said Bank Stock ought in Justice and of Right belong to him, his property having reimbursed the State of

145. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 425–26, 435–36.
146. Russell to T. S. Lee, 4 September 1781, Horsey Collection (455/1283).
147. E. Molleson to T. S. Lee, 11 August 1783, *ibid.* (634/301).
148. To T. S. Lee from R. Molleson, 17 August 1782; from J. Clerk, 4 January 1783, from J. Russell, 5 February 1783, *ibid.* (578/299, 620/400, 623/1284).
149. J. Russell to T. S. Lee, 4 June 1783, *ibid.* (630/79).

Maryland the Value of the same and more." George Rose, secretary to the Treasury, marked it "proper for the Consideration of Parliament, or of the Ministers in Case a Treaty being entered into with the Province."[150]

There was of course no separate treaty with each "province," but rather a single treaty with the United States concluded at Paris in September 1783. Its clauses were of great interest to James Russell, William Molleson, and their former competitors. Article iv provided that there should be no legal impediments to the collection of debts. At first this clause was effectually inoperative in most American states, though Maryland did pass an act in 1787 recognizing the treaty as the law of the state and effectively opening the state's courts to British creditors.[151] In Virginia, creditors had to wait until the establishment of the federal courts after 1789. One of the key Maryland lawsuits on this issue was Russell v. Harwood (1787) which cleared the way for collection of debts substantiated by bonds or other specialties.[152] Book debts not secured by bond, etc. proved much harder to collect, particularly the smaller ones which could not be taken into federal courts, and were to remain a matter of diplomatic friction between Britain and the United States for a generation.[153]

Article v of the treaty provided that Congress would recommend to the several states the restoration of British property confiscated during the war. Article vi provided that there should be no further confiscations. Both of these clauses were dead letters from the start. (Some of James Russell's property nominally confiscated during the war was only sold after the treaty.)[154] The British Parliament recognized this by passing an act in 1783 for the compensation of persons who had lost land or permanent positions (e.g., church livings) by the war.[155]

The return of peace and the treaty forced many important decisions on James Russell. He was too old—seventy-five—to resume his career as an active merchant. In 1783 he contemplated merging his Maryland house, now a partnership with his grandson James Clerk, with the de Drusina & Ridder house of his other grandson, James de Drusina, a firm trading to Portugal, France, Holland, and Germany. The new firm would be called something like Russell, de Drusina, Clerk & Co. and James Clerk might represent it in Lisbon. The capital was to be £15,000 and Russell insisted his grandsons had cash for their shares. This arrangement did not prove attractive to all the partners, in part because Russell's assets were too illiquid. Instead Russell retired (and moved to Richmond) and the two firms were merged, without his participation, as de Drusina, Ridder & Clerk. James Clerk, who returned to Britain in 1784 to conclude the new partnership agreement, went back to Maryland to represent the firm there

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150. PRO T.1/582/154 ff. 131–2. Russell's address was then New London St., Crutched Friars.
151. Charles Ritcheson, *Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy towards the United States 1783–1795* (Dallas, 1969), ch. 4; Kilty, *Laws of Maryland,* II, Sess. April 1787, ch. 25.
152. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit,* p. 172.
153. Ritcheson, *Aftermath of Revolution, passim*; Bradford Perkins, *The First Rapprochement: England and the United States 1795-1805* (Philadelphia, 1955), *passim*.
154. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 421–27.
155. 23 Geo. III, c. 80 (*Statutes at Large*, ed. Danby Pickering, 34: 370–74).

while Julius Conrad Ridder, the former de Drusina clerk, went out to act for the firm in Lisbon, whither much Maryland wheat was sent. The new firm sent circular letters out to old Chesapeake correspondents of James Russell, inviting tobacco consignments.[156] On his return to Maryland, James Clerk established the headquarters of the firm there in a store at Nottingham where James Russell had started half a century before. When some of Russell's former property was sold at auction in 1787, James Clerk bought a house and lot in Joppa (Harford County), northeast of Baltimore, and a lot in Charles Town (Cecil County) on the Eastern Shore. These were presumably intended for stores.[157] The firm also had stores at Georgetown on the Potomac and at Elk Ridge on the Patapsco, a source of very good tobacco.[158] De Drusina, Ridder & Clerk were moderately successful and were for a time in the mid 1780s one of the leading importers of tobacco in London.[159]

An even more pressing problem for James Russell was what to do about the related problems of his confiscated property and the bank stock. He might have considered his real property in Maryland as permanently lost and applied to the governmental commissioners for compensation under the act of 1783. The Ewers did this and received £8,000 from the board for their one-third interest in Russell's Nottingham ironworks.[160] We do not know what advice he received from Maryland, but James Russell never filed such a claim for compensation. He seems to have thought that, through his hold on the bank stock, he could force the state of Maryland into some sort of compromise that would give him more than he was likely to receive from the compensation commissioners.

The state of Maryland thought otherwise. The face value of the stock in the trust had grown from £29,000 in 1775 to £43,000 by April 1783 (worth £56,760 at 132),[161] and the state was determined to recover it. The stock had been purchased before the war with the proceeds of Maryland taxation and there were few politicians to declare that the state had anything but an absolute legal and moral right to the stock—regardless of whether or not the state had confiscated British property during the war. In the spring of 1783, even before the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, the matter was considered by the legislature and it was decided to send Samuel Chase to London to recover the bank stock, with a 4 percent commission for his troubles. Chase was a major "patriot" politician and delegate to the Continental Congress during the crucial years, 1774–78. That a man of Chase's eminence should be sent on this errand indicates both its

156. J. Russell to T. S. Lee, 5 February, 4 June 1783, Horsey Collection (623/1284, 630/79); J. Clerk to same, 6 February 1784, *ibid.* (663/753). Cf. *ibid.* 701/379 and form letter of 2 August 1784, Waring Collection (D391), no. 309, HR. The third partner, Julius Conrad Ridder, had been bookkeeper to James's late father, William de Drusina, and subsequently James's partner.

157. PRO A.O.13/92 fo. 427.

158. Georgetown store acct. with T. S. Lee, 23 August 1786, Horsey Collection (762/776). A daybook of the Elk Ridge Landing store of de Drusina, Ridder & Clerk (1786–93) is in MHS, (Ms. 293). The manager of the Georgetown store was Joseph Fenwick, that of Nottingham was Robert Young.

159. Papenfuse, *In Search of Profit,* pp. 184, 207.

160. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 433–34.

161. Bank of England Record Office, Roehampton: bank stock ledger 55, ff. 840, 1010.

political importance in Maryland and the attractiveness of the proferred remuneration.

Chase received his official commission on 5 June[162] but did not arrive in London until 7 September, a few days after the signing of the peace in Paris. He immediately entered into complex negotiations with the trustees which dragged on for almost a year. He never saw Osgood Hanbury who was ill in the country and died in January 1784. The prudent and amiable Quaker, Silvanus Grove, who had lost nothing by revolutionary confiscations, was willing to turn over the bank stock immediately. Thus, all came to hinge upon Russell, who had of course lost much in the war. After protracted negotiations, Russell and Chase found that they could not agree. Russell would not consent to a transfer of the bank stock unless he received some compensation for his confiscated property. Chase could leave part of the bank stock in trust, but had no authority to give away any of it to Russell or anyone else. Chase, an experienced lawyer, was reluctant to go to law because he well knew the delays that might entail, but Russell forced his hand.[163] With Hanbury dead, Russell was afraid that, in the event of his own death, the complaisant Grove would transfer the stock to Maryland and that Russell's heirs would get nothing. To prevent this, he initiated a suit in the Court of Chancery in February 1784. (Russell described this as an amicable suit started with Chase's consent.)[164] In June Lord Chancellor Thurlow, without passing on the merits of the case, ordered the stock transferred from the two surviving trustees to the accountant-general of the Court of Chancery to hold in trust, reinvesting the dividends as before.[165] In July Chase tried unsuccessfully to get at least part of the stock transferred to Maryland, but Lord Thurlow noted that it had not been established that the state of Maryland was in fact the legal successor in this matter to the colony of Maryland and he "was of Opinion that another Party [the attorney-general] was necessary, before he could give any Opinion on the Motion." In other words, the bank stock might really belong to the crown. Since Chase could not agree with Russell on any substantive compromise, and since there was no immediate prospect of the attorney-general answering any of the now numerous bills in the suit, Chase decided in August to go back to Maryland, even if with empty hands.[166]

James Russell sent over an address to the Maryland legislature in which he declared his willingness to compromise on a quid pro quo basis, but the legislature did not act on his suggestion.[167] Samuel Chase had other ideas. He wanted

162. Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, sess. April 1783, ch. 35; Blue Book III:1–4, HR. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Chase, Samuel."

163. Chase to Gov. Paca, 23 February, 31 March/1 April 1784, Blue Book III:25, 14, HR.

164. Russell v. Bank: Russell's bills, PRO C.12/2135/32. Cf. also Blue Book III:13, 14, 19, 23, HR; Chase v. Russell *et al.*: Chase's bill, 28 April 1784, PRO C.12/446/3; J. Russell to T. S. Lee, 4 September 1784, Horsey Collection (706/1285).

165. Chase to Paca, 9 June 1784, Blue Book III:8, HR. Stock with a face value of £44,000 and £1,000 cash was transferred to the accountant-general on 25 June 1784. With stock at 115.5, the whole came to £51,820 sterling.

166. Chase to Paca, 17, 22 July, 14 August, 1784, Blue Book III:9, 5, 16, HR; Chase to Pitt, 3 August 1784, *ibid.* III:18.

167. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 428–9 (12 August 1784).

to reactivate the now dormant suit in the Court of Chancery from a new perspective. In 1774–76 Daniel Dulany had mortgaged some land to Osgood Hanbury & Co. for the £12,121:13:7 owed that firm by his late father Walter Dulany. During the war, the lands had been seized as loyalist property and sold without clearing the mortgage. Since the treaty of peace confirmed prewar debts, the purchasers' titles to the lands in question were under a cloud until the old mortgages could be removed. Chase persuaded the state legislature to permit him to assign £11,000 (face value) of the bank stock to the surviving partners and executors of the late Osgood Hanbury in return for a surrender of their mortgage rights on the Dulany lands. Chase made the assignment in May 1787[168] and the following January David Barclay (Osgood Hanbury's son-in-law) in behalf of the surviving partners and executors began a new suit in Chancery.[169] This was soon joined by other suits, including one on behalf of Henry Harford, the last proprietor of Maryland, all claiming part or all of the bank stock.[170] These suits dragged on until 1797 when Lord Chancellor Loughborough ruled that the stock really belonged to the crown as the property of a defunct corporation. He would not recognize the new state of Maryland as legal successor to the rights of the erstwhile province of Maryland except as specifically recognized by the peace treaty. However, Lord Loughborough suspended the effect of his ruling, leaving the matter ultimately to an extended diplomatic negotiation that filled the years 1797–1805.[171] By the latter date, James Russell, Ann Russell, Silvanus Grove and other litigants had died.

The same Maryland act of January 1787 which authorized the assignment to the Hanbury interest also authorized Samuel Chase with the approval of the governor and council to make any composition concerning the bank stock he felt prudent. Acting under the authority of this act, Chase reached an agreement with Russell's grandson, James Clerk (who travelled frequently between London and Maryland), by which Russell was to get £6,000 for his one-third interest in the ironworks and £4525 for his other real estate confiscated, provided that the owners of the other two-thirds of the ironworks accepted an equivalent offer and the Court of Chancery ordered the balance of the bank stock (over £30,000 face value) paid to the state of Maryland. This arrangement was allegedly accepted by James Russell prior to his death in 1788, but rejected thereafter by his widow Ann who appears to have been under the influence of her son-in-law William Molleson.[172] We do not know why Mrs. Russell refused the offer, but it was not a very wise decision. She had to wait ten years more for compensation and in the end received no more.

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168. PRO T.S.11/689/2186 fo. 2; Kilty, *Laws of Maryland*, sess. November 1786, ch. 50; Blue Book II:137, HR.
169. PRO T.S.11/689/2186 ff. 2–7; C.12/2157/4 membrane 1.
170. PRO C.12/2158/1 and T.S.11/689/2186 ff. 53–71 for Harford's bill of 24 July 1789, with answers.
171. PRO T.S.11/689/2186 ff. 114–5, 120(5). For the diplomatic phase, see Price, "Maryland Bank Stock Case," part iii.
172. Blue Book II:29, 35, HR; Maryland Bank Stock Papers, 1787, (Ms. 1195), MHS. Chase's representative in London, Uriah Forrest, was authorized to go to £22,525:10:2 in a settlement with Russell, the Ewers and the Buchanans' trustees.

The passing of James Russell was very respectfully noted in the *Maryland Gazette:*

> On the morn of the 1st of August [1788], died suddenly, at his house in [Queen Street] Westminster (England) James Russell, Esquire, at a very advanced age [i.e., 80]. He was long and successfully engaged in mercantile pursuits, having for a series of years cultivated a correspondence of considerable extent with Virginia and Maryland, in the course of which, the integrity of his demeanor is strongly expressed there by the warm friendship and esteem many of his correspondents feel and profess for him.[173]

Russell left his personal affairs in great confusion. Nothing had been definitely settled about the bank stock or about compensation for his confiscated lands in Maryland, nor had James Clerk's legal efforts to collect his prewar debts in Maryland gone very far. Russell left everything to Ann Lee, his wife of more than fifty years, trusting her, one assumes, to distribute fairly any assets that might come to hand.[174]

The death of James Russell was followed in a matter of days by another and related disaster for the family, the stoppage of the house of de Drusina, Ridder & Clerk. Apparently this *ingénu* firm of his grandsons was supported in part by the reputation and credit of James Russell. Once word got out that Russell had died and the grandsons had inherited nothing, the firm's credit apparently collapsed and they had to call in their creditors. There was no formal bankruptcy, but the firm was put under the supervision of trustees for the creditors for winding up.[175] We hear little more of James de Drusina, but James Clerk remained in Maryland for a number of years trying to collect debts owed to his grandfather and to his own defunct firm.[176] He eventually returned to London where he married his first cousin, Margaret Russell Lee, at St. Marylebone Church on 8 November 1792.[177] She was the younger of the two infant daughters whom Philip Thomas Lee and his wife, Ann Russell, had left behind in London when they returned to Maryland in 1773. Some time after the 1792 marriage, James Clerk and his bride returned to Maryland where he continued his debt-collecting and claimed his bride's inheritance from her father and grandfather, Richard Lee of "Blenheim." (President Richard died intestate in 1787, also aged

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173. *Maryland Gazette,* 20 November 1788. The wording suggests it was copied from a London newspaper.

174. PRO Prob.11/1170 (P.C.C. 455 Calvert).

175. The *Maryland Gazette*, 25 September 1788, contains a notice, dated Nottingham, 22 September, on the winding up of the firm. The daybook of the firm's Elk Ridge Landing store (MHS [Ms. 293]) indicates that regular business ceased on 23 September 1788; entries resume on 25 October representing debt collection for the "Assignees of de Drusina Ridder & Clerk." The store itself was let to Edward Gwin for £40 per annum. Although the partnership does not appear to have gone bankrupt formally, one of the partners did so: "Julius Conrad Ridder, late of Lisbon, in the Kingdom of Portugal, but now of the city of London (Copartner with James de Drusina and James Clerk, late of London, Merchants)." *London Chronicle,* LXIV, no. 4983 (30 September–2 October 1788). The assignees or trustees were F. Streadfield, D. Barnard, and J. Meyer. Acct. of 30 April 1791, Horsey Collection (966/789).

176. Cf. Testamentary Proceedings, Anne Arundel County, Box 17, folder 87, HR.

177. *The Registers of Marriages of St. Mary le BOne, Middlesex, 1792-1796*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman, Harleian Society, LIII (London, 1923), p. 20. Mrs. Ann Russell now Lived at Upper Norton St., St. Marylebone.

eighty, followed by his wife in 1789).[178] Although James Clerk's Rattray grandmother was a descendant of Edward III, he changed his name in Maryland in 1804 to Clerk-Lee or Clerklee. (It was apparently better in Maryland then to be a Lee than to be a Plantagenet.) He resided ca. 1796–1806 at Park Hall, near Bladensburg, Maryland. By 1808 James Clerklee sold that property and purchased a large farm called Haddon in the District of Columbia on the east branch of the Potomac. About 1812–14 he sold this and moved to Bromont near Allen's Fresh, Charles County, part of his wife's share in the old Cedar Point Lee lands.[179]

After her husband's death in 1788, the aged Ann Lee Russell, we have already noted, gave up efforts to reach a compromise with the state of Maryland over the bank stock. Instead, she applied to the British government for compensation for land confiscated during the war. Although James Russell had failed to apply under the 1783 act, application was made possible by a further act of parliament in 1789.[180] Under this act, both Ann Russell and the trustees of John and Gilbert Buchanan (owners of another third interest in the "Nottingham" ironworks) claimed compensation for confiscated property.[181] Mrs. Russell applied in 1789 for a total of £69,729:3:2 for property lost:[182]

1/3 share in Nottingham Iron Works	£13,709: 6: 1
interest from Nov. 1781, 8 yrs. at 5%	5,480: —:—
9 lots in Upper Marlboro, with warehouse	1,500: —:—
7 years interest at 5%	525: —:—
lots, warehouse and tobacco inspection warehouse at Nottingham, Prince George's County	1,000: —:—
7 years interest on same at 5%	350: —:—
lot and brick house at Joppa	375: —:—
7 years interest on same at 5%	131: 15:—
152 acres of land in Ann Arundel County	152: —:—
7 years interest on same	52: 10:—
9 acres near Baltimore Town and one lot in Charles Town (Cecil County)	250: —:—
7 years interest on same at 5%	87: 10:—

178. Lee, *Lee of Virginia,* p. 148; Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," 205–6.

179. In the Clerk papers of Mrs. R. G. Kennard, there are a number of letters, ca. 1804–15, between James Clerklee and his brother Thomas Clerk of Westholme. Cf. also Foster, *Royal Lineage,* pp. 218–25; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1907), pp. 333–34. Allens Fresh runs into the Wicomico River, slightly to the east of Blenheim. Bowie, *Across the Years,* p. 234, states that Margaret's sister, Sarah Russell [Lee], and her husband, Benjamin Contee, also resided at Bromont, where both are buried. The residence of James Clerklee and his wife must have been close to Blenheim, for both are buried in the Lee family burial ground there. Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," p. 207. James Clerklee after his 1788 failure was less prosperous than his "nabob" brothers but tried to persuade them to settle in America.

180. The 1783 act, 23 Geo. III, c. 80, s. 7 (*Statutes at Large,* XXXIV, 370–74) required applications to be made by 25 March 1784. The 1789 act, 29 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 8 (*Statutes at Large,* XXXVI, 687–91) permitted late applications by specified persons including "Ann Russell, widow."

181. For the applications from the Buchanans' trustees, see PRO A.O.12/9 ff. 1–3. The Buchanans had turned over all their property to trustees for their creditors by an indenture of 27 April 1773. After the war, the trustees employed P. R. Fendall to negotiate (unsuccessfully) with the state of Maryland.

182. PRO A.O.12/9 ff. 10–12; A.O.13/92 ff. 421–24.

Launcelot Lee lands mortgaged to Russell (conveyed by state to his sister on her paying mortgage value into Treasury)	375: —:—
arrears of interest to 1782	202: 18: 5
6½ years interest since 1782	121: 17: 6
debts owing J. Russell paid into Treasury by debtors	33,656: 6: 2
7 years interest on same	11,760: —:—

The commissioners immediately disallowed the £33,656 in debts paid into the state Treasury (and the £11,760 interest thereon), presumably on grounds that this was still recoverable under the treaty of 1783. This reduced the effective claim considered to £24,313.[183] From this, they disallowed and deducted the interest claimed on the other items which were investigated carefully. Certificates were presented from Maryland about the prices realized when the various properties were sold at auction.[184] William Molleson attended the board on 23 November 1789 with Mrs. Russell and testified about details of her claim, including such matters as the condition of the large brick warehouse at Upper Marlboro when he last saw it in 1764.[185] After taking evidence, the board reduced the values ascribed to various pieces of property, allowing Mrs. Russell in the end £8000 for the one-third interest in the ironworks and £2700 for the other realty claims, for a total of £10,700. They also allowed the Buchanans' trustees £8000 for their third of the ironworks. (The Ewers had received a similar amount earlier.) Although the loss of interest was a severe blow to the Russell estate, the values received were not unreasonable. The miscellaneous real estate had brought in only £1581:10 when sold (not counting Launcelot Lee's mortgage) and the ironworks at sale had brought the equivalent of £30,000 in prewar Maryland currency equal to £18,000 sterling (at par), or £6000 (not £8000) for a third. (James Russell considered the ironworks worth at least £30,000 sterling and ascribed the lower sale price to disturbed wartime conditions.) Leaving aside the proprietors, Henry Harford (Maryland) and Lord Fairfax (the Northern Neck of Virginia), only one person normally resident in Great Britain (not an *émigré*) received more than Ann Russell for real estate in Mayland and Virginia lost in the war (Walter King, a Bristol merchant and Virginia plantation owner).[186]

The Commissioners for American Claims, however, were less generous than they seemed. Considering that the bank stock cases were still pending in Chancery and that the Russell estate and the Buchanans' trustees might be compensated there, the commissioners recommended to the Treasury in August

183. PRO A.O.12/109 fo. 260.
184. PRO A.O.13/92 ff. 425–27, 433–36.
185. PRO A.O.12/9 ff. 13–17. Molleson also wrote the board on her behalf on 14 July 1789. A.O.13/92 ff. 431–32.
186. PRO A.O.12/109 pp. 86, 124, 134, 208, 260; A.O.13/92 fo. 427; C.12/2135/32; Chase to Paca, 31 March/1 April 1784, Blue Book III: 14, HR. Before the war, the Ewers' share had been held by Walter Ewer and his nephew John Ewer, West India merchants of London. Walter had died in 1779, leaving his residual estate to his nephews John and Walter (II). Walter (II) died in 1782 leaving his entire estate to John's sons, John the younger and Walter (III). (PRO Prob.11/1059 [P.C.C. 494 Warburton] for W. Ewer's will, 1779; C.12/1071/18); John Ewer the younger died in 1788 and his father John in 1792. (PRO T.S.11/689/2186 ff. 11–21; C.12/1261/7). The Ewers' £8000 went to John the elder (£6000), Walter (III) (£1000) and Mary, widow of John the younger (£1000).

1790 "that the Certificates for compensation in those cases should be suspended until certain suits at Law relative to the said Claims are determined." The Treasury agreed that "the delivery of the Certificates be suspended as recommended."[187] In vain did the Buchanans' trustees petition that November, offering to surrender all their rights to the bank stock.[188] On 15 February 1797 after six more years of waiting, Mrs. Russell, now 86, sent a similar offer to the Treasury who referred it to John Wilmot, one of the claims commissioners. He replied on 30 March 1797 that he thought the certificate should be delivered on the terms offered but would do nothing till instructed by the Treasury. A year passed and no word came from the Treasury. (One wonders if Pitt's distaste for Molleson hurt the whole family.) In the meantime, Lord Loughborough had ruled in June 1797 that none of the litigants in Chancery had any claim upon the bank stock. After waiting a year without a reply, Wilmot and John Marsh, two of the claims commissioners, took responsibility upon themselves and delivered the certificate to Mrs. Russell, notifying the Treasury on 30 March 1798 and citing the Chancellor's ruling. (The Buchanans' trustees were presumably paid at this time, too, or earlier.) Ann Russell received £10,700 minus a routine deduction of £140 for £10,560 net. As this is very close to the figure for which Chase and James Clerk has been prepared to settle in 1787, it probably represents about as much as the family could have hoped to recover under any circumstances.[189]

Other persons previously mentioned did not have to wait so long. William Molleson asked £1300 for his few properties in Maryland and was allowed £1020. The Hanbury estate asked £2100 for some property in Virginia and was allowed £1800. The greatest private claim allowed in Maryland was that of Daniel Dulany, Jr., who claimed £57,160 and was allowed £25,700.[190]

There still, however, remained the matter of the prewar debts. James Russell was reported to have had £100,000 owed him in 1773.[191] He had reduced this somewhat during his 1773 voyage to Maryland and had obtained bonds to secure much of the remainder. Nevertheless, in her application to the claims commissioners early in 1789, Mrs. Russell had listed £33,656 in debts paid into the state Treasury during the war. In subsequent testimony, Molleson reported that additional sums were owing to the Russell estate from debtors too scrupulous to take advantage of the wartime cheap money escape.[192] Nevertheless, some money was being collected. In late 1790 a committee of merchants prepared a list of all prewar debts owed from persons in the United States to merchants in

187. Treasury minute, 16 August 1790, PRO T.29/62 p. 226.
188. PRO T.1/686/210 ff. 7-10 (15 November 1790).
189. Ann Russell's memorial, 15 February 1797, PRO F.0.5/20 ff. 131-34. J. Wilmot to C. Long, 30 March 1797, *ibid.*, ff. 237-40; Treasury Minutes, 18 March 1797, T.29/70 p. 196; idem, 7 April 1798, T.29/72 p. 369. The intervention of Rufus King, the American minister, may have been influential in getting the certificate from the commissioners, as he wanted the Russell claim out of the way so that he could get the Bank stock for Maryland. (Cf. PRO F.0.5/24 fo. 67). The deduction referred to was a standard 20 percent deduction on all amounts over £10,000. (PRO T.29/62 p. 122; A.O.12/109 p. 260).
190. PRO A.O.12/109 pp. 86, 124, 208.
191. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, p. 63.
192. PRO A.O.12/9 ff. 12, 16-17.

England and Scotland (presented to Pitt on 5 February 1791). This showed the total owing to James Russell as £36,871 (£3291 from Virginia and £33,580 from Maryland). Others were worse off, as a few examples from the Maryland trade will show:[193]

	Virginia debts (including interest)	Maryland debts
C. Court & T. Eden	£2,611	£27,188
Duncan Campbell	25,635	12,500
William & Robert Molleson	4,161	66,878
Mildred & Roberts	3,271	52,897
John & Gilbert Buchanan	———	73,384

It is obvious that houses which reentered the trade actively after the war such as Christopher Court and Thomas Eden or James Russell (through his grandsons) found it easier to collect their old debts than did others defunct or less active. Court, for example, was reported in 1773 to have £120,000 owed.[194] In general, the London houses too may have had less troubles than the Glasgow firms because they dealt more with Maryland and less with Virginia (where collections were more difficult), and because they had fewer and larger debtors while the Glasgow store system produced many small debtors who frequently disappeared without a trace and who could not be sued economically when they were found. The opening of the federal courts hastened collections, particularly in the north. On 30 November 1791 the merchants' committee informed Henry Dundas that "the amount [on the 1790 list] is now considerably reduced by payments which some of the individuals have been fortunate enough to receive, but the greatest part, namely those connected with the Southern Province [particularly Virginia], have received little or nothing."[195]

The merchant creditors employed a variety of collection tactics. Sometimes the debtor agreed to pay when approached by a reasonably persistent agent of his old creditor. James Russell and his widow Ann, of course, had their grandson James Clerk (later Clerklee) available in Maryland and James was remitting money home as late as 1800. During his trip home ca. 1784, collections were supervised by Russell's old correspondent, Philip Richard Fendall. When James Clerk was again home in England, ca. 1792, matters were handled by James Young of Nottingham, formerly connected with the de Drusina store there, and later by Edward Hall.[196] Col. Thomas Contee, Molleson's old chief agent in Maryland, had collected for William and Robert Molleson in the last years of the war, authorized by special acts of the Maryland legislature,[197] but was unavaila-

193. PRO P.R.O.30/8/343.
194. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, p. 63.
195. Committee to Dundas, 30 November 1791, Melville Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
196. *Ibid.*, Dundas to Grenville, 31 January 1792, enclosing a list of all the collection agents in America; *Maryland Gazette*, 11 April 1799; see also fn. 105. It is not clear when Fendall returned to Maryland, but it was early enough to prevent the confiscation of his property.
197. See above, p. 196.

ble for such work after the peace. Thomas and his son Benjamin Contee opened a merchant house in London which for a while was active importing Maryland tobacco there. (In later years, Molleson was involved in a Chancery suit over Thomas Contee's accounts.) Instead the Mollesons employed William Cooke of Annapolis, a returned *émigré* loyalist lawyer, who was also chief agent for Christopher Court, Thomas Eden, and the executors of Anthony Bacon, other prominent Maryland merchants of London.[198] Under Cooke, the petty work of collecting for the Mollesons was handled by James Cooksey, James Young, and perhaps others.[199]

Sometimes it was necessary to sue. At first, local lawyers were reluctant to take British cases, but by 1787 resistance had broken down in Maryland. William Cooke, the returned loyalist *émigré* lawyer, was active in such work from 1787. One of his important cases was *Russell v. Harwood* (1787), which established the validity of prewar bonds, etc. as proof of debt.[200] This case is of particular interest because Thomas Harwood (of the Annapolis firm of Harwood & Brice) was one of James Russell's debtors who had paid a substantial sum (£3000) into the state Treasury during the war. If Russell could collect from Harwood, his chances of collecting from most others worth suing would have been fairly good.

If neither cajolery nor hectoring nor suing would finish the task, there was always politics. By 1790 the merchants of London and Glasgow had formed a joint committee to solicit the British government for help in collecting their debts. The London members were Duncan Campbell, John Nutt (a South Carolina merchant), and the ubiquitous William Molleson. Although Campbell was at first the chairman of the committee, Molleson appears to have been its most active member, and most letters from it are signed by him alone or with Nutt.[201] In addition to the more formal correspondence of the committee with Pitt[202] and Grenville (foreign secretary, 1791–1801), Molleson and the Glasgow members cultivated communication with Henry Dundas (who came within their Scottish ken), particularly when Dundas was home secretary, 1791–94. Dundas presented material from the committee to the cabinet, forwarded documents for them to Grenville, and helped them where he could.[203]

From the first, Molleson's committee tried to persuade the government to reimburse British creditors for uncollectable American debts just as they had paid relief to loyalist *émigrés* and compensation to British subjects whose real property had been confiscated. Dundas, however, had to inform them that there

198. See note 196 and Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, pp. 183–84; PRO T.79/44 ff. 1165–66; Chancery Papers 3514, HR. Contee remained nominally in charge of Molleson's affairs till 1789 when he turned responsibility over to Robert Young of Nottingham.

199. HR Private Accounts 9212 contains a ledger of Cooksey's collection activities for William & Robert Molleson, 1782–88.

200. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, pp. 170–72.

201. There are scattered letters from this committee in many series in PRO, particularly F.O.5; cf. vols. 28 and 31. The Glasgow members of the committee were Robert Findlay, Alexander Oswald, and Gilbert Hamilton.

202. Cf. PRO P.R.O.30/8/160 ff. 158–59; P.R.O.30/8/195 ff. 107v–8; P.R.O.30/8/334 ff. 47–48.

203. Molleson *et al.* to Dundas, 31 August, 30 November, 1 December 1791, 8, 18, 30 August, 14 December 1792, Melville Papers.

was no chance of this.[204] When the start of the war with France in 1793 made compensation even more unlikely, the committee came forward with the idea of getting the American government to pay a lump sum to clear all the debts. There was not at first much interest in this idea, but the British and American governments returned to it in 1800–1801 after the failure of the joint arbitration commission set up under the Jay Treaty of 1794.[205] (The commission was supposed to pay compensation on an individual basis where legal obstruction to the collection of debts could be proved.)[206] By the British-American convention of 8 January 1802, the United States government agreed to pay Britain a lump sum of £600,000 to be quit of all obligations towards British creditors under the Jay Treaty for legal obstructions to debts collection. (Creditors were still free to sue in American courts under the ordinary course of the law, but this was in most cases a meaningless right since the ordinary course of law included the statute of limitations.)[207]

To disburse the £600,000 received from the United States, the British government set up a new commission in 1804 which worked until 1811 investigating all the claims of British merchants with uncollected prewar debts in America. They had to be particularly careful because the £600,000 (even with accumulating interest till 1811) was not going to go very far, and, in addition to merchants, they had to consider other unsatisfied creditors such as Henry Harford, late proprietor of Maryland, and Daniel Dulany, *émigré*. (The Glasgow merchants had hoped for £2.5 million compensation.)[208] The commissioners apparently tried to eliminate all claims for which it could not be shown that the debtor was alive and solvent in 1783. In the end they reduced claims of £5.4 million to £1.42 million "allowed." Since they only had £659,493 to disburse through 1811, they could only pay 46.4 percent of the amounts "allowed." The biggest payments went to the great Glasgow firms, which, as already suggested, had less luck than the Londoners in collecting their debts. In all, 55.2 percent went to Scotland and 44.8 percent to England. Some payments of London-Maryland interest were:

	Claimed			Allowed	Paid
	Principal	Interest	Total		
W. Molleson Est.	£34,306	55,549	89,854	15,000	6966: 9:6
Ann Russell Est.	24,057	35,751	59,807	12,834	5960: 7:5
C. Court	4,051	5,118	9,168	0	0
D. Campbell Est.	6,731	13,677	20,407	4,000	1857: 14:6
Buchanan Trustees	44,172	65,596	109,768	15,000	6966: 9:6
Hanbury (3 accts.)	12,802	14,114	26,916	8,934	4149: 1:0
Daniel Dulany	8,249	12,806	21,055	14,193	6951: 13:6

204. *Ibid.*, 31 August 1791.
205. Glasgow committee to Grenville, 29 March 1800, PRO F.O.5/31 ff. 96–99.
206. On the work of the joint British-American commission in Philadelphia, see John Bassett Moore, ed., *International Adjudications: Modern Series*, 6 vol. (New York, 1929–33), 3. There is a complete list of all claims filed with the Philadelphia commission in PRO T.79/123. James Clerk filed two claims as administrator (in Maryland) of the estate of James Russell, deceased: one re John Dorsey (£2017), the other for twelve debts totalling ca. £13,000.
207. Perkins, *First Rapprochement*, pp. 130–41. Cf. also Price, "Maryland Bank Stock Case."
208. PRO F.0.5/31 ff. 98–99.

Although the amounts finally received by the estates of Mrs. Russell, William Molleson, and the Buchanans seems small in the light of all that was claimed about the debts, they were large compared with what most others received in England.[209] Neither Molleson nor his mother-in-law, Mrs. Russell, lived to enjoy this distinction.

In the years between the start of the war in 1775 and the final settlement of the debt question ca. 1811, the third generation of the family (the grandchildren of James and Ann Russell) grew up, married, raised families, and in many cases died. The Mollesons had no children, but the Russell grandchildren numbered eleven: one deDrusina (James), five Clerks, and five Lees. The Clerks we shall follow in the next section: James, John, Thomas, Robert, and Ann Russell. The Lee grandchildren included the two older sisters (Sarah Russell and Ann) who returned with their parents to Maryland in 1773, the two younger sisters (Eleanor and Margaret Russell) who were left behind in London with their grandparents, and a boy, Russell, born in 1776 after the return to America. Russell Lee, the last male hope of the Lees of "Blenheim," died in 1793 at age 17 in an accident involving a horse. "Blenheim" thereafter was very much a place of feminine abode.[210] Of the two older Lee sisters, Ann long remained a spinster, while Sarah Russell in 1794 married her cousin Benjamin Contee (the son of Thomas Contee), sometime revolutionary officer, merchant, congressman, and later Episcopal minister.[211] Of the younger sisters, we have already noted Margaret Russell marrying her first cousin, James Clerk, in London in 1792, and then returning to Maryland. Her older sister Eleanor in 1795 married William Dawson, a middle-aged physician from a prominent Yorkshire family, son of a famous physician. They subsequently resided at Wakefield. Dawson may have come into the family originally to care for the insane Richard Lee, Jr., whom the Dawsons were ultimately to take care of for decades.[212]

This was the situation of the family when Mrs. Ann Russell died in early 1800 at the age of eighty-nine. She then occupied a house in Queen Anne Street,

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209. The 221 debt compensation claims made in 1804 are recorded in PRO T.79/118, while the decisions of the board (through 30 March 1811) are given in chronological order in PRO T.79/122. A fuller summary and index of all the proceedings of the board is in T.79/98. A good report on the work of the commissioners, with a list of all claims adjudged good, was printed in "Report on American Claimants Petition, Ordered . . . to be printed, 25 March 1812," *Parliamentary Papers: House of Commons* (1812) 2: 137–88; ordered reprinted 1 March 1813, in *ibid.* (1812–13) 3: 319–72. Another list of the claims adjudged good, with the amounts to be paid, was printed in Moore, *International Adjudications,* 3: 419–22. For Molleson's claims, see T.79/44 ff. 1141–73.

210. Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," 205–6.

211. Bowie, *Across the Years,* p. 234; *Dictionary of American Biography,* s.v. "Contee, Benjamin." Ann was still referred to as a spinster in 1816, though Lee, *Lee of Virginia,* p. 306, says she married a William Gamble.

212. On the Dawson family, see Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire,* 2 vol. (London, 1874) 1, under "Pudsey"; *Burke's Landed Gentry,* 18th ed. (London, 1972), 3: 239. On William Dawson, see also John Venn *et al.*, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College,* 5 vol. (Cambridge, 1897–1948) 2: 90; J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, part II, From 1752 to 1900,* 6 vol. (Cambridge, 1940–54) 2: 257. The elder brother of William Dawson, Pudsey Dawson (1752–1816) was a merchant and mayor of Liverpool. A son of William and Eleanor Dawson, also named William, emigrated to New York where in 1836 he married Sarah, daughter of Peter Augustus Jay (1776–1843), son of John Jay. See John Jay, *Memorials of Peter A. Jay compiled for his Descendents* (privately printed, 1929), pp. 179, 220.

Marylebone (near Cavendish Square). Her will (probated 6–8 May 1800) is filled with the names of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, though she does not seem to have been too sure of her net worth. In her will (23 January 1796) she left specific bequests totalling £17,244:10s, though she had not yet received the £10,560 compensation for the confiscated Maryland real estate, and the £5960 for the American prewar debts was still far, far in the future. This would at first glance suggest that her real worth was in the vicinity of £33,000.[213] Her executors' accounts show it was rather less. The executors were Sir Hugh Inglis, bart., her husband's nephew, and Edmund Antrobus, a partner in Coutts' bank. An executorship account was opened at Coutts & Co., where Mrs. Russell had banked earlier. This shows that the estate had barely enough to pay the specific bequests, even with the receipt of the debt compensation money in 1806–11, and that there was nothing for the residuary legatees including William Molleson to whom Mrs. Russell in a codicil had gratefully left one-quarter of her residuum as thanks for his help in obtaining the property compensation from the government in 1798. The key to the confusion appears to have been Mrs. Russell's investment of most of her estate in £25,000 face value 3 percent consols which were only worth about £15,000 at the time of her death, her executors selling them ultimately at prices of 56–60.[214]

In her will, Mrs. Russell favored her family in England over that in Maryland. She left £3000 in trust for her daughter Eleanor Molleson and £1500 each outright to her grandson James de Drusina, to her five Clerk grandchildren, and to her Lee granddaughter Eleanor Dawson. In addition she left £1500 in trust for her Maryland granddaughter Margaret Russell (Lee) Clerk (wife of her grandson James Clerk) and only £500 in trust for her Maryland granddaughter Sarah Russell (Lee) Contee. To her spinster granddaughter in Maryland, Ann Lee, she left nothing. She also added a codicil stating that she understood that her granddaughters in Maryland (Ann Lee, Sarah Contee, and Margaret Clerk) were planning to contest the right of their sister in England, Eleanor Dawson, to share in the estates of their grandparents (President and Mrs. Richard Lee), their father (Philip Thomas Lee), and their brother (Russell Lee); should they do this, they were to forfeit their rights under her will. She also left £500 to her great-grandson James de Drusina, Jr., and £150 each to all other great-grandchildren.[215] The executors completed the payment of the specific bequests in 1812 after they received the debt compensation money.[216]

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213. PRO Prob. 11/1342 (P.C.C. 402 Adderley). The date of the will may have been mistranscribed 1796 instead of 1795, for the first codicil is dated 9 May 1795.

214. The ledgers of Coutts & Co. show that prior to her death in April 1800, Hugh Inglis and Edmund Antrobus were acting as "trustees" for Mrs. Russell, presumably because she was too old to take care of her affairs. The ledger for 1799–1800 shows that the trustee account (fo. 1116) was closed in April 1800 and a new executorship account (fo. 1749) opened at the same time. The account is continued in ledgers for 1800–1801 fo. 2413; 1801–2 fo. 2765; 1802–3 fo. 2774; 1803–4 fo. 2994; 1804–5 fo. 3237; 1805–6 fo. 3180; 1806–7 fo. 3208; 1807–8 fo. 3338; 1808–9 ff. 3409, 3430; 1809–10 fo. 3654; 1810–11 fo. 3654; 1811–12 fo. 3746, etc. Some interest was paid the beneficiaries with the disbursement of 1812. The account was still open in 1826, though the balance was small. James Clerk first appears as Clerklee in 1808.

215. See fn. 213.

216. See fn. 214.

The quarrel among the four daughters of Philip Thomas Lee was partly settled by a private act of the Maryland state legislature in 1801.[217] Another problem of the family continued, that of inbreeding. The two sons of Benjamin and Sarah Russell (Lee) Contee both married their first cousins, daughters of James and Margaret Russell (Lee) Clerk-Lee (or Clerklee): Philip Ashton Lee Contee married Anne Russell Clerk-Lee and Edmund Henry Contee married Eleanor Russell Clerk-Lee. The only son of the latter marriage, Benjamin Contee (1822–59), had three grandparents who were grandchildren of James and Ann Russell and all four grandparents descended from Philip Lee, the founder of the Maryland family.[218] With such inbreeding, the families do not appear to have prospered biologically. "Blenheim" we are told passed ultimately to a great-granddaughter of Philip Thomas Lee living in England (probably a Dawson descendant) and was sold ca. 1870. Its new owners let it fall into decay; in the 1930s nothing was left of "Blenheim" but the brick ends and two graveyards.[219]

THE PASSAGE TO INDIA, 1777–1857

When James Russell and William Molleson were starting out in life in the 1720s and 1750s, young Scotsmen of gentle, professional, or mercantile families without great resources had the option of trying their luck in a commercial way in America. Many went to the West Indies,[220] but far more went to North America, particularly to the Chesapeake. The American Revolution changed, if it did not end, all that. Scotsmen by the tens of thousands (from the grandparents of Woodrow Wilson to Andrew Carnegie) continued to emigrate to the United States all through the nineteenth century, but the war had badly shattered the old commercial networks that had permitted eighteenth-century Scotsmen to go out temporarily and to return so easily.

This was not an abstract but a very real question for the Russell-Lee-Clerk connection during the American Revolution and its aftermath. A few members of the family continued to find their way to America. James Clerk went out to Maryland in the 1780s to collect his grandfather's debts and to manage the affairs there of de Drusina, Ridder & Clerk. That he stayed and left a family there is probably ascribable primarily to his marriage to his cousin Margaret Russell Lee, the youngest daughter and co-heiress of Philip Thomas Lee. Years later (in the second quarter of the next century), William Dawson, the younger, the son of Margaret's sister, Eleanor Dawson, went out on business to New York where he married a granddaughter of John Jay.[221] But these were exceptions.

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217. "An Act for the benefit of Sarah Russell Contee, Anne Lee, Eleanor Benson [Dawson] and Margaret Clarke [Clerk]." William Kilty *et al.*, *The Laws of Maryland from the End of the Year 1799*, 5 vol. (Annapolis, [1820]). sess. 1801, ch. 107. The inheritance was still under litigation in the 1930s. Chancery Papers 7236, 7376, and 7443, HR.

218. Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 235; Foster, *Royal Lineage*, p. 284; Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, pp. 304–306 gives only four of the six Clerklee daughters and misprints the name of Edmund Henry Contee as Edward Henry Grette.

219. Hayden, "Lees of Blenheim," pp. 200–201. Cf. also "Blenheim, the home of the Lees of Maryland," *Magazine of the Society of Lee of Virginia*, 2 (November 1924): 56–63.

220. Cf. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery*, pp. 197–200, 368–70, 372–73.

221. See fn. 212.

Most members of the British side of the family sought their fortunes in the continuing rather than in the vanished empire.

For James Russell, the problem was particularly acute during the years of the American Revolution. His daughter Sarah and her husband Thomas Clerk had died in the 1760s, leaving him their five orphaned children as another responsibility. The four Clerk boys were coming of age during the American War at a time when grandfather Russell had most of his assets lost or at least locked up in Maryland and could do little to help them. Fortunately, there was always India.

Scattered members of the Clerk family already had some acquaintance with India. There had been John Clerk of Collinton, an East India merchant at the beginning of the century. In the Penicuik branch, there was James Clerk, the grandfather of Clerk Maxwell, the physicist, who was in the service of the East India Company. Thomas Clerk's own young brother Hugh (1728–56) was one of the many who found an early grave in the service of that company.[222] The strategic breakthrough, however, came in the Russell family James Russell's sister Mary had married Robert Inglis, Writer to the Signet and procurator-fiscal of Edinburgh, by whom she had thirteen children. (It was these classically large families that sent those multitudes of Scotsmen to fill responsibilities and graves on so many continents.) The youngest of those thirteen children, Hugh, was destined for a commercial career. He made a voyage to Italy and served for a while in one of his uncle James Russell's countinghouses in London or America, but did not take to the work. In 1762, when he was still only eighteen, Hugh Inglis went out to India as a midshipman on one of the East India Company's vessels. He left his ship in India and proceeded to Dacca where he was assisted by his cousin, Francis Russell, surgeon to the factory there. He ultimately became private secretary to John Cartier, head of the factory at Dacca, and later governor of Bengal. Cartier returned to Britain in 1774 with Hugh Inglis following in 1775. He had made enough to support himself in dignity for the rest of his life. He lived in retirement in the country until 1784 when he was elected a director of the East India Company. He served in that capacity for almost thirty years (till 1813), becoming deputy chairman and chairman three times. He married a landed heiress, and became a baronet in 1801 and an M.P. the next year. Sir Hugh Inglis, bart. (1744–1820) had blazed a path which many in related families would seek to follow, though none was to go as far as he.[223]

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222. Foster, *Royal Lineage*, pp. 218–25, 280–86.

223. There is a good ms. account of the Inglis family in the County Record Office, Bedford, also a somewhat garbled one in William Betham, *Baronetage of England*, 5 vols. (London, 1801–5) 5:438–50. See also [Sir Robert Harry Inglis], "Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.," *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, 5 (1821), pp. 320–28. Both describe Hugh's mother Mary Inglis as the *only* daughter of James Russell, procurator-fiscal of Edinburgh. This does not agree with the genealogy in Paterson, *Scottish Surnames*, p. 55. Sir Robert Harry's account is also confused in other respects. He writes of young Hugh Inglis going "to the New England states, in North America, where his cousin, Mr. James Russell, a merchant of much eminence, received him into his counting-house." Hugh's uncle, James Russell, was a merchant in London, though he may have had some interests, particularly shipbuilding, in New England. The well-known merchant James Russell (1715–98) of Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts (the grandfather of James Russell Lowell) was sprung of a New England family originally from Herefordshire and was unrelated to the Russells and Inglises of Edinburgh. Cf. James H. Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1907), pp. 452–53.

With the example before him of his nephew Hugh Inglis, James Russell turned early to the East India Company midst the family disaster of the American Revolution. Of the four sons of the late Thomas Clerk, only James the eldest was kept in Britain. He in any event inherited the larger share of his father's estate including the Scottish property which he ultimately sold. The second son John was sent out to Bombay in 1778 as a writer in the company's service. (He later transferred to Madras where he became collector of the *jaghir* revenue and "senior merchant.") The year before (1777), the third son Thomas went out to India as an officer in the Madras Army. Three years later, Robert, the youngest son, went out as a writer to Madras also. (The family's associations were preponderantly with Madras.) Being chosen a writer was then a great plum for a young man. It required a vote (by ballot) of the full Court of Directors of the East India Company. Every successful candidate had to present two sureties whose names were duly recorded in the minutes of the court. John Clerk's sureties were his grandfather James Russell and his uncle Duncan Clerk, insurance broker of London (brother of his late father). Robert Clerk's sureties were his grandfather Russell and his uncle William Molleson.[224]

The three Clerk brothers all came back from India in the 1790s relatively prosperous. John returned to marry Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Carew Mildmay of Shawford Place, Hants, and settled first at Worting in that county, later at Bownham, near Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire, and still later at Southampton. Thomas, after extensive service returned on sick leave in 1795 but did not resign his major's commission until 1799; in 1797 he purchased the estate of Westholme in Somersetshire. At first, he resided not there but at Wraysbury, Bucks. In 1796 he married Dorothy (1774–1847), sister of Lieutenant Colonel John Bladon Taylor (1764–1820), originally of the East India Company's army, later a director of the company (1810–20) and M.P. Westholme remained in the family of Thomas's descendants until the beginning of the present century.[225] Mrs. Ann Russell in 1800 left all her furniture, pictures, and books to Thomas of Westholme.[226]

The youngest brother Robert (1763–1815) is the only one for whom we have detailed career information. He was appointed a writer in 1780 and arrived in

224. India Office Library, Court [of Directors] Books, B/93 pp. 469, 488, 555; B/95 p. 638; B/96 p. 7; V. C. P. Hodson, "Some families with a long East Indian Connexion," *Genealogist's Magazine,* 6 (1932–34): 63–64; *A List of the Company's Civil Servants at their Settlements in the East-Indies* (1785), pp. 46, 48; *The Bengal Calendar for the Year MDCCXCII,* pp. 104, 105.

225. In the Kennard (Clerk) papers, there is a commission for Thomas Clerk to enjoy the rank of lieutenant in the King's army in addition to his commission in that rank (1783) in the company's army. On the back is a note that he "was employed at the taking of Pondicherry 1778, subsequently against Hyder Ally & Tippoo Sahib & in the . . . Northern Circars: Also volunteered for the protection of the Island of St. Helena when on his voyage to England on Sick Certificate in 1795." See also *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1906–39), "Clerk of Westholme"; India Office Library, J/1/30 fo. 365; Foster, *Royal Lineage,* pp. 282, 284, 286; Gerrit P. Judd, IV, *Members of Parliament 1734–1832* (New Haven, 1955), p. 351; [Edward] Dodwell and [James S.] Miles, *Alphabetical List of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Civil Servants . . . 1780, to . . . 1838* (London, 1839), p. xii; *Notes and Queries,* 12th ser., 2 (1916):456. On their last appearance in *Burke's Landed Gentry* in 1939, the family were represented by Robert Mildmay Clerk, late of the Madras Army, then in his nineties. His only son had been killed in the First World War and he had already sold most of the Westholme estate.

226. PRO Prob.11/1342 (P.C.C. 402 Adderley).

Madras in January 1781 to be appointed assistant in the Civil Secretary's Office. On 15 November 1782 he was appointed Under Searcher of the Sea Gate (a customs post) and on 19 November 1785 promoted to be deputy secretary of the Civil and Revenue Department, Clerk of the Peace, and Registrar of the Sea Gate, etc. While deputy secretary, he compiled a book of standing orders for that office which earned him a reward of 1000 pagodas (£350). In 1792 he became Civil and Revenue Secretary, Clerk of the Court of Appeals, and Clerk to the Committee of Treasury. He returned to Britain for reasons of health in late 1794 but did not feel that his career was really over. In 1798 his ever helpful uncle, William Molleson, interceded for him with Henry Dundas, Pitt's chief manager for Scotland and India. Molleson told Dundas that Robert Clerk was prepared to return to India provided that he obtained the first vacancy on the Madras Board of Trade. Understandings must have been reached, for Robert returned to India shortly and in 1799 was junior member of the Board of Trade and in 1800 second member. By the end of that year he had returned home again, this time for good. He left the service in 1805. While in India the first time, he married (1789) Anne, daughter of James Taylor, later of the Paragon, Southampton. (The relationship of these Taylors to the family of Thomas's wife is not clear.) After his second return, Robert became a director of the East India Company (1812–15). He lived in town, but from 1804 was described as of Padworth House, Berks.[227]

The three Clerk brothers had all achieved positions of upper-middle-class comfort but not affluence. Since they could not afford to maintain their sons, even their eldest sons, in idleness, they must of necessity send them—and their grandsons, too—back to India. All told, at least eight sons of John, Thomas, and Robert Clerk and eight grandsons served on the civil or military sides of the Company's Indian operations between 1815 and the Mutiny (1857) (see Appendix). Several daughters and granddaughters also married men in the Honorable East India Company's Service. One wonders if it could have occurred to the aged James Russell when he pulled strings to get his three younger Clerk grandsons off to India in 1777–80 that he was obtaining places not just for three individuals, but for a whole tribe of his daughter's descendants, even unto the third and fourth generation.

One should not think of service in Indias as all Poona, punkahs, and polo. For many it meant hard work under enervating conditions; for others it meant danger and early death. The greatest success in the family was perhaps John's eldest son who became Sir George Russell Clerk, governor of Bombay and first permanent undersecretary of the India Office. But Sir George had a younger brother, John (1802–21), whose career was perhaps more representative. John was so eager for a military career that when still fifteen he obtained permission

227. [Edward] Dodwell and [James S.] Miles, *Alphabetical List of the Honourable East India Company's Madras Civil Servants from the Year 1780 to the Year 1839* (London, 1839), pp. 56–57; Molleson to Dundas, 12 February 1798, R. Clerk to same, 14 February 1798, with enclosed "Statement" on his career, Melville (Dundas) Papers, Scottish Record Office, GD51/4/484; Dodwell and Miles, *Bengal Civil Servants*, p. xii; Foster, *Royal Lineage*, p. 286. For evidence of Robert Clerk's activities as a director, see India Office Library, Home Miscellaneous 522A (Civil Establishment Committee) pp. 106, 118, 149–287; Home Miscellaneous 456 (Madras Finance Committee), *passim*. The first reference to Padworth House is in Molleson's will, PRO Prob. 11/1403 (P.C.C. 51 Heseltine).

from the court of the East India Company "to proceed to Bengal as passenger in the *General Hewett* under charge of Col. Campbell, with a view to his being appointed a Cadet of Cavalry upon his attaining the age of 16, . . . " In due course he became a cadet (November 1818), cornet (1819), lieutenant (1820), and adjutant of the 4th Light Cavalry. He was killed in action at Mangrol (Rajputana) on 1 October 1821 at the age of nineteen.[228] Even the *memsahibs* might suffer. A grandson of director Robert Clerk, Major George Frederick Salmon Browne, lost both his wife and his sister in the Mutiny.[229]

In the new century, entry into the non-military services of the East India Company was more complicated than it had been in the 1770s when a vote of the Court of Directors made a young man a "writer" and set him on his way. There was now the training college at Haileybury (where Malthus was professor) and a somewhat more complicated and monitored process of admission—but, in some respects, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. The applications for admission to Haileybury for the early decades of the nineteenth century survive in the India Office Library. The applicants were asked—and answered in their large boyish hands—to what directors of the company they were known and what was their relationship to those directors. One director wrote a supporting letter for each and the father presented a certificate that nothing of value had been given for the nomination. The future Sir George Russell Clerk was supported by his uncle Robert Clerk, director, while Thomas Clerk's sons were helped on their way either by their paternal uncle Robert or by their maternal uncle J. B. Taylor, also a director. Robert's own sons were nominated automatically as sons of a deceased director.[230]

The full complexity of service in the more bureaucratized empire of the nineteenth century can perhaps be suggested by an outline of the career of Sir George Russell Clerk (1800–89), son of John Clerk. Unlike his father and uncle Robert, he served in the Bengal rather than Madras establishment, and much of his early career was spent in the troubled areas of the Rajputana and Northwest Frontier where he made his reputation. After Haileybury (1815–17), young George Russell Clerk was made a writer (1817) in the company's service and sent out to Calcutta. After a few years service as assistant to magistrates in Calcutta and Nuddea, and similar jobs, his superior talents were recognized and in November 1820 he was made first assistant to the secretary to the government in the secret and political department. A year later he was made second assistant to the Resident in Rajputana. After home leave (1824–27), he was made first

228. V. C. P. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758–1834*, 4 vol. (London, 1927–)1: 352. Cf. *ibid.*, 351–52 for his cousin Henry Clerk (1803–38), a captain of artillery.

229. Foster, *Royal Lineage*, p. 286.

230. For George Russell Clerk, see India Office Library, Writers' Petitions J/1/30 ff. 360–67. For Thomas's son, Robert (1798–1873), nominated by uncles R. Clerk and J. B. Taylor, see J/1/29 ff. 151–57 and Dodwell and Miles, *Madras Civil Servants*, pp. 56–57. Another son of Thomas, Thomas (1797–1817) was nominated by director John Inglis, a personal friend of the father for "more than 40 years." (J/1/28 ff. 151–57). Since director Robert Clerk had died while his children were still young, his two sons were nominated for Bombay by other directors as a courtesy: William by C. Majoribanks, and Charles by Sir David Scott. (J/1/35 ff. 177–83; J/1/38 ff. 420–28). On them, see [Edward] Dodwell and [James S.] Miles, *Alphabetical List of the Honourable East India Company's Bombay Civil Servants* (London, 1839), pp. 38–39.

assistant to the Resident at Delhi and in 1831 made political agent at Ambala and later Ludiana. In 1842 he became envoy at Lahore (Punjab), and was agent to the Governor-General on the Northwest Frontier during the First Afghan War, "in which capacity he pushed forward reinforcements with energy, and after the massacre of the Army, urged a policy of retribution." He was briefly lieutenant-governor of the Northwest Province, 1843, and provisional member of the Supreme Council, 1844. In November 1846 he was made governor of Bombay, but resigned in 1848 to return home where he was knighted (K.C.B.). He declined the governorship of the Cape Colony but went out to South Africa in 1853 as a special commissioner to arrange for the independence of the Orange Free State and to settle its boundary. On return to Britain, he was made permanent undersecretary of the Board of Control for India and secretary in 1857. With the reorganization of the Indian administration following the Mutiny, he became in 1858 permanent undersecretary of state for India until he went out once more in 1860 for his second term as governor of Bombay. He returned to Britain permanently in 1862 for reasons of health and spent his last years in the more honorific post of member of the India Council.[231]

Sir George Russell Clerk's career stretching from 1817 to 1862 stands in marked contrast to that of his father and uncles starting in the 1770s. They all three returned to Britain while still in their thirties and had accumulated enough to live thereafter in comfort. In two cases out of three, they only married after they returned. Sir George by contrast devoted his entire active life to public service and was governor of Bombay the second time in his sixties. The day of the nabobs was over even before the end of the company.

In the Appendix we have summarized the service of three generations of the Clerk family in India from the time James Russell's grandsons went out in 1777–80 until the era of the Mutiny. One point is particularly noteworthy. In the first generation, two of the three brothers served in a civil capacity and only one in a military. In the second generation, five of the eight appear to have served in a civil capacity and three in a military, but, in the third generation, all eight male descendants served in the military, one becoming a full general and three becoming major-generals. A family changes its spots over time. The three Clerk brothers of the first generation all married English women and settled in the south of England. They had, it would appear, become English and assimilated the culture and values of the families—Anglo-Indian and English landed—into which they married. Young men brought up in such a milieu in the middle decades of the nineteenth century might well find a military career more attractive than a civil. Then too the increasing professionalization of the Indian

231. *Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Clerk, Sir George Russell"; Dodwell and Miles, *Bengal Civil Servants,* pp. 98–99; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906), p. 84. The last also contains a sketch of Sir George's second son, General Sir Godfrey Clerk (1835–1908), a professional soldier, who served with the Rifle Brigade in the Indian Mutiny and the Northwest Frontier conflicts, and was Adjutant General of the Madras Army, 1880–85, and Deputy Adjutant General of the Forces, 1887–92. He served at home from 1886, holding the highly distinguished posts of Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1897–1900, and Groom-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria and Edward VII. The papers of Sir G. R. Clerk and his son Claude (of the Madras Army) are in the India Office Library.

administration, culminating in the introduction of competitive examinations and the abolition of the company, must have made the civil service a less real alternative for many members of the family. Having an uncle who is a director and passing an examination are, after all, two rather different things. A few members of the family attended Oxford or Cambridge in the second generation, but none in the third.[232]

The almost exclusive concentration of the family upon India disappeared after the third generation. In the fourth generation, five descendants of Thomas served in India, none apparently achieving striking distinction. The other two branches of the family were no longer represented in the subcontinent. In the fifth generation, the connection with India disappeared almost entirely. Some in the family moved to Australia[233] and others achieved distinction at home in other service. Sir George Russell Clerk's grandson, also to become Sir George Russell Clerk (1874–1951), entered the foreign service and ended his career as British ambassador to Paris, 1934–37.[234]

One final and parenthetical strand remains to be untangled. The first member of the family to become a power in the East India Company was James Russell's nephew, Sir Hugh Inglis, bart. His only son and heir was Sir Robert Harry Inglis, 2d bart. (1786–1855), a prominent arch-Tory M.P. and active Evangelical.[235] Sir Robert Harry was a close friend of Henry Thornton (1760–1815), M.P., governor of the Bank of England, wealthy London merchant, and Clapham "Saint." When Henry Thornton died in 1815, he named Robert Harry Inglis as guardian of his minor children, and Sir Robert Harry and Lady Inglis, who had no children, came to regard the Thornton children as almost their own.[236] Sir Robert Harry left his entire estate to his wife[237] who, when she died in 1872, left much including a life interest in her country estate at Milton Bryant (Hertfordshire) to Marianne, the eldest of the Thornton children.[238] She was the benevolent maiden aunt whom the young E. M. Forster visited as a child at Milton Bryant. When Marianne Thornton died, she in turn left a small annuity to Forster which enabled him to pursue a career in letters.[239] Some may find it fitting that the fortune which Sir Hugh Inglis began on his passage to India in

232. Two sons of Major Thomas Clerk matriculated at St. John's, Cambridge, and took the degree of LL.B.: David Malcolm (1808–93), a clergyman, and Edmund Hugh (1819?–), a country J. P.: Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses . . . from 1752 to 1900,* 2: 66. Two of their cousins matriculated at Oxford, but did not take degrees: Charles Clerk, son of director Robert, at Brasenose, and Mildmay Clerk, son of John (1759–1842) at University. (J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses . . . 1715–1886,* 4 vol. [Oxford and London, 1888]). In the fourth generation, George Russell Clerk (1874–1951), the diplomat, was at New College, Oxford and took a degree.

233. *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1907), s.v. "Clerk of Westholme."

234. *Dictionary of National Biography, 1951–1960,* s.v. "Clerk, Sir George Russell." This Sir George Russell Clerk, P.C., K.C.M.G., is described as the only son of Sir Godfrey, and had no children himself.

235. *Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Inglis, Sir Robert Harry."

236. Standish Meacham, *Henry Thornton of Clapham 1760–1815* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 183 n.

237. PRO Prob.11/2214 sec. no. 517. Sir Robert Harry also left £1000 to Laura [Thornton], wife of the Rev. Charles Forster and mother of E. M. Forster.

238. After Marianne's death, a life interest was to go to her niece Henrietta Synnot. (Edward Walford, *The County Families of the United Kingdom* [1888 ed.] p. 1030).

239. E. M. Forster, *Marianne Thornton 1797–1887: a Domestic Biography* (London, 1956), *passim.*

the 1760s should ultimately have helped endow the author of another *Passage to India*.

When the last notable Clerk of Russell descent, Sir George Russell Clerk, the diplomat, died in 1951, he was described by someone who knew him well as one who "must have seemed to any writer or caricaturist the *beau idéal* of diplomatists. Tall, thin, with a good figure, always faultlessly dressed, with his eye-glass so much a part of him that it needed no ribbon, he would be noticeable in any gathering, and if addressed, would at once put the stranger at ease by his welcoming smile."[240] One wonders what he would have made of his grandfather's great-grandfather, whose surname he still carried—James Russell, the merchant of Hylord's Court, Crutched Friars, who left for posterity only one conversational quotation, his retort to the tea-shy captains of the *Neptune* and *Peggy Stewart*, "what need ye care mon, so as ye get your freight."[241] But then one may also wonder what James Russell, man of family, would have made of his distinguished descendant "with his eye-glass . . . that . . . needed no ribbon."

RETROSPECT

In this article we have been concerned with the Russells, Lees, and Clerks as members of a family. We have emphasized those aspects of their business and professional careers that reveal their familial behavior. This we have had to recreate from rather external and exiguous materials. No papers are known to have survived of President Richard Lee of Blenheim or of his brother-in-law, James Russell of London, except for one bundle of Russell's in-letters for 1773–75 which were kept, probably by accident, at Coutts & Co., which handled the executorship account of Russell's widow. Nor are many papers of succeeding generations of the family known to have survived until we come to the first Sir George Russell Clerk whose public papers from the 1840s onwards can be found in the India Office Library.[242] All the other books and papers left by James Russell were presumably kept by the executors at Coutts and ultimately destroyed. The contents of Westholme too have been dispersed, as have the contents of Blenheim where three generations of Lees nursed their sorrows and their disappointments.

All this means that we cannot ask very precise questions about sources of wealth, patterns of investment, numbers of slaves, income, expenditure, etc. Nor can we ask many questions of a psychological nature. What sort of people really were the Russells and the Blenheim Lees and the Clerks of Listonshiels and the world? What were the psychological or ideological origins of the loyalism of President Richard Lee and his sons? What rôle did they or the Clerks of

240. See fn. 234.

241. *Maryland Gazette,* 10 November 1774.

242. Most of the papers of the family Clerk of Westholme have been destroyed or dispersed. However, Robert Mildmay Clerk, the last of Westholme, preserved a *small* collection of Clerk papers, primarily of family interest, which is now in the custody of his granddaughter, Mrs. R. G. Kennard. The collection contains scattered items from the correspondence of Thomas Clerk (1722–70), merchant of London, and his son, Major Thomas Clerk, first of Westholme, but includes *no* business records.

India think they were playing? About such inner questions we can only speculate, and confine ourselves in practice to reconstructing from entirely external and scattered data the mere outlines of the families' existence.

How representative were these families? Representative of what? We cannot speak of something's typicality unless we know exactly what cohort we are comparing it to. The Lees of Blenheim were too eminent in their little world to be representative of any broader cohort or population. (A good study is still needed on the submerged loyalism of Maryland about which we know next to nothing.[243]) Biologically, of course, their history is an interesting example of the tendency, so noted by social historians, of families to "disappear" after one or two hundred years. The history of the Russells, the Inglises, and the Clerks is, however, more obviously representative of certain major developments in Scottish society in the eighteenth century. Neither the Scottish mercantile and professional classes nor the closely related Scottish petty gentry ("lairds") could provide for their characteristically large families. If they were to escape the obvious trap of downward social mobility, they needs must emigrate. In the seventeenth century this had frequently meant military service for some prince in central or nothern Europe. The Union of 1707, however, opened up the whole hitherto closed English empire as an arena for what became the folk migration of all Scottish classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. America was more important for the Scottish lower classes, India for the Scottish upper classes, but both were highly attractive to the Scottish middling strata. Both offered careers and opportunities for advancement for "gentlemen in straitened circumstances," whether this meant starting a business with a modest capital in America or gaining easy promotions in the Indian army without having to buy one's way up. If there was something exotic about the Lees of Blenheim, there was nothing exotic about James Russell in America or his grandsons in India. They were participating in a common folk experience of Scotsmen of their class and time.

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243. A good start has been made by Richard Arthur Overfield, "The Loyalists of Maryland during the American Revolution," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1968).

APPENDIX

Three Generations of the Clerks in India

A. = Army FIRST GENERATION	C.S. = Civil Service SECOND GENERATION	Connections by marriage in italics THIRD GENERATION
John (1759–1842) Bombay, Madras C.S.	Sir Geo. Russell (1800–89) Bengal C.S.	Claude (1832-c. 1906) Madras A., capt. Sir Godfrey (1835–1908) Madras A., gen. John Clerk (d. 1919) Colonel, 4 Dragoon Guards *guardian to the Nizam, 1874–76*
	John (1802–21) Bengal A., lieut. *Anne m. William Ashton Madras C.S. (d. 1887)*	
	[*Letitia m. Capt. Berkeley Maxwell, R.N.*]	*Annette Maxwell m.* *Sir Thos. Willshire, bart. (1789–1862) Indian A., gen.*
Robert (1763–1815) Madras C.S., director, 1812–15	William (1803–68) Bombay C.S.	
	Charles (1807–28) Bombay C.S. *Lucretia, m. Capt. Walter Wm. Rose, Madras A.*	
	[*Harriet m. Capt. Geo. F. Browne, Royal Artillery*]	Geo. Fdk. Salmon Browne (1827–64) Indian A., major
Thomas (1761–1817) Madras A., major	Thomas (1797–1813) Bengal C.S.	
	Robert (1798–1873) Madras C.S.	Thomas (1820–98) Madras A., maj. gen. Albert (1823–46) Madras A., lieut. Henry (1829–85) Madras A., maj. gen.
	Henry (1803–38) Bengal A., capt. Fdk. Joseph (1805–73) Madras A., colonel	
	[David Malcolm, Rev. (1808–1893)] *Maria m. cousin William Clerk (above)*	Malcolm Geo. (1836-c. 1910) Bengal A., maj. gen.

Those in square brackets did not themselves serve in India, but are the parents of others who did. N.B. This table may not be complete, for it is not always possible to establish readily whether an army officer served in India or not.

A Marylander's Impressions of Europe During the Sumer of 1854

Edited by GERALD S. HENIG

In 1854 Henry Winter Davis was little known outside the city of Baltimore, where he had a prosperous legal practice and a budding political career. Within the next decade, however, Davis would serve four terms as a Maryland congressman, becoming one of the leading Civil War radical Republicans—and one of the most controversial as well. His opponents, on the one hand, insisted that he was a rash, egotistical, and unscrupulously ambitious politician. To support their assertions they emphasized his affiliation with the anti-foreign and anti-Catholic Know-Nothing party; his machinations to displace Abraham Lincoln in 1864 with a more radical presidential candidate; and his ill-timed and reckless congressional resolutions condemning the French presence in Mexico. Davis's followers, on the other hand, pointed to the more positive aspects of his career: his deadlock-breaking vote in the crucial Speakership contest of 1859–60; his role in helping to keep Maryland loyal during the secession crisis; his leadership of the emancipationist movement in his native state; and his eloquent appeals for political and civil equality for the black man.[1]

Davis could hardly have anticipated such a stormy political career, especially in the summer of 1854, a time when he was witnessing the disintegration of his political party. In late May Congress had passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill which included among its provisions an explicit repeal of the Missouri Compromise and thus allowed the advance of slavery into regions from which it had hitherto been excluded. The failure of the southern Whigs to sustain their northern colleagues in opposing the passage of the act resulted in the complete breakdown of the national organization. Like many Whigs, Davis was confronted with the dilemma of searching for new political alignments—a dilemma which remained uppermost in his mind throughout his three-month tour of Europe.

Inevitably, then, many of the impressions Davis received during his travels on the Continent would exert some influence on his future political decisions. As he himself noted soon after his return: "Europe has *fixed* in me some notions & greatly strengthed others & given me new views & I am ready to act on them. . . ."[2] But of even greater import, Davis's correspondence[3] reveals popu-

Dr. Gerald S. Henig is an Associate Professor of History at California State University, Hayward.

1. For an extended analysis of Davis's political career, see Gerald S. Henig, *Henry Winter Davis: Antebellum and Civil War Congressman From Maryland* (New York, 1973).

2. Davis to Samuel F. Du Pont [October 1854], Samuel F. Du Pont Papers, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.

3. Publication of Davis's correspondence from Europe is by courtesy of Eleutherian Mills Historical

lar mid-nineteenth-century American attitudes toward Europe. In common with many other travelers during this period, Davis was firmly convinced of the superiority of America and its people *vis-à-vis* Europe and its inhabitants.[4] In fact, Davis found the Continent for the most part a disappointment. Europe, he wrote several months after his trip, was a "terrific mill of despotism . . . between whose upper & nether stones" the people were "ground to powder."[5]

Of course, this was an afterthought. In June 1854, when the thirty-seven-year-old Baltimore attorney embarked upon his tour of the Continent, he was simply fulfilling a long-cherished desire to see firsthand the glories of European civilization. A selection of his correspondence follows.

Paris
July 9, 1854

My Dear Captain,[6]

[A]fter I left you in New York . . . I fully tested the origin & nature of sea sickness, & I can add my experience to confirm that it is all of the head & not of the stomach. My head was sick & reeling all the while; my stomach very little affected & only occasionally. My chief occupation on the whole voyage was lying on my back on deck, wrapped in my shawl & overcoat laughing at the ridiculous figure I cut playing baby on board & living on brandy & ship biscuit, visiting the table only once & finding to my disgust that boned turkey on a voyage ten days out is not boned turkey at a Baltimore supper but quite a different arrangement of the component elements. Altogether I have not fallen in love with the sea & I rather think my voyage home will be my last for some time. Surely I thought the first glimpse of old Ireland was the prettiest land I ever did see & no Paddy returning from exile to poverty could have been more gratuitously patriotic with delight.

John Bull's second city [Liverpool] struck me as being about the age of Annapolis—the same bricks, window sashes, pitch of stories, & the like—the fashion as antique & the variety of models as limited, but an absolute absence of the aristocratic dignity which appertains to the deserted mansions of Maryland aristocracy. It is strange to an American eye to see a mighty city so entirely *provincial,* so secondary, so meekly imitative & deferential as is Liverpool. With us every city asserts its own rank & character & style. But Liverpool is to London what—pardon the comparison—Wilmington is to Philadelphia. . . .[7] The new houses [in Liverpool] seem born old; they look like those chubby, thick jowled, short set young cubs of John Bull—in long tailed coats & big round black furred hats—which represent the genius child in England, but need only a little expansion to pass for men of fifty, so grave, sporific, & beer stupid do they already seem. Even so with houses new & old in Liverpool. I drove all round the place & saw only repetitions century after century, the dates on the waterspouts alone relieving the embarrassment of

Library. All of the letters are located in the Samuel F. Du Pont Papers.

4. See, for example, how Davis's views parallel the sentiments expressed by Horace Greeley during his European tour (Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley: Nineteenth Century Crusader* [Philadelphia, 1953], pp. 166–67). On the other hand, not all Americans saw Europe as inferior to the United States. See David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1961), pp. 45–69.

5. Davis to Mrs. S. F. Du Pont, December 24, 1854, Du Pont Papers.

6. Captain Samuel F. Du Pont, an officer in the United States Navy, and his wife Sophie Madeleine were Davis's closest friends. For a brief but excellent biographical account of Samuel F. Du Pont, see *Samuel Francis Du Pont: A Selection From His Civil War Letters,* ed. John D. Hayes, 3 vols. (Ithaca, 1969), 1: xiv–cviii. Davis had met the Du Ponts through his first wife, Constance T. Gardner, who died of consumption in 1849. Eight years later Davis remarried and fathered two daughters (see Henig, *Henry Winter Davis,* pp. 37–38, 42, 90–91, 162).

7. Captain Du Pont lived just outside of Wilmington, Delaware.

the eye. The docks are noble & stupendous works; they & Huskisson[8] seem all Liverpool can produce. . . .

Well, I got enough of John Bull in one day for the present. . . . [However], I must do the English the justice to say I had more bows, met more politeness, heard more "thank yous" for showing tickets, & got more "please sirs" for getting out of people's way in a day than I heard or received for the current year; & I was much surprised at the extreme urbanity & deferential courtesy which seemed to mark the intercourse of the gentlemen who filled the train from London towards Dover—on the way to their country resting places—both among themselves & to me. John Bull did not have on his gruff face that day at all & all of the Cockneys were out of the way. . . .

Well, as for Paris, at first it looked just like the pictures of it, as everything with a ruff looks like Raleigh or Queen Elizabeth. Then the houses began to look as if they had a physiognomy of their own & then they all melted into one unbroken & indistinguishable mass of yellowish whitish lime—soft & friable—the ornaments profuse, but so ill defined as to escape the eye & when seen not being sufficiently pronounced to produce any effect in varying the monotony of the coloring & form. Still for awhile the long colonnades, the high walls with three stories in the roof, the wide portals & gloomy courts, everybody living in the backyard & upstairs cut off from the street by doors like prison gates, every trade & every occupation living in the same building cheek by jowl yet separate as if the Atlantic rolled between them—all this was new for a while—then became familiar & now is tiresome. . . . Even the garden of the Tuileries[9] and the Champs Elysées have lost their magic splendor. At first they looked like pages copied & acted out of the Arabian Nights. Surely the world can show no second scene at all approaching that which burst on me the first afternoon in Paris when I walked into the central avenue of the garden of the Tuileries & looked from the barbaric magnificence of the Palace of the Bourbon up that magnificent expanse of the Place de la Concorde & the Champs Elysées to the Arc de l'Etoile which crowns & closes the view with the memorial of the glories of the Empire[10]—bathed & glowing as it then was in the setting sun which poured its light over the obelisk & the arch of triumph, sparkled in the fountains & flashed from the numberless statues that crowned the garden & the place & made the gay equipages and laughing crowd to live with double life. But it does not *now* look half as bright. I [sense] that the trees [along the avenue] are as well drilled as the soldiers who guard them & stand in rank & file as precise & unnatural. . . .

The Palaces do not much impress me with the sense of their magnificence. The Tuileries is of no style or order of architecture, but rather an aggregate which should be called a disorder of architecture—vast certainly [and] elaborated all over with the most profuse ornaments—but yet so minute as to escape a general glance, & never so grouped nor so massive as to produce an architectural effect. Versailles is a series of pillars & colonnades & windows wonderfully long & numerous, but that is all. The fitting up is for the most part to my eye very tame or very tawdry. [T]here are one or two exceptions in

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8. William Huskisson was a liberal financier of wide talent who in the 1820s, while serving as president of the board of trade, introduced a number of reforms which ultimately led to free trade in England by mid nineteenth century (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Huskisson, William," and Sir Llewellyn Woodward, *The Age of Reform: 1815–1870* [London, 1962], pp. 70–73, 373).

9. Tuileries was a royal palace in Paris begun by Catherine de Medici in 1564; it was burned by the Commune in 1871 (Blake Ehrlich, *Paris on the Seine* [New York, 1962], pp. 253–57, 264–68).

10. The Palais Bourbon, a twelve-columned Corinthian structure, was built in the early eighteenth century. The Place de la Concorde, formerly known as the Place de la Révolution, is the site where in the early 1790s the revolutionary tribunals conducted numerous executions by guillotine. The Arc de l'Etoile is commonly known as the Arc de Triomphe (George Huisman, *Les Monuments De Paris* [Paris, 1925], pp. 235–36, 256, 282, 287).

some of the Halls fitted up by Louis Philippe,[11] but the gallery of paintings as well as the grounds may best be described by miles of length & square acres of canvas oiled & colored [depicting] for the most part bad battles represented by worse paintings. But then here again I must except Horace Vernet's[12] magnificent battle pieces by which his genius has created glory & immortality for the barren epoch of Louis Philippe. His vast picture, covering the whole side of a vast room not less than 60 feet long, of the taking of the tent of Abd el-Kader[13] is the finest historic painting I ever saw, & there are others by the same master on the same epoch equally successful. But even he fails & sinks to commonplace as soon as he attempts an antique or medieval scene. There are two or three exquisite statues of Napoleon, his features a little idealized, showing the first step by which in process of time his face will be a myth & not a reality. . . .

There are not a few things I would like to say about Paris, but I fear you can't stand so much at once. I must administer by broken doses for fear of a surfeit & a revolt. . . .

I hope to get off for Germany by the middle of the week in company with Mr. Thompson of Richmond—ed[itor] of the *Southern Literary Messenger*[14]—a nice, clever, gentlemanly fellow whom I have met before & who is on the same tour which I desire to make.

I dined today with our representative Mr. Mason,[15] [along] with a whole squad of young Virginians [and] had a Virginia ham handed around, Virginia Madeira to drink, Virginia confab for talk, & all very homish except that there were no vegetables on the table. Indeed I have seen none here but peas & potatoes & they apparently in deference to English taste. Mr. Mason is a fine, hearty, good-humored Virginia gentleman, but you know more about him than I can tell you & you will fully appreciate the scandal he has occasioned to all Americans in Paris by his gothic ignorance of the use of the fork [and] his barbaric devotion to his knife as the instrument for conveying food to his mouth, equally to the danger of his lips & the reputation of his country. . . .

Now my dear Captain I bid you good night with the comfortable assurance that it will take you as long to read this as it has [for] me to scratch it. . . . I need not say how much I regret having come [to Europe] alone & if I had known as much as I do now I should have thought twice before leaping. But my life is a series of hasty acts & leisure repentance & so it will be to the end.

Yrs. truly,
H. Winter Davis

Antwerp
July 17, 1854

My Dear Mrs. Du Pont,

The first words of my letter are written amid the sweet sounds of the chime of the Cathedral of Antwerp from whose stupendous spire I have today looked over the most

11. Louis Philippe was King of France from 1830 until his abdication in 1848.

12. Horace Vernet came from a family of eminent French painters. In the 1830s Vernet spent a period with the French Army in Algiers, which inspired some of his paintings. (Isabelle Julia, "Horace Vernet," in Detroit Institute of Arts, *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution* [Detroit, 1975], pp. 651–52).

13. Abd el-Kader was an Algerian chief who engaged in several wars with the French in the 1830s and 1840s (Michael Clark, *Algeria in Turmoil* [New York, 1959], pp. 14, 16).

14. The *Southern Literary Messenger*, published from 1834 to 1864, was considered one of the South's best literary magazines. John R. Thompson was one of several distinguished editors; among his predecessors were Edgar Allan Poe and Matthew Fontaine Maury (B. B. Minor, *The Southern Literary Messenger, 1834-1864* [New York, 1905]).

15. A former congressman, federal judge, and cabinet officer, John Y. Mason served as American Minister to France from 1853 until his death in 1859 (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. "Mason, John Y").

densely peopled plain my eye ever reacted on. The spire is over four hundred feet in height—a network of the slightest tracery in stone to the very top—& every point at which the spire narrows toward the top being terminated by a crowd of those turreted spires . . . till it seems light enough to float on the clouds & high enough to scale the heavens. Such is the effect of the genuine gothic spire seen here in its full perfection & surpassed in height by that at Strassburg alone, I believe. The more I gazed, whether above or below, the more I was overwhelmed with wonder at the work in this comparatively insignificant city in the middle of the 14[th] century, & the more [I was] impressed with the absolute power with which the religious idea had seized the minds of men of that day—when it could enable priests to cover the land with structures that now amid the wealth of the 19[th] century they find it difficult even to keep in repair.

The inside of the church [Cathedral of Antwerp] is grand & surpassing beyond any in Paris. But what is of more interest than anything else are the masterpieces of Reubens. He & Van Dyck are the *two* geniuses of Antwerp. Having produced them, she seems to have ceased bearing. They are to her what Huskisson & Roscoe[16] are to Liverpool—men of genius born & living out of place—having no successors, & being dead—are Gods. The Cathedral contains Reubens' two grand performances—the ascent to the cross & the descent from the cross. . . . Time ceased to glide away as I looked on the wonderful countenance of the Redeemer reposing in the waking sleep of death through whose veil the divine seemed struggling to shine like the first gray dawn with the night. How much it deepens our faith in this great fact to *see it* before us freed from all superstitions or priestly decorations—as it arose in the great painter's mind from the study of the two or three pages in the two or three little books which alone notice this event. If people are fools enough to confound admiration & adoration it is certainly very unfortunate—but it is equal folly to deny that they do vivify & deepen our conception of events which are pictures of themselves as presented in the Bible.

I went thence to the Museum as it is called—a picture gallery in fact—where all the pictures are collected which spring from the barren heads of the domestic students of Reubens & Van Dyck, interspersed with a few of those masters. The one great idea of Reubens seems to have been the crucifixion, for there are some four or five pictures of this event apparently among his earlier efforts & at various periods—of slight merits & various execution & conception—terminating by gradual steps in the three grand masterpieces, two of which are in the Cathedral, the third was before me in the Museum. It was the crucifixion [itself, which] I think [is] the finest picture of the three. . . .

At Brussels I had a specimen of one of those ceremonies which has survived the sunrise & still attests what history assures us was the everyday life of the people. . . . Tradition . . . [has it] that in the 14[th] century a [J]ew stole the sacred wafers, mocked them & finished by cutting them with knives—when the veritable body of Christ again shed blood. . . . The theft was discovered, the wafers restored, & till this day are retained in the church to attest the miracle in whose honor every year a solemn high mass & procession are held. I happened there on the day & went to witness the ceremony—in the midst of Brussels & in the middle of the 19[th] century. The mass was as usual, though with great formality, candles flashing by the hundreds, troops of priests in all possible attitudes, rich tapestry covering the choir on each side commemorating in brilliant pictures the events of the sacrilege & the miracle. Long lines of soldiers with glittering weapons crossed the church & kept open the avenues amid the dense mass of worship-

16. William Roscoe of Liverpool was a prominent historian and author whose works were published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Roscoe, William.")

pers. . . . In the church are kept authentic versions of the miracle—placards and bones with inscriptions indicated places for receiving offerings to the Holy Miracle & indulgences of 400 or 200 days were offered to those who with various merit joined the procession or attended the mass in its honor.

Now these thousands were not all fools nor all hypocrites—nor half one half the other. Nor did they believe in any sense as a fact this lying folly. How shall we find another category? Is it not in that faculty we have of feeling the truth & power of religion so strongly that we will not give rein to the inferences which would destroy it . . . ?

But what has this to do in a rambling letter of a wanderer, who since he began it has transferred himself from Antwerp to The Hague. We embarked on one of those little black batteaux at 5 this morning, & after eight hours of dodging & twisting among numberless outlets & inlets . . . scooped out of the mud & connecting the Scheldt & Meuse [rivers], & passing sundry half submerged towns inhabited by people who live among the frogs we found ourselves at Rotterdam. There we rambled amid its old crooked bustling streets & were more surprised by the utter absence of perpendicularity of the walls of the houses than anything else. I ascribed it to the unequal setting on their soft foundations, but my guide assured me it was intentional & pointed out some *new* buildings which actually slanted in opposite directions one to the other *from* the street, yet the floor of both level. If this be so it is one of the most curious cases I know of a fashion perversely growing from an imperfection. . . .

I fear I am a very phlegmatic person in the matter of royalty. When I got to the hotel I saw flags flying & sentries walking in front, & soon was informed by the landlord with a polite regret that the King of Portugal[17] had engaged all the floors. Just, however, as I was going away a woman whispered in his ear & he hastened to offer a room downstairs, which someone of his family vacated for us.

His majesty has just arrived while I am writing & yet I did not think it worthwhile to stop my pen & go to the window to see his entrance. My only personal knowledge of the matter is that I stumbled over a large role of carpet placed at the door ready to be spaced between the door & carriage to prevent his royal feet from making too intimate acquaintance before their time with their kindred dust!! All the house is agog & in a tremor except myself & Thompson, whose republican nerves are proof against any such excitement.

Tomorrow I suppose all the world will be on the lookout for him. Still I must say I rather think royalty in Europe is spoken of & looked on as a passing thing—veneration is gone for it—& men treat it as the priests do the religious ceremonies of antiquated superstition, as things to be preserved because [they are] closely interwoven with what they value rather than from any faith in them. I was much struck by the smiling [and] careless indifference of the fat & lean priests who assisted at Brussels the other day—quite equal to that of the crowd. And so with royalty—people take off their hats today & shrug their shoulders if pressed as to where it will be tomorrow. But here I go again. So I will stop as it is late & only beg you will read this rambling scrawl with due allowance for my rotary condition & again set me a good example & pay me back by something better in quality & equal in length & I will confess your Christian character of doing good for evil. . . .

Most truly yrs.,
H. Winter Davis

Vienna
August 6, 1854

17. Pedro V was King of Portugal from 1853 to 1861.

My Dear Captain,

My last rambling epistle was from Amsterdam to Mrs. Du Pont. Since that time we have made our way from one side of Germany to the other twice. From Amsterdam we reached the Rhine at Arnhem by rail through the same dead level over which we had passed to Amsterdam, & there again [found] ourselves on one of those little wheasing [*sic*] stewpans for one mortal day. [A]s the sun went down we found ourselves at Dusseldorf. . . . [I]nstead of taking a leisurely dinner before taking the cars for Cologne . . . we scrambled behind an old decrepit blind guide who . . . consoled us by dragging us at his coattail to see everything we did not want to see, till finally one of those rebellions of the belly, which statesman say are most to be dreaded, inspired me first to demonstrate & then to resist till finally I brought my companions back to senses & dinner. We ate too fast & too much & all got sick. So [the] next day we repented at leisure, while scrambling to the top of the stupendous fabric of Cologne Cathedral. Workmen now are laboring to complete the designs of the forgotten architect which were some ten years ago accidentally discovered. . . . Surely when finished it will be wonderfully grand. [B]ut it is only when you have clambered to the top & looked *down* on the thicket of shafts & flying buttresses that crowd round the wall which they at once ornament & support that you can get any sort of idea of the vastness of the pile. This was all of Cologne—except some curious remnants of Roman fortifications—so we in the evening train ran up to Bonn. [T]he commencement [of the trip] is known as the picturesque part of the Rhine, where gentlemen begin to quote Byron & look sentimental. . . . In the afternoon our cars were saluted by the sound of chanting in the streets & so there went the priests, the vestal maidens, the *host,* the children, the swinging censers, the gaping crowd—the scene of Brussels on a smaller scale. This seemed to be the order of the day everywhere. At Antwerp we just missed the same thing. The fit counterpart we saw . . . on the outskirts of the city [when] we passed through a crowd looking like . . . Bunyan's description of Vanity Fair—the cards, the gambling wheels, the stalls with saints, crucifixes, & gewgaws sacred & profane, while within a garden to the sound of music gay girls & young men swarm round in the mazes of the walk, all laughing, gay, good humored, all drinking & none drunk, & at short intervals [there were] booths for acting where all sorts of farces & low comedies were either announced or performed to gaping crowds.

Next morning we sacrificed ourselves on the altar of fashion & the picturesque, i.e., over the boiler of a Rhine steamer, from Bonn to Coblenz. . . . Now if you want my honest opinion of the Rhine I will give it to you. It is much of a bargain if it be worth boiling below & roasting from above for two days. Having seen it I am therewith *content,* & he or she will be *smart* who gets me over it again—till a New Yorker puts the [steamboat] *Issac Newton* on the Rhine. I then will reconsider the matter. The scenery is always fair—never wild, imposing or grand—in itself tame from the roundness of the hills & made tamer by their terraced cultivation to the very tops. The castellated ruins are pretty, but do not add much to the view & the romance vanishes at first sight of the robber dens. With great parade at one point they fire a little cannon about the size of a horseman's pistol to exhibit the echo. [B]ut the nymph insulted at such a mode of address answers back so short & sharp that I could not distinguish it from the report of the gun. The boat was small [and] the day had the accumulated heat which we ought to have had for three weeks in Paris. . . .

Thence to Baden-Baden & our arrival Thursday night & [we] spent Friday, Saturday & Sunday inspecting this greatest of German watering places. There is less display, fewer fine equipages, less fine dressing, not more genteel people, & not fewer ordinary people on a holiday, & vastly more blacklegs than at Saratoga [New York]. The chief difference is the magnificent situation, the mountains shooting up on both sides of the town [and] the hills laid out into a labyrinth of shady walks. . . . [T]he people of every sex

& age & grade congregate before the cafes, promenade to the almost perpetual sound of exquisite music, frequent the reading rooms, but chiefly & with equal freedom & publicity & universality sit round the roulette table & ruin or lose thousands on a turn day or night—Sundays no less than other days—not with the *connivance* but by the sanction & for the benefit of the government. We took time to run up to Strassburg to see the famous Cathedral, & then on Monday left Baden-Baden for Frankfurt & thence through northern Germany to Berlin, which we reached Wednesday morning early. . . .

Berlin looks like what it is—a place existing without a reason—put where it is by man's device & like a flower in a pot kept alive by artificial watering. Everything is tame & sleepy. The people walk as if they had nothing to do. The houses are all of modern aspect, long, low, & straight lines meet the eye everywhere & contrast sharply with the lofty buildings and narrow alleys of other European cities. The houses are chiefly stone, rough & stuccoed. The palace, a fine structure, is all peeling & looks as ragged & out at the elbows as monarchy is now in Europe generally. The Brandenburg gate[18] is very tame after the Arc de l'Etoile. But the equestrian statue of Frederick II,[19] with its pedestal surrounded with the group of his celebrated generals, is far the finest piece of historic statuary I have seen. . . . The picture gallery is rich in old, stiff, quaint pictures of the Dutch & German early schools, interesting to historians of the art [but] not worth much to one who looks for the beautiful not *growing* but full grown. . . . I left Berlin, heartily tired of it, for Dresden where I spent a day. . . . There is a church there built exactly after *my* ideal. I will describe it to you some of these times. It would put you to sleep now. . . . I came from Dresden to Vienna at one stretch of 25 hours & rode all last night. . . . I go west on Wednesday for Munich & Switzerland. Best regards to Mrs. Du Pont. . . .

As ever,
H. Winter Davis

Interlaken [Switzerland]
August 22, 1854

My Dear Captain,

I am here in the mountains cut off from my baggage & writing materials, so I cannot exactly remember where my last letter left me. But I think I was on my way from Linz to Munich. We came up the Danube from Vienna in one of those vile little steamers, which breasted the current at the rate of five miles an hour, took a day & a half for one hundred & fifty miles, was crowded with all sorts of raftsmen, country men, market people, farmers' wives, & Austrian officers with a sprinkling of Vienna dandies. . . . [The steamer] could furnish up only one place to sleep in—three together on the floor & sofas—at $8 for the night & this vile batteaux was the only boat to supply the traveling public of Vienna up the Danube for one day!! Everyone like negro slaves was obliged to show his pass as he entered & left the boat—Austrian as well as strangers. I felt as if dogged all through the country & I drew no free or comfortable breath till I passed the borders of free Switzerland & deposited my passport in my carpetbag to await my advent again to the lines beyond which the bayonet & Radetzky[20] keep order.

Austria is certainly the most beautiful part of Europe I have passed through. I speak especially of the *south* of the Danube & that part of Bavaria which lies east of the Isar

18. The Brandenburg Gate, a ceremonial Doric gateway, was built in 1788–91 by neoclassical architect Carl G. Langhans (Joseph Watterson, *Architecture: Five Thousand Years of Building* [New York, 1950], p. 209).
19. Frederic II (the Great) was King of Prussia from 1740 to 1786.
20. Josef Radetzky was an Austrian general.

[River]. The country is rolling in parts, always beautifully cultivated if not so closely as France & northern Germany. Lands are held in larger bodies [and the] woods have not been entirely swept from the face of the earth but still give the face of the country that diversified aspect which England & America owe to the alterations of wood & cultivated fields. Nothing indicates decay or dilapidation. [I]f nothing shows any tendency to advance, everything is *substantial,* well sustained, & *stationary*—emblematic of Austrian politics & policy. They are a country *farming* population. I saw specimens of it on the Danube & in passing through the country. They are not cooped up in villages as in Northern Germany, but live in their separate houses, all of stone or brick, stuccoed & whitewashed, all on one & the same place. All are long low quadrangles, two stories with the same small windows, all divided pretty fairly between the beasts & the men—dwelling, carriage house, barn, stable, all under one roof, of one form, of one material—& at a distance nothing to denote which end the man & which the horse claims as his domain. Yet all is clean & substantial indicating a more entire absence of absolute indigence than any other part of Europe I have seen. Still I missed the country gentlemen's residences, & they did not begin to appear till we approached the confines of Switzerland & were not frequent till we crossed the border & then chiefly in the neighborhood of the larger towns.

Everywhere the Catholicism of the country [Austria] meets the eye. Crosses decorate every house, paintings or images of the Virgin or Crucifixion are on every building, wayside oratories & chapels invite you to prayer till the grotesque images or daubs inside move you to mirth. [C]rosses by the road, in the fields, on the hills are studiously brought before you. The proudest buildings are the vast monasteries which crown the loftiest hills surrounded by princely domains, outshining in splendor any buildings of the nobility in the country visible from the highway, & more deeply impressing me with the power of the priesthood than anything I saw. Of course the vast incomes are devoted to charity & hospitality, & it is well known that the priests are devoutly engaged in vigils & fasting while their guests are enjoying alone their good cheer!! But the lands of the monasteries are not lying waste nor ill cultivated; nor will any part of Austria justify the usual descriptions given of the low & poverty stricken condition of the Roman Catholic countries. *Here* Romanism is not as in Italy a dead superstition; whatever it may be to the educated, to the *low* it is living & powerful. . . .

After two days & a night in the Schnellwagen (swift carriage), we reached Munich. It is a great center of art & has contributed more to foster it than any of the cities of Germany. I will talk to you of some of the works when I see you. There was a Crystal Palace for German industry drawing crowds every day. It was pretty good, but not comparable in any respect to that of New York, whether in works of art or of industry.[21] But it was not a little singular that the most remarkable works of art exhibited were the creations of an *American* artist—Crawford's colossal statues in bronze of Henry & Jefferson, modeled by him in Rome for the Virginia monument to Washington & cast at the art foundry at Munich.[22] They are splendid productions & far the best exhibited at the Palace. . . . There was no comparison in the profusion of fine works in silver or gold, or in

21. New York City held a Crystal Palace Exhibition of industry and art in 1853 (James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850,* 7 vols. [New York, 1896], 1: 414–16).

22. Thomas Crawford was a noted American sculptor who designed this monument of George Washington for the city of Richmond, Virginia. According to one authority, "Ingenuity rather than imagination characterizes this work, with its outposts of allegory framing a central equestrian group of Washington precariously set above a six-nosed plinth bearing statues of six great Virginians. Among these, the 'Patrick Henry' and the 'Thomas Jefferson' modeled by Crawford himself, are by far the most interesting" (*Dictionary of American Biography,* s. v. "Crawford, Thomas.")

statuary—still less in works of general industry between the exhibition of Munich & New York. . . . There really seems to be no branch of industry at all developed in Germany except agriculture & toy making. This latter development engrossed a large department [at the exhibition]; the former, though the sole business of the people, rests on its old traditional routine & produced nothing of new contrivance. . . . Munich is like Berlin, owing its pre-eminence *solely* to the will of the monarch, & both exhibit the appearance of mere creatures of a monarch's will—*hothouse plants*—with no inherent life & ready to fall to pieces on the withdrawal of a court. . . .

I am in doubt about [traveling to] Italy. Cholera & quarantines deter me, yet I cannot make up my mind to yield Rome & its splendors. So I put off the evil day of final decision till Monday when I go to Chamonix & Mt. Blanc & there with better information I shall decide. If too much delay will be encountered in Italy I shall turn at once to England & spend my time there till October 4 when I sail for home. . . .

Yrs. Truly,
H. Winter Davis

London
September 11, 1854

My Dear Captain,

Your most welcome letter enclosing the kind rememberances of Mrs. Du Pont met me at Paris on my return on Sept. 2. . . . The supposition you seem to indulge as to my having seen the papers is quite amusing. The German papers are only a little larger than a large octavo paper [and] they venture to assert nothing which is not old enough to be proved by formal diplomatic papers. . . . [T]hey are ignorant of America & its doings & American papers did not visit my eyes more than once or twice during my German tour. I now am a little better off & indeed quite up with the time—thanks to some papers & yours & Syle's[23] letters. Home affairs are getting into a pretty plight & I suppose I will be called on to take some side on my return. What shall it be?[24] But it is time enough to think of that when we can talk it over together.

I turned my back on Italy . . . for Naples & Venice were not worth half of September which they would have cost; nor was Rome *alone*—even if I could have ran the gauntlet of the quarantine. . . . So I manfully resolved it was better to see England thoroughly in that month & leave Italy to the future. So I sought a place on the Lyons diligence. It was full for two or three days. I then got the last seat & flew to Paris [on] the best road in Europe—new & so smooth that I saw a lady borrow ink & pen to write during the stoppages of the cars & continue to write clearly & with precision . . . during a motion at the rate of forty miles an hour at least!!

The sun was blazing over Paris when I arrived & made it look like a different city from the murky, damp, & rainy place I had left two months before. I stayed nearly a week and reached London on Sept. 8. . . . On Sunday morning I . . . attended the cathedral service of Westminster Abbey and then ran off from a dull service on a hunt after Dr. Cumming[25]—a celebrated Scotch Presbyterian preacher. . . . By good luck I found his church,

23. Edward Syle, an Episcopalian missionary, was married to Davis's sister, Jane (Henig, *Henry Winter Davis*, p. 36).

24. Davis was referring to the emergence of the American or Know-Nothing party which was beginning to fill the vacuum created by the demise of the Whigs. The problem for Davis, however, was whether or not to support the Know-Nothings, a secretive, oath-bound organization, which espoused nativist and anti-Catholic views. Davis ultimately joined the party and was elected to Congress in November 1855 (*ibid.*, pp. 69–79).

25. Reverend John Cumming was minister of the National Scottish Church in London from 1832 to 1879 (Frederick Boarse, *Modern English Biography*, 6 vols. [New York, 1965], 1: 784).

himself in the pulpit & the very aisles crowded. One gentleman kindly offered me a seat in his already full pew which I accepted & I was much gratified by hearing the first sermon worthy of a man's attention since I left home. He has no eloquence, but he is simple & earnest, & the people listen to him with inclined heads & draw long breaths . . . between the powers of his quiet yet stirring appeals. It is curious in what little out of the way corners these people hide their distinguished men. His church was not much larger than a good sound lecture room with us—up an alley, with nothing to mark it for a church on the street & only a *sign* that the Scotch National Church service was held there. . . .

The intoning of the service at [Westminster] Abbey settled my mind on the intrusion of music into the prayers. I am now convinced it is nothing more nor less than a piece of the Romish alliance between sentiment & music to furnish a substitute for religion. Its only effect is to draw away the mind from worship & to delude the worshipper with confounding the excitements of art & sentiment with the fervor of real devotion. No one entering the Abbey could have said whether he were in a Romish or Protestant place of worship. . . . Whatever distinctions the voice had was destroyed by the organ & no one could have guessed what part of the service the people were at had he come in suddenly in the midst. . . . How overpowering the contrast when the crowded congregation of worshippers at Dr. Cumming's lifted up their voices unaided by the organ.

Today I climbed the dome of St. Pauls & looked down on two million & a half of people, surely the most astonishing spectacle the world can exhibit. The sun has taken a fancy to me & has been shining without intermission for about two months & today I had the full benefit of it for a view of London from St. Pauls. The afternoon I spent in walking over those magnificent banks in the west end. . . .

Since then I have been to the Sydenham Palace & I have come back utterly disappointed in every way—pleasantly & unpleasantly. It is an illusion to call this a Crystal Palace—for that now does not mean a glass house but an industrial exhibition on a magnificent scale. . . . The Sydenham Palace is something quite different, but for England more novel & important. . . . A few goods are exhibited for sale. But the variety as well as the values are entirely unworthy of comparison with the splendors of the New York Palace or the contents of that of Munich. But art is popularized and concentrated. The Palace is intended to be a microcosm of curious things presented for the benefit of those who cannot see the originals. Wide grounds are being laid out in beautiful style . . . surrounded with those primeval monsters with whose bones geology has acquainted us & whom today comparative anatomy has audaciously attempted to conjecture. Plants of every clime adorn the palace & beasts & men of every race, surrounded by their characteristic plants & scenery . . . [are] certainly among the most striking objects of the exhibition. . . . The arrangement [however] is not good; the art & the industry come too near each other for either to be displayed to advantage. . . . Still all these wonders are *there* imitated well or ill—making real what the millions before had only heard of. The grounds will be like fairy land when finished. The Champs Elysées will come near being distanced. The building is itself one of the wonders of the world, & to my eye is itself the wonder of the place & vastly more worth looking at than its contents a thousand times over.

As to the [Crimean] War,[26] it is still creeping on to the satisfaction of nobody who can *think*. Only they who wish Russia to come off unscathed & those who believe in the invisible wisdom of all ministries are content. The folly of relying on Austria is beginning to become apparent even to English eyes. Most of the papers, with more or less directness,

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26. The Crimean conflict first began in October 1853 when Turkey went to war with Russia. Great Britain and France eventually came to Turkey's aid and declared war on Russia in March 1854 (A. J. Barker, *The War Against Russia: 1854–1856* [New York, 1971], pp. 1–14).

simmer or rage or insinuate doubts about the faith of Austria & the policy of tying the hands of revolt in Poland by alliance which play so into the hands of Russia. . . . People here are beginning . . . to come round to my opinion that Austria will keep quiet as long as possible, but never can be *cuffed* into a war of real earnest against Russia. I still abide by my view & everything I hear & see confirms it. Russia cannot be crippled otherwise than by *revolution* on the side of Poland & Hungary. . . . [Even] if [Sevastopol is] taken, what then?[27] Russia crosses around and won't make peace. She does not live on commerce or on anything out of her own limits. England & France *dare* not invade her. What comes before their eyes? When they are tired of burning towns on the coast & return, Russia is again ready for the *march* to the Bosporous. It is curious England always makes wars under false pretenses. She helped the Bourbons [so] that she might acquire the colonies of the world. She helps the Sultan [so] that she may cripple the Russian Navy & protect her Indian Company. Every English gentleman instantly & unconsciously, while speaking of protecting Turkey, points to the special interests of England, but no state paper has for a moment let it be supposed [that] England is doing anymore than carrying on a crusade to preserve intact the power of the Mohammedan over the Christian. It is right *funny* but time will solve the problem & providence give the sceptre to which ever of the hypocrites best serve his purposes.[28]

Goodbye. I shall write no more before I sail on the 4th of October. . . .

Yrs. most truly
H. Winter Davis

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27. In September 1854 the British and French launched an attack upon Sevastopol, a Russian fortress in the Crimea. After a year of siege operations, the Russians abandoned Sevastopol, sinking their ships and blowing up the fortifications (*ibid.*, pp. 35–47, 224–68).
28. Austrian pressure ultimately convinced Russia to agree to peace terms negotiated in Paris between February 25 and March 30, 1856 (Paul W. Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War* [Ithaca, 1972], pp. 311–67).

The Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers: Its Founders and Its Founding

MARTHA S. PUTNEY

A careful reading of the catalogues of the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers for 1899 and 1903 reveals several interesting items related to the history of that school. Among these is a statement that the institution was a continuation of an earlier school which had been opened on January 3, 1865, in the African Baptist Church located at the corner of Calvert and Saratoga streets. Another is an expression of deep gratitude to the members and supporters of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People for their creation of schools for blacks throughout the state of Maryland. A third is a special tribute to four men, Evans Rodgers [Rogers], William J. Albert, John A. Needles, and Joseph M. Cushing, for their devotion and service to the cause of education for blacks in the state. All four were officers of the Baltimore Association; the former two had been presidents of that body, the latter two served on the board of trustees of the Baltimore Normal School for many years. The last item to be noted is an assertion that "the only legacy the school ever received was one of $3,500 in 1871 from Nelson Wills, a colored man."[1]

In a modified form, similar statements can be found in the catalogues of State Teachers College at Bowie, Maryland, which was one of the many name changes which occurred after the state of Maryland assumed control of Baltimore Normal School and had relocated it in Bowie. According to the catalogue for 1955–56, State Teachers College at Bowie began "in Baltimore in 1867 from the 'noble' sum of $2,500 bequeathed from the estate of the late Nelson Wells" who "had died about 1850." The founding is attributed to "J. M. Cushing and other warm friends of that era from this [Wells] legacy." Further, the establishment of the institution by Joseph M. Cushing "and other warm friends" was hailed as "an act of heroic faith" since these individuals "seemed to have been imbued with the idea that all men have within them the potentialities to achieve and to serve the needs of all mankind." It is noted in the catalogue for 1965–66 that Bowie State College, the present name of the school, has "prepared dedicated teachers for

Dr. Martha S. Putney is a Lecturer in History at Howard University.

1. *Baltimore Normal School Catalogue*, 1903, pp. 5–8; and *Baltimore Normal School Catalogue*, 1899, pp. 5-6. A copy of these catalogues may be found at the State Library, Maryland Records Section, Annapolis, Maryland. Official records of the Baltimore Association show the spelling of Evans Rodgers to be Evans Rogers. Nelson Wells's name appears in some references incorrectly spelled as Nilson Wells, Nelson Wills, or Neilson Wells.

Maryland since 1867."[2] Further, it should be stated that on November 17, 1966, the entire Bowie State College community with numerous friends and guests celebrated its centennial with an elaborate two-part formal Founders' Day Program. The next year, the letterhead of the school's official stationery[3] bore this inscription:

Bowie State College
Bowie, Maryland 20715
Centennial
1867–1967

Finally, there is on file at Bowie State College an old rollbook which contains entries beginning with November 1866.[4]

Those who wrote these statements or were responsible for their inclusion in the various catalogues over the years and those who participated in the Founders' Day Program paid high homage to their forbears' notable endeavors. The question which naturally arises is: Who were these founders—who were Nelson Wells, Evans Rogers, William J. Albert, John A. Needles, Joseph M. Cushing, and the "other warm friends"? Can all of them be linked historically to the founding of Baltimore Normal School? What were their hopes? Were they deserving of the praise so generously bestowed on them year after year? When was the institution founded—in 1865, 1866, or 1867? What, then, is the history of the founding of Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers?

Nelson Wells, whose legacy has been referred to above, was born in 1786 and was listed in the *Census of Freedmen of Maryland* for 1830. Wells, a freedman, worked as a drayman in Baltimore at least from 1827 to 1842. Although he was married in 1814 under the rites of the Episcopal Church in Baltimore, he was identified at the time of his death with the Baltimore Preparative Meeting of the Western District (Quakers),[5] and on February 18, 1843, the *Saturday Visitor*, a Methodist publication, carried a notice of his death. Wells had died on February 11, 1843.

About a week before death, Wells had expressed to his physician, William W. Handy, a desire to leave an endowment for the education of free black children in Baltimore. He told Handy that he preferred to entrust his property to a free local black incorporated body to carry out his wishes, but that he knew of no such existing organization in Maryland. He also questioned whether the laws of Maryland, a slaveholding state, would allow a trust of that nature to be carried into effect. Wells, who was ill, then had Handy bring to his home John Needles (father of John A. Needles) and Isaac Tyson, Jr., men whom Wells knew, so that they could advise him on a way to carry out his wishes. After talking with Wells and later consulting with another "friend," Tyson and Handy returned to Wells's home the next day, February 4, and Tyson informed Wells that he did not

2. *State Teachers College, Bowie, Maryland, Catalogue,* 1955–56, p. 9; and *Bowie State College, Catalogue,* 1965–66, p. 7. See also catalogues for 1961–62, p. 7 and for 1962–64, p. 7.
3. The writer has a copy of the program and of the official stationery with inscription in her files.
4. This old rollbook appears to be a copy of an earlier record.
5. *Census of Freedmen in Maryland* (1830), Maryland Hall of Records; Baltimore City Directories from 1827 to 1842; Journal of Records, Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MHS); and William C. Dunlap, *Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings* (Lancaster Pa., 1936), p. 495.

believe that a will with his desired stipulations could be implemented. Tyson thereupon produced two documents and thoroughly explained their contents to Wells. When Wells showed some unreadiness to sign the documents, Tyson gave him time to reflect on the matter.[6]

The next day Wells signed the two documents, a will and a letter of instructions, which bequeathed about $3,500 in stock of the City Corporation of Baltimore (bearing 6 percent annual interest) to three individuals: John Needles, Isaac Tyson, Jr., and Edward Jessop. The rest of his estate including "other property and the income thereof" upon his wife's death was likewise to pass to Needles, Tyson, and Jessop. These three white men, all Quakers, where to hold those funds in "a special confidential trust" for the education of free black children in Baltimore. The instructions explicitly stated that it was Wells's "desire and will" that the money in the trust be wisely and advantageously invested and that only the income therefrom be used for the education of free blacks. This was to be a perpetual trust and succeeding trustees were to be members of the Society of Friends. It was Wells's hope that the overseers of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of the Western District would offer strength and guidance to the "confidential trustees."[7]

The trustees founded the Wells Free School in Baltimore at the intersection of Hanover Street and Cypress Alley about 1845 and gave occasional support to the Ellen Wood Infant School located at 27 East Street in Baltimore. The Freedmen's Bureau records show that the Wells Fund was still active in 1868 and the Freedmen's Bureau officials recognized it as the funding agency for the Wells Free School. At the same time Bureau officials were meeting the requests of the officers of the Baltimore Association for financial assistance to sustain their activities which included their Normal School. The Maryland District Superintendent's Monthly Report for November 1867 contains the following entries:

> Normal School, supported by the New England Branch University Commission, and the Baltimore Association.
> Nelson Wells Free School, supported by the Nelson Wells Fund.
> Wood School supported by Miss Ellen Wood.[8]

All three of these institutions were operating concurrently and were located at different places in Baltimore. As late as February 12, 1868, James Baynes, who had replaced Isaac Tyson as a trustee, asked the Freedmen's Bureau for enough money to pay the rent for one month and to purchase six desks. He based his request on the circumstance that the "amount left by said Wells is not sufficient to pay our teachers a fair compensation for their services." The situation here was that the modest perpetual trust could not produce sufficient income an-

6. Baltimore County Wills, Liber 19, Folios 266–272, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land, State of Maryland, District Superintendent's Monthly School Reports, April 1868, October 1867, November 1867, and February 1868, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C. For information on other efforts to provide schooling for Baltimore blacks, see Bettye Gardner, "Ante-Bellum Black Education in Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (1976): 360–66.

nually to sustain more than one school on either a long term or short term basis, and not that the Wells Fund was exhausted as W. A. Low has suggested.[9]

The trustees of the Wells Fund had apparently ended their support of the Wells Free School by September 1869, when the trustees' legal right to the Wells estate was challenged in the courts. By this time, however, the Board of Commissioners of the Public Schools of Baltimore had already begun to meet its obligation of funding the education of black children.

On June 8, 1871, the "trustees of Nelson Wells, colored, deceased," referring to a decision of the Maryland Court of Appeals, gave to the trustees of the Baltimore Normal School the residue of the Wells estate. In making this gift, they said:

> This amount, thirty five hundred dollars, $3500, is not sufficient to sustain a separate School but it will be a valuable aid to you in support of the Normal School for the instruction of Colored Teachers and in assisting such a School will in the best way meet the wishes of the original donor.[10]

The money, they explained, was invested in Baltimore City stock and they advised the continuation of this form of investment in perpetuity unless it was to be used to purchase property "for the sole use of the Colored Normal School." Further, the offer was contingent on acceptance of conditions that the total amount would remain "undiminished" and that it be posted under a "separate account" marked "Wells funds" or that it be used to buy property for the Normal School.[11]

The trustees of the Baltimore Normal School formally considered the offer at their meeting on January 2, 1872. John Needles, the executor of the Wells estate and a trustee of the Wells Fund, made the proposal which was unanimously accepted. Already on May 2, 1871, the secretary of the Board of Trustees had reported that he had received these Wells assets as invested funds of the Normal School. Indeed, the Baltimore Normal School Cash Book contains receipts of interest from the Wells Fund as early as March 30, 1871.[12]

Hence, it seems clear that the Wells legacy was not the seed money for the founding of the Baltimore Normal School. The Wells Fund had a much older history in the service of the education of blacks. It had served at least from 1845 as a memorial to one black man who had made a significant commitment to promoting the education of other blacks at a time when, and in a state where, this was not popular. Imbued with Wells's "desire and will," the trustees of his "special confidential" fund donated his legacy to an ongoing institution whose mission was the training of black teachers for the education of other blacks.

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9. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land. . .Monthly Reports, February 1868 (The Bureau granted this request [*ibid.*, Statement on Requirements for Uncompleted School Houses Over Ones to be Built, May 15, 1868]); W. A. Low, "The Freedman's Bureau and Education in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 47 (1952): 34-35.
10. The Trustees of Nelson Wells, deceased, to Trustees of the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Children, June 8, 1871, Baltimore Association Papers, MS. 95, MHS, (hereafter cited as Minutes of the Board of Trustees).
11. *Ibid.*
12. Minutes of the Board of Trustees; and Baltimore Normal School Cash Book, MS. 94, MHS.

The genesis of the Baltimore Normal School, which obviously pre-existed the acceptance of the Wells legacy, was one of the logical culminations of the wide-ranging activities of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People. This association had its inception in a call issued on November 25, 1864, over the signatures of seven men. These men and others who subsequently joined them were moved to take action by the adoption on November 1, 1864, of a new state constitution which abolished slavery without providing public support for the education of blacks. The call read:[13]

> You are invited to meet at the school room of Asher Clarke, Esq., Saratoga St., rear of Mercantile Library, on Monday evening 28 inst., at 7½ o'clock, a few of the charitably disposed citizens of Baltimore to consider the best means, by organized effort, in view of the present condition of the colored people of the State, to promote their moral, religious, and educational improvement.
>
> Francis T. King — Evans Rogers
> Alex M. Carter — Thomas Kelso
> Jno. Needles — Jas. A. Tyson
> William Daniel

This appeal led three days later, on November 28, to the founding of the association. Among the first elected officers of this body were five of the seven-man committee which had been appointed by the Baltimore Friends on October 17, 1863, to do something about the education of blacks; one of them was a signer of the call. John Needles, one of the three trustees of the Wells Fund, was also among the first officers of this body as were William J. Albert, Joseph M. Cushing, Evans Rogers, and John A. Needles, the four men who were memorialized in the catalogue of the Baltimore Normal School. In all, there were fifty offices of the association held by some thirty-five different men.[14]

The members of the Board of Managers of the association held their first meeting on December 5, 1864, and authorized a fund-raising drive for the purpose of opening and supporting schools for blacks. The response from white Baltimoreans was not enthusiastic. Of the total receipts of $14,960.25 for the first year, more than one third had come from the Society of Friends in England and more than $1,700 of the rest had come from other sources outside the state. Maryland blacks supplied $2,000 of the total. The association had addressed an open letter to the mayor and city councilmen of Baltimore in February 1865 in which the city officials were chided for not funding education for blacks, asked to appropriate $10,000 to support the efforts of the association, and invited to visit the schools to see what had been done and what could be accomplished. Three months later, after receiving a report of its investigative committee, the City

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13. *Baltimore Normal School Catalogue*, 1899, p. 5; and Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People, *First Annual Report* (Baltimore, 1866), p. 1 (hereafter cited as *First Annual Report*).

14. *Baltimore Normal School Catalogue*, 1903, p. 5; Dunlap, *Quaker Education*, p. 447; and *First Annual Report*, p. 1 and "List of Officers for 1866." For a more detailed account on the activities of the association including the role of its members in political, civic, religious, and business affairs, see Richard Paul Fuke, "The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People 1864–1870," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (1971): 369–404.

Council appropriated $10,000; but only $4,000 was released immediately to the association. The remainder was paid the following year. The association had sent letters to 250 clergymen in Baltimore requesting their support and that of their congregations. Although the clergymen were asked to acknowledge the receipt of the letters, only twenty-three responded. This solicitation brought in a total of $49.00 from two clergymen, both rabbis.[15]

While appeals for funds were being made, the association began the task of establishing schools throughout the state. Its very first school was started in Easton in Talbot County. By November 6, 1865, the Easton school had ninety-four students and two black teachers, Mrs. A. S. Brooks and Miss N. E. Brooks, whose salaries were paid by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association. On January 9, 1865, a second school was opened in Crane's Building on the northeast corner of Calvert and Saratoga streets in Baltimore.[16] This was a spacious edifice built by William Crane, who was regarded by his contemporaries as "an early and true friend of blacks."[17] The school established here was to be the biggest facility operated by the association, and a selected few of its pupils were to become the first enrolled group to receive normal school instruction. By November 6, 1865, this facility had 585 students on its rolls for the day and night classes with 370 in average daily attendance. It had four teachers: Mr. Leander Waterman as principal, Miss M. J. Stewart, Miss H. A. Learned, and Miss A. E. Shadd. Mr. Waterman and Miss Stewart were paid by the Baltimore Association, Miss Learned by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, and Miss Shadd, the only black among them, by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association.[18]

During its first year the association had established and maintained seven schools which were attended by 1,957 students and taught by sixteen teachers in Baltimore. In the counties it had begun eighteen schools which served 1,110 students who were taught by eighteen teachers, four of whom were white. The Baltimore Association paid the salaries of four of these county teachers, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society of seven, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association of four, and the New York Association of three. The total expenses for this first year of operation exceeded the receipts by $2,596.70.[19]

The black response to these schools was overwhelming. Far more students sought to attend than the accommodations allowed accepting. In the second year of operation, eight schools with 2,420 pupils in the day and night classes and twenty-five teachers were maintained in Baltimore. The school in Crane's Building, designated as School No. 1 in the association's records, had 911

15. *Baltimore Normal School Catalogue*, 1903, p. 5; *First Annual Report*, pp. 9, 10; *Baltimore American*, February 18, 1865; and *Baltimore Sun*, February 15, 1865 and May 31, 1865.
16. *First Annual Report*, pp. 1, 4, 6-7.
17. *Baltimore American*, June 27, 1866. Carter G. Woodson stated that the Crane Building had a large auditorium, several large classrooms, a hall for lectures and entertainment. Woodson said that Crane constructed the building for the use of blacks (Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* [New York, 1915], p. 144). The association spent $1,269.00 for "fitting up" the building and an annual rent of $480.00 (Cushing's report to the Board of Managers dated February 6, 1865 and included in *Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the General Assembly*, February 24, 1865, pp. 109-110).
18. *First Annual Report*, pp. 4, 6-7.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

enrollees in its day and night classes and an average daily attendance of 629. Its teaching staff had increased to nine: a principal, who was male, and eight women. All of them were white. Three of them were paid by the Baltimore Association and the other six by the New England Freedman's Aid Society. The county schools by November 6, 1866, numbered thirty-one and had 2,400 students with an average daily attendance of 1,707. Fifty-seven teachers, twenty-five in Baltimore and the rest in the counties, were hired. Thirty blacks, including five in Baltimore, were among these fifty-seven.[20]

For the 1866–67 school year, the association had eight schools employing twenty-two teachers in the city where there were 4,822 students enrolled in day and night classes, almost double the students of the previous year. The association was relieved of this burden in September 1867 when the Board of Commissioners for the Public Schools in compliance with an ordinance passed by the City Council took over the education of blacks and established a segregated educational system. The association continued its mission in the counties where it sponsored seventy-three schools with an enrollment of almost 5,000 students. In addition, there were fifty new schools ready for use and some thirty more nearing completion. The organization was financially unable to supply teachers for most of these new schools. Indeed, some existing schools were understaffed. The operating expenses for 1866–67 were $76,108.50, some $17,600 in excess of receipts.[21]

In their reports and published and public statements to Marylanders for funds, members of the association and their supporters made frequent reference to the some 87,000 blacks among them who had until recently been kept in ignorance by the state's slave laws. The theme constantly projected was that of the economic and social benefits to be derived from productive and intelligent black laborers or conversely the financial and social burdens which the citizens of the state would have to bear if nothing were done. There was some concern about the denial to blacks of education, especially since many of the large number of free blacks had paid taxes for many years, while whites were being educated at public expense. There was also some concern about the need for social, moral, and economic uplift of blacks for their own betterment.

Joseph M. Cushing, the association's corresponding secretary, voiced the organization's concerns when he said:

> We invite co-operation from all persons who believe with us, that every one is better by as much as he is enlightened; that intelligent labor is more valuable to the State than ignorant drudgery; that the progress of a State morally and materially is in proportion to the knowledge of its people; that an ignorant and degraded population is an element of weakness and danger; and who believe that ignorance

20. *Ibid.*, p. 4; Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People, *Second Annual Report* (Baltimore, 1866), pp. 14–15 (hereafter cited as *Second Annual Report*).

21. Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People, *Third Annual Report* (Baltimore, 1868) pp. 16–19, 3–5, and 8–9 (hereafter cited as *Third Annual Report*). There is a significant difference between the number of county school enrollees listed in the statistical chart and that given by Cushing in his report. This difference may have been due to the circumstance that data for schools which opened late in the year were not reflected on the chart.

breeds vice, and that prevention and punishment of crime is more costly than a common school system.[22]

Again, he remonstrated:

> You must either raise them up or they will drag you down. You must either make them able to know the laws so that they may obey them, or you must pay heavily to restrain them from and punish them for crime. You must teach them chastity, thrift, sobriety and decency of conduct, or you must dot your State with Alms Houses, Jails and Penitentiaries. You need their labor, for without them your fields will lie waste, and your business operations be small. They need your money as wages, for without it they will starve or steal.[23]

A year later with much of the same urgency, Cushing, in trying to awaken the white people in Maryland to put forth greater effort, exhorted:

> The education of the colored people has no political end or aim, it is a measure demanded by every interest in our State, in which all are interested. The farmer should encourage it, because his fields will be better tilled by intelligent than by ignorant laborers. The merchant should encourage it, for knowledge brings wants and desire for comforts and his trade will prosper.[24]

Continuing in this vein, Cushing pointed out how other economic interests in the state would benefit from educating blacks.

Libertus Van Bokkelen, the first state superintendent of public instruction, in his initial report dated January 24, 1866, to the governor of Maryland, had advanced in an equally forceful manner many of the same arguments for state support for the education of blacks. He linked these arguments with the obligation of the state to provide education for all children regardless of racial or national origin. Noting the efforts of the Baltimore Association "to make up our lack of duty," Van Bokkelen felt that "if nothing more can be done, this Association ought at least be authorized to draw from the Treasury the amount paid for each colored child" to help meet its operating expenses.[25] About the same time a committee of the association begged the state legislators to give aid to the black schools or incorporate them into the state system.[26]

The state legislators did not heed these requests. Cushing, speaking for the association, held "on in the hope that the State will speedily assume this duty of educating the Colored People within its borders; a duty which properly belongs to the State, and which may not safely be neglected."[27] On the other hand, the City Council of Baltimore appropriated $20,000 for the third year of the associa-

22. *Second Annual Report*, p. 6.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
24. *Third Annual Report*, p. 10.
25. Libertus Van Bokkelen, *First Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1866), pp. 21-23. See also Libertus Van Bokkelen, *First Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Annapolis, 1867), p. 64.
26. *First Annual Report*, p. 20. Additionally, a second committee urged the City Council to approve another appropriation and a third committee sought contributions from the residents of Maryland (*ibid.*).
27. *Second Annual Report*, p. 6.

tion's operations; this made the total city contribution for the three-year period $30,000. The large contributors for the same period were:

Blacks in the counties	$21,328.19
New England Freedmen's Aid Society	13,090.07
Society of Friends in England and Ireland	10,145.86
American Freedman's Aid and Union Commission	5,500.00
Blacks in Baltimore	3,862.05
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association	3,800.00
New York Association	2,088.17
Unitarian Church of Baltimore	1,490.50
Philadelphia Friends Association	1,487.30
Friends at Courtland Street (Baltimore)	1,260.00

Also many of these agencies and others not listed paid the salaries and transportation expenses of a number of the teachers, and local blacks purchased books, paid for fuel and gas, and provided room, board, and other services for the teachers. These figures, furthermore, do not take into account the thousands of dollars in lumber and construction cost for schools, rent, and other services donated by the federal government through the Freedmen's Bureau. Nor do they include those donations made for the purchase and renovation of the Normal School Building.[28]

Many of the donors and representatives of the supportive organizations attended the anniversary meetings of the association. The first meeting was held on October 25, 1865, in the Associate Reform Church on Fayette Street. On this occasion J. Bevan Braithwaite, minister of the Society of Friends in England, Bishop McIlvaine of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ohio, and the Reverend Messrs. Johnson and Stork of Baltimore among others gave inspiring addresses on the work of the association, the public's responsibility, and the urgency of the task.[29]

The second anniversary meeting was held on November 23, 1866, in the association's new assembly rooms. William J. Albert, president of the body, gave the opening address and Joseph M. Cushing gave the secretary's report on the status of the schools. Mrs. Fielder Israel, wife of the Reverend Fielder Israel, the general secretary and actuary of the association, told of the creation and growth of colored industrial schools, which were sponsored by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Baltimore Association and in which female enrollees of the association's schools could receive sewing instruction. Archibald Sterling, a leading state politician and a vice president of the association, inspired the audience when he reiterated the urgent need for the education of blacks and picturesquely exposed the hypocrisy of Americans with the statement that missionaries were praised and applauded when they went to Africa to teach blacks and were denounced and maligned when they sought to teach blacks in Maryland. Alluding to the refusal of state authorities to fund black education, Sterling said that

28. *First Annual Report*, p. 8; *Second Annual Report*, pp. 7–8; and *Third Annual Report*, pp. 8–9. For an account of the role of the Freedmen's Bureau in education in Maryland, see Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," pp. 29–39.
29. *First Annual Report*, p. 30.

if blacks were taxed for education and the money was spent to educate whites, then the state was guilty of robbery. Judge Hugh L. Bond, a member of the Board of Managers and of the Baltimore Criminal Court, clearly and succinctly stated that the duty of the group was to overcome prejudice.

Other speakers were the Reverends Dr. Cyrus Dickerson and John F. W. Ware of the Unitarian church, both members of the Board of Managers. Dickerson spoke of his desire to be always on the side of the poor, the weak, and the wronged. Ware spoke on the same general theme which he considered the highest duty of man. General Edgar M. Gregory, the Freedmen's Bureau's Assistant Commissioner for Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia, the final speaker, reminded the gathering of the tremendous debt owed to blacks for their past burdens. Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau General Oliver O. Howard, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court Samuel P. Chase, and Maryland State Superintendent of Public Instruction Dr. Libertus Van Bokkelen, who were invited but were unable to attend because of prior commitments, sent their written apologies which were read to the assemblage. Howard in a telegram praised the good work of the association. The editor of the *Baltimore American*, which carried an account of the meeting, commented that the audience was "composed of men and women of this city of the highest respectability" and that "the meeting [was] being universally designated as the most auspicious ever held in this city."[30]

The third anniversary meeting was held on Monday evening, December 16, 1867, in the main hall of the Normal School Building at the northwest corner of Saratoga and Courtland streets. This meeting served a dual purpose. Not only did it mark the close of the third year of the labor of the association in the cause of black education, but also the formal opening of the Normal School Building. Among those present at the combined dedicatory and anniversary meeting were General Oliver O. Howard, General Edgar M. Gregory, the Reverend Phillips Brooks of Philadelphia, and "a large number of gentlemen and ladies, very many of the prominent business men in the city." William J. Albert gave the opening remarks. Joseph M. Cushing presented the *Third Annual Report*. Cushing welcomed the gathering "to this Normal School Building" which he said was "just now ready for occupancy." He regarded the Normal School as "the legitimate result of [their] exertions for the past three years, and necessitated by [their] success in the work [which they] have aimed to accomplish." He said that the school was opened to meet Maryland's immediate need for black teachers "and also to answer the calls that will speedily come from the States further South." He spoke of graduates, "thoroughly trained for the work of teaching," going forth to eradicate ignorance and superstition from the minds of blacks. He said that the building could accommodate 150 students and that arrangements could be made to provide for twice that number.

30. *Baltimore American*, November 24, 1866. These industrial schools of which Mrs. Israel spoke began in early November 1865 with the first of the sewing classes starting in School No. 1 and spreading to other association-sponsored schools in Baltimore. Soon they were organized on a regular basis as the "Industrial Colored Schools of Baltimore" by the Lady Managers, of which Mrs. Israel was president, as an auxiliary to the association (*Second Annual Report*, pp. 9–11).

General Howard spoke of the need for schools for blacks and of his hope that they would have the vote next. Among the other speakers were Phillips Brooks, John F. W. Ware, and General Gregory.[31] The meeting ended in an aura of celebration of another accomplishment in the experiment in the education of blacks, of determination to do what yet needed to be done until the state of Maryland assumed its obligation, and of apprehension over the exhausted treasury and the outstanding debts.

On October 15, 1867, two months before the dedication of the building, the members of the association approved the recommendations of their committee on nominations for members of the Board of Trustees of the Normal School. The committee had been instructed "to name nine Trustees of the Normal School: six white persons and three of African descent." The committee in its report recommended that eleven trustees, eight white and three black, be appointed and submitted the names of Francis T. King, Joseph M. Cushing, Jesse Tyson, Hugh L. Bond, Archibald Sterling, Jr., John A. Needles, George B. Cole, Richard M. Janney, H. H. Webb, John H. Butler, and John H. Locks.[32] With the exception of Webb, Butler, and Locks, all of these men had been members and officers of the Baltimore Association. Contemporary press reports identified Butler and Locks as black.[33] The writer assumes Webb was also black, because his name with those of Butler and Locks consistently appeared at the bottom of lists containing the names of trustees, and because they had not been active in, nor identified with, the association's activities prior to this time. Inferences from a contextual analysis of the subsequent minutes of the board point to the same conclusion. Despite the existence of the board of trustees, considerable influence over the operation of the Normal School was exercised by the Board of Managers, the Normal School Committee, and the executive committee of the association through 1869.

The appointment of trustees and the opening of the Normal School Building signalized a deeper commitment to the training of black teachers by the association and not the beginning of a new activity. The success of the ambitious undertaking of creating and maintaining schools for blacks throughout the state of Maryland depended on having a training facility for teachers, mainly for black teachers.

Very early in its endeavors the association faced the problem of finding teachers to staff its rapidly growing school system, particularly black teachers for the schools in the counties where the sentiment against the education of blacks and especially against "Yankee teachers" was negative and sometimes hostile. In the *First Annual Report*, John T. Graham, the general secretary and actuary of the association, spoke of the failure of white teachers to find living accommodations, of the harsh treatment received by teachers and students, and of the burning and destruction of schools and churches. He attributed the reluctance of blacks to permit the use of their churches for schools to this state of

31. *Baltimore American*, December 17, 1867; *Third Annual Report*, pp. 3-4; and Minutes of the Board of Trustees.
32. Minutes of the Board of Trustees.
33. *Baltimore American*, January 29, 1870, and March 2, 1870.

affairs. In the *Second Annual Report* Cushing condemned the prejudice, the hostility, the viciousness, and the lawlessness in many parts of the state where children had been "annoyed and insulted," teachers had been "attacked and defamed," schools and churches had been burned, and people had been murdered. Both of these reports contained statements of insufficient facilities and teaching personnel to meet the needs of the growing number of blacks seeking admission to these schools.[34]

There was also a good deal of concern about the quality of teaching. In early 1865 an investigative committee of the Baltimore City Council was favorably impressed by what it saw. In his first annual report for the year ending June 30, 1866, Van Bokkelen, who had visited some of the schools, attested "to the good order which prevailed, the neatness of the larger portion of the children, and their remarkable aptness to learn." He added that the teachers were trained and examined before they were assigned to the schools.[35]

Annual examinations and exhibits at which the students were tested extensively and competitively on their knowledge of subject matter were another indication of this concern for the quality of instruction. These examinations were announced in the newspapers and were attended by officers and members of the association, members of the city council, public school officials, and other notables. The first one for School No. 1 was held on June 26, 1866, at the African Baptist Church at Saratoga and Calvert streets in Baltimore and was attended by Mr. R. Daniel, president of the Board of Commissioners of the Public Schools of Baltimore; Mr. William Crane, the owner of the building which housed School No. 1; and many members of the Board of Managers of the association including John A. Needles, John F. W. Ware, Edwin Johnson, Francis T. King, Richard Janney, and Fielder Israel. After the examination was over, most of these men including Daniel and Crane talked to the students about their performance.[36] Also, the textbooks were selected with care and were standard throughout the system.[37]

The need for teachers, then, especially black teachers, and the concern for competent instruction had led to the establishment in 1866 of a "Normal School," which official records later referred to as a "Normal class." Employed to teach at this "Normal School" was Mr. Henry T. Hartwell, a white man, who during the previous year had taught at the association's School No. 6 in Baltimore. Mr. Hartwell was the only teacher designated for this Normal School according to the *Second* and *Third Annual Reports*, which were issued respectively on November 6, 1866, and December 16, 1867. The school was listed as a separate activity and was located at the corner of Calvert and Saratoga streets, the same address as School No. 1. This was also the same address as the African Baptist Church where the first annual examination and exhibit for School No. 1 was

34. *First Annual Report*, pp. 29, 4, and 5; and *Second Annual Report*, pp. 4–5, 6. The black struggle for improved schools in Baltimore in the final decades of the nineteenth century is portrayed by Bettye C. Thomas, "Public Education and Black Protest in Baltimore, 1865–1900," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (1976): 381–91.

35. *Baltimore Sun*, May 31, 1865; and Van Bokkelen, *First Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. 64.

36. *Baltimore American*, June 27, 1866.

37. *First Annual Report*, pp. 29–30.

held and where, more importantly, the catalogue of the Baltimore Normal School for 1903 marked the beginning of the institution's existence. The two annual reports were silent on whether this activity was housed in School No. 1 or in the Baptist church, on precisely when this activity began, on how many students were enrolled, and on the average daily attendance. Indeed, the absence of this data on the Normal School is the only unaccountable omission in the "Statements of City and County Colored Schools Showing When Founded, Location, Teachers, etc.," statements which were integral parts of the annual reports, for the years of 1865, 1866, and 1867. The other papers of the association which have been examined contain no information on these matters.

However, contemporary newspaper accounts are more informative. A reporter for the *Baltimore American* in relating an event involving the students of School No. 1 stated that "in connection with these [students] is a Normal School, under Mr. H. T. Hartwell as principal, wherein the pupils, now numbering 12, who have evidenced the greatest degree of proficiency in their studies, are educated with a view of hereafter becoming teachers." This report, which appeared in the newspaper on June 17, 1866, and referred to an event occurring the previous day, specifically noted that this Normal School and School No. 1 were located in the same building. Five months later, under the dateline of November 28, 1866, the newspaper noted again the existence of the Normal School in the same building as School No. 1. At this time, according to the account, the six students who were in attendance were taught by Mr. Henry F. Harper. *The American Freedman* for January 1867 reported that a Normal School with six students was housed in the building with School No. 1. Henry F. Harper was cited as being the teacher in charge.[38]

The first reference to a beginning student body of the Normal School that was found in the papers of the association and minutes of the Board of Trustees was a memorandum dated June 10, 1868, from Henry T. Hartwell to Richard M. Janney, who was then chairman of the Normal School Committee. In his note, Hartwell reminded Janney "that most of the first class was admitted in December 1866 with the understanding that they remain until the end of the present year [1868]." It appears from the context of this communication that Hartwell was referring to the admission of the first regular class which according to the regulations adopted on September 24, 1867, was to meet specific requirements before graduation. There is no information on when the other part of this "first class" was admitted; it can be established from this memorandum only that a majority of the members of this class began in December 1866. This statement by Hartwell, and newspaper accounts of students in attendance in November 1866, are in basic agreement with the data in the old rollbook which is on file at Bowie State College and which contains entries for November and December 1866. In point of fact, neither Hartwell's statement nor the rollbook can negate the existence of informal normal school classes, in which the best of the students enrolled in School No. 1 were selected out and given normal school training prior to November and December 1866.

38. *The American Freedman* (New York), January 1867, No. 10, p. 150.

Further, it needs to be pointed out that in the *Second Annual Report* which showed the first existence of a normal school there is an intriguing statement made by Cushing on November 6, 1866, which may indicate another activity of Hartwell's:

> Many of the teachers are Colored People. All of them are trained for the special work of teaching, employing all the most approved Normal School methods, and *subject to the most rigorous examination before we send them to take charge of a school.*[39]

It has been stated above that Van Bokkelen in his report for the school year ending June 30, 1866, made a similar assertion. Would it be a likely inference that Hartwell was employed to give this special training and to administer thorough examinations to those who were hired for teaching before they took up their assignments? A remark made by Hartwell in October 1868 to the effect that the students then about to complete their training were better than most of those already out teaching[40] gives some added support to this inference.

Hence, from the annual reports and papers of the association and from press accounts it can be concluded that the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers was an outgrowth of School No. 1 which had begun on January 9, 1865, in Crane's Building on the northeast corner of Calvert and Saratoga streets. This building in the beginning contained four classes of regularly enrolled students. In early November 1865 a Sewing Class, a unit of the Ladies Auxiliary-sponsored Industrial Colored Schools, was opened in the same building for women who attended the association's day or night classes. Sometime before June 16, 1866, a Normal School was also started there. This school was engaged in the training of the more capable students of School No. 1 to be teachers. It is a likely conjecture that this Normal School also was giving training and examinations to persons who were hired as teachers. Further it was probably in November 1866 that a part of the first regular class entered, and certainly in December 1866 a majority of this first enrolled group began the Normal School training program.

Sometime before June 1866 the Baltimore Association had sought aid from the American Freedmen's Union Commission for the establishment of a Normal School building. The commission voted to pledge no more than $5,000 for "a Normal School for the benefit of the freedmen in the city of Baltimore." About a month later, John F. W. Ware told the commission of "the absolute necessity of a Normal School in Baltimore."[41] The commission eventually allotted $10,652.27 from the "special Normal School Fund" provided by the Society of Friends in

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39. *Second Annual Report*, pp. 6–7, my italics. It should be noted that Washington University rented the Crane building from the executors of the Crane estate and located its Medical School there on October 1, 1867. Although Cushing said on December 16, 1867 that the Normal School Building was "just now ready of occupancy," it seems likely that the building was used for classes prior to its formal dedication since association papers show that renovation of the building began in April 1867, that this renovation was continuous, and that the annual meeting for association members was held in the building on November 19, 1867 (*Baltimore American*, October 2, 1867; and Minutes of Board of Trustees, Extracts from Minutes of the Board of Managers).

40. Minutes of the Board of Trustees.

41. *The American Freedman*, June 1866, No. 3, p. 40 and July 1866, No. 4, p. 61.

England towards the purchase and renovation of the Normal School Building. The officials of the commission felt that once the public authorities began to meet their responsibility to educate blacks, the Normal School could without difficulty be transferred to the state.[42] The United States government through the Freedmen's Bureau contributed $9,999.94 to help defray the purchase price and costs of alterations of the building.[43] This money from the Society of Friends of England and the federal government represented the two largest grants made towards the purchase and remodeling of the Normal School facility.

These two donors, along with the New England Freedmen's Aid Society which subsidized the salaries of Hartwell and others, the Freedman's Union Commission which approved a generous grant, the Baltimore Association which answered "the call," and the blacks in Maryland who provided steadfast support, were among the earliest of the many patrons of the Normal School. By the time this institution was ready to chart its independent course in its own quarters, a renovated old Friends Meeting House on the northwest corner of Saratoga and Courtland streets, there was a long, long list of "warm friends" who had made substantial contributions to its beginnings and to its success for the future. Pragmatism, expediency, feasibility, the missionary impulse, fair play, and self-help inspired their efforts. Out of such a matrix of forces emerged the institution which today we know as Bowie State College.

42. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, List of Donors toward Purchase and Completion of the Normal School Building; and *American Freedman*, June 1868, No. 3, p. 420 and July 1869, No. 7, p. 3. A State Normal School for whites had been opened in Baltimore on January 15, 1866. This institution held its first graduation exercises on June 8, 1866 (*Baltimore American*, January 2, 1866, January 15, 1866, and June 9, 1866).

43. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, List of Donors toward Purchase and Completion of the Normal School Building.

Two Early Romantic Paintings at the Baltimore Co-Cathedral

GAIL L. GARRISON*

ALTHOUGH IT IS KNOWN THAT LOUIS XVIII, BOURBON MONARCH OF THE French Restoration, was a generous patron of the arts, bought and commissioned paintings from French artists, and had them installed in public monuments in Paris and in provincial churches and museums, it is generally not known that his beneficence extended to countries other than France.[1] During the 1820s the Baltimore Cathedral (the Basilica of the Assumption, since 1959 known as the Co-Cathedral) received a gift of two paintings from Louis XVIII as an expression of international goodwill. The paintings flank the cathedral's west entrance. On the north wall is Baron Charles de Steuben's *Saint Louis (Louis IX of France) Burying His Plague Stricken Troops Before Tunis AD 1270* (Figs. 1, 2). On the south is a painting whose label reads "Baron Pierre-Narcisse Guérin . . . *The Descent From the Cross*. . . . " Documents have now come to light which prove this second attribution and title to be incorrect. The picture was painted by Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin and it should be called *The Dead Christ in the Lap of the Virgin* or *Pietà* (Figs. 3, 4).

The paintings are interesting because pictures by Charles de Steuben and Paulin-Guérin are rarely seen and these examples permit limited speculation about their work. The arrival of the pictures in Baltimore is documented in letters preserved at the Archives of the Archdiocese in the Catholic Center, Baltimore, and in letters and memoranda at the Archives Nationales in Paris. Now made public for the first time, the documents tell of the considerations that went into the bestowal of government gifts. They also suggest that the French government sent paintings to other American cities, but research to date has uncovered little information and no more pictures have been found.

Ambrose Maréchal is largely responsible for the presence of the paintings in Baltimore. Of French birth and education, Maréchal was archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 until his death in 1828.[2] He pressed for the completion of the

Gail L. Garrison is a doctoral candidate in art history at The Johns Hopkins University.

* Of essential help to the realization of this article, which is based on a paper written in 1973 for Prof. Charles F. Stuckey, were: Mrs. Ruth Kaufmann, a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, who discovered the French documents cited below, brought them to my attention, and generously allowed their publication here; Rev. John J. Tierney, Archivist of the Archdiocese, the Catholic Center, Baltimore, who uncovered the correspondence preserved in Cathedral files; Eunice Howe; and Patricia Lane.

1. Léon Rosenthal offers a glimpse of Louis XVIII and his brother, Charles X, as patrons of the arts during the fifteen year period after the Restoration (*Du Romantisme au réalisme* [Paris, 1914], pp. 1–2).

2. See Charles Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States* (New York, 1916), and *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Maréchal, Ambrose."

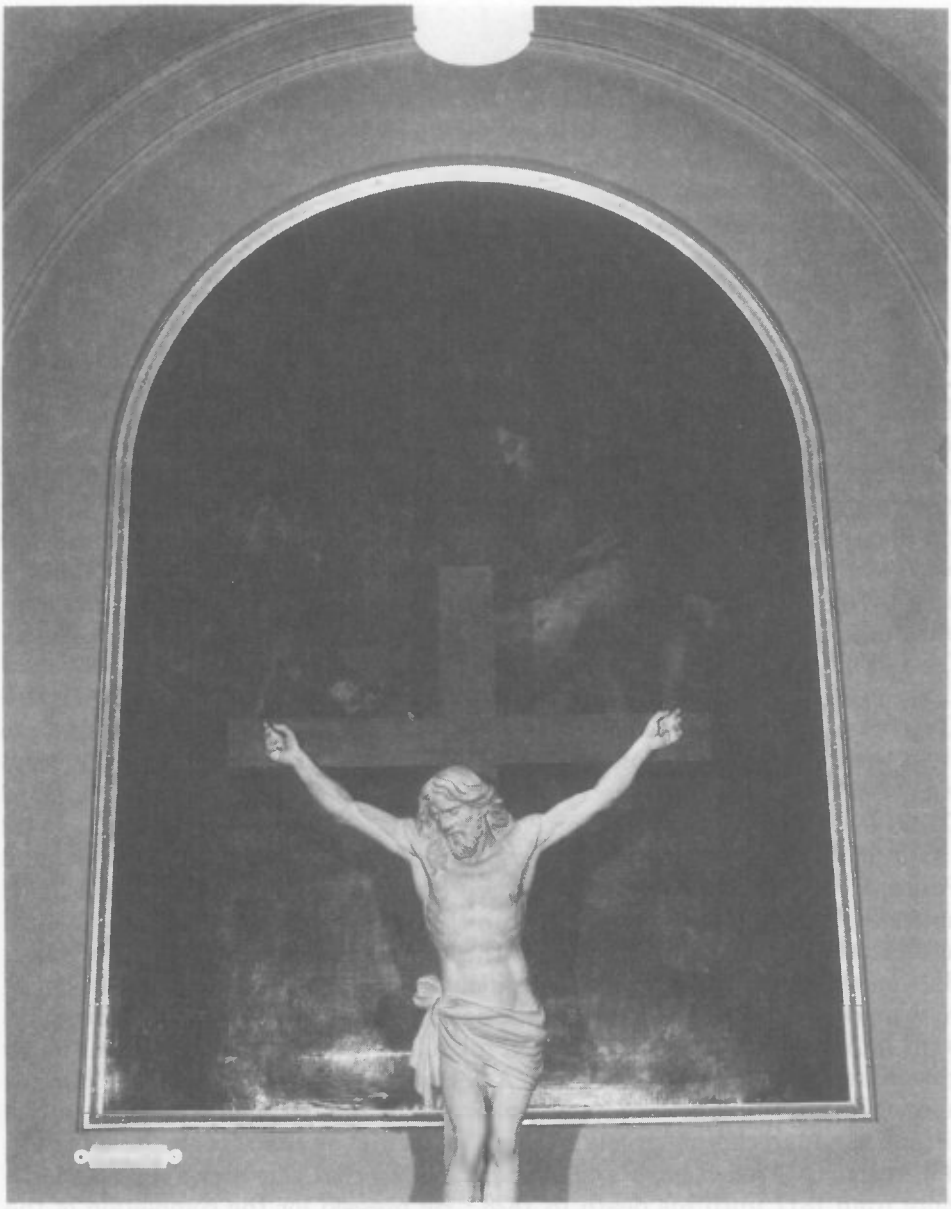

Fig. 1. Charles de Steuben, *Saint Louis (Louis IX of France) Burying His Plague Stricken Troops Before Tunis AD 1270,* 1821–26. Front view.*

* Since they are over sized, badly deteriorated (because of bitumen damage), and poorly displayed (each is obstructed by a piece of sculpture), the paintings at the Baltimore Cathedral are difficult to photograph. The photographs presented here, which were taken by John Durand, are the best one can get under the circumstances. Two views of each painting are furnished in order to fully expose all figures.

building of Baltimore Cathedral, begun in 1806, and arranged for its decoration through the help of influential friends.[3] One of the friends he went to for help

3. Begun in 1806, the basilica had remained in a half-finished state since fall of 1810; its construction was delayed by the lack of funds and the War of 1812. It was dedicated on May 31, 1821.

Fig. 2. Steuben's *Saint Louis*, side view.

was Baron Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, French minister to the United States from 1816 to 1821. The correspondence which has survived between Maréchal and de Neuville suggests that the minister asked his government to give a painting to the cathedral upon Maréchal's request and that plans for the gift had begun as early as 1819. On October 14 of that year Maréchal wrote to de Neuville:

> . . . I have received the letter in which you have the goodness to announce that His Majesty intends to make a present to our Metropolitan Cathedral of a painting

Fig. 3. Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin, *Pietà,* 1817. Front view.

worthy of the beauty of this edifice. Upon your return to Paris you will have the pleasure to approach this Excellent Prince, I beg you instantly to place at his feet the homage of my thanks and that of all Catholics in the United States. Some brilliant aspect of the life of Saint Louis would be a very appropriate subject, for example, his heroic charity towards the plague-stricken in Egypt. The innumerable multitude of Americans of all religions who will visit our church will see with

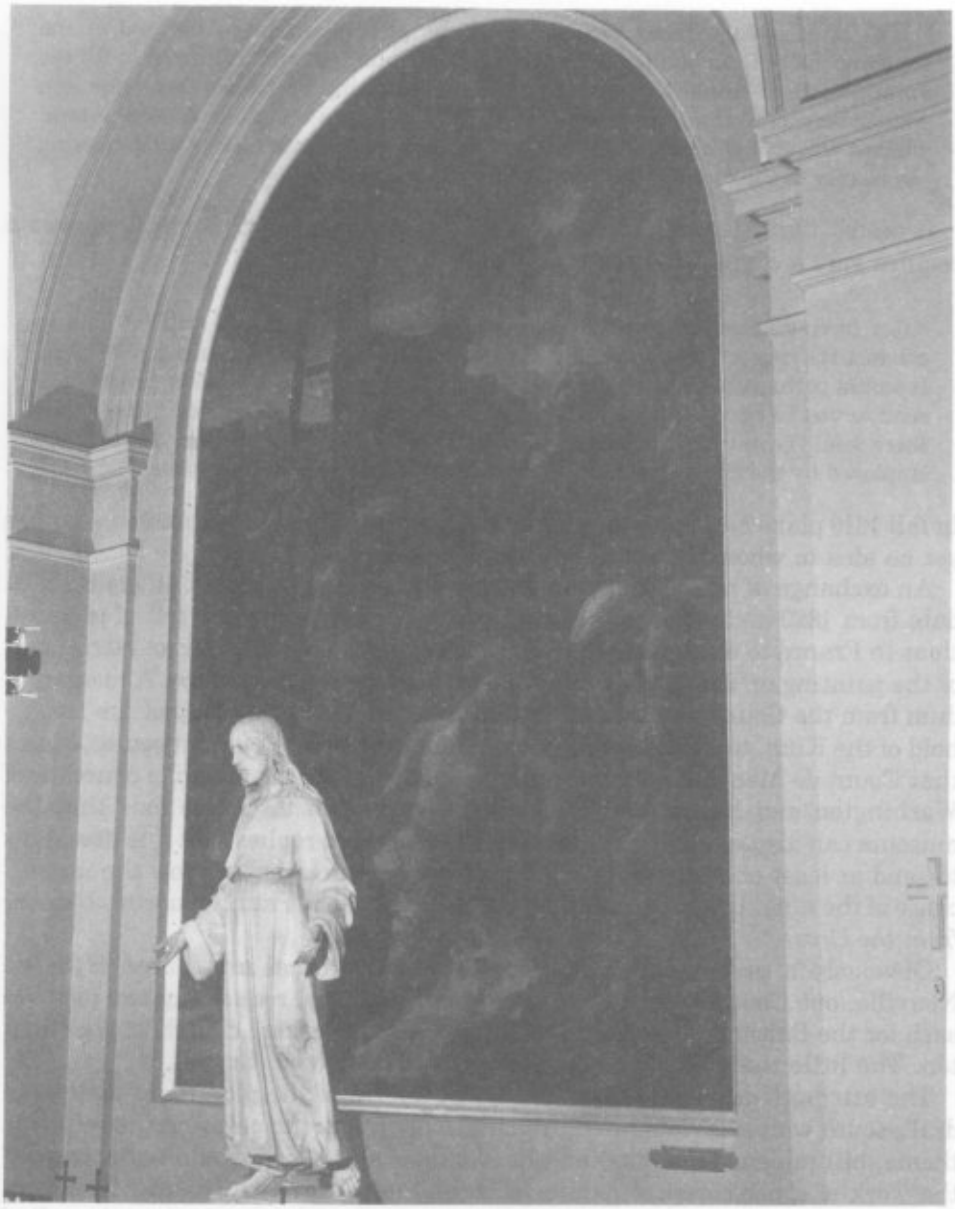

Fig. 4. Paulin-Guérin's *Pietà*, side view.

religious persuasion this great king, the love of Europe and the terror of Barbarians, the perilous risk of his royal majesty to attend with his own hands to his sick troops in burying the dead. The sight of such a touching spectacle will naturally join in their hearts with the thought of the long list of good deeds of all sorts that the posterity of Saint Louis has shown the whole world and that Louis XVIII in particular has shown to the United States.

> The most advantageous exhibition for the picture would be the end of the southern aisle of the building where I propose to build an altar. In order to fill the vacant space it would be necessary that the painting be twelve feet wide and sixteen feet high. It will be placed about two feet above the altar. A large lateral window will give abundant light and will be, I think, very advantageous in making the beauty of the colors stand out. . . . [4]

It seems that Maréchal thought that the execution of this painting would require only a couple of years:

> After having consulted the workmen it seems apparent that I will be able to conduct the consecration ceremony at next year's feast of the Assumption or later. It would perhaps be appropriate that the painting which His Majesty proposes to send to you be brought here during the month of July although I do not see that there would be any great difficulty if the painting arrived a little later if the artists employed by the government could not finish the piece in so little time. . . . [5]

In fall 1819 plans had been made for the gift of one painting but Maréchal had as yet no idea to whom its commission had been given.

An exchange of memoranda between two French government officials which date from 1820 and which are now at the Archives Nationales tell of preparations in France to send pictures to Baltimore and supply the correct attribution of the painting on the south wall of the cathedral's west entrance. A memorandum from the Count de Pradel, General Director of the Ministry of the Household of the King, to the Count de Forbin, Director of the Royal Museums, states that Count de Menou has requested four paintings for the Catholic churches of Washington and Baltimore. Pradel instructs Forbin to choose four that the museum can dispose of without missing them. Forbin replies that it is necessary to send at least one good painting out of the four in order to show the munificence of the king. It was decided that that one should be Paulin-Guérin's *Descent from the Cross*.[6]

Obviously a person other than Archbishop Maréchal and Baron Hyde de Neuville, one Comte de Menou, has entered the scene, requesting two pictures each for the Baltimore Cathedral and an as yet unspecified church in Washington. The little that is known about Menou will be noted shortly.

The attribution to Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin of the picture on the cathedral's south wall is corroborated by visual evidence in the painting (its religious theme, bituminous pigments, and lurid sunset sky which would not appear in the work of a neo-classical painter such as Pierre-Narcisse Guérin). It is confirmed by the biographical sketches in three standard artists' dictionaries, all of which claim that in 1817 Paulin-Guérin painted a *Pietà* which was sent to the

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4. Maréchal to Baron Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, October 14, 1819, Ms. 21A .N15, Archives of the Archdiocese. This document has been translated from the French by this author as have all other documents (with the exception of Michael F. Wheeler's letters to Maréchal) that will be cited throughout this paper. Unless noted differently, all manuscripts cited are in the Archives of the Archdiocese.

5. October 5, 1819, Ms. 21A .N16.

6. Memorandum from the Count de Pradel to the Count de Forbin, 1820, and memorandum from Forbin to Pradel, 182O, 0^3 1404, Archives Nationales. (0^3 1404 and F21-23 [see below] refer to large document cases which contain loose memoranda and letters.)

Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore.[7] Presumably, the picture was mislabeled by church officials as a result of confusion between the artists' names. Both Pierre-Narcisse Guérin and Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin were active in France during the early nineteenth century.

A letter from Archbishop Maréchal to Baron Hyde de Neuville dated February 20, 1821, tells us that what we know to have been Paulin-Guérin's painting arrived at the Customs House in Baltimore sometime around November 1820. The archbishop neither knew who the artist was nor, in reality, whether the painting was the one he originally had asked for.

> . . . Most likely he has spoken to you of a painting that was sent to me about three months ago by His Majesty. I still do not know if it is the one that you had obtained from the goodness of the king or whether we can hope to receive a second one to hang beside it in the cathedral. This painting is still at the Customs House. As to M. le Comte, has he tried to have it exempt from duty? He has no doubt left it up to your Excellence to deliver this prisoner from His Majesty. . . . [8]

The minister's reply is preserved in another letter from Washington.

> Please accept my sincere excuses – I did not respond earlier to the letter that you did me the honor of writing to me, not having found until yesterday in my papers the letter from M. L_____ [?] of the interior of which I wanted to send you a copy. You will see by this letter that the painting which His Majesty is pleased to give to the Cathedral of Baltimore is not yet finished. I saw with pleasure that it had been conferred [the commission had been given] to M. Steuben, our best artist in this genre. I will make sure, Monsignor, that its delivery will not be held up. The painting which is at the customs house of Baltimore was requested by M. de Menou from the Royal Museum. He will have the honor of offering it to you and should have during his crossing [of the Atlantic] taken care of the deliverance of this prisoner; the painting should be very good, being done by a distinguished artist. . . . This gift which comes as well from the king will be due to the obliging attention of M. de Menou; thus, instead of one picture, there will be two.
>
> Please accept, Monsignor, my very sincere thanks for the well-meaning interest you have taken in that which concerns me. . . . [9]

Unfortunately, the copy of the letter from a French government official (M. L_____) to Baron Hyde de Neuville which explained the presence in Baltimore of the Paulin-Guérin picture and the commission to Charles de Steuben of the painting Maréchal had originally asked for has not been preserved.

Shortly before Maréchal read de Neuville's message he received a letter from the Count de Menou wherein Menou explained why he requested a picture for Baltimore.

> to show my gratitude to the city of Baltimore where I was brought up.
>
> I solicited, as a favor from His Majesty, that he deign to put at my disposal a picture that I could offer to the Cathedral.

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7. *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, 1971 ed., s.v. "Guérin, Jean-Baptiste Paulin," p. 225; *Dictionnaire des artistes de l'école française au XIXe siècle*, s.v. "Guérin, J.-B. Paulin," p. 338; *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 1924 ed., s.v. "Guérin, J.B. Paulin," p. 181.
8. Ms. 21A .N18.
9. De Neuville to Maréchal, March 15, 1821, Ms. 17 L7.

> His Majesty deigned to give it to me. I have the honor to ask you, Monsignor, to accept it. . . . [10]

According to his letter, Menou was fond of Baltimore and wanted to return to the city with a gift for its new cathedral that was to be consecrated two months later.[11]

The balance of the letters at the Archives Nationales which pertain to the cathedral paintings tell of the response of French government officials to de Neuville's request for a picture for Baltimore. In a letter dated July 24, 1822, M. Lafolie, Conservator of Public Monuments (a post under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior), wrote to the Count de Corbière, Minister of the Interior, stating that M. Hyde de Neuville, having concluded a Treaty of Commerce with the United States, has promised to ask the French government for the cathedral in Baltimore "a picture whose subject taken from the life of Saint Louis will remind Americans of the august family of our kings." (We know that de Neuville's request was prompted by Maréchal and that it was made before October 1819.) Two overtures were made to the prominent artist Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, but he asked for too much money.[12] M. de Neuville was then asked if a painting by Gautherot would do—one *Saint Louis Burying One of His Soldiers Dead from the Plague* which was commissioned for the Madeleine in 1816, completed at the end of 1819, and proposed to be placed provisionally in the Luxembourg Museum in 1822 as the Madeleine was not yet finished. (No correspondence is preserved from de Neuville to Maréchal that mentions this offer of a Gautherot painting from the French government.) A letter from de Corbière to Lafolie, dated July 27, 1822, presents a counter proposal, that the Gautherot painting be put in one of the reception rooms of the Ministry of the Interior. By November 9, 1822, (the date of a letter from the Chief of the Fourth Beaux-Arts Division of the Ministry of the Interior to de Corbière), the Gautherot had not yet been placed in the suggested reception rooms, so on December 14, 1822, de Corbière wrote to Lafolie and directed him to arrange to pack and ship the painting to the Church of St. Patrick in Washington.[13]

Despite some ambiguities, these memoranda do indicate the response of French government officials to de Neuville's request for a painting. They considered commissioning the painting to Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, then at the peak of his fame. But for that reason he commanded high fees. De Neuville was consequently offered a painting by Gautherot. It is not known what became of this offer. By March 15, 1821, as we have seen, de Neuville wrote to Maréchal and informed him that his painting had been commissioned to Charles de Steuben. Perhaps it was because the Gautherot painting had been commis-

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10. Ms. 19 G8.

11. Menou's gift to Baltimore Cathedral helped him form friendships with influential people in America which no doubt were beneficial to his professional interests and social standing. Other letters in the Archives of the Archdiocese show that he became a good acquaintance (if not a personal friend) of Baron Hyde de Neuville and that he also became acquainted with Archbishop Maréchal.

12. Baron Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835), a pupil of David, took over his master's atelier after David was exiled in 1816. See below.

13. Letters dating from July 24, 1822 to December 14, 1822, F21–23, Archives Nationales.

sioned for the Madeleine that French officials decided not to send it to America. On December 14, 1822, de Corbière reversed his decision. A second picture for Baltimore was already commissioned and in progress, so he had the Gautherot sent to Washington.[14]

Five letters addressed to Archbishop Maréchal from the Reverend Michael F. Wheeler, S.S., in Paris inform us that the slow progress of the Steuben picture was a source of considerable anxiety for Maréchal. Wheeler's letters mention the frustration of his attempts to determine the painting's progress, statements that no doubt were prompted by the archbishop's inquiries.

On October 5, 1823, he informed Maréchal that de Neuville had left to become minister to the court of Portugal and could not help them learn about the condition of the picture.[15] He endeavored to obtain the information from another "gentleman" at court, but the man was slow in responding.[16] A year went by and then on December 3, 1824, he wrote:

> . . . As soon as M. Hyde de Neuville shall have returned from Portugal, I shall make it a primary point to interest him on the subject of the painting. He is expected in February, and it would be but just, that, as this favor was obtained through his agency, it should be forwarded also through his influence. I have already made inquiries how the greatest information might be had, and should my expectations fail in M. Hyde de Neuville, I will have recourse to some other gentleman at the court. . . . [17]

A letter dated February 19 stated that he would soon know the progress of the painting through M. Hyde de Neuville[18] and finally, on July 17, 1825, Wheeler wrote:

> . . . I am not at this moment sure whether I mentioned to your Lordship that the painting presented by Lewis XVIII [*sic*] and undertaken by M. Steuben is fast advancing. The subject is St. Lewis at Algiers or somewhere in Barbary, attending to the dead. The characters are but few – the group promises to be very fine – I desired him to brighten the countenances of the figures – the deceased object represented before St. Lewis was rather naked. I desired the artist to throw some drapery over the offensive part of his performance; he promised to do so. The painting is a copy of a small one about 1½ foot in height and about 1¼ broad – I shall leave some instructions as to its transmission when finished.[19]

The present appearance of the Saint Louis composition is therefore different from the original, modified by Wheeler's sense of propriety. The small painting from which the composition was being copied was perhaps the artist's preliminary sketch.

One wonders why Steuben took so long to complete the picture. Commissioned by March of 1821, in July of 1825 the artist was still working on it. As Wheeler

14. Attempts to locate this picture and to document its arrival in Washington have, so far, not been successful.
15. Ms. 21 G1.
16. Wheeler to Maréchal, November 22, 1823, and December 19, 1823, Ms. 21 G2 and Ms. 21 G3.
17. Ms. 21 G6.
18. Ms. G21 G7.
19. Ms. 21 G8.

notes, the composition consists of few figures and their arrangement is not complex. One may presume that Steuben did not feel pressed. Perhaps other responsibilities seemed more important to him than a painting for distant Baltimore.

Baron de Mareuil informed Maréchal in a letter that his picture had arrived in New York and was on its way to Baltimore.[20] A second letter from Mareuil[21] reported that the painting had passed through customs[22] and would soon arrive in Baltimore (if in fact the archbishop had not already received it). Maréchal had hoped to receive the picture duty free. The Baron regretted to inform him the duty was paid by mistake and that he feared reimbursement would be impossible. Thus the Steuben picture, one can assume, arrived in Baltimore during the second half of October 1826.

One more letter dated October 1827 concludes the story of the Baltimore Cathédral paintings. The Count de Menou wrote Maréchal that he had funds in his possession with which to reimburse the archbishop for the amount of the picture's importation duty.[23] Given the amount involved—$1,052.45—it seems likely that the money was a donation from the French government obtained through the efforts of the Count de Menou.

The two artists who painted the cathedral pictures enjoyed considerable prestige in their lifetimes, although now they are largely forgotten. Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin was born in Toulon in 1783 or 1784, the son of a blacksmith.[24] He studied art in Paris in the studios of François Gérard (1800–1805) and François Vincent (1805–c.1810). In 1810 he exhibited his first picture at the Paris Salon. A painting entitled *The Flight of Cain After the Death of Abel* won him great fame at the Salon of 1812. Five years later he showed another painting that is generally praised by his biographers. This painting is the 13′ × 10′ *Pietà* (or *Descent from the Cross)* which was bought by the French government and is now in the Baltimore Co-Cathedral.[25] Guérin did full-length portraits of both Louis XVIII (1818) and Charles X (1826) dressed in their coronation robes. Portraits comprised the major portion of his work. He was elected in 1822 to the Legion of Honor, and from 1836 to 1841 maintained a school of painting in Paris. He enjoyed the patronage of Louis-Philippe and continued to be admired during the Second Republic. He died in Paris in 1854.[26]

Baron Charles Auguste de Steuben was born in Bauerbach near Mannheim in 1788, the son of an officer in the Russian army. He began his artistic education in 1802 at the St. Petersburg Academy and then, in 1805, became a pupil of Robert Lefebvre and Prud'hon at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1808 he went to

20. October 9, 1826, Ms. 18 W3. The Baron de Mareuil remains as yet unidentified.
21. October 20, 1826, Ms. 18 W4.
22. Presumably the painting passed through customs at the Port of Alexandria, not the Port of Baltimore.
23. Ms. 19 G11.
24. Birthdates given for Paulin-Guérin vary from source to source.
25. Paulin-Guérin was awarded a gold medal by the French government at the Salon of 1817 (*Dictionnaire des artistes,* p. 339). Perhaps the award was made on the basis of his *Pietà.*
26. Biographical facts about Jean-Baptiste Paulin-Guérin are compiled from *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler; Dictionnaire des artistes de l'école française au XIXe siècle; Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, graveurs; and Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon.*

study under Gérard. He exhibited at the Salon from 1812 to 1843, obtaining a gold medal in 1819. He became a knight of the Legion of Honor in 1828. During the 1830s he was employed by Louis-Philippe at the Palais Royal and at the historical museum at Versailles. In 1844 Czar Nicholas called him to Russia. There he executed several works for this patron and painted scenes from the life of Christ for the Cathedral of St. Isaac. He returned to Paris and died there in 1856. He is remembered for his historical paintings which seem to have covered a variety of themes. Titles of paintings listed by his biographers suggest that he favored medieval and Napoleonic subjects.[27] His penchant for medieval themes makes the commissioning to this artist of the picture in Baltimore, a scene from the life of a medieval king, a reasonable choice.[28]

The *Pietà* by Paulin-Guérin and the *Saint Louis* by Charles de Steuben are, unfortunately, in poor condition and are badly displayed at the Baltimore Cathedral. They deserve, nonetheless, to be carefully studied. They are pictures which belong to a "transitional" period of French painting, a time when Neoclassicism was no longer popular and full-blown Romanticism had not yet been born. Guérin painted his *Pietà* in 1817, two years before Géricault showed his *Raft of the Medusa* at the Paris Salon. And although Steuben's painting can be roughly dated between the years 1821 and 1826 when the Romantic movement was at its height (Delacroix showed his *Dante and Virgil in Hell* in 1822 and his *Massacre at Chios* in 1824), it does not show the influence of contemporary painters. Rather, like Paulin-Guérin's *Pietà,* it echoes the manner of Baron Antoine-Jean Gros. Gros produced his best work during the first decade of the century.

Although Gros was a student of David and respected David's Neoclassical principles, his paintings such as *Pesthouse of Jaffa* of 1804 were acclaimed by artists who were rejecting them. *Pesthouse,* which represents a visit made by Napoleon during his Egyptian campaign to his plague-stricken soldiers at Jaffa, shows Napoleon flanked by his aides and doctors and surrounded on all sides by dead or dying soldiers. Portrayed as a hero, Napoleon courageously touches, in a healing gesture, the disease-swollen bubo of one of his soldiers.

The picture's setting, which is a mosque that has been converted into a hospital, is not generalized in the Davidian manner, and its figures, ethnic types, do not conform to the Graeco-Roman ideal. Its subject—disease and its ravaging effect—is in itself opposed to Davidian idealism, and in its background is an "un-Neoclassical" lurid red sky. It was Gros's departure from Davidian standards of beauty that won him the praise of his colleagues. They also welcomed his use of warm colors—inspired by paintings by Rubens and Titian.

Paulin-Guérin and Charles de Steuben surely knew the work of this master. They were students in Paris when Gros's compositions earned vigorous applause. Perhaps they were in the procession of young artists who, at the 1804

27. Steuben's scenes from the life of Napoleon were done during the reign of Louis-Philippe (1830–48) when Napoleon's memory could be "safely" revived. (Napoleon died in 1821).
28. All facts about the life of Baron Charles de Steuben derive from the biographical dictionaries cited in fn. 26 and Julius Meyer, *Geschichte der modernen französischen Malerei seit 1789,* (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 432–34.

Salon, solemnly approached Gros's *Pesthouse* to place a palm branch over its frame. Like Gros, it seems, they preferred the warm colors of Titian and Rubens to the cool-toned palette of David.[29] Both artists, perhaps, were encouraged by Gros's success to study his sources directly. They could do so, as students, at the Musée Napoléon which was founded in 1803.[30]

We have seen how in 1819 Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal, wishing to furnish the interior of Baltimore Cathedral, arranged to have a painting donated for the edifice by the government of Louis XVIII. And we have seen him suggest for its subject a "brilliant aspect of the life of Saint Louis," specifically, his charity "towards the plague-stricken in Egypt."[31] Maréchal was alluding to an event which took place during the crusades.

Saint Louis (Louis IX) of the house of Capet was famous for his piety and charitable acts. In 1269 he announced plans to his countrymen for a crusade to free Jerusalem from infidel Muslim control. The idea was not well received by his courtiers, as an earlier crusade had been unsuccessful, and neither a sufficient number of men nor funds were available for such an undertaking. Nevertheless, in 1270 Saint Louis and a loyal troop of crusaders left Aigues-Mortes for Tunis which was to be used as a base of attack on Egypt, the main center of Muslim power. The army disembarked at Carthage but was immediately decimated by an epidemic of plague. No one wished to risk contagion through the burial of the dead. Louis, who would not leave the bodies of his officers to the ravages of beasts of prey, supervised the undertaking himself. As a result, he himself succumbed and died on August 25, 1270, before reaching Tunis.[32]

Maréchal's choice of subject for the Steuben picture was calculated to ingratiate the cathedral's benefactors. What better subject to suggest for a royal gift

29. Guérin made the background of his *Pietà* a sunset sky of lurid red and yellow tones and the cloak of St. John, the gown of the Virgin, and the skirt of Mary Magdalene, warm red. Steuben also made the background of his painting a sunset sky of warm, reddish hues. In composition their pictures may have been inspired by Rubens too. Although Guérin chose to compose his figures within a stable, rectilinear design, the wind-blown drapery at the foot of the cross, the outstretched arms of a female mourner, the inert body of the swooning Virgin, and the adoring postures of Mary Magdalene and Joseph of Arimathea create movements within the composition that suggest emotional agitation. Rubens was a master of compositional movement. The composition of Steuben's picture may have been inspired by Rubens's deposition scenes—note the arching curve of the body being lowered into the grave which, though reversed, is very similar to the curve of Christ's body in Rubens's *The Descent from the Cross*, 1614–15, now at the Lille Museum. (There is no evidence, however, that Steuben ever saw this particular work by Rubens.) The portrait-like treatment of facial features and the realistic depiction of the cadaverous body likewise probably stem from Flemish and Dutch seventeenth century painting.

30. The Louvre was the Parisian residence of French kings until 1793. In 1793 (after the events of the French Revolution) the Musée Central des Arts was created by decree and the Grande Galerie of the Louvre was officially opened. Napoleon I by his conquests added vastly to its collections and in 1803 the museum was proclaimed the Musée Napoléon. Many famous works were returned after Napoleon's downfall. *(The Columbia Encyclopedia,* third edition, p. 1250). A *Descent from the Cross* by Peter Paul Rubens could be seen at the Musée Napoléon during the years of the Empire. (Gabriel Rouchès, "Les Peintres romantiques et la peinture étrangère," in Léon Rosenthal, *Le Romantisme et l'art,* [Paris, 1928], p. 206.) Famous pictures by Titian and Dutch masters could also be seen there. Rouchès states that the painting by Rubens was a "great revelation" for Gros and for younger French painters who followed his example. He does not, however, fully identify the composition nor does he describe its appearance.

31. See fn. 4.

32. Kenneth Meyer Setton, *A History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1955).

than a noble deed of an ancestor king?[33] And his choice of that particular episode from the life of Saint Louis was well suited for a cathedral in early nineteenth century Baltimore. Although death and disease were fashionable in art in the beginning of the nineteenth century (there was a predilection for morbid and macabre themes), Maréchal's choice could easily have been influenced by current events. As the historian Scharf tells the story:

> In the summers of 1819 and 1821, the city of Baltimore was visited by that dreadful scourge *yellow fever*. Its ravages were principally confined to that section of Baltimore called Fells Point. The utmost effort of medical skill was unable to arrest its progress. The young and vigorous, as well as the aged and infirm, were alike victims of the fatal malady. Business was in a great measure suspended. Most of those whose means enabled them to remove from the "infected district," as it was designated, sought refuge in the country, or in distant parts of the city. The poor and sick were almost the only inhabitants of a portion of the city that had been distinguished for its active enterprise and the thrifty industry of its population. . . . The physicians, with the lofty intrepidity of their profession, exhausted their skill and their strength in assiduous attention to the sufferers, seconded by some few generous spirits who dared to be nurses in the midst of pestilence. Death struck down some of the physicians, and the streets became more deserted and the sufferers more desolate. The destitute condition of the sufferers awakened the warm sympathy of their more favored fellow citizens, and Baltimore, ever distinguished for its generous impulses, made provision for the sick in the Maryland Hospital, and established an encampment on the hills on the northeastern side of the city, to which the poor were removed and were provided with provisions at the public expense.[34]

In the aftermath of this epidemic, an American citizen of republican views would not be offended by the depicted episode from French history. He would be reminded of disease in his own city of Baltimore and would deeply comprehend the king's heroism, for Steuben's picture, *Saint Louis Burying His Plague-Stricken Troops Before Tunis*, is a poignant statement of self-sacrificial charity. Not only a tribute to Louis XVIII, it depicts a subject of universal significance, a subject that had particular relevance for citizens of Baltimore.

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33. For similar, political reasons such themes were fashionable in painting during the French Restoration. Royalist sympathizers turned the literary and artistic current from the classical, republican subject matter of the previous decades towards Christianity (Louis XVIII ruled by "Divine Right") and the tradition of the Bourbon royal line.

34. J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 394–95. Rages of yellow fever or other epidemics in Baltimore were not confined to the years 1819 and 1821. In the *Morning Chronicle and Daily Advertiser* of October 12, 1822, an article was published which included a statement quoted from the *New York Commercial Advertiser:* "We are credibly informed that the Yellow Fever is raging with great violence and mortality in Baltimore – much greater than at any time in New York for the past twenty years. But the Baltimore papers are silent on the subject as the graves which cover their dead. . . . We should like to see the names of the sick and dead from day to day in their own city, and that list compared to ours. . . . " The Baltimore paper defensively retorted that it was *bilious fever*, not yellow fever with which Fells Point had been visited. Disease epidemics were major topics of public concern during these years.

SIDELIGHTS

Audubon's "View of Baltimore"

GEORGE E. GIFFORD, JR. AND FLORENCE B. SMALLWOOD

PLATE 301, "THE CANVASS-BACKED DUCK," IN JOHN JAMES AUDUBON'S *Birds of America,* published in 1836, is subtitled, "View of Baltimore."[1] This delicate, detailed background view of the city was drawn from Canton looking west. From left to right many buildings can be identified.[2] At the extreme left is Federal Hill showing the Tower that was erected there in 1795, and which lasted one hundred years. Directly behind the three-masted ship anchored by the shore is Old St. Paul's Church built in 1814, which burned in 1854. To the right, behind the ship are two domed buildings; the one to the farther right, on the skyline, is the Roman Catholic Cathedral designed by Benjamin Latrobe, begun in 1808 and dedicated in 1821. The lower dome to the left of the cathedral is the Merchant's Exchange Building, begun in 1816, completed in 1820, and torn down in 1904. Located on South Gay Street, it originally contained a stock exchange and bank but eventually became the U. S. Customs House. To the right of the cathedral

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George E. Gifford, Jr., M.A., M.D., is associate professor of sociomedical sciences, Boston University School of Medicine, and consultant to the historical collections, Countway Library of Medicine, and instructor in psychiatry, Harvard University. Florence B. Smallwood, Dr. Gifford's aunt, assisted in the research of this paper. The following helped to supply information and to them we express our appreciation: Annie R. Coffin, Charleston, South Carolina; Edward H. Dwight, Director, Museum of Art, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York; Joseph Ewan, Department of Biology, Tulane University; Waldemar H. Fries, Providence, Rhode Island; Wilbur H. Hunter, Director, The Peale Museum, Baltimore, Maryland; Elizabeth C. Litsinger, Head, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library; Nelson J. Molter, Director, State Library, Annapolis, Maryland; Elizabeth L. Power, Waseeka Farm, Ashland, Massachusetts; B. C. Roberts, Superintendent, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida; Carolyn Scoon, Assistant Curator, the New-York Historical Society.

1. John James Audubon, *The Birds of America,* 4 vols. (London, 1827–38), 4: Plate 301 (elephant folio, 1836). For the text of the elephant folio, see Audubon, *Ornithological Biography,* 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1831–39), 4: 14ff. For the later octavo edition, see Audubon, *The Birds of America, From Drawings Made in the United States and Their Territories,* 7 vols. (New York, 1840–44), 6: 308ff. For a reproduction see *The Birds of America,* with a foreword and descriptive captions by William Vogt (New York, 1962), pp. xvii, xviii, xix.

2. Wilbur H. Hunter of the Peale Museum in 1963 dated the "View of Baltimore" ca. 1828–36 by the buildings in the views. For more on the buildings, see Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore, A Pictorial History,* ed. Wilbur Harvey Hunter (Baltimore, 1953). According to Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints* (Baltimore, 1975), p. 161, E21, the Maryland Historical Society owns a lithograph, "Baltimore, Md.," which carries the imprint "From Nature & on stone by G. Lehman," and "Childs & Inman Lithrs. Philadelphia." In it the background, identical to that in the painting of the Canvass-Backed Ducks, appears, according to Mrs. McCauley, to be viewed from Locust Point.

and just before the first row of trees is the Unitarian Church, located on Franklin and Charles streets, built in 1818. To the right, the next tower is the Washington Monument, dedicated in 1824. To the right of the Washington Monument is a shot tower that is now gone, but over the tip of the duck's bill is the present shot tower that was built in 1828. The area in the foreground over the duck's bill is Fell's Point.

The Baltimore vignette was almost certainly drawn by George Lehman[3] who traveled with Audubon from late September, 1829, to July 15, 1832. Lehman assisted Audubon in painting birds and plants but particularly the landscape backgrounds. Audubon wrote to his wife from Philadelphia on July 15, 1829, "I had taken 'a help' to assist me in finishing the plants; that is [*sic*] was a young Swiss of the name of Lehman whom I have known now about 6 years, having found him at Pittsburgh when on my way back from the Northern Lakes."[4] About 1829 Lehman had painted, engraved in aquatint, and hand colored a series of admirable views of Pennsylvania towns. Consequently, when he joined Audubon, he was able to add the landscape backgrounds to the southern waterbirds that Audubon was then painting.[5] Donald Culross Peattie wrote:

> Lehman, I believe, contributed those charming backgrounds to *The Birds of America:* The miniature panorama of Charleston in the picture of the long-billed curlew, plate 231; the plantation house in plate 242 of the snowy egret, and plate 243 of Wilson's snipe; the typical Florida inlet in plate 252 of the double-crested cormorant; the old Spanish fort [Castillo de San Marcos] at Saint Augustine in plate 269 of the Greenshanks; the palm-topped key in the picture of white-rumped sandpipers, plate 268 [278]; and the view of Key West behind the great white heron, plate 281.[6]

Lehman also did other landscapes for Audubon: plate 207, the Bobby-Gannet, shows a small island surrounded by four ships, a pier, a tower, nine houses, and the mast of another ship on the far side of the island; plate 261, the Whooping Crane, actually a sandhill crane, is labeled "View in the interior of the Floridas with sand hills in the distance," which includes a flock of the cranes; plate 275, the Noddy Tern, shows a little seaside village between two cliffs and some rugged terrain; plate 290, the Red Backed Sandpiper (dunlin) shows detailed drawn shells that resemble Lehman's work; plate 291, the Herring Gull, is subtitled, "Racoon Oysters A View of the entrance into St. Augustine Harbor." The gull in the foreground and the oysters were attributed to Lehman by Audubon in a letter to Lucy, his wife, on December 8, 1831. Plate 308, Tell-tale

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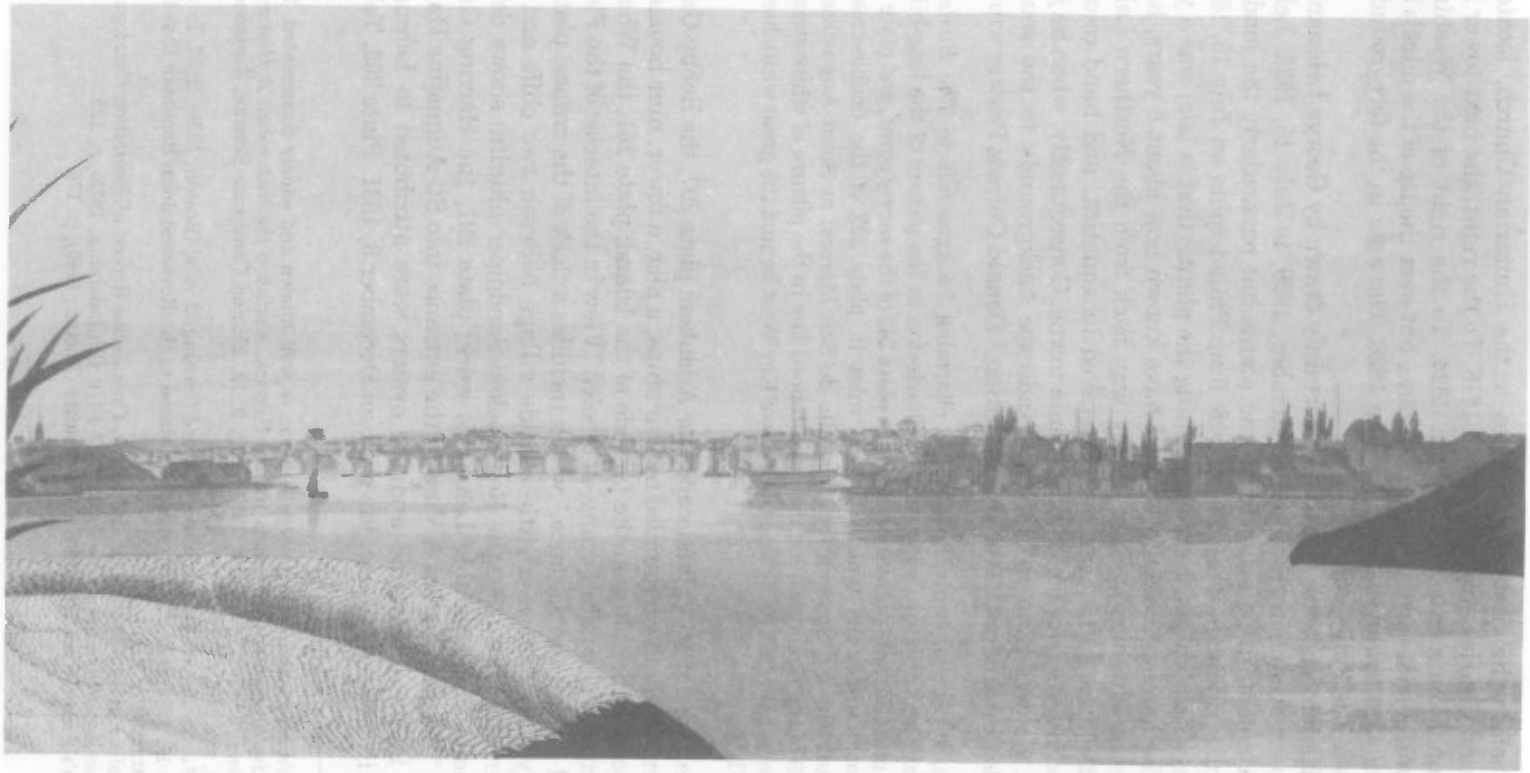
3. Audubon's association with George Lehman is well known and widely documented. For two representative citations, see Francis Hobart Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist: A History of His Life and Time,* 2 vol. (New York, 1917), 2: 2, 9, 12, 25; and Constance Rourke, *Audubon* (New York, 1936), pp. 249, 252, 263, 287, 294.
4. *Letters of John James Audubon,* ed. Howard Corning, 2 vols. (Boston, 1930), 2: 97. In another letter, July 15, 1832, *ibid.*, 2: 196, Audubon stated to the Reverend John Bachman that Lehman was "discharged."
5. Anna Wells Rutledge, compiler and editor, *Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 125.
6. *Audubon's America* ed. Donald Culross Peattie (Boston, 1940), p. 178.



"View of Baltimore" from plate 301, The Canvass-Backed Duck, in John James Audubon's *Birds of America*. This photograph was made from the folio in the Weidner Collection, Harvard University Library.

Godwit Snipe subtitled "View in East Florida" shows a few houses in the swampy landscape.[7]

Audubon's original oil-on-paper painting of the canvass-backed duck is now at the New-York Historical Society. A watermark which might date the work is not visible. The two birds on the right were cut out from an earlier drawing and are pasted on this drawing, a technique Audubon used when his first version did not please him. The ducks were drawn in Louisiana in 1821 and in Baltimore in 1834. The last date is confirmed in a letter from Audubon to Reverend John Bachman of Charleston, South Carolina, dated April 15, 1834: "I did next to nothing at Baltimore in the Bird-way—Drew only a Male Canvass-backed Duck."[8] In the original painting there is no detailed Baltimore landscape. Instead there was roughly indicated the tower on Federal Hill, the sideview of the three-masted ship, and the many trees at Fell's Point.[9] Most likely, when Audubon created his canvass-back collage, he had the earlier drawing of Baltimore that Lehman did when they were in Baltimore, October 1831, and indicated key features in the background so that Havell, the English engraver, would know where to place the drawing.[10]

Various art critics have commented on Lehman's landscape backgrounds.[11] One noted that the backgrounds lent a sense of perspective: "convinced of the importance of his subjects, he [Audubon] adopted a device of the quattrocento and silhouetted the bird against a background of dwarfed landscape, where hills and dales roll off into the distance, miniature birds of the same species are gathered in the offing and a pygmy man approaching with his jig gun; an obscure device but well developed to throw the subject into gigantic relief and lend it great importance."[12]

Constance Rourke, however, has criticized Lehman's landscapes.

> He [Audubon] had no gift for 'easal pictures' though he struggled to create them. An effort in that direction appeared in his association with Lehman in Florida, whom he employed to paint backgrounds for some of his shore and water birds. This

7. The plates are conveniently available in *The Original Water-Color Paintings by John James Audubon for The Birds of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1966). Information was also gleaned from a sheet labeled "George Lehman" sent to the senior author by Edward H. Dwight, May 20, 1971.
8. *Letters*, 2: 15.
9. See the Canvass-Backed Duck plate in *The Original Water-Color Paintings by John James Audubon for The Birds of America*.
10. George Lehman made separate drawings of landscapes which Audubon used in his plates. For example, in the text about plate 219, the Great White Heron, in *The Original Water-Color Paintings by John James Audubon for The Birds of America*, Audubon wrote Havell, his engraver, "finish the houses better from original which you have," which suggests that a more detailed painting, done separately by George Lehman, was sent to Havell to guide him in engraving the view of the city of Key West that appears in the background. In Mary Eliza Bachman's Album, at Winterthur Museum Library, there is a watercolor view of Castle Pinkney and Charleston, South Carolina, signed "Geor. Lehman to Miss Mary Eliza Bachman, November, 1831." This is an exact replica of the Charleston background in the plate of the Long-billed Curlew. The New York Public Library owns two lithographs by Lehman, "Charleston, S.C. from Fort Pinkney" published by Childs & Inman, 1832–33, and "The Pirates Well, Key West," P. S. Duval, *Miss Leslie's Magazine* (Philadelphia, 1843). Certainly this would indicate that Lehman did the drawings for these on his 1831–32 Audubon trip.
11. C. D. Childs, "Audubon's Birds of America," *Antiques* (December 1934): 226–28.
12. Herman S. Wechsler, "Audubon's Birds of America," *Parnassus* (January 1932): 18–19.

was an unsuccessful experiment, though the scenes may have tended to popularize Audubon's work. In the main they are like old-fashioned photographers' backdrops, incongruous in line and quality. Their smooth erasure of graphic interest contrasts with the bold or grotesque or sheerly beautiful patterns which Audubon naturally used. A distant view of a rice plantation in the painting of the great white heron was strange; graphically this bears no relation to the subject, though Audubon accepted it, perhaps because he was oppressed by the need of haste. His original intention is clear in the placement of the magnificent bird and exotic leaves among which it is standing. His fine severities show how shallow were Lehman's pretty distances.[13]

Audubon added the Baltimore view in deference to his patrons of *Birds of America* and in appreciation for an indemnity that the state of Maryland gave him.[14] In *Ornithological Biography* Audubon wrote, "In the background is a view of Baltimore, which I have had the greatest pleasure in introducing, on account of the hospitality which I have there experienced, and the generosity of its inhabitants, who, on the occasion of a quantity of my plates having been destroyed by the mob during an outburst of political feeling, indemnified me for the loss."[15] Audubon was awarded $120 in August 1836 by three commissioners appointed by the governor of Maryland, under an act passed by the Maryland legislature, December session, 1835.[16] This act was most likely sponsored by John B. Morris (1785–1884), a banker, civic leader, and state senator whose name is linked several times with that of Audubon and who was also indemnified by this act.[17] In 1833 David Ridgely, the state librarian (1827–42), submitted his report to the Joint Committee on the State Library in which he noted, "I have been gratified by the obliging politeness of the Honorable John B. Morris of the senate with a sight of twenty-five beautiful illustrations of Mr. Audubon's work and will take pleasure in exhibiting. . . ."[18] Audubon obtained his sub-

13. *Audubon*, p. 287.

14. According to R. C. Watters, "Audubon and his Baltimore Patrons," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 34 (1939): 138–43, there were five subscribers to the elephant folio in Baltimore: Robert Gilmor, John B. Morris, Dr. Thomas Edmundson, "one of the Smiths," and the State of Maryland. For a more modern and complete study see Waldemar Fries, *The Double Elephant Folio, the Story of Audubon's Birds of America* (Chicago, 1973), which, along with many details, identifies Gideon B. Smith and adds another subscriber, Nathaniel Potter. The Potter folio is at the New York Public Library (Tilden Library); Gilmor received ninety prints which he donated to the Library Company of Maryland. He continued to give the additional prints to the Library Company until the set was completed. The Library Company copy came to the Maryland Historical Society, from which it was purchased in 1930 by the Peabody Institute Library, now a department of The Enoch Pratt Free Library. The State of Maryland Folio is in the State Library. The Edmundson set is at the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Cincinnati, Ohio. No trace of any folio belonging to Smith or the prints acquired by J. B. Morris has been found. For information about Gideon B. Smith, Audubon's Baltimore agent for the octavo set, see G. E. Gifford, Jr., and Laura T. Gifford, "John James Audubon and Gideon B. Smith, M.D." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 35 (1961): 475.

15. *Ornithological Biography*, 4: 14.

16. J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 488, 489.

17. See *Baltimore Past and Present*, (Baltimore, 1871), pp. 387–89; and Clayton C. Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 3 vols. (New York, 1912) 3: 812–16. Both references include a picture of Morris.

18. For biographical information about David Ridgely, see *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 42 (1947): 279; *The Ancient City—a History of Annapolis in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 319; J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 317. See also *Maryland State Library Report* (Annapolis, 1833), p. 10.

scription of the State Library, Annapolis, in April 1833. Negotiations for the subscription had been inaugurated by John B. Morris.[19]

It was fitting that John James Audubon chose Baltimore as the background for his plate of the Canvass-Backed Duck, not only because he painted one of the ducks in the painting at Baltimore but because the city and the Chesapeake Bay have long been associated with the duck in both sporting and culinary history. One hundred and forty-one years after the publication of plate 301, "The Canvass-Backed Duck," in *The Birds of America,* "View of Baltimore" remains a lasting tribute to John James Audubon's affection for the city and as an accurate and delicate view of the city most certainly done by Audubon's assistant, George Lehman, October, 1831.[20]

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19. Fries, *The Double Elephant Folio,* pp. 310–11.

20. Audubon and Lehman were in Baltimore early in October, 1831. From there they took a ship down the Chesapeake to Norfolk and thence to Richmond on the way to Charleston, S. C. (Audubon to his wife, October 9, 1831, in *Letters,* 1: 137).

Benjamin Klasmer's Contribution to Baltimore's Musical History

BLANCHE KLASMER COHEN

No history of Baltimore music would be complete without noting the contribution my father, Benjamin Klasmer, made to it. Born in 1891 in Horondenka, Austria, he received the bulk of his formal musical training in his homeland. Family legend has it that one of my father's ancestors was musical conductor in the court of the then Emperor of Austria, and indeed our family name, Klasmer, means "musician" in Yiddish. Benjamin's father, himself a musician, gave his son beginning lessons on the violin. Then Benjamin attended the Music Verein at Czernowitz, Austria. He later continued his studies for a year and a half in Vienna, that grand old city of music. Coming to the United States in 1909, my father played with the German Musical Comedy Theatre in New York City for a year before moving to Baltimore in 1910. Subsequently he went to Richmond, Virginia, in 1913, where he played in the Bijou Theatre Orchestra. There also he was the first conductor of the Young Men's Hebrew Association Orchestra. When he came back to Baltimore in 1916, his varied musical background had prepared him well for his later career.

First of all, in 1916 my father assisted Gustav Strube in founding the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra. He played in the violin section, and, of course, Mr. Strube was the orchestra's first conductor. Mr. Strube had asked my father if he thought Baltimore could support and furnish personnel for a symphony orchestra. My father was optimistic and proceeded to recruit musicians at the Musical Union Hall for the very first Baltimore Symphony Orchestra. The orchestra has grown and developed since then until it has become the fine organization it is today under the expert direction of Sergiu Comissiona. However, the period when the orchestra was the most thrilling to me was when I was going to elementary school. Our classes used to attend many of the concerts, and when the children and teachers asked, "Which one is your father, which one is your father?" I felt like a celebrity!

Another important area of Baltimore's musical history to which my father contributed extensively was in his capacity as Baltimore's leading musical director of pit orchestras that furnished accompaniment to the silent movies and to vaudeville acts. He had an extensive musical library which he used to "screen" the movies. This meant that he had to decide what music was appropriate for the emotions and actions depicted on the screen.

In the 1920s he played at the New Theater, which is still a movie house, and conducted the pit orchestras at the Garden Theater, later renamed Keith's, where my sister and I took dancing lessons from Mr. Kemp in the grand

Theater musicians; Benjamin Klasmer is the second from the right. *Courtesy the author.*

ballroom on the roof before seeing the show. We brought our lunches and spent the entire Saturday there, with the movie and the stage show as well as our dance classes occupying our time.

My father also played at the Rivoli Theater on Baltimore Street (where I remember seeing Charlie Chaplin and Jackie Coogan in "The Kid"), the Auditorium Theater, the Maryland Theater, and the Stanley Theater. My fondest memories are of the Garden Theater because I recall on his first day my father was presented from the stage with a huge horseshoe made of flowers to wish him luck.

In the late 1920s when vaudeville died and talking pictures were invented, many musicians were thrown out of work. I remember the Musical Union's circulars which encouraged the public to "boycott canned music." (A lost cause if I ever heard one.)

During this period, which coincided with the Depression, my father struggled for a time selling insurance. His real talents, however, were again put to use with the revival of vaudeville at the Hippodrome Theater on August 28, 1931, where he was engaged as pit orchestra conductor and contractor. This period of vaudeville I remember best since I was older, and I recall meeting many celebrities backstage. (I was often backstage because whenever I went shopping downtown, I invariably spent all of my money, knowing Daddy was nearby to finance my transportation home.)

Among the celebrities I remember meeting were Jackie Cooper when he was five years old and who, except for his size, looks the same today as he looked then; Tommy Dorsey; Lillian Roth, who was always accompanied by her mother; and many, many more. I recall Ethel Barrymore's appearance at the Hippodrome, which in retrospect seems so incongruous, Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson, George Jessel, Belle Baker, Sophie Tucker, Joe Penner, Bert Lahr, Spike Jones, Red Skelton, Frank Sinatra, Rose Marie when she was a child star, and many others. Those were the days for autograph collectors, and they were always lined up at the stage door.

The third important contribution to Baltimore music that my father made, and one of which he was justly proud, was the Jewish Educational Alliance Symphony Orchestra. The Jewish Educational Alliance was an educational and recreational center founded in 1909 for recently arrived immigrants. It filled a real need for the youth of East Baltimore. I can recall going to their annual picnics at Tolchester beach. Though the Alliance center officially closed when its Baltimore Street building was sold in 1951, so strong has the sentiment for this organization remained that former members have formed an alumni association called the J. E. A. Fellowship Association which has 1,300 members and which has annual reunions as well as other get-togethers during the year. Some of the clubs are still in existence, and some have celebrated their golden anniversaries. The president, Mr. Jack Chandler, tells me that many highly successful people, including judges, councilmen, and even a mayor, were members when they were youths.

To encourage musical talent among the members of the J. E. A. and the citizens of Baltimore and to stimulate musical appreciation in the community, the Jewish Educational Alliance Symphony Orchestra was formed in 1919 by Mr. Emile Clarke, who became its manager, and by my father, who became its conductor. Starting with twenty-seven members, it became an eighty-piece symphony orchestra progressing to the point where it was no longer a mere Alliance activity but a real, live, progressive, non-sectarian, city-wide organization which gave monthly concerts at the Maryland Casualty Club (now the Rotunda), Walters Art Gallery, and many other cultural institutions. It was considered the best nonprofessional (except my father) symphony orchestra on the East Coast. I recall being taken by my father to many of their rehearsals at the J. E. A. auditorium on Sunday mornings, which left a lasting impression on me as a child.

There were reviews in local newspapers such as one by "W. J. S." in the *Evening Sun,* May 4, 1923: " . . . the youthful musicians played with an enthusiasm and a regard for shading that called forth the warmest commendation. The Schubert 'Ave Maria' arranged for orchestra by Gustav Strube was given with much dignity and religious feeling. Director Klasmer has ample reason to feel proud of his charges, who are steadily progressing and who give promise of interpreting the finest works in a worthy manner." Miss Edna Rawl's review in the *Baltimore American* stated that: "Playing a far more ambitious program than has been their custom in earlier seasons, the orchestra members acquitted themselves with a good deal of credit and found hearty applause in an audience that filled the room."

Jewish Educational Alliance Orchestra, Benjamin Klasmer conducting. *Courtesy the author.*

The role in public life played by the Alliance Orchestra was appraised by the Baltimore *Jewish Times* in 1923: "The immeasurable value, the importance and the need for the Alliance Orchestra has already been demonstrated by the increasingly large attendances at all the concerts. There is nothing of more permanent value than to bring large numbers of discordant and troubled minds into harmony with brighter and finer things. Good music has a definite aesthetic and moral effect on the community. The Alliance Orchestra serves as a means for democratizing music and using its resources for the enrichment and beautifying of a great many people's lives." Also, from the same issue, and a reflection of the economic status of most of the immigrants: "To the many thousands of people whose daily fight for the bare necessities of life is so engrossing, good music is a necessity. It acts as a refreshing, entertaining, and educational stimulus for body and soul."

"For several of its members," again from the same source, "the organization has acted as a stepping stone, some of its members having been accepted in the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra and other professional musical bodies." Some of its members, such as the cellist, Frank Miller, became world famous. I can recall one of the former Alliance musicians paying my family a visit from New York where he had become the orchestra conductor for Kate Smith.

When the Sunday Blue Laws were repealed on May 2, 1932, my father's main source of livelihood, the Hippodrome Theater, required his working there on Sundays, and so he had to give up the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra and the Jewish Educational Alliance Orchestra, both of which performed only on Sun-

days. He played at the Hippodrome until his death there in 1949, having entertained the people of Baltimore for over thirty years.

However, the tradition of good music that he started at the J. E. A. continued in the 1930s and 1940s at the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association on Monument Street, whose " . . . interracial symphony orchestra was an outgrowth of the J. E. A. Orchestra," according to a letter written by Mr. Gustave Bisgyer, then Executive Director of the "Y" and formerly executive director of the J. E. A. Today the Jewish Community Center on Park Heights Avenue continues the tradition of providing music to its members and to the community, and has a community symphony orchestra in combination with the Community College of Baltimore and the Catonsville Community College.

The fourth contribution my father made to Baltimore music was perhaps one of his most well known legacies to the city. Having been a composer of classical music, mostly for violin and orchestra, which was performed by the Alliance Orchestra, the Peabody Orchestra, and the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, his composition which is perhaps the one most familiar to the people of Baltimore is one which he wrote before and was published in 1947 with Mr. Jo Lombardi – "The Official Theme Song of the Baltimore Colts."

Sheet music cover for the Colt theme song. *Courtesy the author.*

From The Sea With Wings: Maryland and The Flying Boat

NORMAN N. RUBIN

FOR PERHAPS TEN THOUSAND YEARS MUSCLE-POWERED CRAFT REIGNED ON Chesapeake Bay. Sail appeared on the Bay about three hundred years ago, and the serpent of steam appeared in the Eden of sail perhaps a hundred and fifty years ago, only to be superseded by the concoctions of Otto and Diesel. A unique form of vessel appeared in Maryland about half a century ago, flourished for forty years, and then totally disappeared. It was the flying boat, built at Hagerstown, Dundalk, and Middle River. Of the eleven aircraft factories which at one time or another flourished in Maryland, four built boats.

The first flying boat built in Maryland was the P3M, a twin-engined monoplane built in 1929 by Glenn L. Martin in his new plant at Middle River. The Navy purchased ten, sending them to VP-10S squadron. Martin's PM-1 and PM-2, twin-engined biplanes, began delivery next year and totalled fifty-five boats. All these craft had aluminium alloy hulls and fabric-covered flight surfaces. Both the P3M and the PM were steps in the evolution of flying boats that would be capable of linking the United States with Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Navy doctrine considered such craft to be tactical and strategic necessities. The XP2M-1 was an experimental link between PM and P3M.

The next boat chronologically was built for the Coast Guard by Fokker at Dundalk in 1932. Fokker had moved to Maryland from New Jersey after merging with other companies to become part of General Aviation, a General Motors property. One of their designs was the AF-XI-A (American Fokker), a single-engine flying boat which served as the forerunner of the AF-15. In keeping with Fokker's practice, the wing was made of wood with an aluminium alloy hull. These "flying life-boats" were to land in the open sea, take aboard victims of shipwreck or accident or illness, and fly them to safety. The five purchased by the Coast Guard were named after stars: Altair, Acrux, Acomar, Arcturus, and Antares; the latter had tractor (in front of the engine) instead of pusher (behind the engine) propellors. In addition to the real dangers of rough water operation, the conical aftersection of the hull acted like a megaphone, and the creaks and groans of the structure working under load were magnified and sent forward to worry the crew.

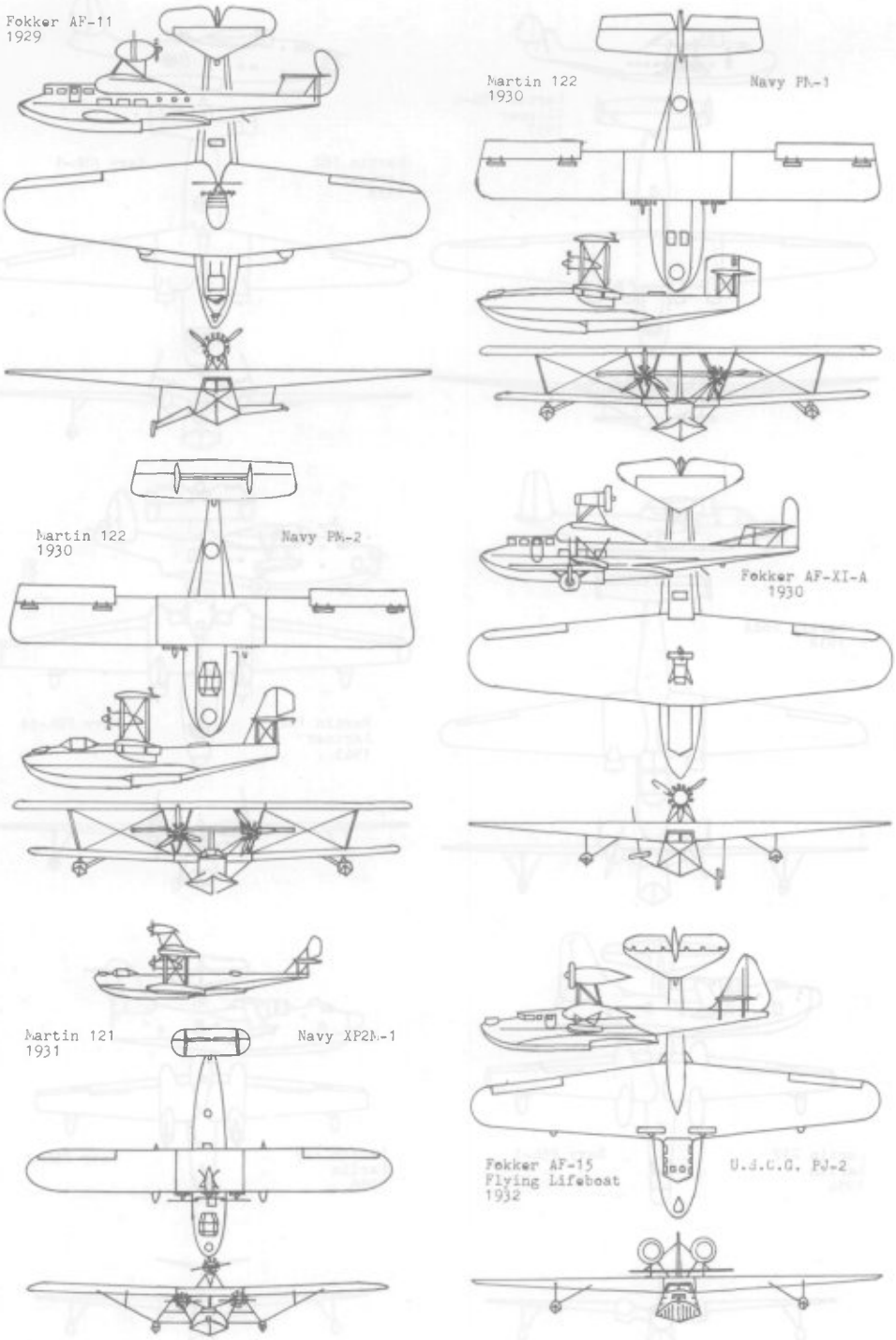
In 1931 Pan American Airways asked the industry to bid on construction of three multi-engined boats with a range of 2,500 miles and a crew of four, to carry 300 pounds of airmail and twelve passengers. Martin bid low and by 1935 his

Norman N. Rubin is former editor of *Nautical Research Journal*.

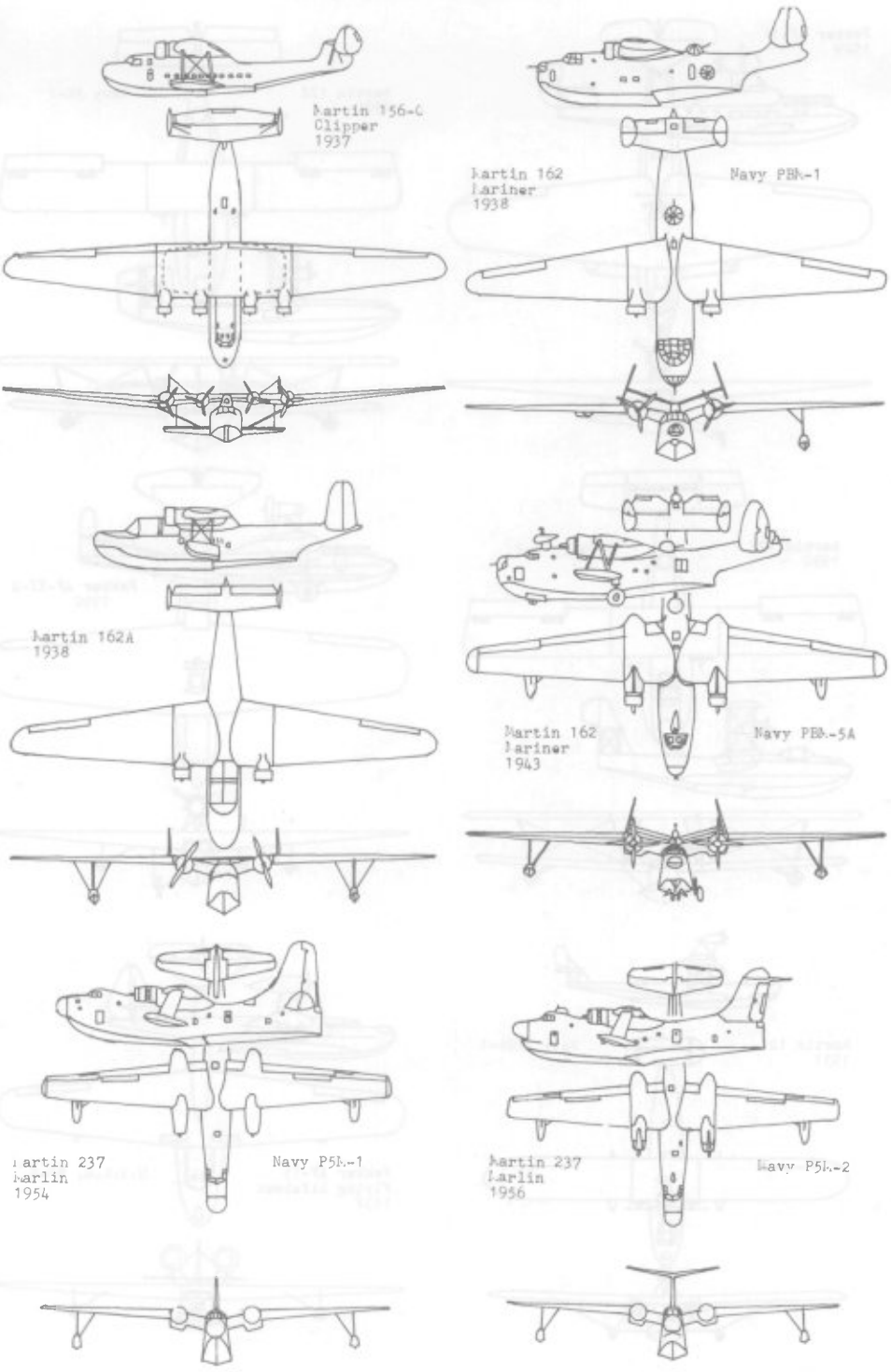
Maryland Flying Boats

Year	Builder	Designation			Dimensions				Performance		Seats	Engines			Power	Remarks
					Wing span	Hull Length	Wing Area	Max. Weight	Top Speed	Range		No.	Builder	Name		
		Builders	Popular	Service	ft.-in.	ft.-in.	sq. ft.	lbs.	knots	n. mi.					BHP	
1929	Martin	120	–	P3M-1	100	61–9	1,115	15,265	103	910	5	2	P. & W.	Wasp	450	Monoplane, metal and fabric
1929	Martin	120	–	P3M-2	100	61–9	1,115	17,977	105	915	5	2	P. & W.	Hornet	525	
1930	Martin	122	–	PM-1	72	49–0	1,162	16,117	108	1,185	5	2	WAC	Cyclone	525	Open cockpit, single fin, biplane
1930	Martin	122	–	PM-2	72	49–2	1,162	19,062	108	1,220	5	2	WAC	Cyclone	525	Enclosed, twin fins
1930	Fokker	AF-XI-A	–	–	59	45–10	550	7,200	105	780	6	1	P. & W.	Hornet	575	Dural hull, wood wing; amphibian
1931	Martin	121	–	XP2M-1	100	61–3	1,204	20,100	127		5	3	WAC	Cyclone	550	
1932	Fokker	AF-15	Flying Lifeboat	PJ-1	74–2	51–8	754	11,700	109	473	7	2	P. & W.	Wasp	420	Dural hull, wood wing; pusher tractor
1932	Fokker	AF-15	Flying Lifeboat	PJ-2	74–2	51–8	754	12,000	131	725	7	2	P. & W.	Wasp	500	
1935	Martin	130	Clipper	–	130–0	90–7	2,315	52,000	163	2,900	24–52	4	P. & W.	Twin Wasp	830	
1935	Fairchild	A942	Baby Clipper	–	56–0	46–8	483	9,700	157	600	10	1	P. & W.	Hornet	750	Amphibian
1937	Martin	156C	Clipper	–	157–0	91–10	2,300	63,000	165	2,280	33–53	4	WAC	Cyclone	850	
1938	Martin	162	Mariner	PBM-1	117–0	77–2	1,408	41,139	204	3,130	9	2	WAC	Cyclone	1,600	Retract. floats; X had straight tail
1938	Martin	162A	Quarter-scale Mariner		30–0	19–3	88	2,571			1	1	engine in hull		210	Straight tail
1942	Martin	162	Mariner	PBM-3	118–0	77–2	1,408	58,000	180	1,940	9	2	WAC	Cyclone	1,700	Fixed floats
1943	Martin	162	Mariner	PBM-5A	118–0	79–10	1,408	60,300	191	1,900	9	2	P. & W.	Double Wasp outboard	2,100	Amphibian
1943	Allied Av.			XLRA-1,-2	70–0	36–7	502	7,016	163	–	12	1			35	Plywood and fabric amphibian
1946	Martin	170	Mars	JRM-1,-2	200–0	117–3	3,686	165,000	200		143	4	P. & W.	Wasp Major	3,500	Originally XPB2M-1R
1954	Martin	237	Marlin	P5M-1	118–2	91–0	1,406	78,000	228	2,550	8	2	WAC	Turbo Compound	3,250	
1956	Martin	237	Marlin	P5M-2	118–2	101–0	1,406	78,000	224	2,650	8	2	WAC	Turbo Compound	3,500	Tee-tail
1956	Martin	237	Seamaster	P6M-1	100–0	134–0	1,900	160,000	600+	3,000	4	2	P. & W.	J-75	10,000	

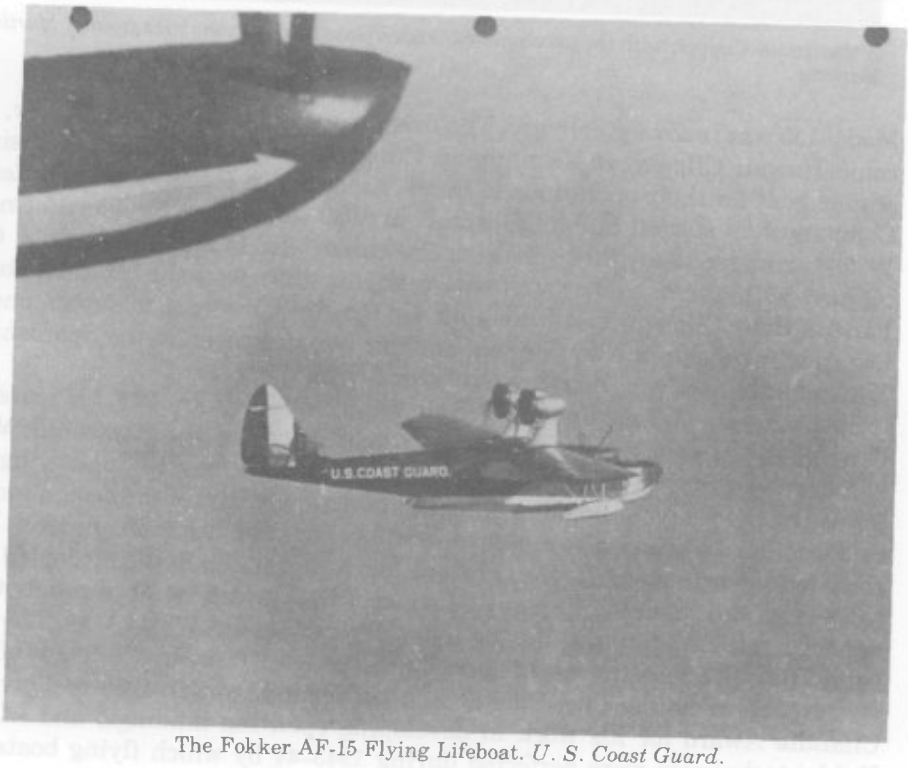
Flying Boats of Maryland, 1929–32



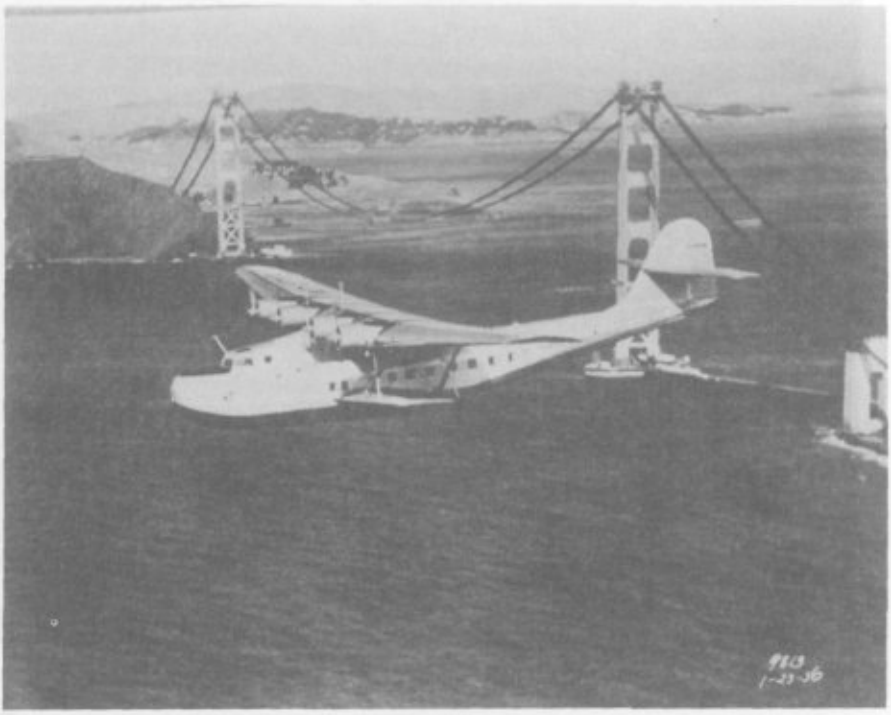
Flying Boats of Maryland, 1937–56



The Martin P3M-1. *Martin Marietta.*



The Fokker AF-15 Flying Lifeboat. *U. S. Coast Guard.*



A Martin 130 Clipper, with the uncompleted Golden Gate Bridge in the background. *Martin Marietta.*

Model 130 was ready for delivery. The first boat was named China Clipper, then came Hawaii Clipper and Philippine Clipper. PanAm also desired a single-engine boat for their operations in South America. In Hagerstown the Reisner Company had started building aircraft in 1920. It became Kreider-Reisner in 1925, turning out a sturdy little sport/trainer. In 1929 the Fairchild Corp. merged with them, and it was this company that won the contract for the PanAm Baby Clipper. Two were built for PanAm, two went to Japan, one was lost in a hurricane in New Guinea, another was destroyed in the Spanish Civil War, and the last was shot down in World War II.

Soviet Russia ordered an enlarged clipper from Martin in 1937, his model 156. It was shipped knocked-down and never heard from again. Meanwhile Martin had been working on the design of a twin-engine monoplane (single wing) boat for use by the Navy for bombing and reconnaissance. Part of the design included construction and testing of a quarter-scale version, Model 162A, in 1938. It had room for one rather small man. Lessons learned from the flying model led to the success of the Model 162, Navy Mariner PBM, which went through twelve versions and 1,366 aircraft during and after the Second World War. The Coast Guard used it for rescue work, operating in ten-foot seas. In the hands of brave and capable men like Cdr. Donald B. MacDiarmid, who in 1950 was given the Chanute Award for his work in developing open sea landings, and Lt. John Vukic, techniques were perfected during 1943–44 by which flying boats could

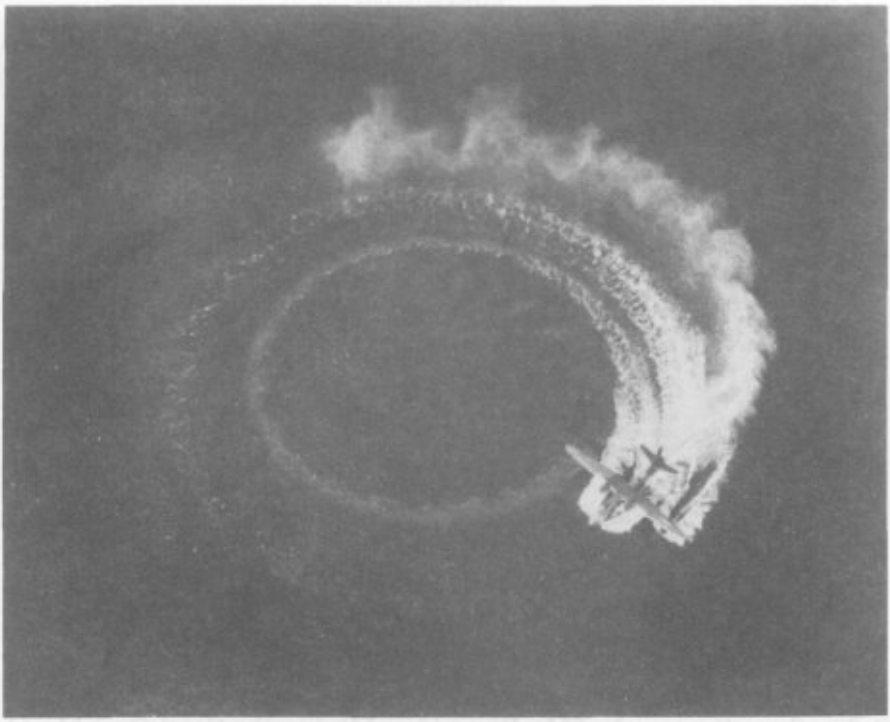
land and takeoff in seas which had previously prohibited operations. The PBM served nobly, despite the fact that from inside the hull one could watch the stern work in flight, twisting and bending and shaking. But none of the 1,366 ever fell off, for they were designed to flex.

The Fairchild A942 Baby Clipper. *Fairchild Industries.*

The Martin PBM-1. *Martin Marietta.*

Allied Aviation Corporation's XLRA, a plywood glider. *U. S. Navy.*

Martin JRM-1 Mars dropping approximately 8,000 gallons of water in a test of its fire-fighting ability. *Martin Marietta.*



Martin P5M-1 Marlin showing its turning radius in water. *Martin Marietta.*

Martin P6M-1 Seamaster in the Chesapeake Bay. *Martin Marietta.*

MARTIN SEAPLANES

TYPE	NUMBER BUILT
P3M-1	9
P3M-2	9
PM-1	27
PM-1B (Brazil)	3
XP2M-1	1
Model 130 (Clipper)	3
Model 156C	1
XPBM-1 (Model)	1
XPBM-1 (Mariner)	1
PBM-1	20
XPBM-2	1
PBM-3	32
PBM-3R	18
PBM-3C	274
PBM-3S	95
PBM-3D	260
PBM-5	1,319
XPBM-5A (Amphibian)	1
PBM-5A	37
XPB3M-1 (Mars-"Old Lady")	1
JRM-1 (Mars)	4
JRM-2 (Mars)	1
XP5M-1 (Experimental Seaplane)	1
P5M-1	1
P5M-2	1
M-270 (Experimental Seaplane)	1
XP6M-1 (#1) (SeaMaster)	1
XP6M-1 (#2) (SeaMaster)	1
YP6M-1 (SeaMaster)	6
P6M-2 (SeaMaster)	8
T4M-1	102
PM-2	28
TOTAL	2,268

Before the valiant work of MacDiarmid and Vukic, the Coast Guard had been concerned with the problem of rescue work by flying boats in rough water. One of the approaches was the use of a glider boat which could be towed by powered aircraft and cast loose over the site of trouble, to land at sea. It would perform the rescue and then either be recovered by a "snatch" pickup or motor home like a lifeboat. In 1943 Allied Aviation Corp. of Baltimore, which had been formed the year before to build plywood and plastic parts for aircraft, won the contract to build the plywood XLRA-1 and -2. The -1 had tricycle landing gear, the -2 was conventional. The wheels could be jettisoned or retracted. But the success of the Martin PBM rough water trials led to cancellation of the Allied contract.

Inspired by the success of the Clippers, the Navy asked Martin to build them a big bomber. It appeared as the XPB2M in 1946, already eclipsed by the B-29 which was then bombing the home islands of Japan. It was redesignated as a transport, JRM, and set a record for safety and reliability on the Hawaii-California route. The five boats were named Caroline Mars, Marshall Mars, Hawaii Mars, Philippine Mars, and Mariannas Mars. Unlike previous boats which were hauled from the water for servicing after each flight, the Mars boats remained in the water for six or eight months at a time. Some of them are still in service as fire-fighters in British Columbia. Their holds full of water, they fly over forest fires and dump fifteen tons of water per flight.

The PBM series was in use for ten years after the war before the Navy found it necessary to replace them with more modern boats, and then the Martin Marlin P5M was chosen. This was an advanced design into which Martin and the Navy put all their accumulated knowledge of boats. It flew beautifully and was a most

forgiving aircraft. Her stall was gentle, control easy, and she had no vicious habits. On the water her long hull made her stable, and hydraulic steering flaps aft gave her a tight turning circle and good maneuverability. However, the high-strength 75ST aluminium alloy was prone to salt water corrosion and her thoroughbred turbo-compound engines had to be babied; the type, though superior in performance to Mariner, was more difficult to maintain.

The last boat was the apotheosis of flying boats, and resulted from Air Force-Navy competition for available funds. The aircraft industry conceived the notion of an air force, fighters and bombers, of flying boats. The oceans would be their airfields; supply would be by submarine. If hull repairs were needed, a submarine would surface gently beneath the boat, lifting it from the water to make the hull accessible. Refueling and docking by submarine was tried with a Marlin. The idea worked and the Navy was sold. The fighter was to be the SeaDart by Consolidated Aircraft in San Diego, and the bomber was Martin's P6M SeaMaster. Both were jet aircraft, and both suffered grievous losses during flight tests. As a result the project languished, the concept was replaced with a reliance on nuclear submarines, and the fourteen P6M boats were redesignated as mine-layers, but never employed. The day of the flying boat was over, ending an unusual manifestation of Maryland's long love affair with the sea.

Bibliographical Notes

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES AND BOOKS ON MARYLAND HISTORY, 1976

Compiled by RICHARD J. COX

THIS YEAR'S BIBLIOGRAPHY REPRESENTS A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE OVER THOSE for 1974 and 1975, a direct result of the tremendous research inspired by the Bicentennial. I have again made an effort to include both popular and scholarly works. A few of the subject classifications were modified to accommodate the peculiarities of this year's publications. One major change incorporated was cross references to articles and books that fit in more than one subject; hopefully, this will make the bibliography somewhat easier to use.

I would like to especially thank Mary K. Meyer, P. W. Filby, Jack Lattimore, Hester Rich, Edward C. Papenfuse, and Diane P. Frese for their suggestions regarding this bibliography. With their assistance, many citations were added. Any omissions will be included in next year's bibliography.

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Reviews of Recent Books

Cecil County, Maryland, 1608–1850, As Seen By Some Visitors, And Several Essays on Local History. Collected by G. E. Gifford, Jr. (Rising Sun: The George E. Gifford Memorial Committee, 1974. Pp. xxi, 242. $6.95.)

As an appropriate memorial to his father, George Edmund Gifford, Sr. (1901–1972), Dr. Gifford has compiled an attractively printed and illustrated book containing a number of recorded impressions of Cecil County over a 242-year period. It also has some essays on facets of Cecil history, to which the elder Mr. Gifford was devoted. That gentleman was a native of Cecil County and a beloved teacher and principal in its schools from 1923 to 1966. Much of that time was spent at the Calvert school, the P.T.A. and Alumni Associations of which have co-sponsored this publication.

The largest part of the book is made up of extracts from diaries, letters, autobiographies, and other papers of thirty-two individuals who had occasion to record their impressions of the people, culture, and physiography of the Cecil County area. The impressions were gained either while journeying through the region (located on the principal north-south route on the Atlantic Coast) or from experience as permanent or temporary residents. Variety marks these extracts in several aspects. Some of the material is taken from published works readily accessible to the scholar; some have been unearthed from little known sources. Some of the commentary is lengthy and informative; some cursory and matter-of-fact. The accounts are by persons of great renown (e.g., Washington, Asbury, Rush, Audubon) and of historical unknowns, as well as those of middling fame and importance. The impression of travelers was often unfavorable, perhaps due more to the tribulations incumbent upon travel under the primitive conditions prevailing than to any especial deficiency in the local scenery and hospitality. The explorers were more impressed by the bounties nature had bestowed on the region than were passers-by.

The extracts are arranged chronologically and, although varying widely in detail, read together enable the reader to perceive the flavor of the county during the period covered. Introductory paragraphs and footnotes aid in understanding the accounts and references therein.

Engravings by Michael McCurdy and the inclusion of a number of regional maps add to the interest and usefulness of this volume, which also has an index of persons and places mentioned in the text. Unfortunately, the helpful material in the notes is not indexed.

Four "Essays" by the compiler and one by his father are included. One pertains to a painting of a scene at Carpenter's Point by James Peale, which is now at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York. The others relate to historical aspects of the Brick Meeting House (Calvert) area. All are footnoted and are well constructed.

Its nature does not permit this work to be a comprehensive treatise, but it is a well done and useful source book on local history which will also appeal to the casual reader for whom the area holds any interest.

Aberdeen JON HARLAN LIVEZEY

The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth Century New England. By Edward M. Cook, Jr. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976. Pp. xvii, 273. $12.95.)

Recently scholars have rediscovered the diversity of New England town life through a spate of local studies. This rediscovery has enriched our sense of that society but at the

cost of some confusion. Amidst the variations it has become difficult to comprehend any pattern, or underlying unity, in a culture traditionally thought of as a unit. Professor Cook has attempted to build such a pattern; to establish what he calls "a typology within which the variations among single community studies are intelligible" (p. xii). To a remarkable extent he succeeds.

The synthesis is built upon a comparative study of seventy-four towns chosen from all four New England colonies proportionately. Both the large size of the sample and its geographic inclusiveness are meant to ensure that patterns and variations discovered are truly of regional significance. The towns were selected by a sophisticated statistical device, "disproportional stratified sampling." In essence the idea is to pick town characteristics – size, location, age, population, church forms – that might be relevant to variations in political behavior and then select a list of towns that reflect the widest possible range of differences. Other communities of known political significance – capitals, county seats, college towns – were then added. To engineer carefully a "sample" may seem a dubious procedure since it appears to predetermine the outcome of the study. In a sense, of course, it does. But the virtue of this method is that it builds upon what we already know, and tests and refines that knowledge on a regional scale. Another point to consider is that Professor Cook is looking for correlations between these traits and forms of political behavior which are not predetermined by this particular method.

The pattern of town types that emerges has already been described by the author in his influential 1971 article, "Local Leadership and the Typology of New England Towns, 1700–1785," in the *Political Science Quarterly*. The book, of course, is more detailed in its descriptions and explanations of both the towns studied and the methods used. The towns, classified by socio-economic characteristics and political behavior, fall into four general categories: cities where elites were small but not stable, largely because electoral politics were more factional than familial; major county towns where restricted elites were fairly stable because of "family continuity"; egalitarian towns (numerous but small) whose influence in provincial politics was low; and finally frontier towns which were generally egalitarian but occasionally dominated by small elites. This classification is not startling, nor is it meant to be, and in fact resembles that developed by Jackson T. Main in his *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (1965).

Besides statistical confirmation, what Professor Cook has added is a major refinement of the spatial component of the classification. Most scholars, including Main, have posited relatively homogeneous zones or bands of towns running from the commercially developed coastal towns through a stable agricultural zone into a western frontier. Cook wisely substitutes "central place theory," much used by geographers and anthropologists, which holds that economic regions are rarely homogeneous. Rather, any region tends to include a network of producing areas and market-communication centers which are, in turn, usually connected to still larger centers. Such a regional economic hierarchy of communities has obvious political implications which are carefully and usefully explored in this book.

Leaders from the county market towns, for instance, were more likely to participate in colony-wide politics than officeholders in smaller, agricultural towns. They were also more likely to become county leaders. City politicians like Elisha Cooke had the added advantage of being constantly in a capital and therefore had influence in provincial as well as local politics, but their power rested on factional electoral politics which limited their independence. In the egalitarian towns leaders and townsmen were often interchangeable and only local business occupied political energies unless some crisis forced them into a wider world.

This, in too brief summary, is the interpretation of politics that emerges from the study. It is satisfying. Professor Cook has established an "interpretive framework" that

modifies slightly, clarifies greatly, and confirms statistically a developing but still unformed consensus on the nature of colonial New England politics. Because of the statistics and close attention to method this book is difficult to read, but all scholars of early America ought to find it thought-provoking.

Austin Peay State University RICHARD P. GILDRIE

Thomas Nelson of Yorktown: Revolutionary Virginian. By Emory G. Evans. Williamsburg in America Series, X. (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1975. Pp. x, 204. $8.95.)

This is the tenth in a series of studies on eighteenth-century Virginia published under the auspices of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. In it, Emory G. Evans examines the neglected career of Thomas Nelson (1739–89): merchant, planter, legislator, member of the Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence, military leader, and governor of Virginia. Arguing that Nelson was one of the most important of Virginia's revolutionary leaders, Professor Evans goes on to emphasize that an examination of Nelson's career helps resolve an "eighteenth-century paradox" – "the fact that the great majority of Virginia's social and political leaders vigorously supported the Revolution" (p. 3).

Prior to 1765, Thomas Nelson gave scant evidence of the acumen that had enabled his grandfather and father to build one of Virginia's great fortunes. Fat and fond of the good life, he showed little interest in the family's mercantile concerns nor, initially, in politics. Evans suggests that British actions, an economic slump, the influence of his father's whiggish political ideas, and membership in a House of Burgesses coterie led by Patrick Henry ended Nelson's indolence. From 1767 he was increasingly active in politics. Fearing the "designs of Parliament upon every other Part of the wide extended continent" (p. 26), Nelson accepted additional committee assignments, supported nonimportation agreements, and participated in three extralegal conventions. Members of the last of these conventions, meeting in the summer of 1775, elected Nelson to a militia colonelcy and to the second Continental Congress. Committed to independence, the Virginian divided his time between treasury duties in the Congress and Convention activities at Williamsburg. The demands of public office affected his health. In 1777 he suffered what contemporaries called an apoplectic stroke. Despite recurrent illness he continued his exceptional public services. From 1777 to 1780 he represented York County in the state legislature. Moreover, he commanded the Virginia militia in 1777, 1779, and during the critical years 1780 and 1781 and then succeeded Thomas Jefferson as governor at a time when British forces under Benedict Arnold and Lord Cornwallis controlled most of the state. Less cautious and more vigorous than his predecessor, Nelson continually exceeded his extensive gubernatorial power to prosecute the war. Despite worsening health he was able to participate in the actions resulting in Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. In November 1781, after less than five months as governor, Nelson resigned. Thereafter he devoted little attention to public affairs but spent the final eight years of his life attempting to recoup his physical and financial health.

Evans has produced a well-researched, often insightful, but ultimately dissatisfying biographical study. His analysis of the urban and mercantile background to the Nelson family's wealth and position is suggestive of recent work by Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman. He offers a telling assessment of the impact of war and invasion on the inhabitants of Virginia. The author successfully challenges the distorted image of Nelson as an individual who died poor. Indeed, Nelson was one of the ten wealthiest men in the state at his death (pp. 140–41, 145–48).

The contention concerning Thomas Nelson's importance is made good by this study,

but the overall interpretation has not been tested by being placed in a sharply focused analysis of conflicts and alignments in pre-revolutionary Virginia society. Grave reservations must be entered about an interpretation which draws so heavily on the ideas that Nelson and his contemporaries "felt that Virginia society, though not perfect, was better than any other. And they reacted against change whether it was retrogressive or progressive" (p. 142).

Thomas Nelson is a worthwhile study for the general reader; historians should read it in conjunction with the works of Gordon S. Wood, Rhys Isaac, and James Kirby Martin.

University of Santa Clara MILES M. MERWIN

The Impact of the American Revolution Abroad. Papers presented at the fourth symposium, May 8 and 9, 1975. *Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution*. (Washington, Library of Congress 1976. Pp. 171. $4.50.)

Richard B. Morris supplies an Introduction and R. R. Palmer a general survey; the Revolution's impact on France is studied by Claude Fohlen, on the Dutch Republic by J. W. Schulte Nordholt, on Britain by J. H. Plumb, on Russia by N. N. Bolkhovitinov, on the Spanish and Portuguese world by Mario Rodriguez and on Ireland by Owen Dudley Edwards. There are shorter comments from Germany (Erich Angermann), Japan (Nagayo Homma) and Spain (Ignacio Rubio Mañe). A symposium is never a synthesis, but it cannot be said that this volume supplies a coherent image of the principles of the Revolution disseminating themselves through a responsive world. Indeed, it seems doubtful if they ever did; the nature of revolution was transformed in the direction of terrorism, bureaucracy, and military adventure, before the Founding Fathers had completed their work, and America's impact upon mankind has been achieved through immigration, technology, and mass culture, rather than through the Revolution's restatement of the principles of human liberty as viewed from Philadelphia. These are not the last hope of earth, and only intelligent conservatives consider them the best.

If we read these erudite and reflective lectures in search of a pattern, it may be possible to find more than one. The chief impact of the Revolution "abroad"—i.e., outside the Thirteen Colonies and their trans-Appalachian space—was felt in the English- and (to a lesser extent) French-speaking world of the North Atlantic. In Britain the experience was not as traumatic as Americans feel it ought to have been, for its inner meaning there was the decision not to transform the pattern of English politics by extending them to embrace a New American world, and if the British lost an empire (they soon found another), they retained their parliament, their navy, and their image of themselves, all unimpaired. Plumb shows that the Revolution's main impact was to reinforce the structure of aristocratic parliamentarism, in part by encouraging the massive emigration of what might otherwise have proved a far more radical working and lower-middle class. In Ireland it paradoxically strengthened the loyalism of the pre-famine Catholics; Edwards presents it as stirring mainly the sentiments of the Scotch-Irish—in those days a radical, not a Unionist people—and depicts as the most "American" of Irish politicians the great but essentially conservative reformer Daniel O'Connell. Wolfe Tone (whom he does not mention) may have been, along with Thomas Paine, the most truly revolutionary mind using English in his generation, but when he looked outside Ireland, it was to France, not America.

The great absence from these lectures—a single sentence of Palmer's excepted—is of course Canada. Without the Revolution, without the British retention of Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence, without the Loyalist emigration, there would have been no English Canada and the predicament of Quebec at this day would have been different. But the United States is still unwilling to consider its own history in the light thrown by the presence of British and French "alternative Americas" to the north; and we still write of

Britain "losing America" as if it had all been lost, and of the Thirteen Colonies as if there had been no more than thirteen. The patterns of North Atlantic history are indeed hard to disentangle; the French intervention in the War of the Revolution seems to have been dictated by no concern whatever for the fate of the Quebeçois and the Creoles, but by an ill-starred and ill-conceived impulse to damage the British control of Atlantic waters. A recent work by Derek Jarrett, *The Begetters of Revolution: England's Involvement with France, 1759–89* (Totowa, N. J., 1973), has made an interesting if debatable attempt to show how the war pushed Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic towards crises which had both revolutionary and reactionary outcomes.

The second pattern in which to see the Revolution's impact may be found by recalling the title of Palmer's great work: *The Age of the Democratic Revolutions*. The lectures in this volume suggest that the American Revolution was, initially, the greatest – indeed, the only successful representative – of a group of "patriot" revolutions, in which politically active groups attempted to take over and transform some typically eighteenth-century structures: not those of an *ancien regime*, but dynamic, advanced, and yet exclusive. The English Dissenters, the Anglo-Irish of the Volunteer movement, and the elites and urban crowds of the American colonies sought to enlarge their role in the Whig political order; the Dutch Patriots sought to expand and liberalise the institutions of the seventeenth-century Republic. It is possible that the revolutions of Latin America, half a century later, may be included in the same category. In England, however, the Dissenters failed to turn the techniques of eighteenth-century agitation to their advantage; in Ireland, the Patriot Parliament was forced by the rise of the radical United Irishmen and the reactionary Orange Order to give up the struggle and accept the Union of 1801; in the Netherlands, the Patriot movement failed and was overtaken by revolution on the French model. Only in the United States did "patriot" revolution run its course and produce an entirely new version of enlightened Whig constitutionalism before the meaning of the word "revolution" was changed forever by French practice and German philosophy. And the global significance of the event lay less in its masterly framing of an eighteenth-century constitution equal to coping with twentieth-century realities than in the geopolitical circumstance that the new republic could expand with impunity to fill most of a continent. In the end, we should not consider the Revolution's "impact" so much as its attraction; it moved America away, westward from the Atlantic and Europe, exercising a lunar pull.

The Johns Hopkins University J. G. A. Pocock

Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial. Edited by John B. Boles. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976. Pp. xiv, 253. Paper, $7.50; cloth, $15.00.)

Here we have a valuable, interesting publication but a difficult one to review, for it is not a book as we usually think of such. It is, as stated in the foreword, a catalogue. It is not the type of publication one sits down to read for relaxation, at least not for any long period of time. From the reviewer's point of view the major assets of *Maryland Heritage* are (1) a source of reference, (2) a way to plan visits to see some valuable works of the sponsoring institutions and, (3) a guide while seeing the exhibits firsthand.

Five cultural institutions of Baltimore made plans to sponsor, jointly, exhibits of "the historical period of the Revolution in Maryland" as part of the 1976 celebration and to have their individual projects related to the event and to each other. The collections and proclivities of the five institutions were to be presented as follows: The Baltimore Museum of Arts – "view of America and its art"; The Walters Art Gallery – "the equivalent European background"; Maryland Historical Society – "the historical and social picture of Maryland in the eighteenth century"; The Peale Museum – "overview of the

City of Baltimore during the revolutionary generation"; Maryland Academy of Sciences – "the scientific aspect".

The publication, in a sense, is really a joint catalogue "contrasting the parts and hopefully binding them together." That is to say that you have several separate exhibit catalogues brought together in a single binder. Although each section has a brief introduction (some much longer than others), the emphasis is on the list of objects on display at each of the institutions. All in all there are some 300 illustrations accompanied by very good brief descriptions of each.

Professor John B. Boles is to be complimented for his success in unifying the individual programs (exhibits of the institutions). As the introductory essays for each institution were done by different authors, Dr. Boles had the task of achieving a smoothness of flow from one style to another. He has tried to give balance and continuity to the materials presented by the several institutions. The introductory essays include background materials which afford the reader a sense of the relationship of various aspects of the publication, although each introduction is not equally readable for everyone.

An aim of the five institutions was to present in a cultural way "the historical period of the Revolution in Maryland." Historians never agree on the beginning and closing dates of this period, and because in certain aspects the information and objects featured do not fall within the time boundaries of the American Revolution, the public should be reminded of this. Not the only ones but probably the best examples could be the sections concerning the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland Academy of Sciences.

The pictures are all black and white except the cover illustration on the paperback edition. This does not detract from the value of the publication, and is not a criticism, for the cost of printing so many colored illustrations would result in a purchase price few could afford.

One should keep in mind that the publication is based on the exhibits of the five institutions for a specific program, and not a complete study on the exhibit of any single institution. The section concerning the Maryland Historical Society did list a few books one might read as a follow-up on the subject. However, this is lacking for the others, and would have been an additional asset. A debt of gratitude for undertaking such a project for the people of Baltimore in particular and the people of Maryland in general is owed to the staffs of the institutions. It all started with a plan to have people visit the exhibits which were arranged to acquaint them with certain cultural aspects of the American Revolutionary Period. A "busing" program was even set up – "a circuit of buses to take viewers from one stop in the program to another, and more importantly, to bring those who were not within striking distance, from their homes in corners of Maryland."

Although *Maryland Heritage* is not recommended for the average reader, it is recommended to the students of Maryland history and culture. Persons interested in what colleges label "American Studies and Life" will also find it rewarding. It should be on the shelves of collectors of Maryland books and in all libraries – academic and public. Despite what might rightly be considered criticism of the publication for minor weaknesses, it serves an important function as a catalogue and guide book to various objects or collections, and as a source of reference for those interested in this part of our culture.

Salisbury State College WILLIAM H. WROTEN, JR.

D. H. Lawrence: Letters to Thomas and Adele Seltzer. Edited by Gerald M. Lacy. (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1976. Pp. xiv, 284. Paper, $5.00; cloth, $14.00.)

Thomas Seltzer was one of that remarkable group of publishers – including also Huebsch, Kennerley, Knopf, the Bonis, and Liveright – who emerged in America in the 1910s and 1920s, interested in promoting the work of the "new" or "advanced" writers and thinkers. During his six and a half years in business (late 1919 to early 1926), Seltzer built

up a distinguished list, containing poetry by Robinson, Cummings, Taggard, and J. C. Powys, two parts of the Scott Moncrieff translation of Proust, and works on socialism, Russia, and psychology. But the list was clearly dominated by D. H. Lawrence: Seltzer was his American publisher from 1920 through early 1925, bringing out twenty of his books (including three translations) during that time (many of them appearing in Seltzer editions before they appeared in England). The story of this association is therefore of great interest both for what it contributes to American publishing history and for what it reveals about Lawrence; as Gerald Lacy says, in this relationship "we see the literary and pecuniary struggles of both men during what are very likely the most crucial moments of their careers." What Mr. Lacy has done in this attractive (and most interestingly illustrated) volume is to bring together all the letters he can locate (most are at the University of Texas) from Lawrence (123 letters) and his wife Frieda (12 letters) to Seltzer and his wife Adele, spanning the years from 1919 through 1928. To this text he has appended an informative essay, "The Seltzers & D. H. Lawrence: A Biographical Narrative," by Alexandra Lee Levin (literary heir of the Seltzers) and Lawrence L. Levin; this 30-page account makes available many new facts about the Seltzers, drawn particularly from Adele Seltzer's papers. The volume ends with a 75-page section printing letters from the Seltzers to various people, principally Robert Mountsier, Lawrence's American agent from 1916 to 1923, and Dorothy Hoskins, a literary-agent friend of Adele Seltzer's.

The book makes absorbing reading for anyone interested in Lawrence or in American publishing of the 1920s, and one is grateful to Mr. Lacy for assembling all this material. At the same time, his editorial labors are bound to leave one somewhat dissatisfied. Since these Lawrence letters will eventually be included in the new Cambridge edition, the justification for publishing them now is presumably the fact that they constitute a sizable and discrete group, which can be made to reveal a coherent story more readily when separated from the larger mass. Certainly the makings of a coherent story are here, but Mr. Lacy has not done all he might to help the reader find it. If the volume had been thought of more as a documentary history of the Lawrence-Seltzer relationship than as an edition of Lawrence's letters, then the Seltzer letters could have been interspersed in their chronological positions among the Lawrence letters, bringing related pieces of information closer together. For example, in letter 22 (August 12, 1921) Lawrence refers to Seltzer's cable about "second serial rights" to *The Lost Girl* (p. 25); it would be useful to know at this point that the reference is to the Brooklyn *Eagle*'s request for serial rights, as Seltzer explains to Mountsier in a letter (August 20, 1921) printed on pp. 213–16. With the present arrangement, however, one has to turn back and forth to locate such connections, checking also the Levin essay for possibly relevant facts. Mr. Lacy's notes to the letters, printed in a separate section, are helpful as far as they go, but they do not provide sufficient cross references to other parts of the book, nor do they allude to as much material outside the book as one would wish. Thus a number of the Lawrences' comments about the Seltzers in other documents are not reported—comments which help to chart the decline of the relationship. The man who had gone to court to defend *Women in Love* in 1922 could be referred to by Lawrence on January 10, 1925, as "a furtive little flea who hides his hand from me"; and the friction which had long existed below the surface is suggested by Frieda Lawrence's remark to Witter Bynner in 1923, "I was not happy in New York or New Jersey. It may have partly been the Seltzers," and by Lawrence's statement to Knud Merrild the same year, "I'm afraid he is muddled in his office." Surely comments of this kind deserve to be quoted in this book; but Mr. Lacy seems to have proceeded on the assumption that the Levin essay contains all the background that is needed, aside from the notes to specific letters. His casual approach to documentation is further suggested by his allusions to letters to and from B. W. Huebsch (notes 5, 20, 67), which do not indicate where the letters can be located nor always give the date; his statement that five of the Lawrence letters had previously been published is nowhere

made more specific (except that letter 58 is identified on p. 65 as one of them); a reference is made to a presently unlocated letter offered for sale in 1963 in a House of Books catalogue, but the text quoted in that catalogue is neither reproduced nor summarized; the Seltzer letters to Merrild are said to have been "first published in Merrild's *With D. H. Lawrence in New Mexico*," which is the 1964 title of a book first published in 1938 as *A Poet and Two Painters*. The policy for transcribing the letters is generally satisfactory, but one wonders why Mr. Lacy finds it necessary to go to the trouble of adding periods to abbreviations and apostrophes to contractions, and it is unfortunate that he does not report Lawrence's deletions (or at least discuss their nature and extent). Finally, the absence of an index in a book of this kind seems to me particularly annoying: the difficulty of locating related information in the three sections would be partly alleviated by an index, and volumes of letters are frequently consulted by persons interested in a specific figure or subject. Despite these flaws, Mr. Lacy's book performs a useful service and represents an approach to publishing history that deserves to be encouraged.

University of Wisconsin G. THOMAS TANSELLE

Admiral of the New Empire: The Life and Career of George Dewey. By Ronald Spector. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. Pp. xvi, 220. $10.00.)

When Admiral of the Navy George Dewey died in 1917 in his seventy-ninth year, there ended the career of a remarkable transition figure in the history of America's "New Navy." Entering the naval academy in 1854, Dewey was trained and spent most of his career in the pre-modern fleet. When he became, in the author's words, an "instant folk hero" as a result of his stunning victory at Manila Bay in 1898, Dewey was already more than sixty years old and, counting Annapolis, had seen over forty years of naval service.

Catapulted into unaccustomed fame and influence, Admiral Dewey, who was in Spector's view a very ordinary sailor, became head of the General Board of the Navy. Presiding over the navy's chief planning body that coordinated the work of both the War College and the Office of Naval Intelligence, Dewey steered a moderate course between conservative naval bureau chiefs and small-navy legislators on the one side and expansive reformers like Admirals Bradley A. Fiske and William S. Sims on the other. Dewey served as a stabilizing ballast in a gusty period of naval change, and his enormous prestige helped fend off the attacks of the service's critics and adversaries.

Ronald Spector finds a number of weak points in his subject's record: Dewey's political naiveté both about world and domestic affairs, his reliance on influential friends to advance his career, his waffling on the Philippine annexation issue, and his anti-German biases. If Spector possibly underestimates the essentiality of a figure like Dewey in this period of the navy's development, he at least avoids the uncritical adulation typical of so many military biographies.

This is a sympathetic and understanding, yet critical and fair, account that stands easily in the first rank of naval biographies. Any graduate student undertaking a dissertation of this genre would be well advised to read and follow this model.

Rochester Institute of Technology HUGH B. HAMMETT

The History of Morgan State College: A Century of Purpose in Action, 1867-1967. By Edward N. Wilson. (Washington: Vantage Press, 1975. Pp. 200. $10.00.)

This study provides a brief but informative overview of Morgan State University's first hundred years. Edward Wilson discusses each stage of growth and the contribution of important figures, who are also treated individually in a separate chapter. The author is well qualified to write such a book. He was the university's registrar-bursar from 1921 to

1963, and in addition has served on the Maryland State Board of Education and State Commission on Human Relations. As indicated in his foreword, Wilson views his topic from a "historical perspective rather than attempt to write a sociological essay. . . ." He assures the reader that this approach will acquaint the reader "with the true story without reading tangential dissertations in social history." Thus, the major milestones in the university's first century are duly noted but rarely analyzed or placed in a broader context.

The origins of Morgan State are found in the initial efforts by black Methodists in Baltimore to establish a collegiate institution in the post-Civil War period. In the fall of 1867, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Centenary Biblical Institute was incorporated "for the education of such pious young men, especially colored, for the ministry of the M.E. Church . . ." (p. 17). The new school grew slowly, not gaining its first president until 1872 with the appointment of J. Emory Round, a Methodist minister and educator. In the early 1880s the institute experienced difficult times, especially low enrollments, and limited financial support. Over the coming years, the board of trustees moved to upgrade the curriculum; this they did by abolishing the college preparatory courses, de-emphasizing theological training, and establishing a traditional classical program of study. Under the leadership of Francis J. Wagner between 1888 and 1902 and particularly John O. Spencer between 1902 and 1937, further changes occurred. In 1890, the institution was renamed Morgan College and in the next decade enrollments and facilities expanded. Spencer successfully funded the purchase of a new campus and, in 1925, gained full accreditation for the college. In late 1939, after several years of negotiation, Morgan became the first black state college in Maryland. This turn of events brought institutional stability but also eased the state's maintenance of a completely segregated educational system.

Among the many whites who played major roles in the early decades, men such as James Brown, William Harden, Emory Round, Lyttleton F. Morgan, Francis Wagner, and John Spencer, the outstanding personality was John F. Goucher. A prominent Baltimore citizen, Goucher joined the trustee board in 1880 and then served as its chairman from 1890 to 1922. He regularly, at critical times, provided financial support, influenced the appointment of personnel, pressed for the renaming of the institution, and oversaw its relocation and steady growth. Excepting the student body, black involvement in Morgan started slowly, then accelerated in the twentieth century. The first black trustees were not appointed until 1872 and the first black faculty not until 1879; the number and role of both expanded steadily from this point on. A significant event occurred in 1939 with the election of Dwight O. W. Holmes as the first black president. A decade later, Martin D. Jenkins succeeded Holmes and continued the momentum of Morgan's development as a state institution.

This brief historical study has much to recommend it as an outline of Morgan State University's early development and documentation of the school's unique origins. Students of black higher education, however, will still await a fuller and more critical work on Morgan. One wishes that the author had, in fact, included more "tangential dissertations in social history," particularly with regard to student life, faculty conditions, and the impact of racial segregation on administrative policy.

Georgetown University RONALD M. JOHNSON

Chesapeake Sailing Craft, Part I. By Robert H. Burgess. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1975. Pp. xviii, 283. $12.50.)

Mr. Burgess is one of that valued class of amateurs, the persistent photographer. He has for more than fifty years recorded the life and sometimes the death of these vessels of

the Chesapeake which were part of the last years of freight carrying by sail. He has done his work with an inquisitive eye and it is apparent in this book that he forms an acquaintanceship with each of the craft he photographs. The book is essentially his photographic record of these sailing craft, arranged by type (log canoes, bugeyes, pungies, sloops, rams, skipjacks, and schooners) with a brief, nontechnical essay on the origin, structure, rig, and uses made of each type of craft. Included in the essays are descriptions of performance and some reference to outstanding craft or interesting incidents related to the type. Following each essay the pictures are arranged alphabetically by name of craft. These are explicit black and white photographs which record for the student of maritime matters the general profile and contours of the craft, details of sail and rigging, deck arrangement, and beak-head carving. A caption accompanies each photograph giving the basic history of the vessel and some events of her career. The sum total of these captions comprises an extensive, accurate, and well-indexed text on Chesapeake commercial sailing craft from the mid 1920s to the present. From this standpoint the book is a valuable addition to maritime literature.

The general reader will find the graceful hulls and curving sails pleasing to the eye and the details of shipyards and docks interesting; he will feel the melancholy of a fading era and the pathos of a fine craft abandoned and dying on the marshy bank of a salt creek. As is true of any family, some of these vessels had very long careers (*Zingara* was built in 1852, survived the Civil War, served commercially well up into the twentieth century and was abandoned in 1941), while some are still in their youth (*Rosie Parks* was built in 1955 and now rests in semi-retirement at St. Michaels, Md.). Indeed, Mr. Burgess's text treats these vessels with the intimacy one would accord a family, a style which enhances the value of the book for anyone having an affinity for the Chesapeake Bay.

Mr. Burgess has told me that *Part II* has progressed only as far as selection of the photographs to be included.

Maryland Historical Society LEWIS A. BECK, JR.

Maryland: A Guide to Information and Reference Sources. By Michael M. Reynolds. Guide to State Information and Reference Sources, no. 7. (Adelphi, Maryland: Research and Reference Publications, Inc., 1976. Pp. viii, 151. $11.95.)

This volume is designed "to provide a comprehensive subject guide to the most significant information and reference materials on Maryland" and to serve the "casual or research needs of high school and college students, interested amateurs, researchers, and librarians for information about the places, people, events, characteristics and phenomena associated with Maryland." This is an admirable purpose, and one that is fairly well met. This volume has nearly 500 annotated entries and over 2,000 items, and its chief value is the breadth of subject matter. The researcher can find information on such diverse subjects as agriculture, architecture, biography, cooking, county history, education, law, medicine, rocks and minerals, and statistics.

Although he has purposely limited its scope, Mr. Reynolds has not produced the best bibliography or the one that the state needs. The reason for this failing derives chiefly from his self-defined limitations. He has not included theses, dissertations, and journal articles on the grounds that "an excess of listings would tend to diminish the *Guide's* effectiveness as a reference tool"; this is a mistake. The resurgence of research in Maryland's history in the past decade, for example, has been effected largely through such media and the omission of these works diminishes Mr. Reynold's claim to be "comprehensive." Such unpublished studies and articles are readily available, more so

than some of the published works included, and many supersede earlier, more available works. One of the best introductions to rare book collections in the state is still Mary N. Barton, "Rare Books and Other Bibliographical Resources in Baltimore Libraries," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* 55 (First Quarter, 1961): 1–16 and, because of Reynold's guidelines, it is not included. There are also some omissions difficult to understand. Edward C. Papenfuse's *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805* (Baltimore, 1975) is a fine, recent publication which would have fit in several of Mr. Reynold's categories but is, alas, left out. Despite these criticisms, *Maryland: A Guide* is a good preliminary bibliography, useful until a more comprehensive one can be compiled.

Maryland Historical Society RICHARD J. COX

Roots. By Alex Haley. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1976. Pp. viii, 587. $12.50.)

It is an unenviable assignment sitting down to review *Roots* during this second week of April, for since its spectacular television debut in January, it has occupied the public consciousness as has no other book in decades.* The acclaim and controversy show no sign of abating, as witness the events of this very week: having sold more than 1.5 million hardcover copies, the book has been singled out for a special citation by the Pulitzer Prize Committee; the Television Critics' Circle, in an award program that drew liberally on the music from the best-selling record album based on the T.V. production, named ABC's six-part dramatization as this season's best show; Alex Haley, accompanied by his personal attorney and a Warner Brothers film crew doing preliminary takes for "Roots II," travelled by yacht up the Gambia River to revisit Juffure, where "Kunta Kinte's house" is being readied for some thousands of American tourists expected this summer, lured in part by Sunday supplement ads of cut-rate "Roots tours" offered by Atlanta-based travel firms; the *Times* of London carried a detailed historical exposé of the book's African connections; *The New York Times* published Kebba Kangye Fofana's deposition about Kunta Kinte from the Gambian National Archives which seems at odds with key details of the *Roots* account; two lawsuits were brought against Haley by novelists alleging that he has plagiarized their work; and, in New York City, three newborn boys were named Kunta Kinte.

Depending on one's perceptions about our own society, it may seem ironic (or simply appropriate) that it is a nonhistorian who has written a book that, almost overnight, has done more to transform widely-held American views about our collective past than all the recent Genovese, Gutman, Curtin, and Morgan volumes put together. Yet, surely the effectiveness of *Roots* in reaching and moving so many has far more to do with the nature of contemporary American society, and with Haley's feel for the pulse of the country, than with his own understandings of conditions of life in eighteenth-century Africa or colonial Virginia. After all, this is (though *Roots'* advertising, for unmysterious commercial reasons, would rather have us forget it) the same author whose *Autobiography of Malcolm X* sold more than 6,000,000 copies and was acclaimed the most popular paperback of the sixties on college campuses (see Peter Wood's insightful commentary on *Roots* in *The New Republic*, March 12, 1977). As Haley himself has remarked, there is a "tremendous upswelling of emotion that *Roots* seems to have set in motion, an emotion that . . . seems . . . in some ways *healing*. If people hadn't wanted and needed that,

* I wish to thank the following friends and colleagues for having offered excellent suggestions and criticisms on a draft of this review: John B. Boles, David Cohen, Philip Curtin, Sidney Mintz, Sally Price, and Willie Lee Rose.

hadn't been ready for it, in some deep way, I don't think the book would be nearly as important as it seems to have become" (in *Playboy*, January 1977). Armed with the zeal of an evangelist, an absolute certainty that social justice will prevail, an unrelenting optimism about human nature (all as American as apple pie), Haley has called into question, for literally tens of millions of people, some of our most enduring myths about slavery: the Hollywood image of Africa as a land of ignorant savages, the magnolia-and-roses view of slavery as benevolent paternalism, and the belief that slaves, inherently promiscuous, had no family life.

That the myths Haley seeks to shatter are replaced, in some cases, by stereotypes that leave a good deal to be desired from the perspective of historical accuracy may ultimately be less important than the act of destruction itself. For if Kunta Kinte is a mythical, larger-than-life figure, he is immeasurably closer to the truth than Tarzan; and if Kizzy's world in significant ways represents an anachronism, it is a considerable improvement over that of Scarlett O'Hara. The wider meaning of these assertions has been evaded, I think, by many of the smug put-downs of *Roots*, e.g. that it is "dramatically vulgar and historically preposterous" (*Time*, January 24, 1977). Nor should it be forgotten that millions of people, young and old, working in the schools, colleges, and public libraries of the country, have been moved to seek beyond *Roots*, to join the growing wave of genealogical research for themselves, and to engage for the first time those very books—by historians, anthropologists, and others—which will allow them personally to explore and puzzle over the terrain that Haley has charted for them. In my own view, it is the achievement of demythologization, of *moving* people to question their received wisdom, that constitutes the book's importance; and it is one that no amount of academic nit-picking or commercial hullabaloo can destroy. (Incidentally, it would be a shame if any of the more than 100,000,000 Americans who watched at least a part of the lavish T.V. production but still have not read the book were to prejudge it. For *Roots* as Haley wrote it, whatever its shortcomings, marches to the beat of a very different drummer; on this, see also Peter H. Wood, "Roots of Victory, Roots of Defeat," in *The New Republic*, March 12, 1977.)

All this aside, what can one say of the book as History? Here are just a few summary observations by a historically minded anthropologist who specializes in the study of Afro-America.

At times, Haley is successful in realizing and dramatizing the essence of a historical experience, for example in his harrowing account of the Middle Passage. But it bears mention that this section is moving and gripping not because of Haley's control of historical detail (which, as other reviewers have stressed, is sometimes wanting), but because his *vision* of the experience is poetically persuasive. For in this passage, Haley grasps and effectively dramatizes what must have been at the very core of the experience of enslavement—the process of anonymization, the treatment of human beings as nameless, faceless, interchangeable ciphers. As James Baldwin, confirming this part of Haley's vision, puts it: through it all, "we knew that a man was not a thing" (*New York Times Book Review*, September 26, 1976); and Haley brings this particular experience home as effectively as has ever been done for contemporary Americans.

On the other hand, as readers of this journal are by now surely aware, Haley's Africa is profoundly ahistorical; indeed it is an imagined landscape that, I would go so far as to say, only an American could have dreamed into existence. On this subject Haley and his critics have already traded some heated barbs. Haley claims he has achieved "as comprehensive and authentic a profile of African cultural life as has ever been assembled" (in *Playboy*, January 1977), and that from his research for *Roots*, "Probably four or five *scholarly* books could have been produced, bearing such titles as 'The Cultural History of The Gambia, West Africa, circa 1750–1800' " (in "Foreword" to Mildred Bain and Ervin

Lewis, eds., *From Freedom to Freedom* [New York, 1977]). This contrasts, he says, with the picture of Africa presented by "even the most knowledgeable and well intentioned of them [white anthropologists . . . whose] tone was somewhat paternal and condescending . . . [and whose] insights and observations were inevitably limited by the cultural chasm separating them from their subjects" (in *Playboy*, January 1977).

These pronouncements are matched, in their egregiousness, by the characterization of Haley's Africa as "Romanticized to the point that it seems a combination of 3rd century Athens and Club Méditérranée, with peripatetic philosophers afoot and Claude Lévi-Strauss expected for dinner" (*Time*, February 14, 1977). But if it be necessary for anthropologists to remind readers that jealousy and greed, dissent and aggression were as much a part of eighteenth-century African village life as of our own, it is even more necessary to reiterate that for many people, Haley has rescued these villagers from a Victorian and racist conception of savagery. To demonstrate that there are alternatives to Haley's particular perspective in teaching a broad public about the humanity of all humankind is an important challenge; but it is one that must be accepted and successfully realized by those writers who take up where Haley has left off.

The depiction of slavery is equally ahistorical, and is built on the model of the timeless, monolithic antebellum institution that dominated academic studies before the present decade. For Haley, it is almost as if history were simply the chronological arrangement of particular events—in the lives of his ancestors and, less frequently, in the wider world outside—viewed against an unchanging stereotypic institutional backdrop. Some of the resulting anachronisms may seem unimportant—for example, that cotton, which Haley has stretching "until the fields as far as Kunta could see were vast seas of whiteness," was not grown in pre-Revolutionary northern Virginia (see Willie Lee Rose's excellent review of *Roots* in *The New York Review of Books*, November 11, 1976, for numerous other such examples). But other anachronistic assumptions distort and oversimplify the central processes by which Africans became Afro-Americans. The cultural solitude of Kunta Kinte in Virginia is effectively exploited dramatically but is implausible historically. In 1770, more than one in three North American slaves were African-born (Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross* [Boston, 1974], Vol. 1, p. 23), and in Virginia these were very heavily concentrated precisely on such up-country quarters as the William Waller plantation, with its twenty slaves (see, for example, Gerald Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion* [New York, 1972], pp. 39, 48–49 *et passim*). Kinte would, then, have entered a world in which Africans were commonplace, and in which slave culture was far more African than Haley suggests. Moreover, the chances of Kinte's encountering other Mandinka speakers would have been substantial; about 15 percent of all slaves imported into Virginia in the period 1710–69 would have spoken Mandinka (see Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* [Madison, 1969] pp. 156–58), and virtually every resident of mid-eighteenth-century Juffure would have been bi- or, more likely, tri-lingual (Philip D. Curtin, personal communication); thereby further increasing the proportion of fellow Africans with whom Kinte could initially have conversed. Though I cannot explore here the implications of such facts for the processes by which enslaved Africans created a distinctive culture or for the ways newly arrived Africans were actually perceived and fit into New World slave society (see Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past* [Philadelphia, 1976]), it is an error of judgment for Haley to project upon Kizzy and her generation what is, in effect, the cultural gap with Africa which he himself feels today.

Finally, the search for Haley's roots itself, at once the most ballyhooed and controversial aspect of the whole enterprise. For both methodological and factual reasons, Haley's African connection—the identification of Massa Waller's slave "Toby" with a "Kunta Kinte" from Juffure—seems, at best, a well-meant error. Haley's description of his visits

to The Gambia in the final pages of *Roots* is methodologically unsettling to the anthropologist or historian experienced in this kind of research. That this tremendously enthusiastic visitor from across the waters, having innocently set himself up on a previous visit, finally received from a pseudo-griot in Juffure precisely what he wanted to hear seems an almost inescapable conclusion, upon close reading of the text. Mark Ottaway's recent reportage (*The Sunday Times of London,* April 10, 1977) only confirms what scholars who have worked in The Gambia had previously been saying in private: Kebba Fofana was a ne'er-do-well opportunist and certainly not a griot, who gave Haley what he had learned in advance Haley had come for. I cannot do justice to Ottaway's critique which, given the temptations for sensationalism, seems a surprisingly thoughtful piece of journalism, but several of his conclusions deserve mention: (1) The only "Kunta Kinte" who is remembered in Juffure, and the man Fofana told Haley about, was almost certainly born in the *nineteenth* century. (2) No one in Juffure can name a single ancestor other than "Kunta Kinte" who was ever taken away to slavery. (3) Juffure in 1767 (as Willie Lee Rose, drawing on the work of Philip D. Curtin, has already persuasively argued in *The New York Review of Books*) bore no resemblance either to the Edenic village depicted by Haley or to present-day Juffure, but was instead a bustling center of trade surrounded by white enclaves with which it did business, and was the chief city of Ndanco Sonko, King of Ñomi (= Nyumi or Barra), who controlled the regional slave trade, making it completely implausible that two whites would have dared to come ashore to capture one of his subjects. In short—and the actual historical data on Juffure in this period are fairly rich—I find the factual case against Haley's version of this African connection compelling. That Haley had a seventh-generation ancestor who worked the Waller plantations in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, seems demonstrable; that this man came from The Gambia is an intriguing speculation; but, as Ottaway concludes, "that his name was Kunta Kinte, that he lived in Juffure, or that he was captured by slavers in 1767" has in no way been demonstrated. Nor shall it ever be.

Does it really matter? Omoro and Binta, Kunta Kinte's parents, represent 2 of 256 contemporaneous bloodlines that (reportedly) lead directly to Haley. Some, such as that of Kinte's wife Bell, probably have American roots reaching back into the earliest years of colonization; others, such as that of the Jacksons, belong to gentry who were enjoying the easy life in Irish great houses at the time Kinte was working the Virginia soil; and still others may lead from Africans who made the crossing years *after* the historical Kinte. Truly, an American family; and, from the content of the book to its ongoing public reception, an American phenomenon. One wonders how a Japanese, Frenchman, or Iraqi will react on reading a translation of the book. Their own equivalent of a puzzled shrug or an uncomprehending yawn, I would suppose.

Several years ago, Haley published a preview of the book's final section in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine.* On reading it, a distinguished colleague (and close friend) was moved to write a letter of appreciation, even as I needled him for not questioning what I already saw as a methodologically implausible African connection. In retrospect, I may have been the more shortsighted. For with that peculiar American mix of moralism, hucksterism, and down-home good humor, Haley has captured our attention and focused it, if only momentarily, on what may be at once our nation's deepest tragedy and most compelling dream.

The Johns Hopkins University RICHARD PRICE

Book Notes

Savannah: A Renaissance of the Heart. By Betsy Fancher. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. 157. $7.95.) *Savannah* was written by a former senior editor of *Atlanta Magazine,* Betsy Fancher. This book of appreciation of a charming city will not give historians information they don't already have. It will, however, introduce the general public to the beauty of a city, once alive, then allowed to decline, and finally beautifully restored. The city was founded and planned by General James Oglethorpe in 1733. Philadelphia's city planner, Edmund Bacon, called Savannah the "best planned city in the U.S.A." Savannah is a city of squares, many of which are parks, some containing statues of famous Savannahians. The open squares are surrounded by graceful nineteenth-century mansions and row homes. Nineteen fifty-four was the start of an uphill but successful climb that has restored downtown Savannah and made it into the most unusual city it presently is, where people from different parts of the country have come to settle in the inner city, restore old row homes, and live with many diverse people. Historic Savannah, a non-profit citizens' group, deserves credit for this transformation. There are many interesting chapters on Savannah's past and historic people: John Wesley, the dueling code – which Ms. Fancher feels is quite important – the adventurer Lamar, ghosts, and of course, the Civil War. We are brought into the present and introduced to the Water Lords who, according to Ms. Fancher, have already spent much money cleaning the city and reducing water pollution. For the tourist there is a chapter on dining and drinking in Savannah. The book has an ample supply of black and white illustrations, mostly of the city's architecture. The illustrations complement well the text, and together they tell us the story of a once flamboyant city, alive again and cherishing its past. [Sandy Esslinger]

Louis J. Feuchter: Chesapeake Bay Artist. By Robert H. Burgess. (Newport News: The Mariners Museum, 1976. Pp. X, 70. $7.95.) Louis J. Feuchter, a talented Baltimore artist of the first half of the present century, early became enamored of Bay life and watercraft. Although less well known than his other art and design work, his oil paintings and watercolors of marine scenes are of high artistic quality and great historical interest. The author of this booklet knew the artist both personally and professionally over a period of twenty-five years, and has given us a very informative analysis of his career. Chapter 1 outlines his early life and later development. The remaining four chapters, largely through the use of lengthy quotations from personal letters, give a good insight into the complex personality of this man and the increasing frustration he felt with the rapid changes in his environment. By this judicious use of the artist's own comments one feels that he fully knows but little understands the man. The book is nicely illustrated with fourteen large black and white photographs of the artist, his family, and his activities. There are twenty-seven large photographs of the artist's work of which four are in color. [Ferdinand E. Chatard]

Tom Boyle, Master Privateer. By Fred W. Hopkins, Jr. (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1976. Pp. IX, 101. $4.00.) Baltimore has been justly proud of the record of its privateers during the War of 1812. Among our Baltimore privateer captains, the role of Thomas Boyle has always been preeminent. This short factual biography of Boyle fulfills a long-felt need. The author wisely devotes only one-third of the book to recounting Boyle's well-known role in the War of 1812. The first part of the book details

his rise from seaman through captain to shipowner and emphasizes his increasing interest and contributions to the welfare of his adopted city. The latter part of the book discusses a less well known aspect of Boyle's career as a privateersman and smuggler under the flags of the South American revolutionary governments. Five illustrations add considerable interest to the text. One notes with some chagrin the use of "Tom Boyle" as well as the more formal "Boyle" and "Thomas Boyle." The former appellation belies the scholarship of the biography. [Ferdinand E. Chatard]

In 1975 Mrs. Schreiner-Yantis compiled a work which contained about 5,000 titles of genealogical works which were still in print. It was in effect a buying guide for libraries, and professional and amateur genealogists, and such was its success that many publishers who had not taken advantage of the first edition quickly sent in data on their own publications, and with the result it has now been possible to issue vol. 2 under the title *Genealogical and Local History Books in Print*. It contains 410 pages and costs $5.95. Volume 2 contains almost 6,000 new titles and since it includes local history also and is subject classified, it is a vast improvement on the first volume. For those who need to know everything about genealogical publications, both volumes are essential. From the Compiler, 6818 Lois Dr., Springfield, Va. 22150. [P. W. Filby]

Since 1826 the Burke family has issued hundreds of volumes concerning the peerage, baronetage, commoners, landed gentry, etc. for Great Britain and the Dominions. To obtain the latest information on any family it was necessary to search many volumes, but the present work, *Burke's Family Records,* narrows this research to a matter of minutes. Each of the 20,000 family histories are indexed and it is possible to turn to the relevant volume immediately. There is also an excellent bibliography of the volumes issued by the Burke family. From Arco Publishing Co., 219 Park Avenue, NYC 10003, xxxii, 171 pages, for only $12.00. It should be in every library and in most private collections. [P. W. Filby]

The Genealogical Publishing Company of 520 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, 21202, has paid a signal service to the general library by reprinting Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain,* first published in the 1830s. This filled a gap whereby those not ennobled could be safely "segregated" from the peers, barons and knights! Strangely it has never been reprinted until 1977, and it is a welcome addition particularly since the Ormerod index of 1907, also long out of print, has been added to the last volume. The 4-volume set has 3,113 pages and costs $85. The same company has recently reissued earlier reprints of Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland,* 2nd edition published in 1841, 644 pages for only $20, and Burke's *General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales,* first published 1884, cxxx, 1,185 pages for $42.50. [P. W. Filby]

Suburbia: The American Dream and Dilemma. Edited by Philip C. Dolce. (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976. Pp. 225. $2.95.) No doubt the majority of readers of this book will be residents of suburbia, that "middle ground between nature's beauty and civilization's conveniences. . . . " As the dominant pattern of American urbanization continues to be the movement from city to suburb, it is natural that both scholars and suburbanites express greater interest in the causes and consequences of that process. This inexpensive paperback provides the reader with eight intelligent, up-to-date essays on when and why suburbs developed, what the current problems are, and what promises or dilemmas our suburbs might offer for the future. Urban historians, artists, city planners, and reformers present their views on the suburbanization of

America and include some revealing comparisons with Western Europe. The combination of viewpoints results in a good paperback for the college classroom or for the informed reader. [Dean R. Esslinger]

Law and Order in the Capital City: A History of the Washington Police, 1800–1886. By Kenneth G. Alfers. *G. W. Washington Studies* (Washington: George Washington University, 1976. Pp. v, 58. $3.00.) In this fifth brief volume of the George Washington University series on the nation's capital, Kenneth G. Alfers presents an institutional history written mainly from the records of the police department that are in the National Archives. In pursuing his purpose "to provide the first unbiased and thorough account of the Washington police force . . . ," he reaches several conclusions. Like other agencies and services of the D.C. government in the nineteenth century, the police were continuously frustrated by the indifference of Congress and the lack of autonomy. In other respects, Alfers concludes, Washington police faced problems typical of urban law enforcement organizations elsewhere: political interference and corruption, unattractive working conditions and low pay, and abuse of power—in the case of Washington, particularly against blacks. On the whole Washington's police department bore a close resemblance to that of other major urban centers. Mr. Alfers's account, though plainly written and interrupted by too many typographical errors, is a competent effort. [Dean R. Esslinger]

CORRECTION: The price of Feudal Genealogy, by Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr., noted in the *MHM,* vol. 71, no. 4 (Winter 1976): 584, should be $5.00 (with .50 mailing charges), not $2.50 as printed.

Notes and Queries

DUTCH LANGUAGE MANUSCRIPTS

The New York State Library is seeking information about Dutch language manuscripts from the New Netherland period (1621–1674) in U.S. repositories. This search is now being supported by a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission to prepare a guide to documents relating to New Netherland. The project director will be Charles T. Gehring, who is presently translating the records of New Netherland at the New York State Library. In addition to pertinent descriptive information, each entry in the guide will contain citations of any printed and/or manuscript translations of the Dutch documents; also, the guide will indicate access-information on documents which have been copied and arranged for the New Netherland Collection at the New York State Library. The guide should provide researchers with the requisite accessibility to source material for a thorough examination of this period of American colonial history. Any information concerning the location of documents relating to New Netherland should be sent to: Charles T. Gehring, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library, Albany, N.Y. 12234.

OLD-TIME ARTS AND CRAFTS

The Steppingstone Museum of Harford County, Maryland, will present its seventh annual Old-Time Arts and Crafts Festival on June 4 and 5, 1977. This museum affords an opportunity for the present generation to see and experience how their forefathers lived and worked a hundred and more years ago. Featuring some fifty craft demonstrations and an extensive museum of 14,000 artifacts of rural life in the 1800s, the Festival will be held from 10 to 5 P.M. on Saturday, June 4, and 12 to 5 P.M. on Sunday, June 5.

Steppingstone Museum is also open to visitors from May through mid-October each Saturday and Sunday afternoon from 1 to 5 P.M. It is located on Rt. 136, in Street, 3 miles north of Rt. 1, midway between Dublin and Whiteford in Harford County.

CORRESPONDENCE OF LYDIA MARIA CHILD

For the definitive microfilm edition of the complete correspondence of Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880) that we are preparing for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission we would appreciate any help in locating letters, both to her and from her, including those in private hands. Lydia Maria Child was an advocate of women's rights, author of fiction and books on household management, and an active anti-slavery worker and newspaper editor. Information should be sent to: Milton Meltzer and Patricia Barber, Editors, New Africa House, Room 303, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass. 01003.

TEACHING OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

The Newberry Library, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, will sponsor national conferences on College Teaching of State and Local History for two more years. These conferences will provide a forum for the exchange of new ideas, fresh techniques, and innovative teaching strategies, including student archival research, community and demographic studies, oral history, film production, cooperation with museums, etc. Ten to fifteen fellowships will be available for college teachers wishing to spend the spring semester at the Newberry in research, writing, or curriculum development in the field of state or local history. The conference will be held from January 12–15, 1978. Applications are due October 15, 1977. Teachers, researchers, archivists, librarians and curators are invited to write for further information to the Family and Community History Center, The Newberry Library, 60 W. Walton, Chicago, IL 60610.

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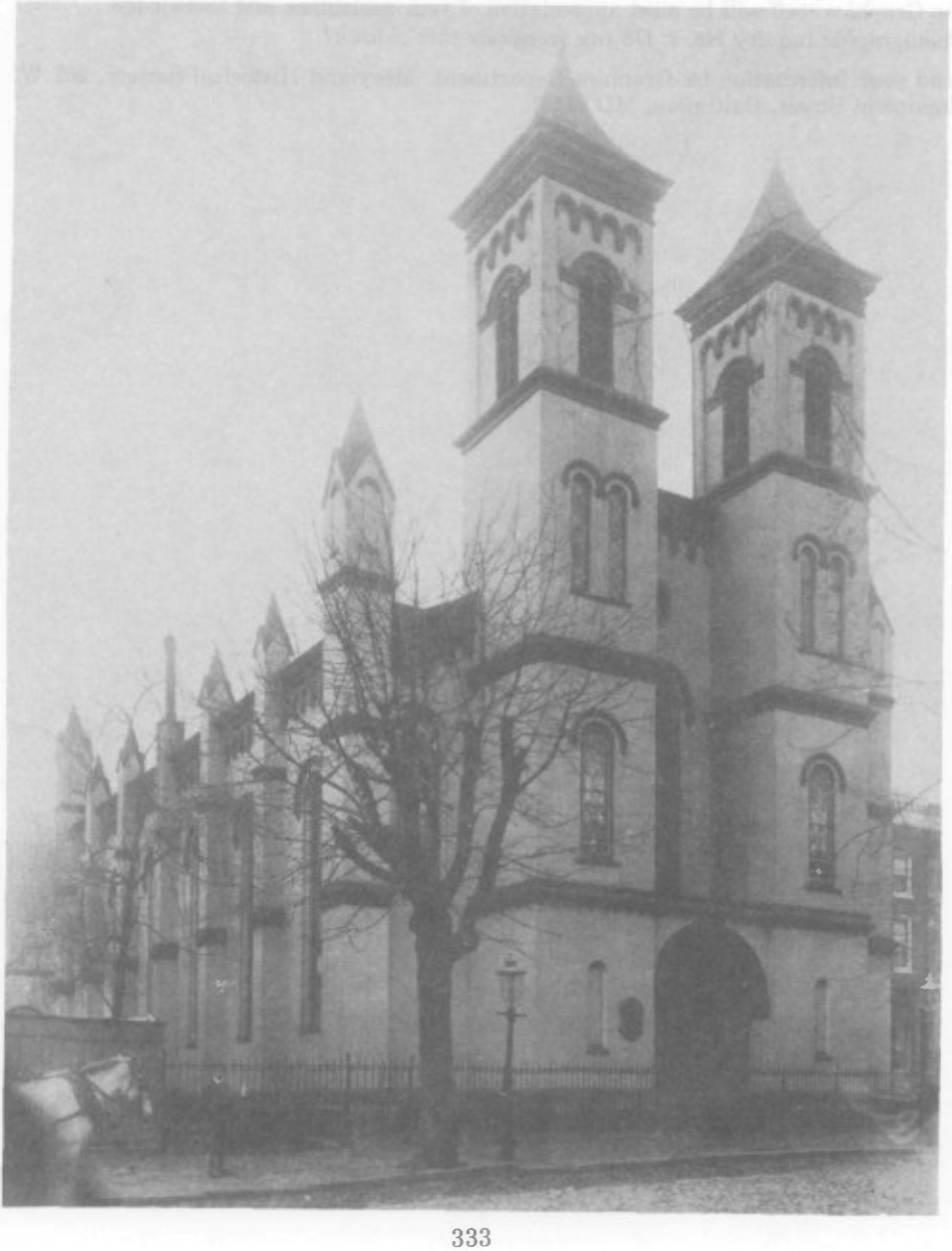
The Maryland Historical Society's Graphics Department, which originated as a library division in 1966, will have the opportunity to initiate a cataloging program as a result of the Society's NEH grant. The focus of this project will be our photographic collection, which is presently restricted to staff usage due to an in-house system of filing. By soliciting the membership's input, we are hoping to document the identification of photographs either incorrectly marked or unlabelled.



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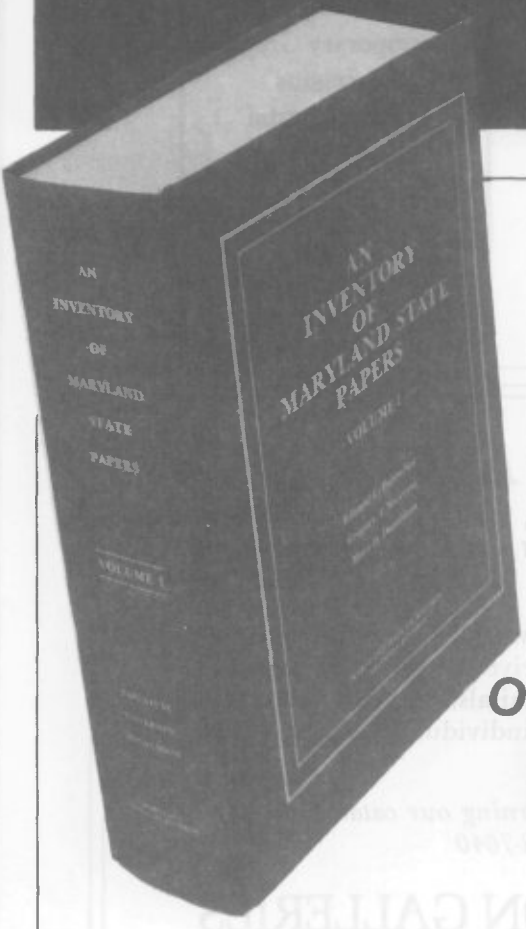

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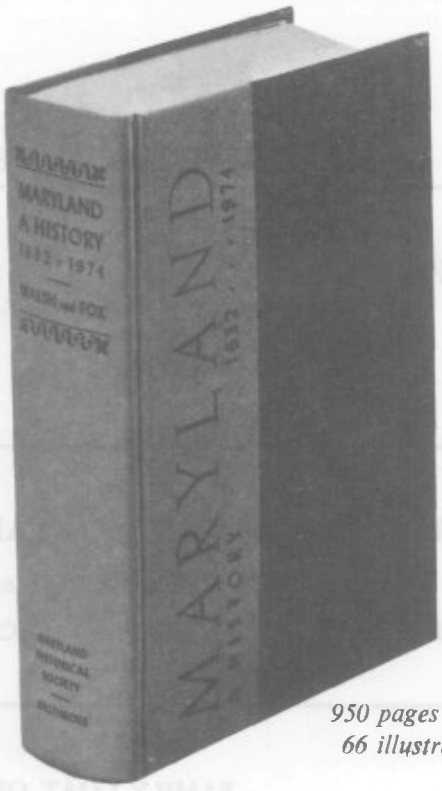

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