MSA SC 5881-1-329

Maryland Historical Magazine

Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Winter 1987

Maryland Historical Magazine Vol. 82 No. 4 Winter 1987

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ISSN-0025-4258

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Editor's Corner

The magazine this year has tried to cover topics in each of the four centuries that frame the Maryland record. Though future volumes may not consist so neatly of century-theme issues, we do again solicit essays exploring the "recent past"—the years that mature persons may recall but wish to reflect upon and that younger ones seem all too often to miss in school because the semester ended too quickly.

In this issue Garrett Power discusses an interesting and instructive zoning case from the early twentieth century—wherein, as many of us know, struggles over zoning and development have been at the heart of local experience. Drawing from a paper she gave at the "Torchlights to Television" conference at the MHS last fall, Jo Ann E. Argersinger next explores the extent to which the New Deal made Baltimore politics new—the tenacity of traditional politicians as against the power of newly active constituencies. The "Research Notes" section contains a picture album returning attention to a long-forgotten Maryland artist. Though on the cover we take liberties with one of his etchings, adding color for the sake of the season, Mr. Doyle's daughter, author of the piece, cheerfully grants her permission.

In the same spirit, the editors wish all readers a joyful holiday.

Cover design: "Cathedral {now Basilica} of the Assumption from a New Angle." Etching by James Doyle (Baltimore News, *1913).*

Pyrrhic Victory: Daniel Goldman's Defeat of Zoning in the Maryland Court of Appeals

GARRETT POWER

Nowadays government regulation of the use of urban land is taken for granted. Such was not always the case. Some sixty years ago, the Maryland Court of Appeals held it unconstitutional for Zoning Commissioner J. Frank Crowther to deny Daniel Goldman's request for a permit to operate a tailor shop in the basement of his house in the Eutaw Place neighborhood of Baltimore, Maryland.

This paper examines the case of *Goldman v. Crowther*.[1] Daniel Goldman's story reads like a comic melodrama with a tragic ending. But the saga also illuminates the social condition—it sheds light and casts shadows on the practice of xenophobia, the nature of law, and the excesses of regulation.

◆

Daniel Goldman arrived in Baltimore in 1913, a twenty-three year old immigrant from Russia. Ten years later he was operating a tailor shop at 410 Park Avenue, in a bustling commercial section of downtown Baltimore, and living with his wife, Annie, over the shop.[2]

But not for long. Goldman had plans to move uptown. On 9 April 1923, he purchased a house at 1513 Park Avenue near Eutaw Place, one of Baltimore's grandest residential neighborhoods. The building, a four-story row house, already had a basement entrance. The Goldmans would live upstairs and operate a shop in the basement.[3]

On 19 May 1923, the city council passed a zoning law which divided Baltimore into districts. The Goldman property was located in a residential district, and under the terms of the ordinance it could only be used for residential purposes. Zoning Commissioner J. Frank Crowther denied Goldman's request for a permit to operate a shop in the basement.[4]

Daniel Goldman hired general practitioner James E. Tippett as his attorney. Lawyer Tippett disdained an administrative appeal to the Board of Zoning Appeals. Instead he had Goldman open his shop without a permit and suffer conviction of a misdemeanor. The cause having been ripened, Goldman then sought a writ of mandamus ordering issuance of a permit on the grounds that the ordinance was unconstitutional.[5]

Daniel Goldman was a perfect plaintiff for a constitutional challenge. He had bought 1513 Park Avenue shortly before enactment of the zoning ordinance and

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Mr. Garrett Power, professor of law at the University of Maryland School of Law, has prepared this article as a chapter from a book in progress on the development of twentieth-century Baltimore.

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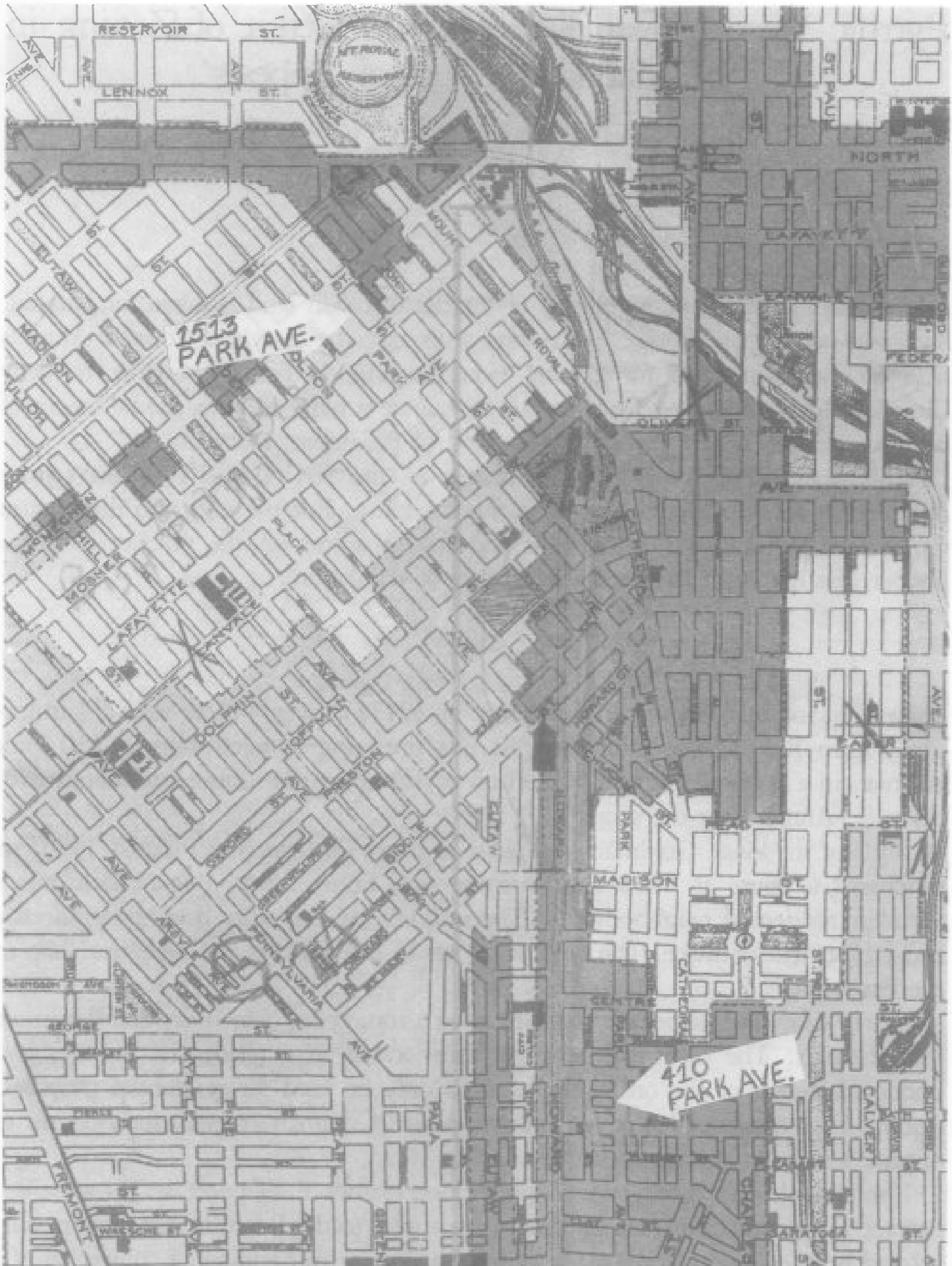
VOL. 82, NO. 4, WINTER 1987


RESERVOIR ST.
LENNOX ST.
NORTH
LAFAYETTE
FEDERAL
OLIVER ST.
1513 PARK AVE.
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DOLPHIN
HOFFMAN
PRESTON
BIDDLE
PENNSYLVANIA
EAGER
READ ST.
MADISON ST.
CENTRE
CATHEDRAL
ST. PAUL
410 PARK AVE.
HOWARD
EUTAW
CHARLES
CALVERT
SARATOGA
LEXINGTON
FREMONT
FAYETTE
BALTIMORE

FIGURE 1: A portion of the Use District Map which was part of the zoning ordinance of 1923. Clear areas are residential districts, shaded areas are commercial districts. Arrows indicate the location of Daniel Goldman's two houses. (Source: Maryland Historical Society.)

therefore had legitimate expectation of commercial use. Tailoring was clean and quiet. Denial of a permit could not be justified as the abatement of a nuisance.

The mandamus suit was heard in December of 1923 by Judge Charles Heuisler of the Baltimore Supreme Bench. He denied the writ and upheld the constitutionality of the ordinance. In his oral opinion Heuisler said:

> The growth of Baltimore has been restricted too much by indiscriminate building. Many of our most beautiful residential sections have been encroached upon by commercial houses, and as a result the city has been handicapped by this manner of growth.[6]

After making his ruling Judge Heuisler gratuitously suggested another use for zoning. He proposed that the Board of Zoning Appeals create zones within the city into which white persons could not move, and other zones into which Negroes could not move, thereby preventing the Negro invasion of white neighborhoods.[7]

City officials shushed the suggestion.[8] Just six years before the court had struck down as unconstitutional a law which divided residential Baltimore into white blocks and black blocks.[9] In the aftermath Mayor Howard Jackson had created a Committee on Segregation to promote *de facto* segregation. The Real Estate Board of Baltimore, the City Building Inspector, the Health Department, and white

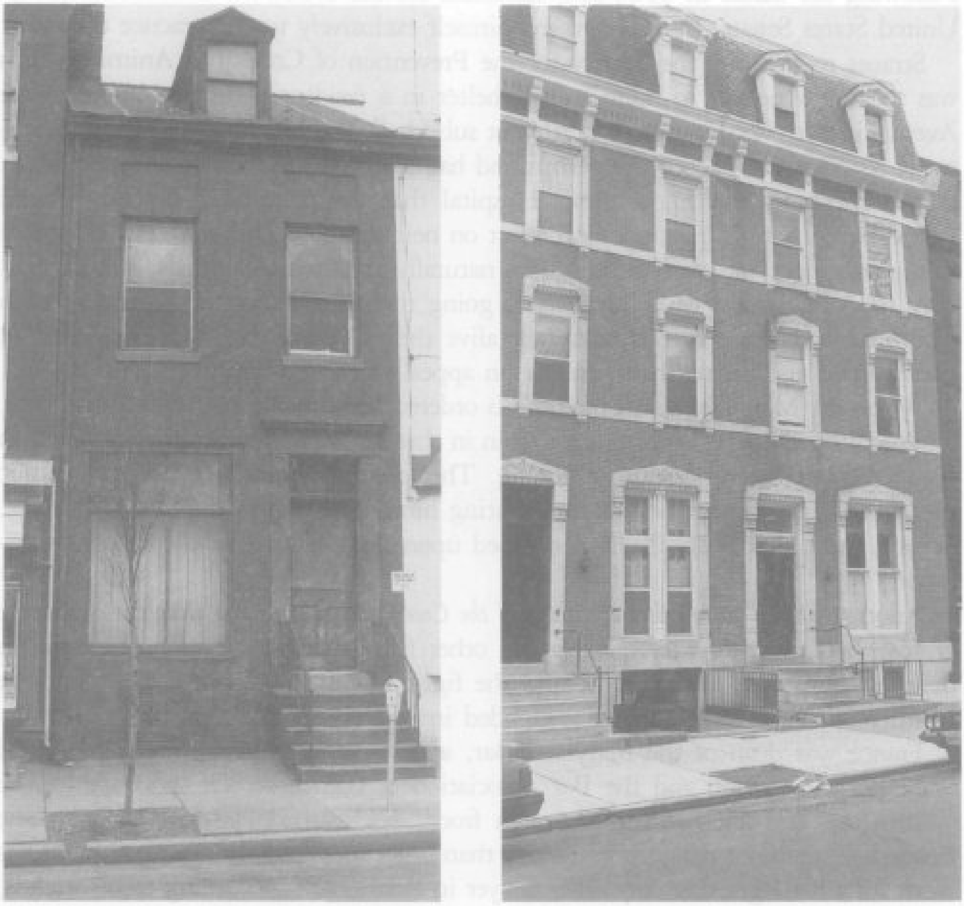

FIGURE 2. *Left,* 410, and *right,* 1513 Park Avenue as they appeared in recent years. (Photo: Aaron Levin.)

neighborhood associations were joined in a loose treaty which discouraged residential sales or rentals to Negroes in white neighborhoods.[10] Zoning contributed by creating districts which tended to divide the populace according to their stations in life (and consequently according to their race and nationality). On the surface, racial neutrality protected zoning from legal challenge.

James E. Tippett appealed Goldman's case to the Maryland Court of Appeals. Arguments were held at the April term of 1924 and addressed the question of whether the ordinance was a valid exercise of the city's police power. Tippett made the argument on behalf of Goldman. The city was represented by City Solicitor Philip B. Perlman (who also served as a member of Mayor Jackson's Committee on Segregation).[11]

The high court was unable to make up its mind. It ordered reargument at the October term of 1924.[12] And there was another development. The Maryland Court of Appeals granted leave for the filing of *amicus curiae* briefs by two friends of the court. On reargument general practitioner Tippett would be assisted in his attack on zoning by two giants of the Maryland Bar—Isaac Lobe Strauss and Joseph France.[13]

Strauss was a self-styled progressive Democrat who from 1907 to 1911 had served as the Maryland Attorney General, the highest law officer of the state. Following his defeat in 1914 as a candidate for the Democrat nomination to the United States Senate, he had devoted himself exclusively to the practice of law.[14]

Strauss represented the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals which was seeking a permit to build a dog shelter in a residential district off Belvedere Avenue in Mt. Washington, a northwest suburb.[15] The Mt. Washington Improvement Association opposed the permit and had adduced testimony from a physician at the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital that the proximity of a dog pound would have a serious psychological affect on neighborhood children. The substance of the statement was that the children, naturally attracted to animals, and particularly to dogs, would never know after going to bed whether the same dog with whom he had made friends would be alive the following day.[16] The permit had been denied and Strauss had pending an appeal to the Baltimore City Court.

When the Maryland Court of Appeals ordered reargument in the Goldman case, Strauss jumped at the opportunity to join in that case as a friend of the court and to argue the unconstitutionality of zoning. The fervor of Isaac Lobe Strauss's public preaching suggests that he was representing himself as well as the SPCA. Zoning, he said, was: "Viciously illegal and based upon the Communist theory of government."[17]

Another *Special Brief Filed by Leave of the Court* was submitted over the signature of Joseph C. France. City officials and other friends of zoning were interested in determining "what force was behind the fight against the Ordinance,"[18] but the identity of France's client remains clouded in mystery.

France was dean of the Maryland Bar, a past president of both the Maryland State Bar Association and the Bar Association of Baltimore. Of short stature, he wore a cap and felt hat turned up in front. Nicknamed "Little Napoleon," he boasted: "I may not make more money than other members, but I certainly do less work for what I get than any other lawyer in Baltimore." According to his friends, Mr. France never arrived at the office until noon or 11:00 A.M. at the earliest.[19]

Perhaps Joseph C. France was himself the friend of the court who opposed zoning. His ideology made him a likely foe:

> He could not believe in many of the present day ideas. He questioned leveling-off schemes. He wished the strong man to be free to run his race and he doubted that society was helped by the imposition of handicaps. . . . Naturally, therefore, he was skeptical of the devices to make man temperate or kind or charitable by law.[20]

But somehow it seems unlikely that a lawyer devoted to short hours and high pay would work for himself on a matter of principle.

And the historical record provides circumstantial suggestions of who his client was. Since 1906 France had been general counsel for the United Railway and Electric Company which provided Baltimore with trolley service. The company which resulted from a consolidation of street railways had a public franchise as a monopoly. It was regulated at the state level by the Public Service Commission.[21]

The United Railways and Electric Company was no friend of zoning. It had successfully lobbied for an exemption from the provision of the ordinance, but was still required to convince the zoning board that its plans were "reasonably necessary for the convenience and welfare of the public."[22] Better yet, if the zoning ordinance was struck down as unconstitutional, it could conduct business as usual. Presumably Joseph C. France filed the special brief on behalf of the streetcar monopoly.

Following reargument of *Goldman v. Crowther,* the task of delivering the majority opinion of the eight-member Maryland Court of Appeals fell upon Associate Judge T. Scott Offutt. Offutt had been a country lawyer with a "show me" attitude toward progress. While in practice he had represented clients who opposed annexation, sewage treatment and the creation of reservoirs.[23]

Judge Offutt concluded that those portions of the zoning ordinance which attempted to regulate the use of property were void because they restricted Goldman in the enjoyment of his private property by preventing him from operating a tailor shop, and bore no apparent relationship to the public welfare, security, health or morals. A majority of the Maryland Court of Appeals agreed.[24]

Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond filed a dissenting opinion. Bond was descended from one of Maryland's best families and had been well-educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard College. He took his law degree from the college of law of the University of Maryland. He had served on the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City before his appointment to the Court of Appeals.[25]

Chief Judge Bond counseled a judicial deference to the legislative decisions of Baltimore City which were not prohibited by express provisions of the Constitution. He concluded that hubbub of city life justified the adoption of rules which separated business and dwelling places.[26]

The decision in *Goldman v. Crowther* received mixed reviews. Isaac Lobe Strauss was ecstatic:

> No decision of the Court of Appeals in the last fifty years has tended to guard so effectively and so vitally the constitutional rights of the people of Baltimore than ruling in this case.[27]

But the Baltimore *Sun* felt that zoning was too important to fail. It editorialized:

> Public demand for some method of orderly City growth is insistent. The right to protect health, safety and the general welfare by regulating uses to which property

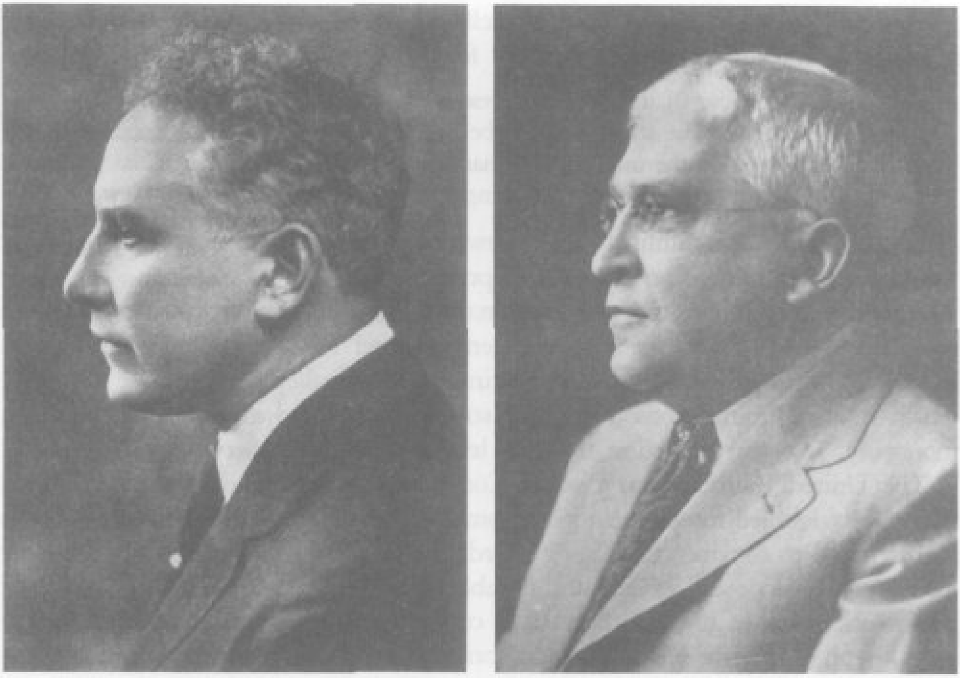

FIGURE 3. *Left,* Isaac Lobe Strauss (from Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland,* 1925), and *right,* Joseph C. France (from *Report of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Maryland Bar Association,* 1917).

> may be put is so necessary a factor in modern city life and there is a consensus of opinion and a way must be found to do so.[28]

City Solicitor Philip B. Perlman had argued and reargued the case of *Goldman v. Crowther* for the City of Baltimore. Although only thirty-five years of age, he already had a substantial career of public service behind him. A graduate of the University of Maryland School of Law, Perlman became a member of the Bar in 1911. In 1917 he accepted appointment from Attorney General Albert C. Ritchie as an assistant. In 1920 when Ritchie became governor, Perlman was appointed secretary of state. In September of 1923 he had resigned that position to accept appointment from Mayor Howard W. Jackson as city solicitor of Baltimore.[29]

Jackson and Perlman had a backup strategy. On 5 February 1925, the day after the Court of Appeals' decision in *Goldman v. Crowther,* City Solicitor Perlman announced his contingency plans:

> . . . I will take the present ordinance, the opinion of the Court of Appeals, the experience of other cities, and write an ordinance that will hold water. I do not think we shall need the help of zoning experts, but they will be called in if their services are found necessary.[30]

On Monday, 9 February 1925, the Baltimore City Council passed a new ordinance without a dissenting vote. The measure was designed to save the *use* feature of the general zoning law. It accomplished this indirectly by requiring that anyone who wished to erect a new building or change the use of an existing building first obtain a permit from the zoning commissioner. The ordinance directed the zoning commissioner to only issue a permit upon a finding that the proposed use would not ". . . in any way menace the public welfare, security, health or morals." When considering permit applications, the zoning commissioner could look to the constitutionally invalidated *use* district maps for guidance. Hence, *use* districts had been replaced by a system of permits but would be changed not at all.[31]

The three lawyers who had opposed the zoning law in the Maryland Court of Appeals reacted differently to Perlman's subterfuge. Isaac Lobe Strauss responded with bombast and defiance; James Tippett stage-managed street theater; and Joseph France bided his time.

Attorney Strauss charged that the Perlman ordinance was "just so much waste paper," "illegal beyond the shadow of a doubt" and "an open and ugly defiance of the recent judgment of the Court of Appeals." He directed the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to begin work on its kennel on Belvedere Avenue without a permit. And rumors were circulated that if the SPCA was denied its kennel that the property would be used to establish a Negro orphanage.[32]

These efforts served the interest of the SPCA not at all. The building inspector shut down the construction for want of a permit. And as a double check the city council passed a special ordinance requiring the mayor's approval before a kennel could be located anywhere in Baltimore City.[33] The SPCA, which was dependent upon Baltimore City for much of its operating budget, determined not to legally challenge these actions. The dog pound was never built. Straus had misplayed the SPCA's hand.

Lawyer James Tippett set about applying for shop permits all over town on behalf of various clients, while proclaiming in the newspapers that he would appeal any denial directly to court.[34] In May of 1925 on behalf of his original client, Daniel Goldman, Tippett announced that 1513 Park Avenue had been leased to Charles Talley, a blind veteran of the World War. Tippett told the press that he would seek to allow operation of a confectionery at the address under the direction of the Veteran's Bureau as part of its plan of vocational training for men maimed in the war.[35]

Several weeks later the scenario was rewritten and Daniel Goldman announced that on the advice of his counsel he had reverted to his original plan and was operating a tailor shop. He proclaimed to the world: "I shall fight the city to my last dollar to win what I considered my right to do business. . . ." Philip Perlman countered with an announcement that he would station a patrolman outside of 1513 Park Avenue to prevent such use of the premises, only to discover there was not actually any tailoring going on.[36]

In July of 1925 the melodrama ended tragically for Goldman. Foreclosure procedures were instituted and 1513 Park Avenue was sold at auction. Denied his tailor shop, Daniel Goldman had been unable to keep up payments on the $4,000 mortgage.[37]

Goldman made one last effort to recoup his losses. In December of 1925 with James Tippett acting as his attorney he filed suit for $10,000 against those city officials who had refused him a permit. He alleged that he was deprived of all income from the property at 1513 Park Avenue in consequence of his inability to operate his business. As a result, he asserted he was unable to make mortgage payments and the property was sold at public auction.[38] The suit met with no apparent success.

As things turned out, another lawyer, C. Arthur Eby, beat James Tippett to the

Court of Appeals with the test case challenging the constitutionality of the Perlman ordinance. Eby represented Mary Tighe who had been denied a permit for construction of a stable in a residential block. He argued that the new law was a hurried effort to give the city "some kind of a zoning law" and was "just as unconstitutional as the old law." Perlman answered that the new ordinance was within the police power since it only prohibited menaces to the public welfare, security, health or morals.[39]

On 10 December 1925, the Court of Appeals by a five to three vote with Judge Offutt again delivering the opinion found the Perlman ordinance unconstitutional. Offutt was concerned that if the police power were extended to "all objects which could be embraced within the meaning of the words 'general welfare' as defined by lexicographers, the constitutions would be so much waste paper, because no right of the individual would be beyond its reach, and every property right and personal privilege and immunity of the citizen could be invaded at the will of the state. . . ." Accordingly, he found the powers delegated to the zoning commissioner unconstitutionally overbroad.[40]

City Solicitor Philip B. Perlman was undaunted. He immediately drafted a third ordinance which was passed by the city council on 14 December 1925 under suspension of rules and was signed by Mayor Jackson before going home for dinner. Perlman simply deleted the phrase "general welfare" from among the concerns of the zoning commissioner. A permit could only be denied upon a finding that the proposed use would menace the "public security, health or morals."[41]

Mary Tighe was once again denied permission for construction of a stable and in April of 1926 a six to two majority on the Maryland Court of Appeals found Perlman's revised ordinance constitutional.[42] Judge Offutt did not write the opinion but acceded to the surprising result. True enough, the language of the ordinance had been changed to delete "general welfare" but the reality of the situation remained the same. The zoning commissioner still had the power to routinely exclude businesses from residential neighborhoods on the grounds that they menaced "public security, health or morals." Almost any shop could be viewed as creating problems of fire protection, police protection, sewerage, and water supply. The only redress of the disappointed shop-keeper was a costly and time consuming appeal to the Board of Zoning Appeals and failing that to the Baltimore City Court. Offutt's concern with the vesting of unbridled discretion in the zoning commissioner remained assuaged, but the Maryland Court of Appeals, faced with an adamant mayor and city council of Baltimore, backed down.

In 1926, Philip B. Perlman resigned as city solicitor and returned to the private practice of law. He was subsequently hired by the United Railway and Electric Company to work with Joseph France as its counsel.[43] France, having lost a skirmish, hired the opposition general for future battles.

In 1956 Daniel Goldman died of lung cancer in the living quarters above his first tailor shop at 410 Park Avenue.[44] The case of *Goldman v. Crowther* has never been overruled.

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There is more than pathos in Daniel Goldman's plight. His story illuminates and elucidates the sociology of segregation, the conflicts inherent in the practice of

FIGURE. 4. Philip B. Perlman (from *Baltimore Municipal Journal,* 1925).

law, the legitimacy of the judicial function, "the death and life of great American cities," and the shortcomings of the rule of law.

Daniel Goldman's *persona,* an immigrant improving himself by dint of his labor, serves as a reminder of how zoning worked at cross purposes to the American Dream. Goldman was not the first immigrant to have ctiminally misused his property. Almost forty years before, Hang Kie, a subject of the Emperor of China, was arrested for operating a laundry in a restricted district in Modesto, California. The Modesto ordinance, adopted in 1899, prohibited the operation of public laundries except within the part of the city which lay west of the railroad tracks. The Modesto ordinance is sometimes said to be the first American zoning law.[45]

Seymote Toll in his book *Zoned American* allows as to how "the immigrant is in the fiber of zoning." He recounts in detail how New York City conceived the first comprehensive zoning law. It was promoted in latge measure by shopowners in mid-town Manhattan who catered to the carriage trade, and who objected to the presence nearby of southeastetn European garment workers.[46] To this xenophobic fabric we would add the black migrant, as well. In Baltimore, zoning was part of the "plan for segregation" which would curtail Negro invasions of white neighborhoods. As sociologist Constance Perin has pointed out, zoning was conceived and implemented to keep everyone in their social place. Zoning rationed access of newcomers to the neighborhoods oldtimers enjoyed. It turned down the flame under the Melting Pot.[47]

In the contest between the lawyers, Philip Perlman seems to have best served the interest of his client. He lost the battles but he won the war. Regardless of the constitutionality of zoning there was to be no tailor shop at 1513 Park Avenue, no kennel in Mt. Washington, and the street railway would be required to get permission before building its trolley barns. Isaac Lobe Strauss's bombast, James Tippett's theater of the absurd, and Joseph France's low key advocacy proved no match for Perlman's persistence.

But by their own lights it is not clear that Tippett, Strauss, and France were losers. According to all appearances Tippett was an ambitious and energetic lawyer, hungry for business. He used the *Goldman* case as an advertisement for himself. Indeed there remains some possibility that Goldman was not the real party in interest. It seems surprising that an immigrant tailor could, in a decade of hard work, save enough to acquire a grand townhouse. Perhaps Daniel Goldman was just an actor (like Charles Talley the blind war veteran) and suffered no real loss. Research in the Baltimore City land records, however, lends no support for such theorizing. Goldman actually purchased the house at 1513 Park Avenue and it, in fact, was subsequently sold at a mortgage foreclosure sale. Regardless of the reality of Goldman's loss, Tippett received a ream of newspaper publicity.

There is no gainsaying that the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was disappointed in its effort to establish an animal shelter in Mt. Washington. But its lawyer, Isaac Lobe Strauss, seemed more interested in a bully pulpit than a dog pound. He was an anti-zoning missionary looking for an opportunity to spread the gospel. When a lawyer represents both himself and his client, the client gets the short shrift.

The United Railway and Electric Company fared better. The friends of zoning were numerous and influential. The opposition of United Railways was understated and low key, so as to protect its goodwill. And when it became clear that zoning was an idea whose time had come, cooption served the regulated monopoly better than confrontation. Philip Perlman was hired for future dealings with the regulators.

The split of the Maryland Court of Appeals in the case of *Goldman v. Crowther* is emblematic of the most familiar jurisprudential issue. Whether the rule of law is to be found in the linguistic analysis of the text or in the social and economic evaluation of the consequences, is a question which refuses to stay answered. For the majority, Associate Judge T. Scott Offutt observed that the constitutionality of the Baltimore City Zoning Ordinance was a question that could be approached by either of two avenues: one legal, the other political and sociological. He adopted the legal view.[48] Under this approach a state's police power might be exercised only to the extent necessary to protect public health, safety or morals, and the job of the court was to closely scrutinize the zoning ordinance to make sure that it was not being used to serve other purposes.[49] Offutt concluded that under the guise of the police power, property was being taken for "purely aesthetic reasons" and to serve the "general prosperity." Accordingly he held the use provisions unconstitutional.[50]

In dissent, Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond took a different view of the judicial function. He agreed with the views expressed by Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo of the New York Court of Appeals at a series of lectures at Yale Law School in 1921. Cardozo argued that a concern for social justice was becoming a directive force of law and that legislatures ought to be permitted to pursue it. The role of the courts was only to review restrictive legislation to see whether it was inconsistent with constitutional liberties; in making this review great deference should be given to the legislature's judgment; and legislation should be upheld unless it cannot be said to have social value.[51] Using this approach Chief Judge Bond determined that the legislative separation of business and dwelling places violated no express provisions of the Constitution and had the social value of improving living conditions.[52]

So successful was the public relations campaign and so well placed politically and socially were its proponents, that in the decades immediately following *Goldman v. Crowther* it was unfashionable to stand in opposition to zoning. But in her iconoclastic best seller of 1961, *The Death and Life of the Great American Cities,*[53] Jane Jacobs slaughtered the sacred cow. Jacobs, a brilliantly undisciplined defender of American cities went for the jugular—zoning, she argued, is destructive to city life.

The basic assumption underlying zoning was that cities would be more attractive and comfortable places in which to live if business places were separated from dwelling places. Jacobs challenged this Garden City theory as creating neighborhoods, matriarchal, inconvenient, and unsafe. Residential monotony and the attendant lack of public contact limited commercial choice and cultural interest, and created a fear of the streets, she argued.

Jane Jacobs illustrated the shortcoming of homogeneous residential neighborhoods with an anecdote. She recalled a friend, Penny Kostritsky, who lived on a street of nothing but residences embedded in an area with nothing but residences. The friend had two small children and looked forward to the casual contact with others to be found in sidewalk life. But the neighborhood had no shops. There was nothing to bring people together. "If only we had a couple of stores on the street," Penny Kostritsky lamented.[54] In 1961 Mrs. Kostritsky lived in Baltimore at 1311 John Street just two blocks away from where Daniel Goldman had attempted to open his tailor shop in 1923.[55]

Daniel Goldman's defeat of zoning in the Maryland Court of Appeals proved a pyrrhic victory. When the court first struck down zoning as unconstitutional, the city enacted a new ordinance. When the court struck down the second ordinance, the city enacted a third, at which point the Maryland Court of Appeals compromised its precedents and sustained an open-ended delegation of regulatory power. The rule of law proved no match for the persistence of legislative power.

Philip Perlman knew and Daniel Goldman learned the hard way that officials had little to lose from overzealous zoning. Notwithstanding the constitutional prohibition against the "takings," government could legislatively deprive landowners of use and enjoyment of private property with virtual impunity. Even if the legislation was judicially overturned, there was no out-of-pocket cost to the city. And indeed the city could amend the ordinance and force the disappointed landowner to start the time-consuming and expensive appeal process all over again.

In 1987 the United States Supreme Court finally took a step designed to keep the zoners honest. *First English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Glendale v. County of Los Angeles* held that when the government has "taken" property by land-use regulation, damages may be recovered by the landowner for the losses he suffered between the application of the regulation and its appeal.[56] The Court embraced the reasoning of a previous dissent authored by Justice William Brennan:

> [T]he threat of financial liability for unconstitutional police power regulation would help produce a more rational basis of decision-making that weighs the cost of the

> restrictions against their benefits. Such liability might also encourage municipalities to err on the constitutional side of police power regulations, and to develop internal rules and operating procedures to minimize overzealous regulatory attempts. After all the policemen must know the constitution, why not a planner?[57]

To which Daniel Goldman says "Amen!"

NOTES

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2. *Certificate of Death #56 10468,* Baltimore City Health Department; *Record* at 3–4, *Brief for Appellant* at 1–3, *Brief for Appellee* at 4–5, *Goldman v. Crowthers,* 147 Md. 282, 128 A. 50 (1925).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. *Record In the Court of Appeals of Maryland,* Appeal from the Superior Court of Baltimore City *Goldman v. Crowther,* April Term 1924 [hereinafter *Record: Goldman v. Crowther*].
6. Baltimore *Sun,* 28 December 1923, p. 3.
7. Baltimore *Sun,* 29 December 1923, p. 8.
8. Baltimore *Sun,* 30 December 1923, p. 4.
9. *Jackson v. State,* 132 Md. 312, 103 A. 910 (1918).
10. See Garrett Power, "Apartheid Baltimore Style: The Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910–1913," *Maryland Law Review* 42(1983): 289–328.
11. *Record: Goldman v. Crowther,* p. 15; Baltimore *Sun,* 1 May 1924, p. 7.
12. Baltimore *Sun,* 2 July 1924, p. 7.
13. *Record: Goldman v. Crowther.*
14. Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland,* Vol. II. (Baltimore: S. J. Clarke, 1923), pp. 46–47.
15. Baltimore *Sun,* 5 February 1925, p. 4.
16. Baltimore *Sun,* 8 February 1925, p. 6.
17. Baltimore *Sun,* 10 February 1925, p. 4.
18. Baltimore *Sun,* 25 February 1925, p. 4.
19. "Joseph C. France," Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
20. Ibid.
21. Laws of Maryland 1910, Ch. 180, p. 338.
22. Baltimore *Sun,* 13 January 1923, p. 3; *Baltimore Ordinance* No. 922, Sec. 27 (1923).
23. *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (N.Y.: James T. White & Co. 1938), Vol. E, p. 212.
24. 147 Md. at 285–312.
25. *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (1938), Vol. E, p. 525.
26. 147 Md. at 312–323.
27. Baltimore *Sun,* 5 February 1925, p. 4.
28. Baltimore *Sun,* 3 July 1924, p. 12.
29. "Philip B. Perlman," Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
30. Baltimore *Sun,* 6 February 1925, pp. 22, 4.

31. *Baltimore Ordinance* No. 334 (1925); Baltimore *Sun,* 10 February 1925, p. 26, 4.

32. Baltimore *Sun,* 10 February 1923, p. 4; 12 February 1923, p. 22; 19 February 1925, p. 4

33. *Baltimore Ordinance* No. 375 (1925).

34. Baltimore *Sun,* 14 February 1925, p. 3; 18 February 1925; p. 3; 21 March 1925, p. 3; 2 April 1925, p. 3.

35. Baltimore *Sun,* 23 May 1925, p. 3.

36. Baltimore *Sun,* 28 June 1925, p. 18; 30 June 1925, p. 28, p. 4.

37. Baltimore *Sun,* 25 July 1925, p. 24.

38. Baltimore *Sun,* 19 December 1925, p. 22.

39. Baltimore *Sun,* 7 June 1925, p. 3; 18 June 1925, p. 3; 8 October 1925.

40. *Tighe v. Osborne* (I) 149 Md. 349, 357 (1925).

41. Baltimore *Sun,* 15 December 1925, p. 26; *Baltimore City Ordinance,* No. 522 (1925).

42. *Tighe v. Osborne* (II) 150 Md. 452 (1926).

43. "Philip B. Perlman," Vertical File, Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

44. *Certificate of Death #56 10468,* Baltimore City Health Department.

45. *In re Hang Kie,* 69 Cal. 149 (1886); W. L. Pollard, "Outline of the Law of Zoning in the United States," *Zoning in the United States: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 155 (May 1931) pp. 15–33.

46. Seymour Toll, *Zoned American* (N.Y.: Grossman Pub., 1969) pp. 29, 173–187.

47. Constance Perin, *Everything in Its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977) pp. 193–209.

48. *Goldman v. Crowther,* 147 Md. at 287.

49. 147 Md. at 293.

50. 147 Md. at 302.

51. B. Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921) p. 76.

52. 147 Md. at 319.

53. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

54. Ibid. at p. 63.

55. *Polk's Baltimore Official Street Guide Directory* (Baltimore: R. L. Polk & Co., 1961).

56. 482 U.S.—— 107 S. Ct. 2378 (1987).

57. *San Diego Electric Co. v. City of San Diego,* 450 U.S. at 661 fn. 26 (1981) (citations omitted).

Toward a Roosevelt Coalition: The Democratic Party and the New Deal in Baltimore

JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's reelection victory in 1936 was a decisive one in Baltimore; he won 68.3 percent of the major-party vote as Baltimore's citizens endorsed the New Deal and the active government it represented. Few cities matched that level of popular support; Baltimore ranked sixth of the nation's twelve largest cities in the percentage of the vote given to FDR, running ahead of such urban centers as Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia.[1] But Roosevelt's rousing Baltimore victory occurred in a city dominated by politicians committed to states rights and local prerogative. Indeed, Baltimore's mayor from 1931 to 1943, Howard W. Jackson, was an old-guard Democrat who denounced the New Deal as a dangerous departure from established practices and values. The city's major newspaper, the Baltimore *Sun,* mirrored Jackson's sentiments, for it also rejected the enlarged role of the federal government and deplored what it regarded as an all too powerful president.

To understand the popular support for both Roosevelt and his detractors in Baltimore involves an important effort to tease out the complexities of factional politics in the Democratic Party, to trace the shifting electorates in local and national elections, and to analyze the changing policies precipitated by an era of unprecedented hardship and governmental activism.

When Roosevelt assumed office in 1933, Baltimore's unemployment rate stood at almost 21 percent, there was a banking crisis, and nearly every Baltimorean was eager for legal beer. President Roosevelt's prompt actions on banking and beer won him widespread praise; even the *Sun* crowed that "Mr. Roosevelt *is* a leader" and commended his "speed and initiative" in dealing with these issues. Baltimoreans toasted the new president in taverns and tea rooms; they ratified the prohibition repeal amendment by a 10 to 1 margin. Many city residents agreed with their Democratic governor, Albert C. Ritchie, when he elevated the end to prohibition to an issue of despotism versus democracy, touting repeal as a "rededication of the people of America to the precepts of democracy." And although the bank holiday led to minor inconvenience for some, hardship for others, and a series of improprieties on the part of state and local officials, city bankers, and a prestigious law firm, by March 1933 most of the city's banks had re-opened for business.[2]

The more pressing problem of assisting the unemployed, however, proved more divisive and persistent. One family in six was dependent on the dwindling re-

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sources of the city's private relief agencies. Without a municipal department of welfare, Baltimore appeared in 1933 unprepared to accept the new social responsibility of aiding those without jobs. Moreover, the financing of relief assistance strained intergovernmental relations, pitting the city against the counties, the municipal government against the state, and the federal government against both city and state. It also divided "reliefers" from the rest of society, business leaders from social workers, and Democrats from Democrats.

Partisanship did not prove sufficient to rally all Democrats under one banner in the 1930s in Baltimore. Although traditional bossism had long since disappeared with the deaths of U.S. Senator and state boss Arthur Pue Gorman in 1906 and Baltimore city boss I. Freeman Rasin in 1907, the local Democratic party remained divided, beset with personal rivalries and factional skirmishes. In the 1930s, the struggle was led, on the one hand, by William Curran, an Irish Catholic reared in Baltimore and a graduate of the University of Maryland Law School and the John S. (Frank) Kelly organization of the Democratic party. Mayor Howard Jackson led the opposing faction. Although he was not a native Baltimorean and had no comparable ethnic credentials, Jackson had served faithfully in the John J. (Sonny) Mahon wing of the party and had successfully built a major insurance business in the city of Baltimore.[3]

Neither faction offered the Roosevelt administration unconditional support for the New Deal. And often the policies of FDR served only to fuel the long-standing feuds at the local level. Both sides, for example, attempted to use the New Deal programs to cement loyalties, win converts, discredit each other, or advance their own economic interests. Their activities were unusually transparent and served to alienate federal officials who publicly lamented the absence of party allegiance among Baltimore's leaders while privately recording the questionable economic activities of both Curran and Jackson. According to one report, for example, Curran profited enormously from the "unsavory" connections that grew out of his membership in a criminal law firm whereas Jackson, described as a "keen businessman without social vision," used both city and federal money to boost business for his own insurance company.[4]

President Roosevelt did not receive a warm reception at the state level either. Although U.S. Senator George Radcliffe supported the president, Governor Ritchie, Senator Millard Tydings, and virtually all the state legislators denounced what they regarded as federal encroachments on their authority and decried increased spending to provide unemployment assistance and work relief. Ritchie portrayed the New Deal in rather stark terms—an "un-American" assault on personal liberties and an effort to create a "public [relief] trough" where people enjoyed "feeding." Once started, he added, "it's a hard matter to get them away from it."[5] But Ritchie's opposition to Roosevelt and the New Deal stemmed from other sources as well. He had desperately wanted the 1932 Democratic presidential nomination, and his failure to secure it hurt his standing at home and signalled his decline in popularity.

Ritchie's ally, Senator Tydings, also proved a troublesome critic of the New Deal. He opposed the administration on eighteen of twenty-five major policy questions, voting against the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the Wagner

Act, and abstaining on the Social Security Act. Finally, the state assembly, which disproportionately represented the interests of the less populated counties, felt little sympathy for the jobless residents of Baltimore. County legislators dismissed those in need of aid as "unworthy cases" and called assistance programs a "relief racket." Throughout the depression decade, such politicians provided collective opposition to aiding the unemployed and resisted overtures from the federal government to accept their "fair share" of relief responsibilities.[6]

Of all Roosevelt's critics, few could match the biting invective of Mayor Jackson. He regularly and viciously attacked the "New Deal relief system" as "un-American [and] unfair to the people who receive it and unsound economically." He labeled the Social Security Act the "most asinine thing I have ever read in my life." And he consistently maligned the New Deal administration for interfering in city problems. "He is openly out for the New Deal," observed one Democratic official, "and misses no chance to oppose and bitterly criticise it in public and private."[7]

Yet Jackson was not above using the New Deal to his political or personal advantage—a tactic not lost on the Curranite faction of the Democratic party. After publicly denouncing work-relief, for example, he quietly arranged for Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds to be used to remodel his office. Furthermore, his oft-repeated contention that "relief is not my job" because it "belongs to the federal government" not only departed from his professed attachment to states rights and voluntarism but also did not deter him from manipulating relief programs to advance his political interests. His activities prompted a state investigation of his 1939 mayoral campaign to determine whether relief rolls had been "used to gather votes in the city."[8] Although ultimately cleared of the charge, Jackson was less successful in quieting the criticism of the Curranites who attacked him for attempting to pass what they regarded as "political ordinances" designed to assist the mayor and members of his faction. Always angling for the governor's chair, Jackson also tried to use New Deal programs to extend his influence beyond city limits. He sought the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1934 and 1938, but winning the governorship eluded him.[9] Both the Jacksonites and the Curranites attempted to exploit the WPA for political purposes. State WPA director Francis Dryden complained that he was overwhelmed by requests from the feuding factions for work-relief projects that would extend their political influence. Dryden disappointed both groups when he pledged to "keep politics entirely out of the picture so far as possible." But Dryden needed the cooperation of the mayor in order to implement WPA programs in Baltimore and that assistance carried a price, as Dryden privately conceded to his boss, New Deal administrator Harry Hopkins.[10]

As early as 1933, a perceptive and sympathetic Baltimore attorney warned President Roosevelt of the "unfriendly attitude of recent federal appointees in Maryland toward your administration." Local politicians, he continued, were "openly hostile" to Roosevelt's programs and concerned less with national policies than with the "election of local and Congressional candidates." "I am disturbed and alarmed," he added, "when I see the fortunes of the federal administration in this State placed in the hands and under the keeping of people who never have been and who never will be in sympathy with your ideas of Government."[11] In 1936, a local Curranite ward leader agreed, asserting that "not enough political importance was attached to the employment of clerical, laboring, and other personnel in the WPA." Consequently, the WPA, he added, was full of appointments who "oppose[d] the Federal administration."[12]

Still, neither the New Deal nor the president's popularity was without significance for political developments in Baltimore. The gubernatorial elections of 1934 and 1938, the mayoral primaries of 1935 and 1939, the presidential elections of 1936 and 1940, and the congressional races of 1938—all indicated the importance of the New Deal in both political campaigning and voting behavior. In particular, the New Deal made both local and state politicians more aware of new constituencies and shifting political alliances within the city. Finally, the politics and policies of the Roosevelt administration helped to politicize the economic discontent of the disadvantaged groups in Baltimore.[13]

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The defeat of Governor Ritchie by Republican Harry Nice in 1934 ironically illustrated the growing popularity of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Nice, who had lost the governor's chair to Ritchie in 1919 by a disputed 165 votes, not only vowed to "Right the wrong of 1919" but called for "A New and Square Deal for All." Nice accepted his nomination to the tune of "Happy Days Are Here Again," exclaiming that "our fight is not against the Democratic party, but against the Democratic machine." The Baltimore *Post* noted the apparent irony of the Republicans' "more New Dealish than the Democrats" approach:

> To find the Republicans cashing in on the popularity of a Democratic president and to find the Democrats, that is, the Ritchie organization Democrats—weakened by the success of their party nationally, would be a curious paradox. Yet it is one which the Annapolis administration seems to have been at pains to bring about and which the Republicans would be foolish not to formalize.[14]

Nice made a special appeal to Baltimore voters, claiming to understand their predicament and promising to provide an administration that would be more cooperative with the federal government. As a consequence, the Ritchie forces finally recognized the need to embrace the New Deal. Senator Tydings toured Baltimore, saying that a Republican vote meant an anti-Roosevelt vote. And Ritchie himself surely strained popular credulity when he reversed himself on a number of issues, simply abandoning his earlier objections to New Deal programs and broadcasting his enthusiastic support for all of them.[15]

In the final vote, Nice edged out Ritchie by 253,813 to 247,664. Analyzing Ritchie's defeat, the press labeled Baltimore "the slaughterhouse." Even though Ritchie won the city by 20,000 votes, this figure represented a dramatic decline from 1930, when he carried Baltimore by 66,000 votes, and it insured his loss in the state as a whole. An indication of the nature of the election as a protest against Ritchie was that while his total vote shrank by about 37,000 from his 1930 tally the Republican Nice picked up only an additional 8,000 votes over the 1930 Republican total, suggesting that many people simply did not vote. The Baltimore *Afro-American* claimed credit for Ritchie's defeat; it had endorsed the Socialist candidate Broadus Mitchell, explaining that blacks had tired of Ritchie's anti-New Deal policies. The *Sun* attributed Nice's victory to the desertion of the new immigration wards in the central and eastern sections of the city. In the heavily Polish-American second ward, the voting percentage for Ritchie decreased from 83 in 1920 to 64 in 1934; in the Italian-American third ward, from 76 to 64; in the central city or "downtown" fourth ward, from 75 to 54. In the predominantly black fourteenth and seventeenth wards the Ritchie percentages decreased from 44 to 36 and 31 to 18, respectively.[16]

The 1934 gubernatorial contest also had important effects on the division within the city's Democratic party. Jackson's unsuccessful bid for the gubernatorial nomination seriously alienated Ritchie and his supporters, the Curranites. From their perspective, Jackson had overstepped the proper bounds of intraparty rivalry by publicly challenging the established Ritchie organization. After 1934, the Curranites abandoned any semblance of restraint in their attack on Jackson, resisting him at every turn. But in Baltimore, Jackson was, of course, more powerful than William Curran, who had long since personally abandoned elective office after losing to a Republican candidate already defeated by Jackson. Furthermore, Jackson eliminated one of his major liabilities by taking "the cure" for his earlier bouts with alcoholism and remaining "bone-dry" in the 1930s. Still, enough Curranites were elected to the city council to provide Jackson with a constant irritant. In 1935, when Jackson was reelected mayor, George Sellmayer, a popular Curranite, became president of the city council. Their subsequent struggles became standard fare in the city's daily newspapers. Finally, although Curran himself remained suspicious of the rise of organized labor, his associates, unlike the Jackson faction, moved closer to the New Deal administration. Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., for example, a Curranite based in Little Italy, emerged in the 1930s as one of the New Deal's ablest supporters and one of Baltimore's favorite politicians. This last factor proved especially damaging to Jackson as his popular support in the city declined throughout the decade.[17]

The presidential race in 1936 underscored even more dramatically the growing popularity of the New Deal in Baltimore. When, for example, the traditionally Democratic *Sun* urged its readers not to reelect Roosevelt, it aroused a storm of protest and city-wide boycotts of the paper. Voters circulated petitions to protest that "the *Sun* has gone Benedict Arnold" while Marie Baurnschmidt, one of the city's most outspoken guardians of civic responsibility, faulted the paper for its inability to recognize one of the nation's greatest presidents.[18] Curran also denounced the *Sun* for demonstrating a "Herbert Hoover type of mind" and accused it of "rationali[zing] an ancient Toryism."[19] Organized labor, especially the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW), dismissed the *Sun*'s declarations against Roosevelt and the New Deal as predictable for a paper committed to conservative fiscal policies, state sovereignty, and business interests. But labor leaders also warned that similarly "traitorous" acts by local political leaders would not be tolerated. On a visit to Baltimore, Mary Dewson of the Women's Division of the Democratic party found the women garment workers "organized, aroused, and 100% for Roosevelt." "If Mayor Jackson of Baltimore," she noted, "does anything against the election of President Roosevelt, the Amalgamated workers there will remember it and manifest their displeasure the next time they have a chance at the polls." Jackson, she concluded, "has nothing to gain and everything to lose if he does not stand by the Democratic Party this fall."[20]

Political leaders predicted a strong showing for Roosevelt in November. The city election board reported in October a "record number" of residents registered to vote in the presidential election. Curran observed a "decided Roosevelt swing" in the wards where "the laboring classes live," but added that the president "has shifted too far to the left to suit the conservative element" in the party outside the city. Others suggested that the president might break the traditional Republican allegiance among the city's nearly 50,000 black voters, who accounted for approximately 14 percent of the voters. One state Democratic leader noted that "the colored race is more in favor of our Party than they have ever been," adding that he had received many "requests from them desiring to organize, cooperate, and have headquarters in various sections of the city."[21]

Increased political activism among black residents attracted considerable local attention. Baltimore's blacks, although discriminated against in nearly every New Deal program, still had felt the effects of a more active and compassionate federal government. Government initiatives had heightened their political awareness, and they fully realized that the national administration and not the local government offered them the best hope for a "new deal." But black political activities also aroused the racism traditionally characteristic of the local Democratic party. Curran, for example, dismissed the activism among blacks, calling them "too ignorant and too shifty" to be relied upon and telling national Democratic leaders that "Republican election day money" would hold the black vote "in line for Landon."[22]

Organized citizen groups campaigned vigorously for Roosevelt. At a Labor Day picnic, George Berry, head of the Labor Non-Partisan League, delivered a stirring oration in favor of Roosevelt and a thinly-veiled threat to possible detractors—including Mayor Jackson also seated on stage. Jackson's face reportedly turned a "vivid red." In October the Amalgamated Clothing Workers held its last in a series of mass rallies; thousands of workers lined the streets to cheer Roosevelt's praises sung by such labor leaders as Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky. "We had all kinds of parades," Sara Barron of the Amalgamated fondly recalled.[23]

Women's groups accelerated their efforts at community organization, holding neighborhood meetings and political luncheons. Eager to serve the Roosevelt cause, these groups loyally followed the "advice" of political strategists, who urged them "to confine their activities to campaigning among women." They worked hard to increase voter registration among women and to counter the influence of such anti-New Dealers as Jackson. At one women's meeting, when Jackson praised the upsurge of organization among women but made no mention of his "support" of Roosevelt, the group chided the mayor for slighting the president. Thereafter, Jackson received "much unfavorable comment" from women's groups in the city.[24]

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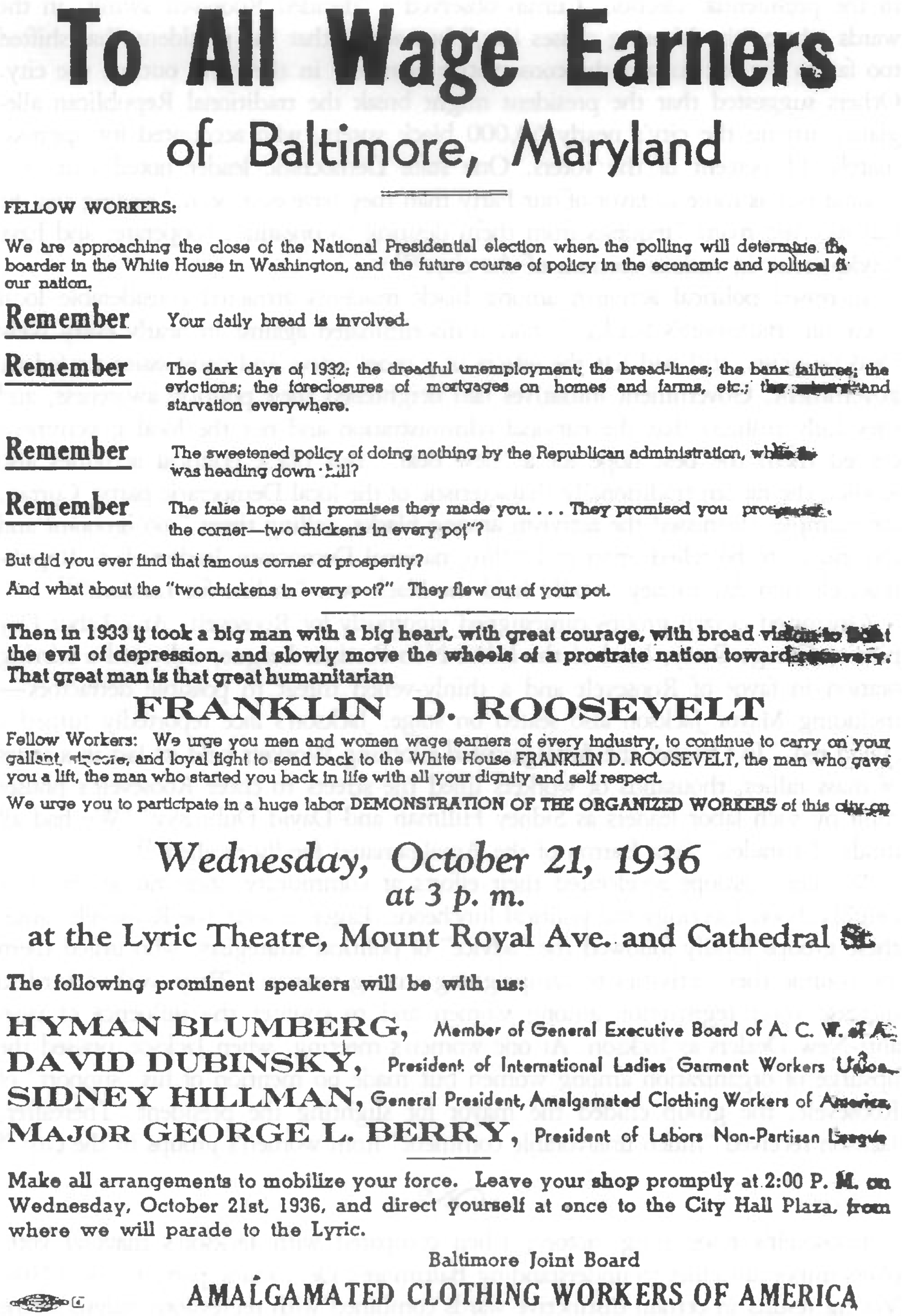
Roosevelt's resounding victory, when compared with Jackson's mayoral vote, offers important clues to understanding Baltimore's Democratic party in the 1930s. Voting results in certain distinctive wards combined with regression analysis of the electoral data from all of Baltimore's wards suggest that Roosevelt and Jackson attracted different constituencies. For example, in the heavily Catholic first, second, and third wards, Roosevelt ran well in both 1932 and 1936. Polish-Americans largely controlled the local Democratic clubs in the first and second wards while



To All Wage Earners

of Baltimore, Maryland

FELLOW WORKERS:

We are approaching the close of the National Presidential election when the polling will determine the boarder in the White House in Washington, and the future course of policy in the economic and political li our nation.

Remember Your daily bread is involved.

Remember The dark days of 1932; the dreadful unemployment; the bread-lines; the bank failures; the evictions; the foreclosures of mortgages on homes and farms, etc.; the [illegible] and starvation everywhere.

Remember The sweetened policy of doing nothing by the Republican administration, while it was heading down hill?

Remember The false hope and promises they made you. . . . They promised you prosperity. the corner—two chickens in every pot"?

But did you ever find that famous corner of prosperity?

And what about the "two chickens in every pot?" They flew out of your pot.

Then in 1933 it took a big man with a big heart, with great courage, with broad vision to fight the evil of depression, and slowly move the wheels of a prostrate nation toward recovery. That great man is that great humanitarian

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Fellow Workers: We urge you men and women wage earners of every industry, to continue to carry on your gallant, sincere, and loyal fight to send back to the White House FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the man who gave you a lift, the man who started you back in life with all your dignity and self respect.

We urge you to participate in a huge labor DEMONSTRATION OF THE ORGANIZED WORKERS of this city on

Wednesday, October 21, 1936
at 3 p. m.

at the Lyric Theatre, Mount Royal Ave. and Cathedral St.

The following prominent speakers will be with us:

HYMAN BLUMBERG, Member of General Executive Board of A. C. W. of A.
DAVID DUBINSKY, President of International Ladies Garment Workers Union
SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
MAJOR GEORGE L. BERRY, President of Labors Non-Partisan League

Make all arrangements to mobilize your force. Leave your shop promptly at 2:00 P. M. on Wednesday, October 21st, 1936, and direct yourself at once to the City Hall Plaza, from where we will parade to the Lyric.

Baltimore Joint Board
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

FIGURE 1. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers showered the city with handbills and attracted thousands of workers to an October demonstration supporting FDR's reelection. They paraded from City Hall to the Lyric Theatre, where they heard "stirring speeches" by union leaders Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky.

Italian-Americans held a firm grip on the third. In 1932 FDR received 76, 86, and 86 percent of the vote from these three wards; in 1936, his percentages remained the same for wards two and three but increased to 81 in ward one. These figures contrasted sharply with Jackson's in the 1931 and 1935 mayoral contests. In wards one, two, and three, Jackson won impressive victories in 1931, receiving 76, 82, and 81 percent of the ward votes. Unlike Roosevelt, the mayor's percentages fell sharply in 1935, to 57, 64, and 71, in these wards respectively. The *Sun* believed the reason was clear: Jackson had refused to endorse the New Deal.[25]

Votes in the predominantly black fourteenth and seventeenth wards also demonstrated the New Deal's local significance. Blacks constituted 88 percent of the population in the seventeenth ward and nearly 70 percent in the fourteenth. Both wards traditionally voted Republican, and in mayoral elections Jackson lost both of them. But his anti-New Deal policies still may have hurt him far more than his party label even in these wards, for his vote there declined by over half between 1931 and 1935. The fourteenth and seventeenth supported Herbert Hoover in 1928 and in 1932, but in 1936 Roosevelt easily carried the fourteenth (55 percent) and only narrowly lost the seventeenth (48 percent). That Roosevelt broke the solidly Republican voting of one "black ward" and made a respectable showing in the other simply dazzled local Democrats, who for years had watched city Republicans turn out the black vote with the same tactics they used among white ethnic groups. City Republicans, fearing that the New Deal would alter black voting allegiances, had redoubled their political efforts in wards fourteen and seventeen, even mailing $5.00 checks to black ministers, urging them to remind their congregations to vote Republican. But the effort was not especially successful, for a number of black ministers—indignantly noting that their pulpits were "not for sale"—openly endorsed Roosevelt.[26]

Local political observers also believed that Jackson failed to capture what was called the "relief vote." These voters, they maintained, had been created by New Deal assistance programs and remained loyal to Roosevelt. Whether such a "relief vote" existed is difficult to determine. But the findings of a social survey conducted in 1936 of wards five and ten (areas characterized by growing black populations and a disproportionately high relief load) combined with voting returns for mayoral and presidential elections offer suggestive comparisons.

Located near the central business district, wards five and ten formed one of the city's oldest areas and had housed German and Irish immigrants. After the turn of the nineteenth century, the southern and eastern sections of the wards had changed, according to the survey, into a "typical slum" occupied by a "steadily increasing percentage of Negroes." Fully 25 percent of the wards' population received relief assistance from the Baltimore Emergency Relief Commission in 1936 when the Commission assisted but 13.3 percent of the population as a whole. In the 1932 and 1936 presidential elections, both wards supported Roosevelt, with his percentages remaining nearly constant in ward five but jumping 20 points in ward ten. The 1931 and 1935 mayoral votes, however, show that Jackson's support decreased 10 percentage points in ward five and 12 points in ward ten.[27]. These returns, although minimally useful in analyzing voting behavior, were nonetheless important in shaping the perceptions and plans of local political leaders. Convinced by leaders of his faction that he was not receiving the "relief vote," Jackson aggressively canvassed the "reliefers" in his 1939 mayoral campaign—indeed, so aggressively that relief clients complained of political intimidation.

Although Baltimore was a traditionally Democratic city and remained one throughout the 1930s, the size and nature of the Democratic electorate changed markedly during the depression decade. In the 1931 mayoral and the 1932 presidential elections—before the emergence of the New Deal—black, ethnic, and poor voters remained relatively uninvolved in Democratic politics. The black vote was particularly small, and when blacks took part in politics they usually voted Republican (an estimated 59 percent of blacks who voted supported the GOP mayoral candidate in 1931). Poorer or working-class voters, as measured by those who rented their homes or lived in houses in need of major repairs or without private baths, also remained outside the political process. About three out of four voters living in substandard houses, for example, did not cast a ballot in 1931. Most of those few who did vote supported Jackson (72 percent), who also received an estimated 57 percent of the tenant vote. Ethnic groups, more politically active than either blacks or poor voters, were solidly Democratic. Jackson captured approximately 92 percent of the ballots cast by ethnic voters in 1931. For the 1932 presidential election, Roosevelt received about the same percentages of support as Jackson had enjoyed in 1931 in all categories of voters. As in 1931, the turnout that year was low for poor and black voters.

By 1935 and 1936, however, Baltimore politics showed signs of important changes. In the 1935 mayoral contest, voter turnout actually declined and Jackson lost substantial support among black, ethnic, and poorer voters. In 1936, on the other hand, Roosevelt and the New Deal inspired a higher turnout rate than 1932 and FDR scored important victories among those groups who constituted the emergent New Deal coalition in other urban areas. By 1936, then, diverging patterns of political participation suggested that Mayor Jackson and President Roosevelt attracted different constituencies within the Democratic party.[28]

The outpouring of support and affection for Roosevelt in 1936 persuaded Jackson to move closer to the party of the New Deal and FDR. When, for example, Jackson's friend Vincent Palmisano, Democratic nominee from the third Congressional district, endorsed the president, Jackson demonstrated "uncharacteristic support" for FDR—a gesture satirized by a *Sun* cartoon. But the mayor's political ambitions and his recognition of the need to be less hostile to the New Deal were also balanced by his fears of losing his traditional supporters. One political leader perfectly summarized his predicament: "Mayor Jackson's attitude is one of carrying water on both shoulders. He pretends ostensible support of Roosevelt and a desire for his election, while at the same time he hopes and expects support of the public utilities, bankers, and industrialists in his fight for the Governorship in 1938."[29]

Consumed with desire to be governor, Jackson used the 1936 presidential race to launch an informal campaign for the governor's chair, made modest concessions to the president and the New Deal, and officially announced his candidacy unusually early—fifteen months before the 1938 Democratic primary. The baldness of his actions offended members of the federal administration, but Jackson was more concerned about his reception in the state. He hoped to replace the disintegrating Ritchie coalition—a result of Ritchie's 1934 defeat and subsequent death in 1936

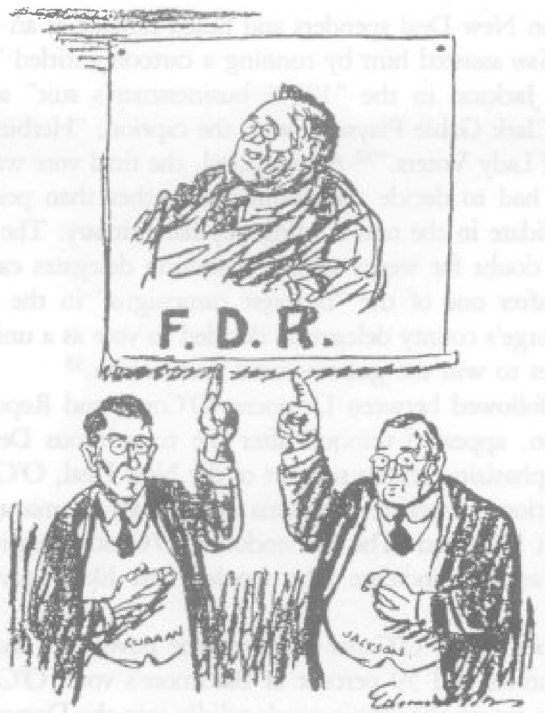


FIGURE 2. In this satirical cartoon, the Baltimore *Sun* poked fun at Mayor Jackson for demonstrating "uncharacteristic support" for President Roosevelt in 1936. (Baltimore *Sun*, 12 September 1936.)

—with his own party coalition. His appeals to a number of Ritchie's former lieutenants won him an early endorsement from several leading Democrats. But his endorsements alienated another Ritchie associate, Howard Bruce, Maryland's member of the Democratic National Committee. Bruce admonished those party leaders who "for years fattened on the Ritchie administration" and then immediately assumed the power to name the next governor. Bruce apparently believed that job belonged to him, for he suggested that Attorney General Herbert R. O'Conor or state senate president Lansdale Sasscer run for the office. Following Bruce's advice, both men entered the race.[30]

O'Conor presented the greater threat to Jackson. He held the support of a newly-formed Bruce-Curran alliance and, as a Baltimorean, was popular in the city. O'Conor appealed to Catholics and to "New Deal voters"—groups whose support Jackson had lost. In the primary O'Conor celebrated his ethnic and religious heritage, forcing Jackson to appeal to his traditional constituencies. Moreover, when Jackson campaigned in the Catholic wards he detected a distinct lack of enthusiasm for his candidacy: "Where formerly the good Catholic parishoners had been the soul of cordiality to me, now a certain coolness sprang up between us." "I knew what it was," he explained, "one of their boys was running against me."[31]

The primary race proved to be both close and bitter. Jackson's mayoral record and his political practices came under fire. Erstwhile allies such as the Baltimore Federation of Labor abandoned him and his anti-New Deal policies in favor of O'Conor, who endorsed key features of the New Deal. Labeled "unfriendly to labor," Jackson was also linked to "machine politics." In response, Jackson sharpened his attacks on New Deal spenders and billed himself as an efficient, businesslike mayor. The *Sun* assisted him by running a cartoon entitled "Clothes Make the Man," depicting Jackson in the "100% businessman's suit" and the handsome O'Conor in the "Clark Gable Playsuit" with the caption, "Herbie Emotes His Way into the Hearts of Lady Voters."[32] As predicted, the final vote was so close that the party convention had to decide the nomination rather than perfunctorily endorse the winning candidate in the non-binding popular primary. The Democratic nominee remained in doubt for weeks while convention delegates cast and recast their ballots. Finally, after one of the "bitterest campaigns" in the city's history, the crucial Prince George's county delegation decided to vote as a unit, giving O'Conor the necessary votes to win the gubernatorial nomination.[33]

The race that followed between Democrat O'Conor and Republican Nice, running for reelection, appeared tranquil after the tumultuous Democratic primary. Although not emphasizing strong support of the New Deal, O'Conor promised not to sacrifice education or welfare programs and vowed to manage the state more economically than Nice had. The *Sun* endorsed O'Conor, despite his leanings toward Roosevelt, as the candidate who would most likely govern the state efficiently.[34]

On 8 November 1938, O'Conor captured the governor's chair, carrying 17 of the state's 23 counties and 59 percent of Baltimore's vote. O'Conor's Catholicism certainly helped to return the ethnic wards solidly into the Democratic column after Ritchie's debacle in 1934. Still, O'Conor's percentages in wards one, two, and three were not as great as they had been for Ritchie in 1930 and they were lower than those given to FDR in 1936 (77, 83, and 63 for O'Conor in 1938; 86, 86, and 81 for Roosevelt in 1936). Curranites attributed O'Conor's poor showing in certain wards to Jackson's refusal to endorse him. But O'Conor also failed disastrously in the predominantly black fourteenth and seventeenth wards, receiving but 27 percent and 14 percent, respectively. O'Conor had been unable to capitalize on the inroads FDR made in 1936 when he won 55 and 48 percent of the votes in those wards. O'Conor's ties to white ethnic groups and the state's traditional Democratic party, combined with his limited support of the New Deal, did little to make him attractive in the "black wards."[35]

The elections of 1938 demonstrated that, while support for the New Deal remained strong in Baltimore, the overwhelming popularity of the president had diminished. Voters, some still suffering from the effects of the 1937 recession, adopted a more wary view of the president as a result of his attempt to expand the Supreme Court and his effort in 1938 to replace Senator Tydings with a more amenable New Dealer. Roosevelt's campaign for David Lewis—a pro-labor Congressman from Western Maryland—provoked cries against "federal dictation" throughout the state. Despite his opposition to the New Deal, Tydings had cleverly used federal programs to cement loyalties within the state Democratic party and fully exploited his "underdog" status as intended "purge" victim in 1938. With the aid of the *Sun,* he launched a malicious attack on Lewis, questioning the congressman's patriotism by tying him to communism. The front-page coverage the *Sun* gave to Tydings's red-baiting tactics and the paper's own editorials denouncing outside intervention helped persuade many voters that the president had exceeded his authority. Citizen clubs emerged to direct the president to "stay out" of state and local politics. And in the primary, Baltimoreans gave Tydings 57 percent of their vote.[36]

Still, the Tydings victory also indicated the significant influence of the New Deal. Although Tydings criticized Roosevelt for intervening in the election, he was less inclined, at least when campaigning in Baltimore, to dismiss the social security system established by the federal government. Furthermore, Tydings shrewdly retreated from his initial hostility toward labor, explaining that he only disliked the CIO (which had endorsed Lewis) but recognized the need for responsible trade unionism along the lines of the Baltimore Federation of Labor. Despite these concessions, Tydings polled not only fewer votes than Roosevelt but also fewer than O'Conor, and his anti-labor position had cost him, the *Sun* conceded, two of the city's six legislative districts. Finally, the Tydings election, as the Jacksonites reluctantly admitted, represented not so much a repudiation of the New Deal as of federal meddling in local politics.[37]

Further, the electoral success of Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., a Curranite, bidding that same year for the Democratic nomination in the Third Congressional district, demonstrated the continued importance of the New Deal to Baltimore's voters. D'Alesandro actively campaigned for the New Deal, pledging his support for the president and for the growth of organized labor. His opponent in the third, Vincent Palmisano, remained loyal to the Jacksonite wing of the party he represented. Although having endorsed Roosevelt in 1936, Palmisano refrained from positioning himself among the New Deal's strongest supporters in his own campaign in 1938. D'Alesandro's political positions, on the other hand, indicated a discernible but limited trend among younger politicians toward increasing independence from the city's two traditional factions, for, despite his membership in the Curranite group, he rejected the Tydings-Curran alliance in favor of "Roosevelt's candidate," David Lewis. Even such Curranite opponents as Mayor Jackson urged his supporters to vote against Lewis and New Deal radicalism and for Tydings and home rule. D'Alesandro, however, survived his departure from the Curranite-Tydings alliance, winning the nomination and calling his triumph a victory for the New Deal, organized labor, and President Roosevelt.[38]

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Licking his wounds from the 1938 gubernatorial primary, Jackson turned his attention to the upcoming mayoral election in 1939. Having been stung by charges of "machine politics," Jackson delayed announcing his candidacy in an effort, he said, to withold "a target from the opposition." The Curranites, convinced that Jackson was most vulnerable to charges of machine politics, decided to focus on that issue in the primary. To dissociate their own faction from similar charges, the Curranites selected a political novice, Charles H. Buck, to challenge Jackson. Buck's first campaign speech underscored the new emphasis; he called for strengthening the merit system, declared that civil service and politics must be "divorced completely," and criticized the mayor's preoccupation with patronage, which, he said, had deprived Baltimore of "a modern system of personnel administration." Although Buck, "the businessman," refrained from specifically endorsing the New Deal, he carefully noted that the city had been woefully inadequate in dealing with the policies and programs of the national administration—a problem he attributed directly to the inefficient management of the city. And mirroring President Roosevelt's own concern with administrative reorganization in 1939—what some historians have labeled the "Third New Deal"—Buck called for a major overhaul of the city's policy-making apparatus. The mayor's misplaced priorities, he argued, stressed political success before municipal efficiency. Buck's sentiments won him endorsements from a number of consumer groups and a variety of neighborhood and community associations.[39]

But in the April primary the people chose the more familiar Jackson, who defeated Buck by over 36,000 votes, carrying all but two of the city's wards. Moreover, Richard O'Connell, Jackson's choice for council president, defeated the incumbent Sellmayer; of eighteen council members elected, fifteen ran under the Jackson banner. The 1939 primary demonstrated that, although the Curranites had enhanced their position at the state level through the election of O'Conor, the city's political machinery still belonged to the Jacksonites—the dominant wing of the party. In the mayoral election, Jackson faced stiffer competition from a popular Republican candidate, Theodore McKeldin. And although victorious in the May election, Jackson proved unable to regain the support he once held. His vote totaled just over 109,000, down from over 120,000 in 1931 and 114,000 in 1935. In key ethnic wards, Jackson's percentages also declined; in ward three, for example, where Jackson had usually been strong (81 percent in 1931; 71 percent in 1935), his vote fell to 58 percent. And in wards with expanding black populations,

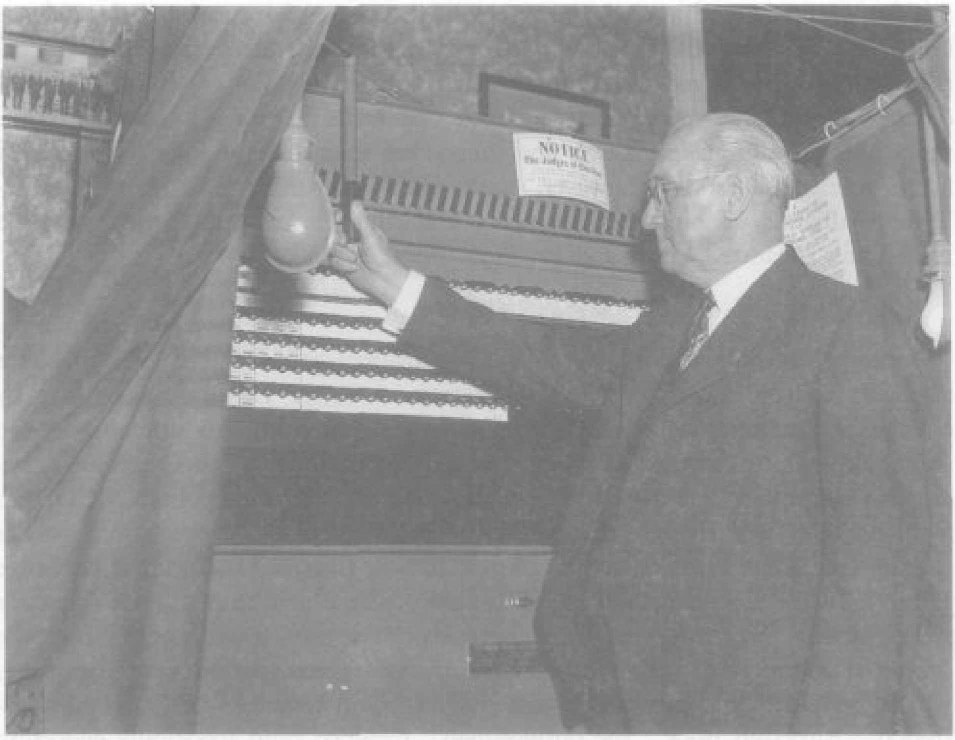

FIGURE 3. Democratic Mayor Howard W. Jackson votes in the municipal elections of 1939. Although reelected, Jackson suffered significant losses in key sections of the city. (Courtesy of the Albin O. Kuhn Library and Gallery, University of Maryland Baltimore County.)

wards that indicated growing support for Roosevelt, Jackson's percentages dropped, too: in ward five, Jackson received 52 percent (down from 67 percent in 1931 and 57 percent in 1935); in ward ten, 60 percent (down from 82 percent in 1931 and 70 percent in 1935).[40]

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To Baltimore Democrats, the *Labor Herald* asserted, the New Deal "means only to get on the band wagon and get a job from the Federal Administration."[41] But the *Herald's* analysis of the political significance of the New Deal did not go far enough. Local and state political leaders attempted to use the national programs not only for patronage but to strengthen political alliances and advance their own careers. These traditional efforts would not necessarily have harmed the administration had New Dealers early on demanded loyalty in return for sharing the benefits of Roosevelt's presidency. Instead, local and state politicians managed simultaneously to manipulate and denounce the programs that served their political needs. Labor leader Pat Whalen put the problem more bluntly when he exclaimed, "I cannot understand why the liberal New Deal supplies patronage to men whose one object is to destroy it." "If this is politics," he declared, "then I say, frankly, it is the dumbest politics I have ever seen." The New Deal administration in Washington, he advised, "had better stop worrying about the feelings of these old guard Democrats, and break up some of the machines that were built with federal patronage." Otherwise, he predicted, the New Deal in Baltimore and Maryland would continue "to be used as a Frankenstein, which instead of winning the support of the citizens is being used to discredit the New Deal."[42] For all such observers, FDR's attempts to remove Tydings represented too little too late. Indeed, even with FDR's intervention, the national administration remained unable to prevent the wholesale discharge of WPA workers who actively supported Lewis in the primary election against Tydings.[43]

Voters endorsed both Roosevelt and his Democratic opponents, yet the party of Roosevelt was not the party of Jackson. Roosevelt attracted greater popular support and drew support from voter groups that were steadily less attracted to Jackson. FDR's programs and policies not only won the support of black, ethnic, and poorer voters but attracted them to the polls in greater numbers. In presidential elections, voting by blacks doubled between 1932 and 1940; voting among ethnics increased by 40 percent; and among poorer voters, the rate of political participation increased approximately 50 percent. This mobilization of previously neglected groups in Baltimore stood in sharp contrast to the mayoral elections, where the turnout rates for blacks and poorer voters remained nearly constant and low and where there was only marginal improvement among ethnic voters—a feature of local politics that helped to explain Jackson's continued electoral success. By 1940, FDR captured 65 percent of votes cast by Baltimore's blacks, 96 percent of those by ethnics, 75 percent of those by tenants, and 97 percent of those who lived in substandard housing. For Jackson, the percentages in all these socio-economic categories declined throughout the decade. Ethnic support for Jackson's Republican opponent, for example, increased from 9 percent of Jackson's vote in 1931 to 50 percent in 1939. Among poorer voters, who gave Jackson a solid majority in 1931, the same trend appeared: in 1935 they divided their votes evenly between Jackson and his

Republican opponent, but in 1939 they actually cast more ballots for the Republican nominee. Moreover, whereas Jackson's supporters in mayoral elections voted nearly unanimously for Roosevelt in succeeding presidential elections, many of those who voted for FDR were not attracted to the polls to support Jackson. Over one-fourth of those who voted for Roosevelt in 1936, for example, failed to vote in the 1939 mayoral election and nearly another quarter voted against Jackson.[44]

Howard Jackson's failure to benefit from Roosevelt's success among blacks, ethnics, the working class, and the poor—groups that mobilized nationally to form the New Deal coalition—represented most clearly the peculiar dynamics of Baltimore's depression-era politics. These citizens found little to be gained by fully supporting the local Democratic party, as a Baltimore black, Josiah Henry, discovered in 1934 when he attempted to get the party's nomination as a state delegate. Rejected and sharply rebuked by the Curranites, Henry received even less support from the Jacksonites, whose hostility toward the New Deal went even further. Jackson himself ignored the personal appeals of prominent Baltimore blacks to "induce Negroes to become Democrats" active in local politics. Not impressed with their documentation showing a "New Deal drift of the Negro" into the party of Roosevelt, Jackson refused their pleas for "recognition" and "patronage" and instead reasserted the primacy of tradition and exclusion in the city's Democratic party.[45]

This refusal to create a local party hospitable to Roosevelt's New Deal programs and to his coalition enabled Baltimore's Democratic leadership to continue its traditions of local prerogative, fiscal conservatism, and white supremacy. But the party of Roosevelt had left its mark. The city of Baltimore had a municipal department of welfare, and thanks to the prodding of citizen groups and the federal government, it also took part in the public housing programs provided by the United States Housing Authority. Blacks now voted in the Democratic column for presidential elections, workers lined up solidly behind those who supported their right to organize and had provided them the necessary machinery to bargain collectively, and the dependent poor also looked to the Democratic party in Washington for compassion and support. Thousands of Baltimoreans, then, embraced the New Deal and judged their political leaders accordingly. At election time, even Jackson inched toward supporting Roosevelt, albeit in a rather transparent fashion. And Baltimoreans gave a warm endorsement to such local political leaders as D'Alesandro, who never wavered in his support of Roosevelt or the New Deal. Finally, with the assistance of the national administration, many Baltimoreans insured that such issues as public welfare, patronage, economic planning, and governmental efficiency were at least introduced into the political debates of the 1930s.

NOTES

1. Irving Bernstein, *A Caring Society: The New Deal, the Worker, and the Great Depression* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), pp. 296–99.

2. Baltimore *Sun,* 31 March, 13 April, 21 March, 26 May, and 19 October 1933; Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 331–32.

3. Edwin Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics: William Curran and the Baltimore

City Democratic Party Organization, 1929–1946" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1949), pp. 5, 184–88; Joseph L. Arnold, "The Last of the Good Old Days: Politics in Baltimore, 1920–1950," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (1975): 443.

4. "Present Situation," (1934?), Papers of the Democratic National Committee (hereafter cited as DNC)—Women's Division, No. 81, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park.

5. Baltimore *Sun,* 9 June 1934.

6. Myron Scholnick, "The President and the Senator: Franklin Roosevelt's Attempted 'Purge' of Maryland's Millard Tydings in 1938" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland College Park, 1962), pp. 17–18; *Evening Sun,* 31 January 1933; Baltimore *Sun,* 22 June 1933. For a fuller explanation of the divisions between the federal government and the local and state governments over the funding of relief, see Jo Ann E. Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal in Baltimore: People and Government in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming).

7. Baltimore *Sun,* 14 December 1935; "Present Situation," DNC—Women's Division.

8. Baltimore *Sun,* 25 June and 2 January 1936, 7 April 1934, 29 April 1939.

9. William Curran to James A. Farley, 4 September 1936, DNC—Farley Correspondence, No. 1095, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park.

10. Baltimore *Sun,* 28 August 1935.

11. Edward J. Colgan to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 18 August 1933, President's Official File 300, DNC, No. 43, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park.

12. Gilbert Dailey to James A. Farley, 4 September 1936, DNC—Farley Correspondence, No. 1095.

13. For an insightful examination of the electoral significance of the New Deal among economically disadvantaged groups, see Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted? The Dynamics of Electoral Turnout, 1870–1980* (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp. 97–102.

14. *Maryland Leader,* 6 October 1934; *Baltimore Post,* 6 June 1933; Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), p. 764, and "The Election of 1934: The 'New Deal' in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 68 (1973): 405–21; "The Political Platform of Harry W. Nice," Vertical File, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library (hereafter cited as EPFL).

15. Baltimore *Sun,* 19 October 1934; Brown, "Maryland," p. 765. For a description of the campaign, see the Baltimore *Sun,* 23, 26, 30, and 31 October 1934; *Maryland Leader,* 20 October 1934; Charles Kimberly, "The Depression and the New Deal in Maryland" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1974), p. 254; and Frank F. White, Jr., *The Governors of Maryland, 1777–1970* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1970), p. 266.

16. Percentages derive from data provided in the *Evening Sun,* 7 November 1934, and the *Maryland Manual,* p. 249. *Maryland Leader,* 21 July 1934; Brown, "Maryland," p. 767.

17. Arnold, "Good Old Days," p. 446; Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," p. 31; Brown, "Maryland," p. 684; *Evening Sun,* 17 February 1927; *The Marylander,* 19 March 1927; Baltimore *Sun,* 6 May 1931, 1, 6 May and 29 June 1933, 2 July 1934, 4 November 1936. For a sampling of the persistent sniping between Jackson and Sellmayer, see the Baltimore *Sun,* 20 November 1935 and 18 April 1936.

18. Baltimore *Sun,* 20 August, 10, 13, 14, 19 September, and 8 October 1936. One worker, so disturbed by the anti-labor sentiment in the Baltimore *Sun*'s editorial against FDR, declared that "I am convinced I shall change my vote from Landon to Roosevelt. In my estimation, Roosevelt is the workingman's choice" (Baltimore *Sun,* 13 September

1936). Numerous WPA workers also wrote letters defending Roosevelt and criticizing the Baltimore *Sun;* see especially the Baltimore *Sun,* 19 September 1936.

19. Baltimore *Sun,* 13 September 1936. See also Baltimore *Sun,* 29 September and 30 October 1936; and Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," p. 40.

20. Mary W. Dewson to Millard Tydings, 22 September 1936, DNC—Women's Division, No. 81.

21. Baltimore *Sun,* 8 October 1936; William Curran to James A. Farley, 4 September 1936 and Gilbert Dailey to Farley, 10 September 1936, DNC—Farley Correspondence, No. 1095; Curran to Sumner Welles, 18 September 1936, President's Official File 300, DNC, No. 43.

22. Curran to Farley, 4 September 1936, DNC—Farley Correspondence, No. 1095.

23. Baltimore *Sun,* 18 and 22 October 1936; author's interview with Sara Barron, 1 March 1986. For a detailed description of ACW activities designed to get "families and friends" of union members "out to vote on Election Day," see Herbert Levy to Corinne Berger, 11 September 1936, and Mary Dewson to Millard Tydings, 2 September 1936, DNC—Women's Division, No. 81.

24. Dailey to Farley, 10 September 1936, DNC—Farley Correspondence, No. 1095; Baltimore *Sun,* 18 October 1936; Dewson to Tydings, 22 September 1936, DNC—Women's Division, No. 81.

25. Baltimore *Sun,* 8 May 1935 and 4 November 1936; Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," p. 115. On the problems of ecological data, see Austin Ranney, "The Utility and Limitations of Aggregate Data in the Study of Electoral Behavior," in Ranney, ed., *Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), pp. 91–102. I have also used regression analysis for all mayoral and presidential elections between 1931 and 1940.

26. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population,* Vol. III, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1932), p. 1070; *Sixteenth Census: 1940, Housing,* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1941), p. 630; Baltimore *Sun,* 7 November 1928, 6 May 1931, 9 November 1932, 8 May 1935, 29 October and 4 November 1936. For the GOP's efforts to influence black ministers, see the Baltimore *Sun,* 19 October 1936.

27. Frances H. Morton, "Across the Fallsway: A Social Study of Wards 5 and 10," April 1937, John Ihlder Manuscripts, No. 107, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park. The relief percentages cited for 1936 excluded the WPA work-relief population.

28. Regression analysis here followed procedure outlined by J. Morgan Kousser, "Ecological Regression and the Analysis of Past Politics," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1973): 238–62. The percentages of renters and of those living in substandard housing were used as surrogate measures for class. Some studies have instead used the average monthly rent; see, for example, John W. Jeffries, *Testing the Roosevelt Coalition: Connecticut Society and Politics in the Era of World War II* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979). The percentage of ethnic voters is based on all foreign-born Baltimoreans combined with those of mixed parentage. Social and economic data are from the 1930 and 1940 census, interpolated for each election. Voting statistics are from the *Maryland Manual* and the Baltimore *Sun.*

29. Baltimore *Sun,* 11 and 12 September 1936; William Stanley to James A. Farley, 12 September 1936, and Dailey to Farley, 10 September 1936, DNC—Farley Correspondence, No. 1095. For examples of the victory celebrations held for FDR by organized labor, see the Baltimore *Sun,* 4 November 1936 and I. Chaikin to Sidney Hillman, Papers of Joint Boards and Local Unions, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), Labor Management Collection Division, Martin Catherwood Library, Industrial Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

30. Baltimore *Sun,* 28 June, 1, 3, 4 July, and 20 August 1937.

31. *Evening Sun,* 10 September 1937; *Sun,* 9 November 1938; Harry W. Kirwin, *The Inevitable Success: Herbert R. O'Conor* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1962), pp. 224–26.

32. Baltimore *Sun,* 2, 9 October and 16 April 1937; 2 January, 2 February, 3, 9, and 11 September 1938. The cartoon appears in the Baltimore *Sun,* 2 February 1938.

33. Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," p. 123; Baltimore *Sun,* 14 and 24 September 1938; Kimberly, "Depression and the New Deal," p. 270.

34. *Evening Sun,* 12 October 1938; Baltimore *Sun,* 12, 14, and 16 October 1938.

35. Baltimore *Sun,* 9 November 1938.

36. Scholnick, "The President and the Senator," pp. 17–18; Baltimore *Sun,* 10, 12, 22, 26, 27, 29 June, 5, 15, 17, 19 July, 16, 17, 24, 28 August, 11, 14 September 1938; *Labor Herald,* 9 September 1938 and 3 March 1939; Kimberly, "Depression and the New Deal," pp. 265–69.

37. Baltimore *Sun,* 17, 19 July, and 14 September 1938.

38. Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 26 January 1939, and Daniel F. O'Connell to Marvin H. McIntyre, 1 September 1938, President's Official File 300, DNC, No. 43; Baltimore *Sun,* 8 May, 28 June, and 30 August 1938.

39. Baltimore *Sun,* 7, 19 February, 1, 7, and 8 March 1939; "Communication from Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.," *Journal of Proceedings of the City Council of Baltimore,* 22 March 1939, pp. 1030–1035. For a discussion of the "Third New Deal," see Barry D. Karl, *The Uneasy State: The United States from 1915 to 1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 180–81.

40. Baltimore *Sun,* 3, 8, March, 13 April, and 3 May 1939; Rothman, "Factional Machine Politics," pp. 123–27.

41. *Labor Herald,* 24 March 1939.

42. Patrick Whalen to Aubrey Williams, 29 September 1938, Works Progress Administration, State Files (Maryland), RG 69, No. 641, National Archives.

43. Baltimore *Sun,* 4 September 1938.

44. I employed regression analysis for the 1931, 1935, and 1939 mayoral elections and the 1932, 1936, and 1940 presidential elections. For an explanation of the methods used, see note 28.

45. "Ways and Means of Building Up the Howard W. Jackson Section of the Democratic Party"; "Patronage for Negro Democrats in Baltimore City," (1935), Jackson Administration Files, RG 9, Series 20, A16, Box 231, Baltimore City Archives.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Early-Twentieth-Century Baltimore: The Art of James Doyle, Jr. (1880–1952)

SISTER MADELEINE DOYLE, S.S.N.D.

Seventy years ago the art lovers of Baltimore and its surroundings would have needed no introduction to James Doyle, Jr., whose etchings and pen sketches appeared often in newspaper series, art exhibits in the Peabody Gallery (at the time the largest in the city), Charcoal Club exhibits, and in smaller galleries. Born in Baltimore in 1880, Doyle was educated at Calvert Hall and the Maryland Institute of Art. His first steady employment as an artist was at the age of nineteen at the old Baltimore *Herald,* where Henry L. Mencken, also nineteen, was a cub reporter. According to stories related in later years, the two young men must have made a good team. Meeting deadlines for the *Herald,* they sometimes rode the horse-drawn police wagon to the scene of a fire or some other newsworthy event. There Mencken took notes and Doyle made rapid sketches that he finished back in the office before the presses rolled. While working on the paper, Doyle apparently "moonlighted" for the International Syndicate (an art-news clearinghouse); in the summer of 1902 the firm's president wrote him a letter recommending him as "an artist of high ability, and a good and conscientious worker."[1] That year Doyle married Sarah V. Hodges.

In 1904 the city directory listed Doyle as the manager of the art department of the *American,* whose offices, along with those of other Baltimore newspapers, were destroyed in the great fire of that February. Afterward, all hope of artistic production had to give way to the pragmatic task of clearing rubble and rebuilding. Young Doyle, now unemployed, had a brother who several years before had heeded the call to "go West, young man" and who now urged James and his wife to join him in San Francisco. There an advertising agency would welcome James's skills. The young couple made the trip by train, probably in the spring of 1904. Doyle earned a living in that other city by the bay, and Sarah gave birth to her first child in San Francisco, but otherwise the western adventure produced nothing of note.

The family returned to rebuilt Baltimore in 1906—early enough, to judge from a dated pen sketch, to miss the earthquake that destroyed San Francisco in April of that year. At least by the fall of 1906 Doyle had begun work on the *Sun,* which in March 1907 published two signed Doyle sketches entitled "Wye House" and "Family Burial Ground, family seat of the Lloyds on the Eastern Shore." Early the

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Sister Madeleine Doyle, S.S.N.D., daughter of the subject of this article, is Professor Emerita of Modern Languages at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland.

following year two more of Doyle's pen sketches appeared in the *Sun,* this time of Gwynns Falls Park, accompanied by a long article on the subject.

In 1908 Doyle began to study under Gabrielle Clemens, already a well-known etcher, who predicted much success for young Doyle. Two newspaper notices of about two years later announced an exhibition of five of his etchings "of local color and scene" at the Jones Art Store on North Charles Street. "Mr. Doyle is doing serious work in this medium, and his efforts show brilliant promise," one paper declared; another commended his "relative values of blacks and grays."[2]

Meanwhile Doyle enjoyed an active commission trade. In 1911, after opening of the Emerson Hotel, the businessmen of Baltimore honored the owner, Captain Isaac Emerson, at a gala banquet. They commissioned Doyle to etch the invitation and menu, and both the *Sun* and *News* reproduced the etching with praiseworthy remarks on the artist's ability. Doyle's commissions included bookplates, for in this period of the twentieth century literate men and women proudly collected (and usually read) hard-covered volumes and aspired to mark them distinctively as their own. Doyle's earliest known plate, though not an etching, he did for Mencken, while both men worked at the *Herald.* Doyle's plate drew from an old German print that Mencken probably owned. Though somewhat primitive by comparison, the plate did not disappoint Mencken, for he used it throughout his life. All other bookplates Doyle etched. Their running theme was, as it should be, the journey on which books take us and the reflection they lead us into. Doyle's patrons included W. S. Galloway, investor in the B&O Railroad and yachtsman; Warren Wilmer Brown, drama and music critic and a *Sun* editorial staff member (for whom Doyle etched a small sailboat turning a bend into the unknown with the inscription "*Ici on trouve l'oubli*"); Ida Herzog, another drama critic; John Martin Hammond, author of *Colonial Homes of Maryland* and a pioneer of aerial photography in World War I; Michael Warner Hewes, member of the Charcoal Club and, with his father, a director of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company; and George A. Colston, investment broker.

Doyle's earliest drawings were destroyed by the 1904 fire and most of the remaining ones are privately owned. His all-too-meager portfolio included an etching of Van Lear Black's yacht *Balboa* and ten political sketches that he probably did as a stand-in for a regular newspaper cartoonist—one of them a caricature of Charles J. Bonaparte, the Progressive reformer who served as President Theodore Roosevelt's secretary of the navy. Doyle's more serious work included pen portraits of the painter Evert L. Bryant and the sculptor Edward Berge at work on his garden piece, "The Ducklings." Surviving undated portraits supply images of Henry C. Frick, Andrew Carnegie's partner in steel manufacturing; the Swiss foreign officer Leo Vogel; Uriah Rose, Kentucky-born president of the American Bar Association, 1901–1902; and the inventor George Westinghouse—all bearing a signet logo familiar to Doyle's earliest work. Doyle etched the doorway of the Chase-Lloyd House in Annapolis and in Baltimore a portrayal of the domed Johns Hopkins Hospital, the Huntingdon Mansion in what later became Charles Village, and the remains of slave quarters out Old Court Road; he did whimsical pencil sketches of a rural village with a Ford coupe parked on the street and a dreamlike stream bordered by cattails. Probably bowing to the pleas of his friends, he sketched invitations for the Bal des Arts, a masked ball that the Charcoal Club held annually at the Lyric Theater. In 1978 Doyle's children donated seven of his etchings and drypoints to the Maryland Historical Society and a number of his bookplates and cartoons to the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Doyle's pen sketches are scattered through the newspapers of several decades, many of them in the Pratt Library's bound volumes of the Baltimore *News,* which during 1913 published a series of twenty-six "Pen Sketches of Familiar Sites" and in 1919–20 another on "Baltimore's Beautiful Churches." In all of them Doyle captured the life and look of Baltimore in the early twentieth century. Even the most banal scenes he translated into imagery that evoked sounds and odors, while in the more uplifting sketches multiple values of light gave the impression of illuminating reality: a master conductor directed a concert in pen and ink. Many of Doyle's subjects still exist, some have been altered, and others are now gone.

NOTES

1. William Miller's unaddressed letter of recommendation, 7 July 1902, in the author's possession.
2. Undated clippings, family scrapbook, in possession of author.

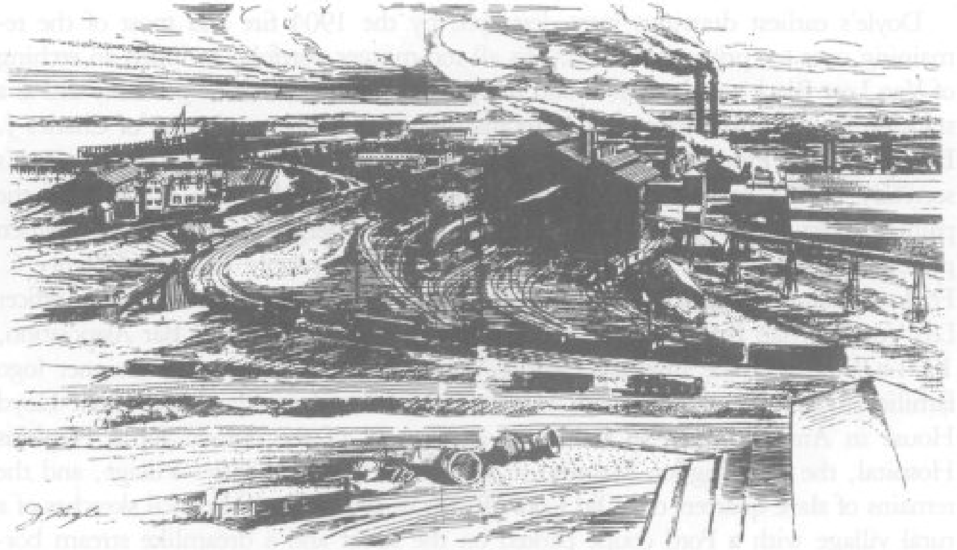

FIGURE 1. "Steel Plant and Rail Mill of the Maryland Steel Co., Sparrows Point." (Baltimore *Sunday Sun,* 30 September 1906.)

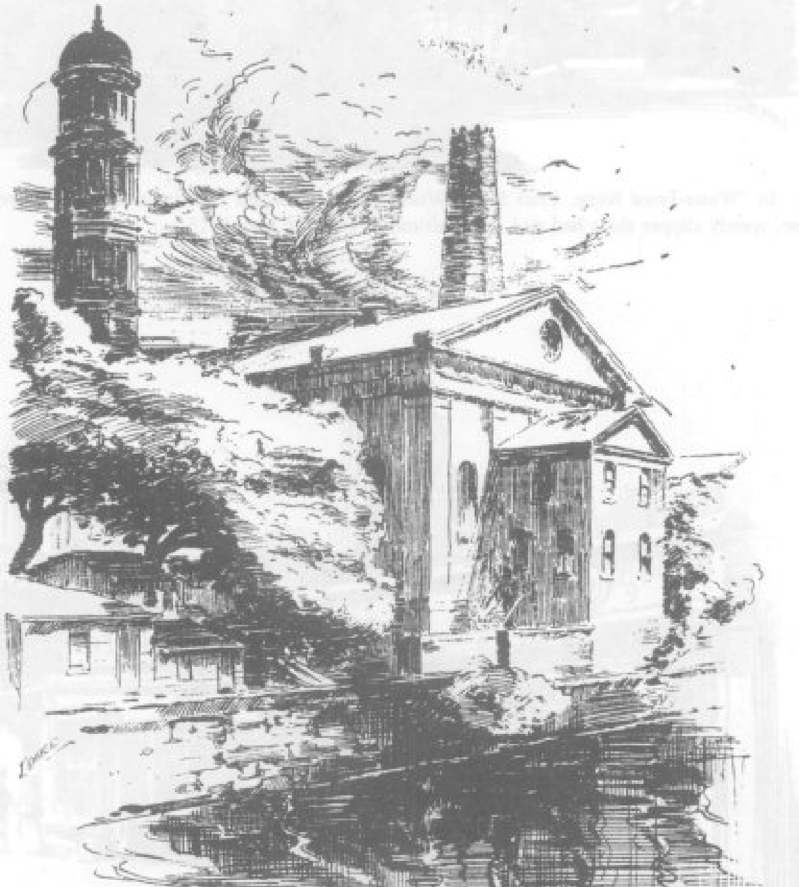

FIGURE 2. Doyle's view of the "Jones' Falls, Rear View of St. Vincent's Church and Shot Tower," remains the same today except that the water now runs underground. (Baltimore *News,* 24 April 1913.)

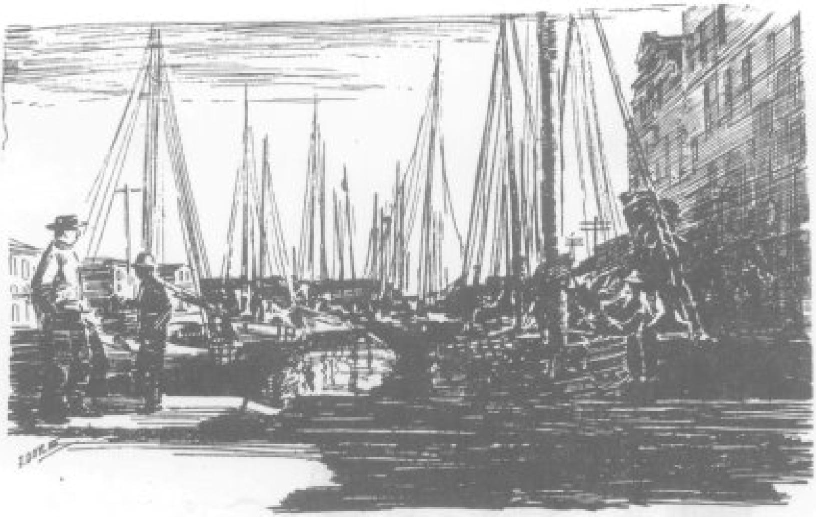

FIGURE 3. In "Water-Front Scene, Pratt Street Wharf," Doyle sketched crowded workboats where, in an earlier time, speedy clipper ships had tied up. (Baltimore *News,* 22 May 1913.)

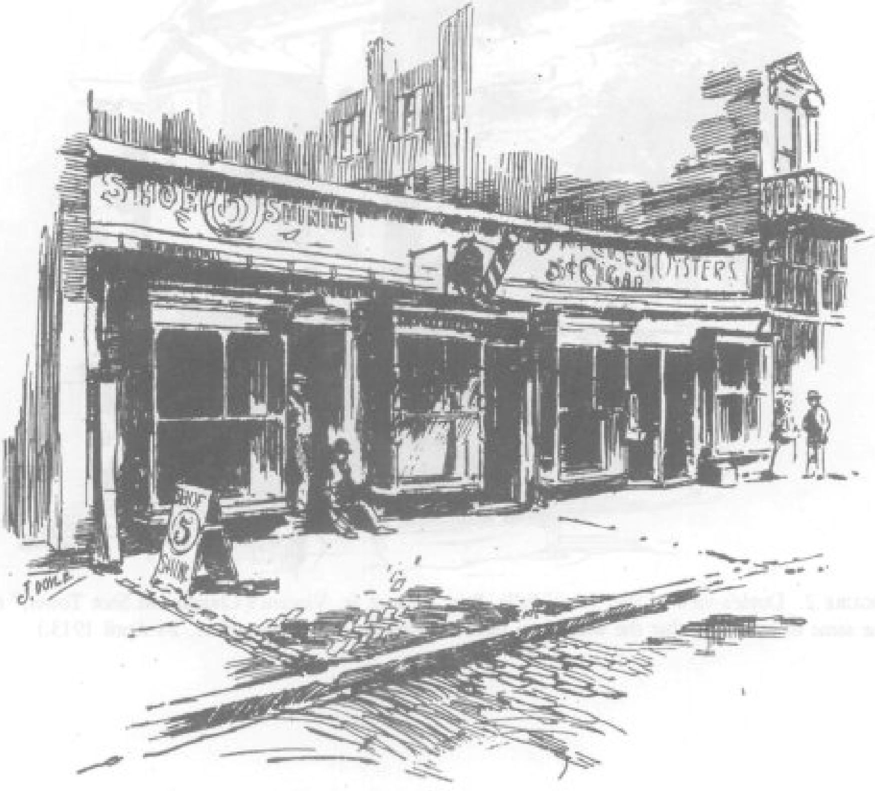

FIGURE 4. "Quaint Little Shops Along Camden Street" featured two "personalities" slumped in a doorway, a local barberpole, and signs announcing shoe shines, oysters, and cigars—the last two available for a mere five cents. At the far right a proper couple seems to have arrived from a different world. (Baltimore *News,* 31 May 1913.)

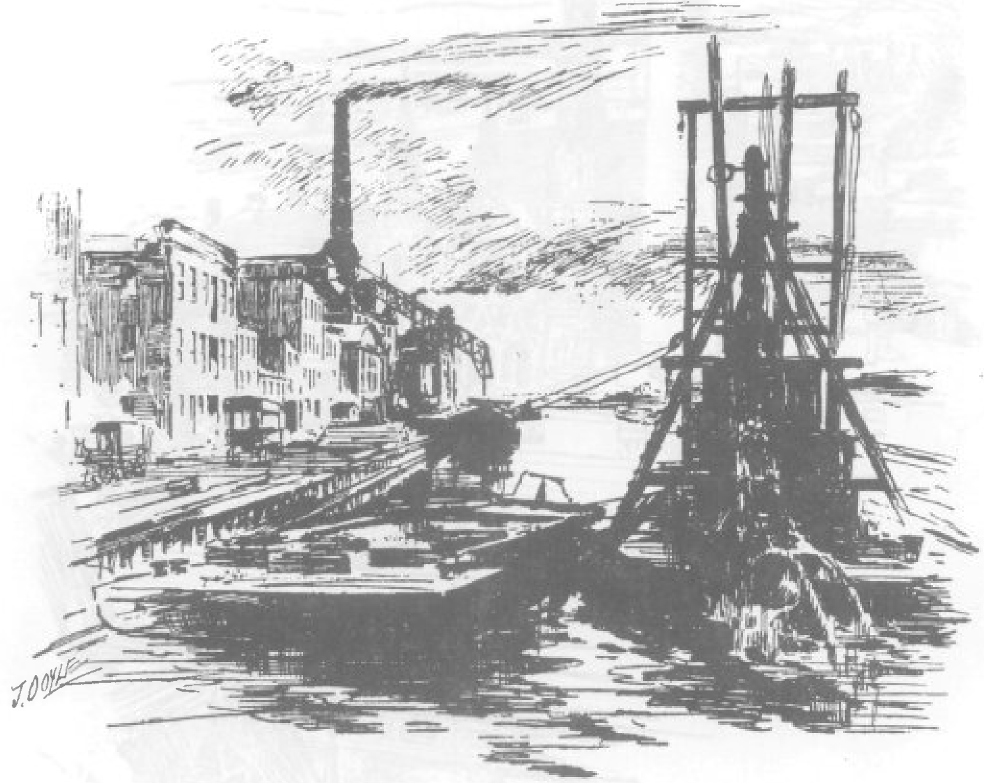

FIGURE 5. In another waterfront scene, "East Falls Avenue," Doyle's imagery almost allows us to hear the sounds of factory whistles, the honking of boat horns, the thumps of stevedores, and the spilling of water and splashing of dredged mud. (Baltimore *News,* 16 June 1913.)

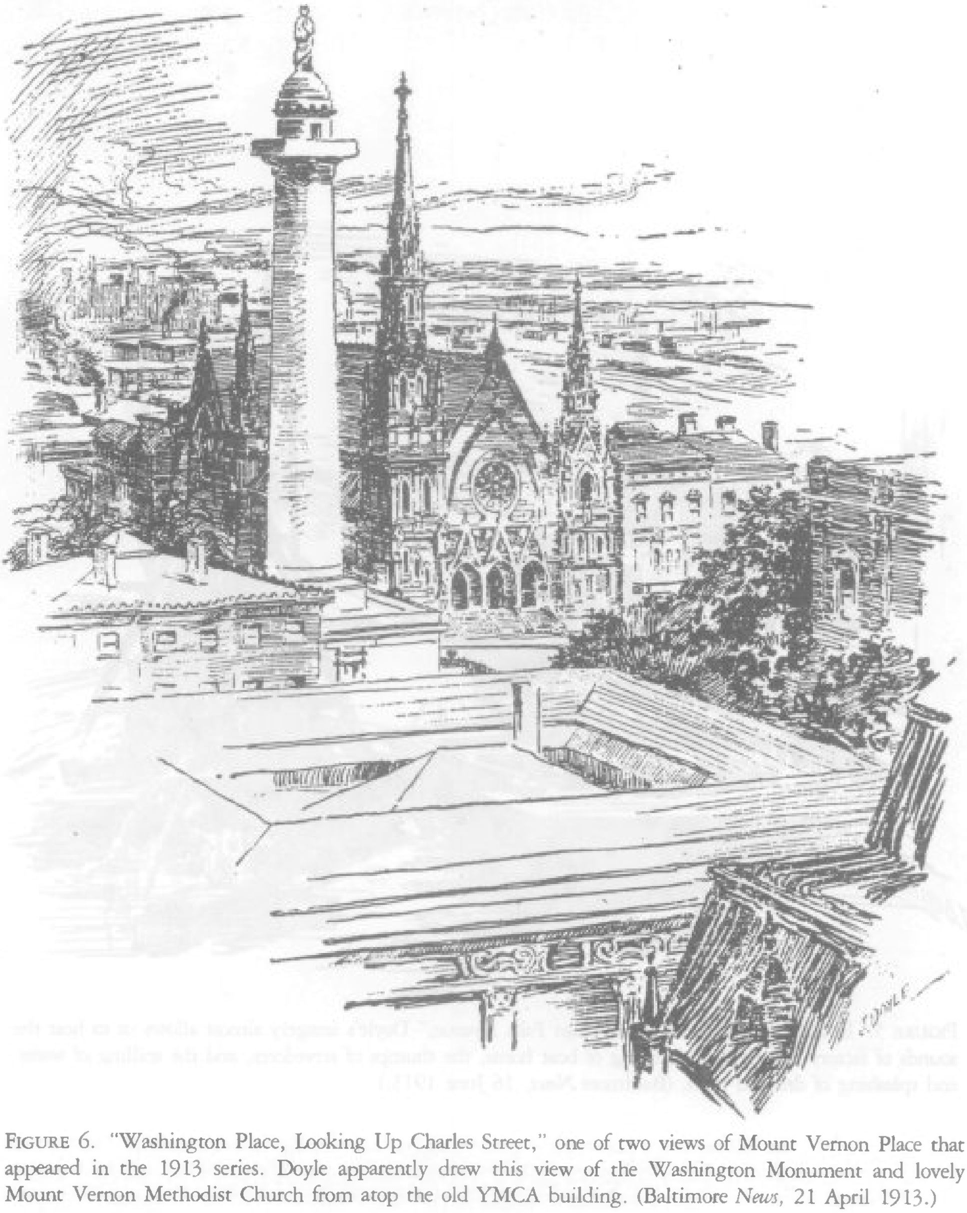

FIGURE 6. "Washington Place, Looking Up Charles Street," one of two views of Mount Vernon Place that appeared in the 1913 series. Doyle apparently drew this view of the Washington Monument and lovely Mount Vernon Methodist Church from atop the old YMCA building. (Baltimore *News*, 21 April 1913.)

Book Reviews

Maryland Political Behavior: Four Centuries of Political Culture. By George H. Callcott. Illustrations compiled by Mary Ellen Hayward. (Published by the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland State Archives, 1986, Pp. 64. $4.50.)

George H. Callcott believes that "politics has been the genius of America, its greatest contribution to civilization" (p. 5). In this small book, which accompanied an exhibit of political artifacts and election day activities sponsored by the Maryland Historical Society in 1986–1987, the author succinctly describes the transformation of one state's political culture over four centuries.

Callcott begins with the creation of seventeenth-century political institutions: the royal charter, governor, council, assembly, counties, courts and militia. For the eighteenth century, he describes the extraordinary growth of the colony from a population of 30,000 in 1700 to 140,000 by 1750, resulting in the rise of political conflict, first between the planters and the proprietor, and later against the Crown. In addition, internal political conflicts over personality, ideology, class, region, religion and ethnicity sharpened political talents in the public arena. The rise of parties in the nineteenth century furthered the development of Maryland's political culture. Federalists gave way to Democratic-Republicans; Whigs competed with Jacksonians; Know-Nothingism led to a virtual collapse of political parties during the Civil War era; after which the Democrats and Republicans with their bosses and strong party loyalties carried Marylanders into the twentieth century.

To this point, Professor Callcott offers a fascinating introduction into the evolution of American politics within one state. For the twentieth century, however, his attempts to summarize the extraordinarily complex events under the heading, "The Rise of Planning" (p. 51) falls short.

For the Progressive Era, he attacks the reforms of the new professionals for undermining democratic politics. His evidence is the decline of voter participation, the end of political conventions and the restructuring of political institutions to strengthen the influence of the experts. If one assumes the political machines of Arthur Pue Gorman and Isaac Freeman Rasin, which the progressives challenged, were the best of all political cultures, then these criticisms are valid.

When the reformers are accused of attempting to disfranchise black voters (p. 53), Callcott overlooks the split among reformers on this issue. The Gorman-Rasin machine initiated the first disfranchisement "reform" largely for partisan reasons and was defeated by Democratic progressives, ethnic voters, and Republicans. Subsequently some progressives endorsed disfranchisement, but were again defeated by Republicans and ethnic voters. In Maryland, much of the impetus for progressive reform came from Republicans like Charles A. Bonaparte, Phillips Lee Goldsborough, and later Theodore R. McKeldin who opposed limiting the Afro-American franchise. The progressives did weaken traditional machine politics, but they also expanded the role of government in areas of public health, education, child welfare, parks, environmental conservation, and corporate regulation benefitting the lives of many Marylanders.

For the post-World War II years, the author summarizes his fine book on *Maryland and America, 1940 to 1980* (Baltimore, 1985). Again the materials, especially on the 1960s and 1970s, are too rich and complex to fit "The Rise of Planning" theme. An alternative theme might have been to examine expanding governmental roles in the twentieth century, or perhaps to link contemporary political culture to the rise of middle class suburban counties and Baltimore's ethnic voters with their special interests. Certainly increasing political pluralism has characterized national politics in the twentieth century, and Callcott in his larger book has emphasized the links between Maryland's experience and that of the nation.

Fewer Marylanders do vote in elections in the twentieth century. Partisan influences have declined, in part due to television. Yet despite the scandals of recent years, local and state governments function reasonably well (p. 62). Maryland's political culture continues to evolve. Perhaps the proximity of contemporary history clouds the vision.

For the most part, *Maryland Political Behavior* is an insightful little book, and a good introduction to Maryland history for newcomers and older residents of the state.

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The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, Volume 1: Atlantic America, 1492–1800. By D. W. Meinig. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986. Pp. xxii, 500. $35.)

The Shaping of America, Donald Meinig's geographic trilogy on the American past, culminates three decades of outstanding scholarship on frontiers and imperial expansion. His seminal books and articles on South Australia, the Great Columbian Plain, the American West, the Southwest U.S., and Texas, in retrospect, seem a prelude for this monumental interpretation of five centuries of American geography. *Atlantic America* gets at the very core of those geographical processes which have long preoccupied and fascinated him—processes of frontier imperial expansion and conquest; sociocultural contact, migration, and transfer; evolving macroregional structures and flows. To explore these issues, Meinig relies on a method of inquiry that he has sculpted into fine art. Drawing from a vast and seemingly unpromising secondary literature, he teases out geographical fragments; rearranges them into coherent geographic processes, flows, and structures; and juxtaposes finely-chiseled narrative with more abstract geographies of the processes of colonization, migration, and settlement. His is a rare temper of mind, charmed by the particularities of places and peoples, yet sensitive to the larger, dynamic patterns of European overseas expansion.

Atlantic America, encompassing the three hundred years from Columbus's discovery to the formation of the United States, is a landmark in historical geography. The heftiness of the volume—500 pages, 40 original maps, 10 schematic map models, 40 map and landscape reproductions, and a handful of tables—and its publication by a distinguished press are testament to a prodigious effort of selection, synthesis, and interpretation. Moreover, his is the first comprehensive geographical interpretation of early American peoples and places, and as such, it at once defines an agenda for future research and stimulates interpretive discourse. It is something of a paradox, then, that Meinig's controversial view of past American geographies is obscured by his art, his effortless prose, and his seamless transitions. A spare summary of the volume makes explicit his interpretive position and also frames avenues for debate.

Meinig's thesis is encapsulated in the tripartite structure of *Atlantic America:* 1) Outreach: The Creation of an Atlantic World; 2) Implantations: The Creation of American Diversity; and 3) Reorganizations: The Creation of an American Matrix. Parts one and three imply that early American geographies were shaped by rare and unpredictable political oscillations which defined the nature, scope, and scale of imperial expansion. Political processes, having defined the framework of imperialism and laid out a geographical template for ensuing efforts, gave way to sociocultural ones. These processes filled in and differentiated imperial territories into a mosaic of distinctive regions. At one end of the story (1492–1600), the driving political force is European imperial expansion and competition in the Atlantic arena. Peoples of three continents (Africa, America, and Europe) are forced together by exploration, conquest, colonization, and culture contact; geographic patterns and interactions that guide ensuing regional evolution in situ or via culture transfer are put into place; and an odd complementarity among regions and states locked in imperial competition is articulated. At the opposite end of the story (1750–1800) stands the political transformation of the American Revolution and its replacement of Atlantic imperialism with a vision of continental conquest and occupation. Sandwiched between these two momentous and defining imperialisms (1600–1750) is a phase of macroregional evolution in which sociocultural processes shape the Atlantic seaboard into a mosaic of a dozen or so distinctive regions.

The three parts of *The Shaping of America* are unequal in length, geographical scope, and emphasis. Part one, about a sixth of the volume, plays the key role of framing an Atlantic context for the English colonization of North America. As late-comers to the imperial scramble, the English entered an Atlantic system that consisted of recognizable geographic sectors and circuits that bound them together. Models of settlement and culture contact had been established. One such geographic model was the Cape Verdian-Senegambian slave trade. Basing their slave trading operations in these islands just off the West African coast, Portuguese slavers made coastal connections with African middlemen who coordinated an interior network of slave capture and transportation. The infamous slave plantation system was a second geographic template with its hearth in coastal Brazil among Dutch and Portuguese sugar producers. After the Dutch were expelled from the region, they transferred the slave plantation to the West Indies where it diffused widely among the sugar and tobacco islands. Cross-cultural diffusion of these and other geographic models thus articulated an Atlantic system. Its systemic nature was further reinforced by a regular progression in colonization whether among Iberian, French, Dutch, or English invasions.

Meinig sees three stages in colonization: prelude, fixation, and interaction. The first began with coastal exploration followed by extensive trade and gathering; the second, outpost establishment, imperial administration, and settlement deepening; the third, culture contact with indigenous peoples. While Meinig appreciates stage overlap and variability in outcomes for particular invasions, his stage models tend to oversimplify what was an exceedingly complex and dialectical process. Take for example the environmental and demographic destruction of Hispaniola (the subject of Carl Sauer's remarkable book which Meinig curiously ignores). The rapid reduction of Hispaniola produced by 1515 the new world's first "hollow frontier," compelling Spanish adventurers to seek their fortunes on the mainland. Their extraordinary success a few years later, in turn, reverberated back to Hispaniola a radically new mission and set of geographic functions. This geographic dialectic between frontiers under incorporation and imperial beachheads argues for regarding the Atlantic system as somewhat more fluid and disequillibrating than Meinig's models imply.

Part two narrows scope to the English occupation of the Atlantic seaboard of North America and the richly varied sociogeography which emerged there. Meinig identifies thirteen macroregions along the seaboard and for each provides a vignette narrating the occupation of the region by ethnic and religious groups followed by a descriptive geography circa 1750. These vignettes, albeit obligatory, add little to what we already know and occasionally omit much that we do. To wit, the discussion of greater Virginia (including most of Maryland) is silent on the late seventeenth-century transformation to slave labor and attendant differentiation of society and settlement. Is it possible to understand the Chesapeake if one ignores the 1680 to 1720 restructuring of the landscape into large, small, and tenant plantations, into slaveowning and non-slaveowning plantations, and among all of them an increasing diversification of crop production? Similar economic transformations elsewhere along the seaboard play little part in Meinig's story. Conversely, these vignettes offer powerful insights on the seaboard's ethnocultural and social geographies. These concise regional frames offer new appreciation for the center-periphery tensions that divided coastal English settlements from the diversity of ethnic and religious settlements in the "back country" between Pennsylvania and Georgia—sociogeographic tensions that would manifest themselves during the American Revolution and its aftermath.

Part three is the most provocative and challenging. Resisting the geographer's proclivity to dismiss internal war as a minor perturbation, Meinig makes a frontal assault on the causes of the American Revolution. This civil war, he believes, was the consequence of conflicting imperial visions after the French and Indian War. His maps of loyalism and patriotism (to my knowledge, the first of their kind) deftly portray the geographic diversity of American political opinion. The geography of loyalism and patriotism, in turn, has an affinity with ethnic geographies and core-periphery tensions. New England's intense patriotism, he maintains, traces in part to the region's ethnic and religious homogeneity. Meanwhile, the creation of a rebellious colonial confederation was fostered by British territorial policies which restrained frontier settlement and thus alienated back country settlers and coastal land speculators alike. Meinig's interpretation, though fundamentally correct, omits some important economic and demographic points in the seedbed of Revolution. New England's presumed political consensus was rather more fragile than he suggests—frontier rebellion in the 1780s underlines this point. And his presumption of intense ties between Boston and a New England hinterland is suspect; these ties may have been less important than the city's foreland ties from intercolonial wholesaling via the coastwise trade. In this context, Boston's strenuous objections to import taxes is understandable. When combined with the city's demographic stagnation since the 1750s, Boston's pivotal revolutionary role may be regarded as a special case of spatial relative deprivation in an era of extraordinary prosperity.

America's improbable victory over the British initiated a new episode of imperialism, one which was American and continental rather than European and Atlantic. The ensuing expansion tripling the size of the nation in just seventy years was facilitated, Meinig shows, by a federal reorganization of the nations' political economy. In a brilliant discussion of early national political geography, Meinig explores the imperial implications of federalism. The new system established a set of procedures by which lands gained by imperial conquest moved through ordered stages of settlement, territorial status, and finally statehood. This political framework, with its constraint on the size (and hence population) of new states, provided for incorporating new lands while safeguarding against radical changes in the balance of state or sectional power. These new "rules of the game" thus paved the way for continental imperialism, manifest destiny, and a balancing of sectional tensions over slavery—all of which form the subjects of Meinig's second volume in *The Shaping of America*. One mild surprise here is that the author makes no allusion to federal implications for sociocultural geography in the next wave of imperialism. Perhaps Americans assumed naturally that future frontiers would welcome waves of diverse ethnic and religious groups, but I suspect that visions of frontier sociogeography diverged sharply. Indeed, the conflict in these visions was manifested in the debate on the price of western lands which was not fully resolved until the 1820s.

Every academic discipline prides itself on a few books which, because of their creativity, insight, and literary sophistication, instill a sense of professionalism and craftsmanship. For geographers, volume one of *The Shaping of America* is one of these books. That two more volumes are in the offing is a warm and comforting thought. Thanks and hurry home, Mr. Meinig.

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Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America. By Patricia U. Bonomi. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 291. Notes and index. $24.95.)

Since the advent of Marxian materialism and Weberian instrumentalism, it has been difficult for many scholars to comprehend religion on its own terms and the terms of its pious adherents—as the quest for salvation. That such an approach poses especial dangers for a society as deeply imbued with religious yearnings as was colonial America is the animating principle of Bonomi's graceful and learned volume. Decrying the tendency, evident since the publication of V. L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* in 1927, to "hurry Americans into secular modernity at the turn of the eighteenth century" (p. 221), Bonomi argues instead for the continued growth and vitality of religion until well after the Revolution. Attacking the myth of "declension" head on (a formulation that never made sense outside of New England anyway), she points out how ill it accords with the "rising level of religious intensity in the Middle Colonies and the backcountry South as Quakers, pietistic sects, and church-centered communities of Lutherans, Reformed, and Presbyterians entered the colonies from the late seventeenth century onward" (p. 8). In Bonomi's view, the trajectory of the colonial religious experience is consistently an upward one, the jeremiads of the New England clergy nothwithstanding. She portrays the seventeenth century as a period of "strain and conflict" and the eighteenth as a time of "proliferation and growth." Increasing numbers of churchgoers (even among the slaves as a result of the Great Awakening), institutional expansion along the frontier, toleration (albeit often grudging) of dissenters, the emergence of a respected and educated clergy, and the growing compatibility of faith and reason, these are the features of eighteenth-century religious life that Bonomi finds most compelling. Despite the handicaps of what for many was a ten to fifteen mile trip to the place of worship, Bonomi shows that some sixty percent of the eighteenth-century population regularly attended church. During the week, as well as on the Sabbath, the settlers' principal reading fare consisted largely of published sermons, devotional literature, catechisms, and theological treatises. And, not surprisingly for a society in which two-thirds of the free population were Protestant dissenters, Bible-reading was ubiquitious. Religion permeated every feature of American life, public and private, from formal sermons preached at artillery company musters in New England to slurred prayers concluding grog parties in the backcountry South.

Largely responsible for the flourishing state of religion in eighteenth-century America, declares Bonomi, was "the diversity—and thus the fierce competitiveness"—of colonial religious culture. For Bonomi, this characteristic marked the "sharpest departure from Old World tradition" (p. 39). The weakness (or in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, nonexistence) of religious establishments meant that churches functioned as the first voluntary associations in America—a fact that she links explicitly to the triumph of the doctrine of social contract in the political realm after 1776. And whether or not forced worship did indeed "stink in the nostriles of God," there can be little doubt that the avid competition for new members had obvious utilitarian ends, producing high rates of both membership growth and institutional loyalty. In America, as in nowhere else in the early modern world, the ancient maxim that church and state must work in tandem to uphold the public weal was decisively repudiated—at first in practice, then in theory.

Eschewing the tendency, common to both the old Progressives and the new social historians, to give short shrift to the religious component of Revolutionary ardor and doctrine, Bonomi contends instead that it was the key catalyst in moving colonists from resistance to revolution. In what surely will be one of the author's most discussed formulations, she avers that:

> Where political theory advised caution, religious doctrine demanded action. By turning colonial resistance into a righteous cause, and by crying the message to all ranks in all parts of the colonies, ministers did the work of secular radicalism and did it better: they resolved doubts, overcame inertia, fired the heart, and exalted the soul (p. 216).

It is Bonomi's belief that many Americans "found it impossible to oppose an earthly king except in the name of the King of Heaven" (p. 222).

Bonomi returns to an older tradition of scholarship that portrayed the gathered churches of New England as "schools for democracy." She argues that not only did the voluntarism and contractualism inherent in dissenting Protestantism pave the way for 1776, but the attending themes of the sovereignty of the individual conscience and the need for a virtuous citizenry shaped the forms of republicanism thereafter. In so doing, the author emphasizes in particular the denominational basis of politics during the period between the Great Awakening and the Revolution. Organizing committees, writing correspondence and circular letters, adopting election tickets, and signing petitions, laymen and clergy alike learned the techniques of mass mobilization that served them so effectively during the Revolutionary crisis. That the American experiment in republicanism was securely grounded in Christianity as well as enlightenment rationalism would have important consequences, not only for the place of religion in the future nation, but also in the type of liberalism that triumphed in the nineteenth century. It would not be the utopian, collectivist, and anticlerical variety favored by Rousseau, but rather the sober, individualistic contractualism inspired by Locke.

Given the inflation of superlatives common to our time, it is faintly embarrassing to describe a book as pathbreaking. But this one really is. The number of historical assumptions it calls into question alone suggest as much. Among these, in addition to the declension myth, are included: the large number of unchurched Americans during the eighteenth century; the gap between "popular" and "elite" religion (or between the laity and the clergy); the class-based nature of the Great Awakening; the corrupt or disreputable character of many of the Anglican clergy in early Virginia and Maryland; the lukewarm or hypocritical attitude toward religion held by the southern planter class; growing lay hostility toward the professionalizing clergy after the turn of the eighteenth century; the indifference or even animus toward Christianity held by such Founders as Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, and Washington; the primarily secular basis—in either the Real Whig tradition or Florentine civic humanism—of much Revolutionary thought; the conflict between piety and profit in the minds of most early Americans; and, finally, the portrayal of the mid-Atlantic and southern colonies as spiritual waste lands.

Foreign observers such as Tocqueville have often observed that "There is no country in the world where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America." Bonomi's book is a timely reminder for historians not to lose sight of this fact. In a scholarly era more apt to identify the colonists in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, or relationship to the means of production, it is necessary to recall that most colonial Americans saw their primary identity in terms of their relationship to Christ. It is likely that in few places in the early modern world would a traveler comment, as did the acerbic Dr. Alexander Hamilton while on a trip through New England during the Great Awakening: "[even] the lower class of people here [talk of nothing but] justification, sanctification, adoption, regeneration, repentance, free grace, reprobation, original sin, and a thousand other such pritty, chimerical knick knacks as if they had done nothing but studied divinity all their life time." But, as Bonomi's book makes abundantly clear, that's exactly what many of them did. And not only in New England.

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Southern Capitalists: The Ideological Leadership of an Elite, 1832–1885. By Laurence Shore. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 282. Bibliography, index. $25.)

In 1951 C. Vann Woodward, who was then at Johns Hopkins University, published *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913.* Powerfully argued and gracefully presented, Woodward's history still remains the most influential analysis of the way Southern society evolved after Reconstruction. Now, thirty-five years later, Laurence Shore, a scholar recently trained at Hopkins, has advanced the latest proposed revision of Woodward's classic analysis. The revision is largely based, in turn, upon the dicta of another senior historian presently at JHU. Readers of Shore's book are thus in the unusual position of assessing a sort of intradepartmental, intergenerational debate over the essential character of the nineteenth-century American South.

Woodward believed that the states of the former Confederacy has been "redeemed" from Republican rule during Reconstruction by a new political elite. The new elite understood modern corporate capitalism and managed to combine that with white supremacy to create the world of cotton mills, railroads, cheap labor, rural poverty and racial segregation that characterized the South (notwithstanding the short-lived Populist revolt) into the middle decades of the twentieth century. In Woodward's view these new men skillfully and somewhat cynically employed the vaguely pathetic remnants of the old antebellum ruling elite as window dressing, false fronts, and public relations agents, but the new men themselves were calling the shots. Woodward took his readers state by state through the former Confederacy offering examples of prominent individuals who fit his characterization. For Woodward, the Civil War and Reconstruction had irrevocably ended the Old South; the New South he wrote about was genuinely new and its affairs were conducted by a new class of people.

For Laurence Shore, on the other hand, the story of Southern leadership, the story of who shaped the basic beliefs and responses of Southern society, is a story of continuity. Like Woodward, Shore considers the post-Reconstruction Southern leaders capitalistic and white supremacist. But Shore does not consider them a new class of people. Instead, he sees them as an ideologically transformed variation of the old antebellum elite. In a direct rebuttal of Woodward's position, Shore also takes his readers state by state through the former Confederacy to demonstrate that those in control after Reconstruction were so intimately connected to the elites of the Old South as to be inseparable from them. The end of slavery had not brought a new class to power; the old elite, or at least a substantial portion of it, had managed to alter its rhetorical positions, particularly its economic theories, and to regain control.

Shore's views rest upon two cardinal concepts. The first is associated with J. G. A. Pocock, one of Shore's mentors at JHU. Pocock and others believe that elites as a whole (regardless of what might happen to prominent individuals here and there) seldom rise or fall dramatically, even in what are conventionally called revolutionary situations. Rather, they try to trim their ideologies to altered circumstances, graft new perspectives onto older roots, and maintain the ability to influence, even manage, their societies. According to Shore, that is precisely what happened in the American South during the nineteenth century.

Shore's second cardinal concept is his contention that most antebellum Southern leaders, even as they articulated their elaborate defenses of slavery, not only acknowledged but actually held fundamentally capitalistic views well before the Civil War. About half of *Southern Capitalists* is devoted to textual analysis of the rhetoric of antebellum spokesmen. Shore sees their position as a tension-filled effort to reconcile the political economy of Adam Smith with the conditions that benefited their class in the cotton South. An ideological transition to the conditions of emancipation was thus not only possible but relatively easy for them to accomplish. Both before and after the war, according to Shore, the ruling elite's biggest problem was not what to do with black labor but how to treat non-elite whites.

There are certainly problems with this book. Some of them are almost philosophical in nature and have to do with the difficulty of defining elites, the shadowy relationship between public ideology and private power, and the precise role of political rhetoric. Others have to do with the appropriate levels of evidence for historical arguments of this sort. General readers will find the textual analyses tough going and professional historians will find several of the sections overwrought and repetitious. But Shore has raised big and important questions, and he has added significantly to a debate that has been going on in Baltimore and the nation for many decades.

JAMES C. MOHR
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Index to the Roster of the Maryland Volunteers 1861–1865. Compiled by Daniel Carroll Toomey. (Harmans, Md.: Toomey Press, 1986. Pp. 588. $27.50, paper.)

The *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861–5* appeared in two volumes in 1898 and 1899, the product of a three-man commission that worked under the General Assembly's authority. Volume 1 listed all men who served in white Maryland units in the Union Army, with brief service histories. Volume 2 did the same for the "colored" units and for all persons born in Maryland who served in the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps. Since each company-sized unit was listed separately, a researcher had to check in more than two hundred places to learn whether a particular name appeared. Daniel Carroll Toomey's computerized index to volume 1 solves that problem for whites in the army—though one must be alert to check in two places for names beginning with letters whose numbers exceeded the computer's capacity. The information given consists of last name, initials, rank, unit, enlistment date, and whether the subject was wounded or killed in action, became a prisoner, or deserted. With the unit reference, the researcher can readily locate the name in the *Roster* itself to learn additional details.

Toomey's *Index* sheds light on the much-debated question of how many Marylanders served the Union cause. The preface to the old *History and Roster* asserted that the total was 62,959. That figure, which has been widely repeated and has even found its way onto a plaque in the State House, was shown by J. T. Hutchinson in volume 64 of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* to be wildly overstated and the result of a simple mathematical error. Now Toomey provides proof that the *Roster's* own contents belie the claim in the preface. (The State House plaque even says that "nearly 63,000 native sons . . . served in the Union forces." The *Roster* never claims that those it lists, other than Navy people, were "native sons." Many of those in Maryland army units were immigrants from Europe or came from other states.)

Toomey's names (whites in the army) total approximately 34,220, and of those at least 4,400 represent duplications or triplications, the same man being listed several times under various ranks and in various units (whether identical names represent the same person can be checked in the *Roster* itself, which has cross-references). Two other categories must be deducted: about 575 men who enlisted but were never assigned to a unit, and sent home (this was a widely used technique to satisfy quotas fictitiously), and 4,400 substitutes, since there is no reason to believe that they were Marylanders at all. Normally recruited by brokers, they were, according to the federal records, mostly fresh off ships from Europe or drifters, unknown in the state in whose unit they served; many in Maryland units said they were from Canada.

The resulting figure of 24,845 approximates the number of Maryland whites who served in Union Army units—of whom about 1,500 were draftees and about 23,345 volunteers. This total accords fairly well with the 25,391 volunteers (including those who went home without serving) credited to Maryland by the provost marshal's report in 1865. The difference probably represents men who were credited more than once for service in different units. Local official exerted every possible ingenuity to inflate the number of credits in order to ward off the detested draft. Even after all the juggling, in the end Maryland was credited as supplying only fifty-eight percent of its quota, by far the lowest achievement of any state (Kentucky was next lowest, with seventy percent). While a substantial number of men from other states served in Maryland units, some Marylanders doubtless served in units of other states, as well.

Although the *Index* does not cover volume 2, we know beyond question that about 5,020 white Marylanders served in the navy and marines and 8,718 blacks served in all branches. The grand total therefore appears to be about 38,600. This number may still be too high, since there was another type of duplication, the extent of which is unknowable: many men would enlist for the large cash bounties offered, desert, and reenlist under fictitious names, collecting multiple bounties along the way.

The overall desertion rate was extremely high, the white deserters totaling about 6,025 according to a quick count of that column in the *Index* and of the navy list in volume 2 of the *Roster*. The desertion rate for blacks was vastly lower. The *Index* column for "killed in action" (volume 1 only) shows some 500 in that category.

Mr. Toomey's *Index* is of great usefulness to the genealogist and the historian. Further computer runs, and an index for volume 2 of the *Roster*, could make calculations even more precise and perhaps permit further conclusions.

Brice M. Clagett
Friendship, Maryland

Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations: The Use and Abuse of An American Dilemma, 1944–1969. By David W. Southern. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. Pp. xviii, 344. Bibliography, index. $33.)

In the late 1930s the Carnegie Corporation, under the prodding of trustee Newton D. Baker and President Frederick Keppel, determined to sponsor a major study of the race problem in the United States. Rejecting American social scientists as generally too biased and myopic to direct such a sensitive project, they invited the young Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal to guide the effort. Myrdal's role was thus cast as a learned but neutral observer, like a latter-day Tocqueville. A democratic socialist who was both anti-communist and, in his economic analysis, anti-Marxist, Myrdal brought to the project impressive international credentials that included fluency in English, buoyant optimism, and whip-cracking energy. He also brought to the project a profound ignorance of American race relations in general and the American South in particular; a lively and forceful personality that colleagues often found mercurial and rash, and occasionally even rude and vindictive; and a social-psychological concern for the perception of race (especially in the white mind) that oddly downplayed the role of economic class in the analysis of such a socialist economist. Most importantly Myrdal, an important architect of Sweden's welfare state, infused the giant study with his Swedish vision of social science as social engineering, as a "moral science" that properly linked values to science as a practical engine of social change.

The result was *An American Dilemma,* a two-volume tome that was published in 1944 by Harper & Brothers and contained in its 45 chapters, 10 appendices, and 1500 pages both a mountain of data and a singular optimistic vision. To Myrdal the American Dilemma, which centered on the shocking contrast between the liberal-egalitarian American Creed and the nation's brutal oppression of its black citizens, would yield to peaceful reform through public education and the democratic rule of law under the Constitution. He deplored the massive hypocrisy of the American white mind, but optimistically emphasized a "rank order of discrimination" along a spectrum in which the goals that Negroes wanted most (jobs) and least (intermarriage) were inversely related to the intensity of white opposition. The timing of *An American Dilemma* was exquisite. It coincided with victory over fascism, the founding of the United Nations, the launching of the Cold War, and the consequent intensification of both international and domestic pressure on an increasingly defensive Jim Crow. It quickly became a bible of social science on American race relations in the establishment citadels of the great foundations, academe, journalism, and the postwar think tanks.

David Southern has written an intellectual history of a great and vulnerable tract of social science. His book properly begins not in 1944 but in 1939, and his reconstruction of the Myrdal project from fresh sources (mostly from a shamefully reluctant Carnegie) is the most original part of the book. These fascinating early chapters describe the "ordeal of collaboration" through which Myrdal fenced with the intrigued but turf-minded social scientists at Chicago, Columbia, and Chapel Hill, and ultimately engaged to varying degrees a Who's Who of contemporary American social science: Charles Dollard, Melville Herskovits, Guion G. Johnson, Guy Johnson, Howard Odum, Arthur F. Raper, Samuel A. Stouffer, Thomas J. Woofter. Myrdal's black scholars included his "Howard boys," the productive Ralph J. Bunche and the nonproductive Doxey P. Wilkerson, plus E. Franklin Frazier, Charles S. Johnson from Fiske, and even Alain Locke.

Subsequent chapters trace the impact of Myrdal's study on the postwar civil rights movement, especially the *Brown* decision and its famous Footnote 11; the hostile southern counterattack; the running debate on race among academic social scientists through the triumphant and watershed year 1965; and then the rapid destruction of the liberal consensus and its optimistic centrism under the attacks of Black Power and New Left radicalism. Such a task is logical but too ambitious, and its centrifugal forces inevitably dilute the author's focus. But Southern remains resolutely fairminded, and his reading in the massive secondary literature provides an informed excursion through the tortured contours of American social science.

Beyond these abiding appreciations, which are often richly rewarding but do not constitute a guiding thesis, this reviewer draws several conclusions that may not be fairly attributed to the author. One is that for all its data and scholarly apparatus, *An American Dilemma* was not much more "scientific" than, say, John Gunther's contemporary journalism in books like *Inside Africa.* Indeed, Myrdal was a less neutral observer than Gunther, for his conclusions flowed directly from his normative assumptions which the data then documented. Clearly in a moral and political sense, much of the analysis and prescription in *An Americna Dilemma* was both correct and crucial to subsequent social change. But this had little to do with science. Another conclusion is that social science hasn't improved much since. Indeed, in light of the caustic post-1965 attack on Myrdal from the radical left and the black nationalist right, the scientific quality of American social science clearly deteriorated in the latter portion of Southern's book. Most convincing in their sobering critique have been liberal scholars themselves, who have sadly faulted both the Swede's historical blindness and his naive optimism, which led him to underestimate the tenacity of "consciousness of kind" among all racial groups. Throughout this excursion in the sociology of knowledge, Southern has kept his head level, and he qualifies as a steady guide to an uncertain destination.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Keeper of the Rules: Congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia. By Bruce J. Dierenfield. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1987. Pp. xii, 306. Notes, bibliography, index. $25.)

Organized labor dubbed him "the lord high executioner" of the House of Representatives (p. 175). To one liberal colleague, he was "a hard, mean old man" (p. 135)—but to another, he was "this good man . . . this great American" (p. 223). The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* once editorialized sorrowfully that he had become "a rabid labor-baiter" (p. 111). Years later, when he died at age ninety-three the *Richmond News Leader* mourned him as "a giant among giants . . . a supremely principled Virginian" (p. 228). Along the way, a liberal Yankee journalist defined him as "a convinced, sincere, native American primitive who seems to believe with Hamilton that the populace is a beast" (p. 81).

These are samples of the many contradictory appraisals of Howard Worth Smith (1883–1976) quoted in the first book-length study of his life and political career by a modern scholar. From the perspective of a generation after Smith fell from power in the 1960s, Bruce J. Dierenfield, assistant professor of history at Canisius College, draws a well-balanced portrait of a quintessentially Virginian relic of the nineteenth century and adds a few other provocative appraisals of his own.

The Smith who emerges from Professor Dierenfield's well-documented, carefully-researched analyses is a most active and ingenious relic. As a "superbly skilled obstructionist" he developed and used a "brilliant parliamentary ability to frustrate socio-economic change" (p. 231). His 1955 ascension to the House Rules Committee chairmanship enabled him to become "the most powerful conservative in Congress" (p. 111)—even more powerful, Mr. Dierenfield asserts, than his better-known contemporary, Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd. It is a thesis for which the author makes a very persuasive, though still debatable, case.

Howard Smith's congressional years were the years between 1930 and 1966—years of the Great Depression, the New Deal, World War II, and postwar battles over civil rights and the Second Reconstruction. (For most of his long tenure, Smith's Eighth District was the congressional district closest geographically to Maryland; largely rural but rapidly urbanizing, it was wedged north and east against the curving Potomac.) Mr. Dierenfield began gathering his Smith notes some ten years ago, when he was a graduate student at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, once the southwestern outpost of Smith's Democratic legions in the Eighth District.

In 1933, just as Franklin D. Roosevelt began his first term, Smith eagerly grasped an unexpected opportunity to become a member of the House Rules Committee, then largely a procedural unit that served mainly to regulate the flow of legislative traffic onto the House floor. On the committee he molded a tight alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats—precursors of the formidable conservative coalition that was to exert a powerful influence on legislative substance and procedure for nearly thirty years. By 1938 Smith's anti-New Deal cabal had developed such a bill-crushing hammerlock that FDR made the courtly Virginian a prime target on his election purge list. The purge effort, of course, failed.

Future presidents treated him more warily, but they all had cause to aim some curses, not loud but deep, at the wily old fox of Fauquier. Smith did more than obstruct, delay, weaken and kill. Affirmatively, he sponsored and wangled into law such measures as the 1940 Smith Act to fight subversion by registering aliens, and the wartime Smith-Connally Act to curb labor disputes and unions. His agile brain and crafty maneuverings were responsible for uncounted anti-labor, anti-civil rights, and anti-spending bills.

Memories of the Smith style, his low-key, soft-spoken operations, prompted the relatively liberal Representative Richard Bolling of Missouri, a Democratic colleague on Rules, to tell the author: "Smith wasn't the least bit interested in making a noise. He found out something a long time ago that a lot of people in this town never discover. You can do damn near anything in Washington if you don't insist on getting credit for it." (p. 138).

Early in 1961 Speaker Rayburn and President Kennedy agreed that the time had come to do something about Smith and Rules. It took all their political muscle and savvy to win a bitterly fought first round on the House floor to enlarge the committee. Smith never gave up; the struggle continued until, in 1965, a twenty-one-day release rule completed the procedural reformation. Thus, "the age of effective Rules obstruction" ended, and "the once mighty king-pin of Rules . . . could do little more than join with other southern Democrats in denouncing and delaying briefly these 'iniquitous' federal aid programs and civil rights bills" (p. 205).

To the author, a generation later, it appears that Smith "has not received his due because the chief causes for which he spent his career, namely silencing radicals, weakening labor unions, halting civil rights and preventing government deficits, were rear guard actions in what turned out to be losing causes" (p. 229).

One due, Professor Dierenfield argues, as the pages of his book seem to amply demonstrate, would be simply that Howard Smith "was one of the most powerful legislators of this century." (p. 229). Another due, as the author sees it, is: "To Smith, human problems were a transient matter when compared to the holy trinity of states' rights, free enterprise and a small and balanced budget" (p. 234).

JAMES LATIMER
Richmond, Virginia

Queen Dolley: The Life and Times of Dolley Madison. By Dorothy Clarke Wilson. (New York: Doubleday, 1987. Pp. iii, 373. Selected list of sources. $17.95.)

Although the biographical novel is not a new invention, in Dorothy Clarke Wilson's hands this hybrid becomes an unsatisfying amalgamation of fiction and fact. On the surface, biographical novels would seem no different from historical fiction. Yet the problem seems to lie in the incompatible aims of the two genres: biographies and novels. The best historical novelists weave fact and fiction into a seamless web, using their imagination to fill in the gaps between documents and sources. By creating characters, scenes, and conversations, they illuminate motives and historic events. And we readers of historical fiction are willing to suspend disbelief as long as we trust the author.

Trusting the author is the key, of course. To win our trust, novelists must play by certain rules: they can never explain too much or presume to know the future. If they overexplain conventions or clothing or oddities of the time period, we are distanced, spectators rather than participants. If they overstep the boundaries of time that their characters live in—if they act like twentieth-century authors writing about the past—we again feel estranged. Novelists cannot behave like overanxious hosts at a costume party; they have to resist the tempation to guide us by the elbow.

Biographers, on the other hand, play by rules that contradict those of the novelists'. To win our trust, biographers have to demonstrate detachment and objectivity. They must show their sources, prove their deductions, qualify their speculative leaps. Unlike novelists, who must submerge their souls in the era and its characters, biographers must always seem a little distant. They can lose their hearts, but they cannot lose their heads.

Because biographies and novels are fundamental opposites, Dorothy Clarke Wilson's book does not succeed. Sadly enough, *Queen Dolley* might have been good, if pious, historical fiction if Wilson had stuck to one genre. The book starts out well. In fact, the sections of Dolley Payne Madison's early life in Virginia and Philadelphia are convincing. Wilson is good at conveying the struggle between young Dolley's vain, girlish temperament and her spiritual, Quaker side. Through her descriptions, Wilson captures the idyllic tone of Scotchtown, the Paynes' plantation in Virginia, and the bustle of Philadelphia. "They rode through the streets in chairs, sulkies, farm carts, elegant carriages, chariots. . . . They crowded about the 'crier of news' on the street corners at the clanging of his bell. On market days they swarmed to the stalls in the tavern sheds where produce was brought. . . ." (p. 36). For the first seventy pages Wilson lets us see eighteenth-century life through Dolley Payne's eyes.

If only Wilson would have been content with pure fiction. By the time Dolley has married James Madison, the book has taken a turn for the worse. From that point on—through Jefferson's administration, through James Madison's presidency, through the War of 1812, through the Madisons' retirement at Montpelier—Wilson begins to haul in her sources, interrupting her narrative to quote the Madisons' contemporaries or later biographers. Although the intent is to give a full historical portrait, the effect is jarring.

"Each day at four, dinner was served at the President's round table. . . . 'Round.' [Mrs. Smith] wrote, 'so that all could see each other's faces . . . and make for more social enjoyment.' Dolley would have agreed" (p. 140). Or this intrusion, which Wilson sticks in during a scene when Dolley admires her reflection in the mirror. "But Dolley would have been startled, humbled, probably a little horrified, could she have forseen that one hundred and fifty and more years later the dress she wore that day would be exhibited in one of the nation's most beloved treasure houses, the Smithsonian" (p. 256). Frequently, Wilson interrupts a scene to quote contemporaries on food served, parties attended, conversations overheard.

Those awkardly worked in quotes only interrupt her narrative flow. To write that Dolley "would have agreed" or "would be humbled" is beside the point. By now Wilson should know Dolley better and, more importantly, should we. Wilson is also inconsistent. First she stresses *Queen Dolley's* fictional side, then she stresses the book's biographical side. In doing so she sabotages the whole work. Why trust the novelist when she must use sources to describe meals? Why trust the biographer when she must invent conversations?

Biographers prove the past, novelists intuit it. In the end, we read historical fiction for the same reasons we read any kind of fiction: to experience someone else's life, to discover we are not alone. Reading a good historical novel—Gore Vidal's *Burr,* say, or Robert Graves' *I, Claudius*—we are apt to feel the emotional connection between ourselves and our forebears, no matter how far back in time they lived. Reading Wilson's *Queen Dolley,* we are merely apt to feel disengaged.

LINDA RODGERS
Department of English, The College of William and Mary

Books Received

During Maryland's 350th year the College of Notre Dame—thanks to grants from the Maryland Council for the Humanities, the Thomas and Clementine L. Mullan Foundation, Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, and Baltimore Federal Savings and Loan Association—sponsored a series of seventeen lectures on the state. Sister Virginia Geiger, S.S.N.D., now has compiled and edited those talks and with the aid of the Maryland State Archives published them as *Maryland Our Maryland: From the Maryland Our Maryland Symposium at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland.* Its 280-odd pages will delight every reader and prompt many a thought. Contributors range from John Barth, whose wit especially sparkles when he tells tidewater tales, to scientists who write with force of the challenges we face in preserving the Chesapeake's natural world. Historians speak engagingly of the colonial experience, the question of Maryland's proper bay boundry with Virginia, early European impressions of Maryland, developments in transportation and agriculture, and the working-class and ethnic experiences in the state; students of special topics discuss Maryland provisions for the handicapped and the state's contributions in art, medicine, sports, and journalism. Truly worth reading.

University Press of America, $12.95 (paper)

R. Bernice Leonard of St. Michaels has published on the Leonard and Bartlett families, indentured children in Talbot County, mid-nineteenth-century marriage licenses there, and the 1860 census of Sussex County, Delaware. Her most recent work *Talbot County Maryland Land Records,* abstracts from the first two volumes of Talbot County (in this period Talbot included parts of Queen Anne and Caroline counties) land records, covering 1662 to 1673. Leonard notes that the earliest volume represents a copy from the original, apparently lost, and therefore contains predictable small errors, omissions, and variations in spelling. Nonetheless, her indexed abstract will interest genealogists as well as students of early Talbot social and economic history.

Distributed by author, $12.50

At the other end of the state, the Youghiogheny Glades chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has complied *Maryland's Garrett County Graves,* a compendium of names researchers have found in every known county burial plot. "Some of the older cemeteries contained only fieldstone markers," says the prefatory key to the volume, "and we could find no names for some small plots. Time has rendered some markers illegible. Some fieldstone markers have only initials scratched into them while others may have a Christian name but only an initial representing the surname. These things caused problems in compiling a record that is easy to use so we set some basic guidelines to make the indexing possible." Those indexes cover cemeteries, names of persons buried, and names mentioned on markers other than person buried. An indispensable guidebook to Garrett County family history.

Youghiogheny Glades, Oakland, $27.50

Donald Ray, editor, along with William Demo and JoAnne Gallimore, have produced a revised version of *Western Maryland Materials in Allegany and Garrett County Libraries.* This edition, defining Western Maryland as Frederick, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett counties, builds on the work of Douglas Michael (1976) and includes manuscripts, maps, audiovisual materials, books, pamphlets, and periodicals. A separate appendix traces local newspapers and family names for which local libraries have genealogies. "It was felt that—in the case of historical materials—it is better to include too much rather than too little," the editor explains. "One of our purposes here is to help libraries and collectors identify unique holdings, and to encourage them to exchange and photocopy materials as permitted." Every lover of the state's history must be thankful for such vision and service.

Allegany Community College Library, Cumberland, $7.95

News and Notices

SECOND ANNUAL *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* PRIZE

In 1984, as a feature of the state's 350th anniversary, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society established an annual prize of $350 for the most distinguished article to appear in a given volume of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.* The committee announces with pleasure that the 1986 prize goes to Kent Lancaster, professor of history at Goucher College, Towson, Maryland, for his essay "On the Drama of Dying in Early Nineteenth-Century Baltimore," which appeared in the summer issue. The subcommittee charged with the difficult task of judging last year's articles singled out for honorable mention Richard J. Cox, for his "Trouble on the Chain Gang: City Surveying, Maps, and the Absence of Urban Planning in Baltimore, 1730–1823, with a Checklist of Maps of the Period," spring issue; Nancy T. Baker, for her "Annapolis, Maryland, 1695–1730," fall number; and William M. Franklin, for "The Tidewater End of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," winter issue.

PARKER AND HARRIS PRIZES AWARDED

The Genealogy Committee has announced the winners of the Parker and Harris prizes for the best genealogical works received for consideration during calendar year 1986.

The first prize in the Sumner A. and Deirdre Parker contest for the best genealogical publication on a Maryland family was awarded to *The Gump Family in America, 1732–1983,* compiled by the late Arlo K. Gump, with research by Ethel Young Gump and Dorothy Gump Jackson. It was published by Gateway Press in 1983 and concerns a family whose early generations in America lived in Frederick County. A second prize was awarded to Blanche Ford Bowlsby and Joyce Brown Layman for *The History of a Ford Family in Cecil County, Maryland.*

The Norris Harris Prize for the best source record book on Maryland was awarded to R. Bernice Leonard for *Bound to Serve: The Indentured Children of Talbot County, 1794–1920,* like the Parker winner published in 1983, but not received for consideration until 1986.

The judges for the contests were three members of the Genealogy Committee: Robert Bartram, Thomas L. Hollowak, and Jon Harlan Livezey. In addition to the regular prizes, the judges felt that special congratulations were in order for a genealogy published under the Society's aegis, *Thomas Jenkins of Maryland, 1670, His Descendants and Allied Families,* compiled by Edward Felix Jenkins, and to the Maryland State Archives staff for the completion of the two-volume *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1637–1789,* an extremely useful reference work.

Entries for the 1987 prize contests are now being sought. Books must be printed or typewritten, and must contain an index; to enter, a copy of the book must be submitted to the prize committee, in care of the MHS Library. For complete rules, or to submit entries, write to the Maryland Historical Society Library, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201.

HISTORICAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

The Fifteenth Annual District of Columbia Historical Studies Conference will be held on 26 and 27 February 1988 at the Martin Luther King Public Library in Washington, DC. For more information contact Larry Baume at the Columbia Historical Society, (202) 785-2068.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana and the University of Florida will hold a conference at the University of Florida, Gainesville, 9–12 December 1987. The theme of the conference will be "Spain, Florida, and the Caribbean: Explorations and Settlements in the Sixteenth Century." There will be sessions relating to the voyages of Christopher Columbus, the European impact on the Indians living in America, the founding of St. Augustine in 1565, the development plans for the area by Pedro Menédez de Avilés, the establishment of the first cities in the Caribbean by the Spanish, and the role of the Conquistadors. The papers will be presented by Spanish and American scholars. For information on the conference contact Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, Center for Florida Studies, 126 Florida State Museum, Gainesville, FL 32611 (904-392-1721).

WILDLIFE STAMP AND PRINT PROGRAM ANNOUNCED

The Wildlife Conservation Stamp and Print Program of the Maryland Forest, Park and Wildlife Service introduces its third series of stamps and prints, this year featuring a bluebird. The money received from the sale of prints and stamps is used only for the management and restoration of Maryland's nongame and endangered species. Wildlife Conservation Stamps sell for $5.00, signed and numbered limited edition prints sell for $35.00. For more information call (301) 974-3211. Also available are previous stamps and prints featuring the Baltimore oriole (1985) and the ruby-throated hummingbird (1986).

QUERY

The Society of Old Brooklynites seeks assistance in identifying the 256 Marylanders who helped delay the advance of the British Army in the Battle of Long Island, August 1776. Please contact Virgil Pontone, 1707 Ridge Court, Brooklyn, NY 11209.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

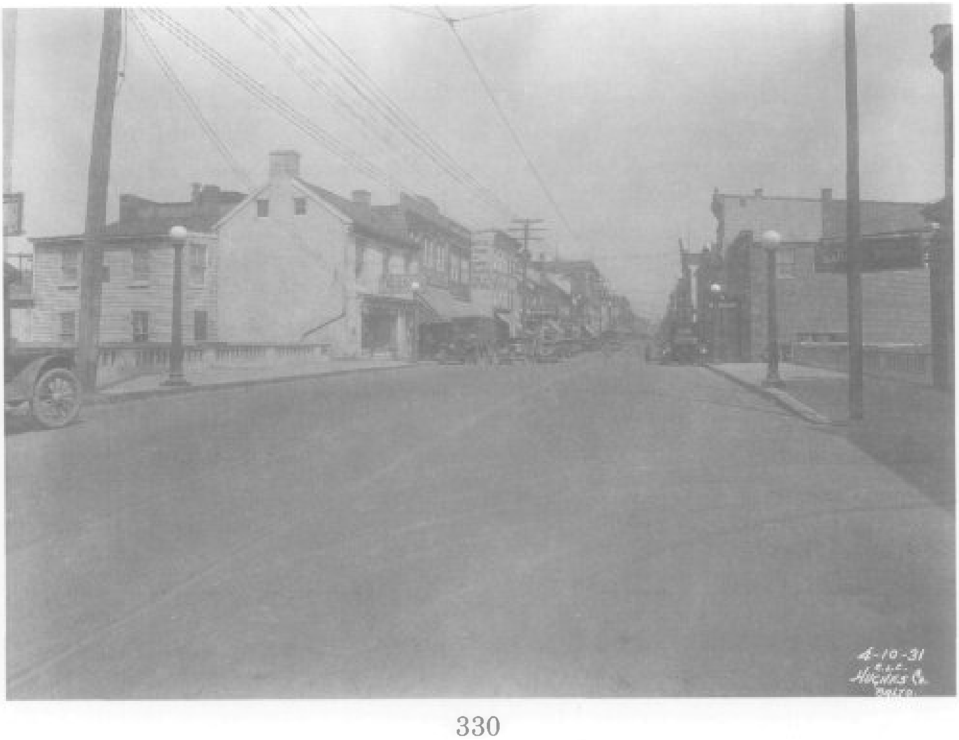
Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this street scene in a Western Maryland town. What historic town is this? What street is this? When do you think this photograph was taken?

The Fall 1987 Picture Puzzle is a view of the south east corner of Camden and Howard Streets in 1912.

The following people correctly identified the Summer 1987 Picture Puzzle as Liberty Street, looking north from Lexington sometime between 1916 and 1919: Mrs. Jean M. Albrent; Mr. Carlos P. Avery; Mr. D. Randall Bierne; Mrs. Martin E. Boessel, Jr.; Mrs. Mary E. Bragg; Miss Ann Callan; Mr. Harvey Davis; Mrs. Stuart W. Egerton; Miss S. Virginia Fooks; Ms. Helen Gilner; Mr. E. Henry Hinrichs; Mrs. James Kay; Ms. Marie Lehnert; Col. J. A. M. Lettre, AUS, Ret.; Ms. Helen A. Maynard; Mrs. M. C. Meyers; Mrs. Nathan Patz; Mrs. Margaret L. Proctor; Ms. Hester Rich; Mr. Wayne R. Schaumburg; Mr. Edwin Schell; Mr. Harry S. Scott; Mr. Hiram H. Spicer III; Mrs. Gertrude Warfield Stukes; Mr. David D. Thomas III; Mrs. Virginia M. Thompson; Mrs. W. D. Tigertt; Mrs. Jane Boyd Waldsachs.

Please send your response to the Winter 1987 Picture Puzzle to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, MD 21201



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July 1, 1986–June 30, 1987

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Bill Ross	*Development and Membership Director from 11/86*
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Madeline Abramson	*Public Programs Secretary*
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Virginia Duvall	*Publications Assistant*

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Susan D. Weinandy	*Assistant Manuscripts Librarian; Associate Editor,* MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
Catherine Sampsell	*Manuscripts Assistant to 1/87*
Romel W. Showell	*Manuscripts Assistant from 2/87*

Public oratory comes naturally to the Honorable Louis Goldstein, seen here at the opening of the "Torchlights to Television" exhibit on Maryland's political tradition.

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Mrs. Alfred Pruce	*Genealogical Researcher*
Susan Wheeler	*Genealogical Researcher*
Dr. Ferdinand E. Chatard	*Consultant, Maritime Manuscripts*
Denwood N. Kelly	*Consultant, Numismatics and Philately*

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* Jeffrey A. Cohen	*Assistant Editor for Architectural History*
Robert J. Block	*Assistant Editor*
* Geraldine Vickers	*Secretary/Transcriber*
* Linda Carol May	*Research Assistant*

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1986–1987

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Public Programs Assistant Madeleine Abramson (center) pours tea for Robert Barnes (left) and William Filby (right) at an MHS tea held for the Society's hard-working volunteers.

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REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

I am pleased to report that the year ended June 30, 1987 was an extremely successful one for the Maryland Historical Society.

Important additions were made to the staff and under the very able leadership of Jeff Miller, Director, and Barbara Sarudy, Administrative Director, this group of people has become the most dedicated and talented the Society has had in many years. This made possible the accomplishments of 1987 and bodes well for the future.

Through its Museum and Library, the Society continued its outstanding service to the people of Maryland. Several significant exhibitions were presented and many important acquisitions were made through both gift and purchase. Of special importance was a marvelous eighteenth century landscape by Francis Guy given by Edwin W. Obrecht. My thanks to all the donors for their extreme generosity. Work was begun on major improvements to the exhibition space. This was made possible by a gift from Eleanor A. Owen. Also, the Board of Trustees continued to assess the long range physical needs of the Society and consider the acquisition of adjacent property for expansion.

The financial condition of the Society at year-end was excellent. Due primarily to security appreciation, the endowment reached a new high. Good results were achieved in membership income, annual giving, and investment income. Expenses were below budget. Consequently, a surplus was developed from operations.

Special recognition should be given to Brian Topping, President and Chief Executive Officer, for his contribution to the successful year. His thorough knowledge of the Society's operations and his dedication to its excellence were indispensable.

At the Annual Meeting, Samuel Hopkins, a current Trustee and a past President of the Board, was honored for his many contributions to the Society and the State of Maryland. His portrait was presented to the Society.

Through normal rotation the following gentlemen retired from the Board of Trustees: John E. Boulais, R. Patrick Hayman, Michael Middleton, Richard P. Moran, Adrian P. Reed, and Jeffrey P. Williamson. The Society is very appreciative of their leadership and support.

WILLIAM C. WHITRIDGE
Chairman, Board of Trustees

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

There were a number of Administrative staff changes during the past year. William Ross came to us as Director of Development and Membership. Our new Assistant Director of Development and Membership is Elizabeth Swarm. Darlene Frank is now our Public Relations Director. These additions have strengthened the Society. We are fortunate to have an experienced, capable staff and, I might add, a staff that truly cares about the Maryland Historical Society.

As of June 30, 1987, the conclusion of our fiscal year, we succeeded in producing a balanced budget. Barbara Sarudy, our Administrative Director, continued to make a number of improvements in operating procedures. These improvements, in combination with a successful Annual Giving Campaign under Development Director, Bill Ross, enabled the Society to stay in the black. This is the third consecutive year we have been able to balance our budget.

Major physical alterations are under way in our complex. A second elevator is being installed, the Museum Shop is being renovated, and the Darnall Children's museum is being moved to the first floor. Also, we have begun construction of a new special exhibition gallery, made possible by a generous gift from Eleanor Abell Owen, one of the Society's trustees.

The Education Department conducted a varied program of guided tours, teachers' workshops, classes, lectures and special events during the last fiscal year. Approximately 17,000 children and 4,000 adults from 17 counties and from out of state received guided tours conducted by staff and volunteers. Over 3,000 people attended special in-house programs. Over 4,000 people participated in off-site programs presented in 12 of Maryland's counties.

The Library Department continued to serve a large number of researchers and scholars. In addition to extensive in-house use by the staff, the three Library Divisions (Reference, Manuscripts, and Prints and Photographs) had over 5,000 in-person visits from the public. Also, the Library staff responded to 1,651 mailed inquiries and to 2,130 telephone calls. A number of Saturday morning library talks were held. The staff worked in cooperation with the Society's Education Department on outreach programs for teachers and students. Materials from library collections were used in two in-house exhibits, "From Torchlights to Television" and "Heraldry in Maryland." Loans were made for exhibitions at the Baltimore Museum of Art, Eubie Blake Cultural Center, and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Prints and Photographs Division collections figured heavily in videotapes produced by Baltimore City Hall and Maryland Public Television. During the year a number of important additions were made to our collections of family and business records. These included papers of the Kemp family, shipbuilders of Baltimore and Talbot County; an 1826 watch, quarter, and station bill of the U.S.F. *Constellation;* letterbooks from the president's office of the B&O Railroad; and additional papers of Robert Gilmor, Baltimore art and autograph collector and a founder of the Maryland Historical Society. Genealogical research remained a strong interest of library users. Our limited purchase funds enabled us to acquire additional reference books and to replace our microfilm reader-printer.

The Museum Department staff was reorganized during the year with all curators sharing in the general responsibility for the gallery collections while individually retaining charge of specific collection segments. Stiles Colwill was named Museum Director/Chief Curator. In this position, one of his major responsibilities will be raising funds for gallery exhibits and acquisitions. Jennifer Goldsborough was promoted to Museum Administrator/Associate Curator and she now supervises the staff and oversees the gallery budget. Judith Coram resigned as Curator of Textiles and was replaced by Assistant Curator Rosemary Gately, formerly Assistant Registrar. Two temporary exhibitions were mounted: "It's a Small, Small World" featuring children's furniture, silver, and books during the fall and winter; and "Bendy, Dancetty, Vervels, and Wyverns: A Celebration of Heraldry in Maryland" during the spring. Among the 1501 Maryland items accessioned by the Museum during the year were a Francis Guy painting of the Slave Quarters at Perry Hall, Charles Peale Polk portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Johnston, portraits of Col. and Mrs. Edward Fell by John Hesselius, portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Hughes by Charles Willson Peale, a silver creamer ca. 1770 by Gabriel Lewyn, a William Ball silver tray made for the Ridgely's of Hampton ca. 1800, and a needlework sampler worked at the Emmitsburg Academy.

From this brief report, it is clear that much has been accomplished during the past year. We will continue to strive to make the Maryland Historical Society even more effective in its primary role of collecting and preserving Maryland's historical heritage.

Respectfully submitted,
J. JEFFERSON MILLER II
Director

Volunteer Louise Hines publicizes the Society's contributions to Maryland history at the Mount Vernon Flower Mart.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Perhaps as we come to the end of our third financially successful year at the Maryland Historical Society, it is time to pause for a few moments to reflect on where the Society has been and speculate on where we might be heading. Each committee of volunteers that works so hard at the Society does so to help maintain the momentum and integrity of purpose begun by a few dedicated men almost one hundred and fifty years ago.

The Society was founded in 1844 to collect, preserve, and study Maryland's history. A handful of gentlemen members, who conceived of the club as serving their social and intellectual needs, raised thirty-five thousand dollars to build the Athenaeum at the corner of St. Paul and Saratoga Streets in Baltimore. After the building was complete, the Society merged with the 1796 Baltimore Library Company. Members began to gather items from Maryland's past in their new quarters.

In 1867 the Society entered a period of expansion when George Peabody gave twenty thousand dollars stipulating that one half of the income from the principal was to be used for publishing works relating to the history of Maryland and the rest of the interest was to be employed for the collection of Maryland reference and research materials. With the acquisition of these resources, the Society began to publish more actively in the field of Maryland history. Its initial efforts centered on a pamphlet series consisting of papers read at Society meetings and catalogues of exhibitions. In 1906 the Society elected to expand its historical programs and commenced publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

While the Society was expanding during the 1860s and 1870s, its fate became entwined with the Johns Hopkins University. In 1876, the year of the university's founding, its leaders purposefully located the institution near the Peabody and Maryland Historical Society respositories. This action was born out of a desire by the university officials to establish major graduate programs in the humanities. Professor Herbert Baxter Adams, the seminal figure in the development of the Johns Hopkins seminar in history and political science—the model for virtually all contemporary American graduate programs—initially based his course of study upon the materials located at the Society and the Peabody with the result that a series of excellent studies were produced on an array of topics central to Maryland's history.

In 1883 Adams convinced the state to subsidize the Society in its efforts to publish the Archives of Maryland, a series that remains one of the great contributions to the study of early American history. Local history buffs, genealogists, and graduate students rubbed elbows at the research tables in the Society with such scholars as Woodrow Wilson, Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles McLean Andrews, and Bernard Christian Steiner whose father was head librarian at the Enoch Pratt Free Library. These late nineteenth century institutions became the center for the study not only of Maryland history but also for wider research into America's past.

In 1917 Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser donated the home of Enoch Pratt, the philanthropist, to the Society and built onto it fire proof gallery and library spaces in memory of her husband. The space was expanded with the Thomas and Hugg addition in 1968 and the Robert G. Merrick Wing in 1981. In 1935 the state opened the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis. Since that date, public Maryland records have come to be housed at the Archives, while the Society has concentrated on collecting and preserving private Maryland books and manuscripts. It was this division of responsibility that encouraged the Society in 1981 to relinquish its role as publisher of the Archives series to the Annapolis institution.

During the second half of the twentieth century, spaces built at the Society have been primarily devoted to the storage and display of non-library materials. The social aspects of the original Society remain of importance to the present day, while membership has expanded to include women and children. Educating the state's children and adults about Maryland history has also become a major priority of the Society in recent years.

Today, as it nears its 150th anniversary, the Society sits at a crossroad. Several opportunities and needs must be addressed. (1) The Society faces the necessity for more space just as the possibility of purchasing the entire city block arises. (2) The interest income available from the Society's present endowment is not sufficient to meet the expanding annual operating budget. (3) The Society is planning more historically oriented gallery display areas under the auspices of a National Endowment for the Humanities planning grant with expectations of receiving implementation funds from the federal agency. (4) The Society's members are asking for an even more history-oriented organization.

It is now time to plan for the future. Our committees work hard to ensure that the social activities of the Society such as elegant balls, bus trips, country fairs, traditional steeplechases, holiday parties, and antiques shows not only involve hundreds of people but also bring in funds to continue the Society's basic Maryland history functions. Our Gallery Committee is beginning to augment its collections with everyday items from Maryland's past as well as from more recent twentieth century history. The Education Committee is guiding the Society toward becoming a great public history museum and educational institution as well as providing more teacher training and teaching materials to the schools. The Library Committee is setting a course so that our library can become the research center for Maryland state and local history. The Publications Committee is beginning to act as a stimulus for the study of state and local scholarship. It seeks out scholars, professional and otherwise, interests them in local topics, and helps support them in bringing manuscripts up to publication standards. It assists in putting together grants for projects such as the new histories of Maryland and the B&O presently in progress. It is instituting a new prize for a Maryland history publications, along much the same line as our Genealogy Committee has been awarding for years. It is revamping our *Maryland Historical Magazine* to appeal to even broader numbers of scholars and the general public. It helps the Society sponsor scholarly conferences on Maryland history in conjunction with other institutuions such as Morgan State and the University of Maryland. The Society is in the midst of planning new programs with community historical groups as well.

The Maryland Historical Society is entering a new period of growing intellectual vibrance. The time to plan for the future is at hand, and I am proud to be associated with each of you as we begin to look ahead together.

BRIAN B. TOPPING
President

Dear Member and Annual Giving Contributor:

We are most appreciative of your continued support to the Maryland Historical Society through Membership Dues and contributions to Annual Giving.

As a clarification, revenue generated from membership dues are used to help defray the expense of the quarterly *Maryland Historical Magazine,* the bi-monthly newsletter, and invitations to special events sent to you throughout the year.

Membership dues, however do not fully cover the expenses of these items or the considerable cost of conserving and maintaining objects in the Society's collection, presenting educational programs, special events, operating our 95,000 square foot facility or employing our small but first-rate staff. We raise money for the core of its programs from Annual Giving contributions of its members, public and private foundations, and businesses.

This year in the Annual Report we have expanded our categories for contributions to include Benefactors, Associates, Sponsors, Patron Members; and Benefactor, Associate, Sponsor, Patron, Business and Foundation Annual Giving Contributors. We are most appreciative of your strong support during this past fiscal year.

Thank you,
The Development/Membership Office

We list those members and friends who made contributions to the Society between July 1, 1986 and June 30, 1987. We wish to express our sincere appreciation for those many gifts under $100 which we are unable to include.

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Mark Hoffberger (left), Co-Chairperson of "A Day at the Grand National Steeplechase," congratulates T. J. Albert IV (right) on selling the winning raffle ticket to Mr. Harvey Miller.

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Sylvia Parker (right), Co-Chairperson of "A Day at the Grand National Steeplechase," takes a moment out of the hustle and bustle to thank Mary Charlotte Parr (left), top raffle ticket salesperson. Mary Charlotte sold sixty-four raffle tickets, raising $6,400 for the Society.

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3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE Quarterly: Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter	3A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY 4	3B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE $14.00

4. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION *(Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)*

Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201

5. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHER *(Not printer)*

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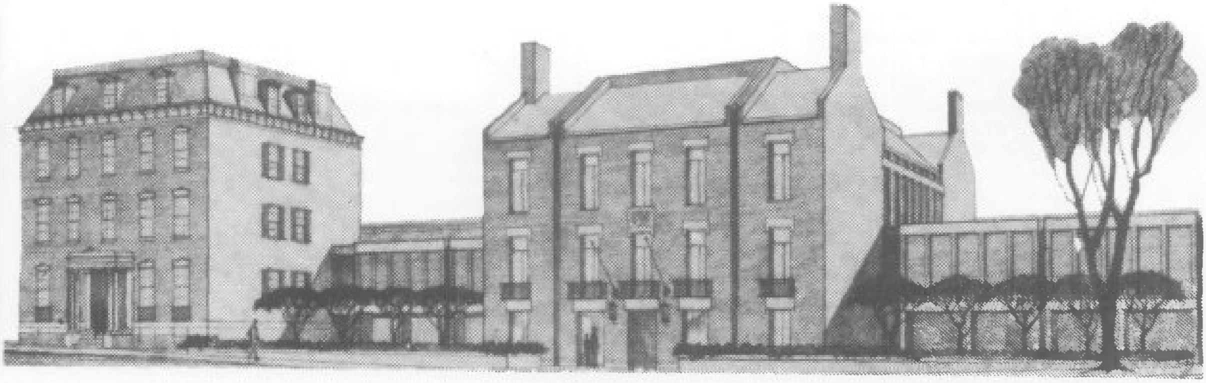

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