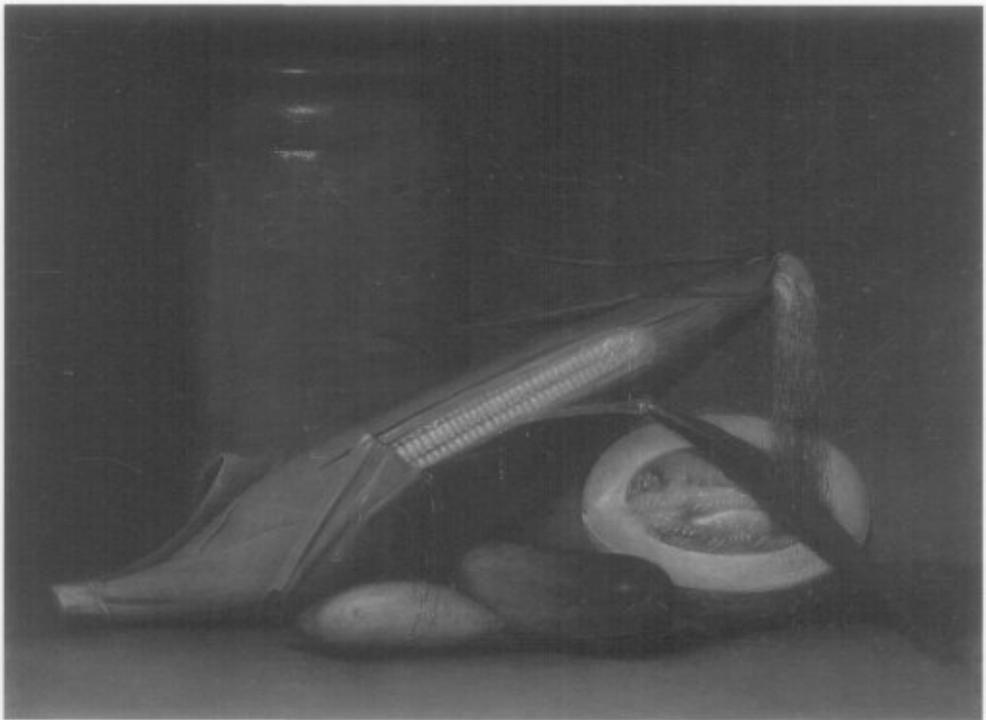


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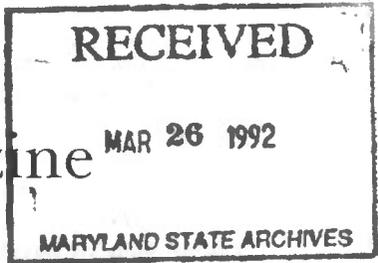
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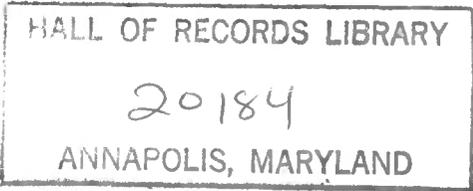
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Editor's Corner: In the depths of the current recession, Marylanders might well reflect on the spirit of innovation and enterprise that generally has marked the state's economic history. This issue's contributors explore nineteenth-century banking and oil, both highly important to the well-being of Baltimore at the time, and discuss some of the vicissitudes of fortune they illustrate. To give one's mind a reprieve from material concerns—at least briefly—we offer an essay on a painting that reminds us that spring is planting time and another piece on a public fever that truly belonged to another day—the fears that surrounded a German submarine's visit to Baltimore in the era of World War I. As usual, when we can, we also include interesting forays into literary and architectural studies.

Cover Art: *Corn, Cucumber, Sweet Potato and an Anne Arundel Melon*, by Raphaele Peale, c. 1813. Photograph by Edward Owen. (Private collection.)

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"A map of Maryland showing portions of Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties." (Christine Myers.)

Raphaelle Peale's Anne-Arundel Still Life: A Local Treasure Lost and Found

PHOEBE LLOYD

A Raphaelle Peale still life, long known to specialists because of its listing in the 1814 exhibition catalogue of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts as "Corn and Cantelope" (see cover illustration), has resurfaced. Once part of the effects of Oak Hill in Prince George's County, Maryland, it was relegated to a junk pile in 1960 when the estate's valuables underwent inventory. The person who retrieved Raphaelle's painting did so because he was curious about what he took to be a "framed blackboard."

Scrubbing in the basement sink revealed that beneath the blackened surface there was a still life, which the finder traded to a friend for a lamp. This second owner was Fredus Proctor of the hamlet of Shady Side, Maryland. After having the painting properly cleaned, Proctor hung it in his dining room for approximately twelve years before the work grew tiresome to him. Proctor then sent his still life to Robert Campbell's Auction in Annapolis. The painting subsequently passed to Eric Young of Crownsville. Young owned the painting from the early 1970s to 1987, when he consigned it to Harris Auction Gallery of Baltimore. Between 1960 and 1987, then, the painting changed hands three times, traveling within a fifteen-mile radius, and none of the owners knew what they had. Awareness had not sharpened when in June 1987 the painting went up for auction and fell to a Baltimore antiques dealer.

In the early winter of 1989 a young art historian, Lance Humphries, saw the painting and a week later viewed the Raphaelle Peale exhibition at the National Gallery in Washington. Humphries sensed that the still life he had looked at the previous week was an authentic Raphaelle Peale. The painting's period frame, dating to 1810-20, provided an additional clue.



Too little is known about Raphaelle and his artistic production. Influential members of the Peale family always took pains to minimize his reputation. Raphaelle's younger brother Rembrandt imparted to the American Vasari, Wil-

A professor of art history at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Phoebe Lloyd has underway a book exploring Raphaelle Peale's life and work.

liam Dunlap, just five terse facts: "Raphael was a painter of portraits in oil and miniature, but excelled more in compositions of still life. He may perhaps be considered the first in point of time who adopted this branch of painting in America, and many of his paintings are in the collections of men of taste and highly esteemed."¹ Three generations later Charles Coleman Sellers, the lineal descendant who wrote four biographies of Raphaelle's father, Charles Willson Peale, elaborated upon family tradition when he obligingly cast Raphaelle as the hapless son and jolly topper. In Sellers's scenario, Raphaelle was too devoid of purpose and ambition to make a mark in his time through his art.² The National Gallery followed suit. Its recent catalogue enshrouded Raphaelle in the context of his family and times, as if no one knew or would ever want to know about Raphaelle the man and the artist³; a modest checklist did not even include all of Raphaelle's known works.

Yet a history of ownership can have its attendant fascinations, one being genealogical. The painting *Humphries* discovered can be traced to the ownership of Dr. Benjamin Lee, native of Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties.⁴ Born in 1791, Lee was a doctor whose successful practice catered to Maryland's genteel folk such as Francis Scott Key and his wife Mary Tayloe Lloyd, daughter of Col. Edward Lloyd IV, one of the Eastern Shore's wealthiest landowners. Although Lee was dedicated to his profession, it seems to have been much more important to his self-esteem to perpetuate the ways of his own landowning ancestors.

Richard Lee, known as the Emigrant, a younger son of the House of Litchfield, established the paradigm for those Lees who later lived the life of the landed gentry. Richard emigrated to America in 1641, during the reign of Charles I, as secretary of the colony of Virginia and one of the king's privy council. He owned thousands of acres along the Potomac and named his large estate in York County, Virginia, Paradise. The family motto, *Ne incautus futuri*, was one he took seriously.⁵ His hedge against an uncertain future was to have eight children, and they followed suit. His namesake had five, including Philip Lee, Sr., who removed to Maryland in 1700 and died in 1744 at Blenheim, Charles County, Maryland. The remarkably fecund Philip, by his two wives, produced seventeen children. Whether Benjamin Lee descended directly from the line of Richard the Emigrant cannot be determined at present.⁶

Benjamin Lee was apparently the oldest son and one of four children born to Stephen and Rachel Welch Lee of South River. When his mother died, his father married Elizabeth Plummer, by whom he had seven more striplings. Their father's substantial legacy was left to Stephen Lewis Lee, his namesake and, although the fourth son overall, the first son by the second marriage. Unlucky Benjamin inherited the least of his father's property, receiving \$250 (as opposed to \$500 for his other full brothers and a sister), no land in his own name, and none of his father's personal effects.⁷

Nevertheless, Lee's ambition to own land, in combination with his proclivity for marrying well, overcame this disadvantage. In 1818 he took as his first wife Mary Dolly Reynolds, whose name appears on a Prince George's land transaction of



Oak Hill (now destroyed), built c. 1800, as it looked on 20 April 1937 when photographed for the Historic American Buildings Survey. (Library of Congress.)

1821, selling her inherited lot in the village of Piscataway. After Mary's death, Lee in 1824 married Eleanor Lansdale Belt, whose families on both sides were wealthy landowners in Prince George's and Anne Arundel counties. Shortly after his second marriage, Lee purchased several farms in Prince George's seventeenth-century patent tracts of Chelsea and Cream. Then in 1837 he bought a parcel of land from the Northampton tract, part of which had been the inheritance of Samuel Sprigg, governor of Maryland from 1819 to 1822. Sprigg's bride had been Violetta Lansdale, whose namesake would be Benjamin and Eleanor's daughter, Violetta. Indeed, Lee's "Lansdale connection" almost certainly explains why he was permitted to buy into the Sprigg family patent property of Northampton, which in the seventeenth century had been 1,000 acres and was, therefore, one of the county's largest estates.⁸

On his second wife's ancestral land, Benjamin Lee established his plantation of Oak Hill and reestablished his doctor's office. At Oak Hill Lee entertained extensively and in all ways comported himself after the manner of the South's land barons. By the time of his death midway through the Civil War, Lee had amassed in excess of 1,200 acres planted in tobacco, corn, and wheat. At seventy-six, the number of his slaves was well beyond the normal complement for a Maryland plantation and more than 50 above the number of census bureau deemed necessary for a farm to be considered a plantation.

In Oak Hill's lengthy household inventory there was the following notation for the dining room: "1 painting, \$1.50."⁹ This citation almost certainly referred to Raphaelle's painting. The low estimated value was in keeping with the historical hierarchy of genres whereby a still life held an inferior status. The location was also right since, according to a three-hundred-year-old tradition, a still life's function was to grace the dining room. Furthermore, this still life would have contained especially topical references for its first owner. Lee held to the practice of conducting his plantation's business from the dining room. The painting depicted one of Oak Hill's staple crops, corn, and also a sweet potato, which together with corn were likely the principal foods in his slaves' diet. These antebellum realities, of which the still life was a constant visual reminder, were of no import to the doctor's legatees and Oak Hill's future caretakers.

Oak Hill and its contents descended through the line of Lee's daughter, Violetta Lee Harding, who married there two years after her father's death and immediately became mistress of Oak Hill. She filled her role for the next forty-seven years. So attached was Violetta to her home place that, according to family legend, she died in 1910 on her own corncob mattress. Violetta Lee Harding's inclination was to act out to the end the part that Dickens had scripted for Miss Haversham in the aftermath of her bridal day. The mistress of Oak Hill felt impelled to leave the impression that everything had stopped a long time ago. Time had stopped in the dining room, certainly, where her father's planter's desk, with its ink pots and quill pens, remained in the room as did the still life. It hung in a place of honor over the marble mantle, the entrance to the room draped with heavy red curtains.¹⁰

Nothing changed substantially when Oak Hill descended first to Violetta's nephew, Benjamin Lee Belt, and then to his brother, William Seton Belt. Neither ever occupied Oak Hill. The latter, however, installed the Windsor family as caretakers. One Windsor son, William, remembers the painting's surface submerged in dust and cobwebs but still hanging over the mantle. Though a glimmering of its former self, Raphaelle's arrangement inspired a recurrent family joke: "In at'er days, they painted corn."¹¹

In 1959 William Seton Belt died without issue, his estate totaling over 2,000 acres.¹² Oak Hill, just one of Belt's many properties, was sold to developers and demolished. The "good things" were removed from the house for later sale, the detritus separated out for the dump or for burning. Raphaelle's still life, blackened by time and neglect, barely escaped oblivion.

To judge from circumstantial evidence, Dr. Lee would have held Raphaelle's accomplishment in the highest regard. In 1817 he helped found the "Philomathean Society" of Upper Marlboro, for the purpose of promoting literature and science. The same year Lee completed assembling the three lots that included the site of his first house, Content.¹³ Here he began his medical practice. Lee's scientific interests obviously embraced medicine and probably also inclined to agronomy.



As was his wont, Raphaelle depicted his plant material with botanical precision demonstrating an awareness of native produce and local horticultural practice. Corn and sweet potatoes (Raphaelle nowhere else painted them together) were native to the Americas. Although cucumbers and melons were long known in Europe, this particular melon was and remains a regional specialty.

Raphaelle's melon has green flesh and yellow seeds, announcing that it is an Anne Arundel "green meat." This melon grows in the delta soil of the Patapsco River around Glen Burnie. Small and fragile, the Anne Arundel is prized for its delicate flavor. Here the melon is at the peak of ripeness, as the seeds and fast disintegrating net that holds them clearly indicates. The process of painting had to begin within moments of picking in order to obtain the kind of accurate record that now allows us to rechristen the still life: *Corn, Cucumber, Sweet Potato, and an Anne Arundel Melon*. By comparing Lee's melon with another Raphaelle painted in 1814 for Charles Graff,¹⁴ it becomes evident that the artist did not picture a species that would evolve into one of the bland modern hybrids crossbred for durability and uniform size and shape. He rendered instead a type of muskmelon once grown by families who over generations saved their seed and developed strains with slight differences in shape, color and length. Today this strain of muskmelon is exceedingly rare.

Raphaelle chose this particular melon to make two self-referential allusions. The Anne Arundel melon calls attention to the artist's nativity in the county where the seat is Annapolis, near Raphaelle's birthplace. The partially shucked corn subtly interjects Raphaelle's surname, which had invited visual punning on the part of Peales for three generations. Note how the corn's husk is peeled away, only to rejoin with the tassel of corn silk in making the initial "P"—an effect that one cannot overlook after it has been pointed out, and is unique to this painting.¹⁵



In the spring of 1820 Raphaelle traveled with his wife Martha (Patty) MacGathery to Anne Arundel County, soliciting portrait commissions and visiting the kinfolk of his mother, the late Rachel Brewer Peale. He chose this location in order to enter into a dense social network that was always available to him through his mother's family contacts, which extended to other families of wealth and influence. The advent of the first Brewer to American shores was early enough to make the family one of the oldest in Maryland. Rachel's father was John Brewer IV, her mother Eleanor Maccubbin; Rachel had been born on the family plantation of Larkington on the South River below Annapolis.

Like the Stephen Lees and other landed families in the locality, the Brewers and Maccubbins were held fast in a tightly woven fabric of inter-marriage, the warp and woof being a commingling of first, second, and third cousins. They were held fast, too, by the desire to stay within the ten-mile radius of the South River Hundred, a governing unit that later formed the Anglican parish of All Hallows. There was yet a third tie: membership in America's oldest social club, the South



Gov. Samuel Sprigg, 1821. (Private collection of a descendant.)

River Club, modeled on the exclusive gentlemen's clubs of London. The South River Club restricted its list to landowners of the South River Hundred, of whom the majority were All Hallows's pew holders, including John Brewer IV and Zachariah Maccubbin.

Although in wedding Charles Willson Peale, a saddler's apprentice, Rachael Brewer married well below her station, a Southern family's code of honor mandated that every civility would extend to her issue. When, therefore, Raphaëlle came back to his mother's ancestral surround, he could be confident that he would soon have ample employment. The son of Rachel Brewer had entrée, and with it he went straight to the top.

Some time in the late fall of 1820, Gov. Samuel Sprigg commissioned the artist to clean and restore the group

portrait of George Washington and his companions-in-arms that hung in the Maryland State House. By July of 1821 evidently Raphaëlle had visited Northampton, where he painted individual portraits of the governor, his wife Violetta, and their children Osborn and Sallie. When the governor objected that of the four portraits his wife's was the least "like," Raphaëlle offered the courtly rejoinder that a beautiful woman was always the most difficult to paint.¹⁶

South River relations also sat for Raphaëlle. Jane Brewer Brewer (she married her first cousin), the late Rachel's younger sister, posed in her seventy-fourth year, as did her son John, Raphaëlle's first cousin and cousin once removed. The portraits have one unusual feature: large, clear inscriptions beautifully written by Raphaëlle across the back of the canvas with a quill pen. In both portraits Raphaëlle inserted riverscapes reminiscent of the Severn and the South River. The scenes are like portrait attributes, as they are for the pendant portraits of Martha Sellman Welch and her husband, Robert Welch of Ben. The very same Robert Welch of Ben was related on both sides to Benjamin Lee, whose father, Stephen, appointed Welch an executor of his will and codicils.

Raphaëlle must have known Benjamin Lee, whose mother was a Welch of South River, whose father's plantation lay just north of All Hallows Church, and whose family had worshipped there for at least four generations. Lee recently had established a medical practice less than fifteen miles away, in Upper Marlboro. Certainly Raphaëlle had need of a competent doctor during his Maryland sojourn. In July of 1820 he suffered a recurrent attack of the chronic heavy metal poisoning

that would kill him five years later.¹⁷ Charles Willson erroneously reported to Raphaelle's younger brother Rembrandt that "Poor Raphaelle" had gone down with the gout, "both hands, Feet, his shoulder, his head & breast like to be affected. . . . Raphaelle has a considerable number of portraits to make as soon as his health will permit him to resume his Pallet."¹⁸ Another gouty attack struck Raphaelle the following January, while he was in Annapolis. Recovering again, Raphaelle was in Upper Marlboro by July of 1821 when a third attack felled him. His father was filled with alarm: "It is long since we have heard from you," he wrote Raphaelle. "I fear your sufferings are great, your letter to Eliza [Raphaelle and Patty's oldest child] spoke of your returning so far to health as to enable you to resume your Pencil, although much debilitated, why do you not write to some of the family or if you are unable, get some person where you are to do it for you?"¹⁹

In Upper Marlboro, Raphaelle may well have been convalescing at Content under the watchful eye of Dr. Benjamin Lee. Later the artist may have decided that a still life so reflective of rural life in Maryland would make a more appropriate payment than cash for medical services rendered. The intriguing possibility that both friendship and indebtedness bound the artist to the doctor becomes more compelling with the realization that *Corn, Cucumber, Sweet Potato, and an Anne Arundel Melon* was the only painting the good doctor ever owned. Neither of them could have foreseen that this painting would provide the most substantial tool to date for peeling back the husk that obscures Raphaelle's life history. The mysteries surrounding this still life's meaning and its later peregrinations tax even the wisdom of Poor Richard: "Men & Melons are hard to know."

Corn, Cucumber, Sweet Potato, and an Anne Arundel Melon also stands as a caution to today's Americans to be more respectful of the past. It says: "Be not unheedful of the future." We would be wise to respond before time takes away the evidence that lends meaning to our past.

NOTES

1. William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969; repr., 1834), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 51. The author dedicates this essay to the memory of her father, Allen Huber Lloyd, who taught her the virtue of doing the job in the old fashioned way, *mano a mano*.

2. For an explanation of Sellers's motives, see Phoebe Lloyd, "Philadelphia Story," *Art in America*, 76 (November, 1988): 169.

3. See the review of Raphaelle Peale's National Gallery exhibition catalogue by Ann Uhry Abrams in *Winterthur Portfolio*, 25 (1990): 82-84.

4. As found, the painting had no history. Lance Humphries kindly made available to the author the ten page, unpublished provenance he has compiled. Unless otherwise indicated, facts about Dr. Benjamin Lee's ownership of the Raphaelle Peale still life and its subsequent history, his personal history, family connections, and diverse properties are taken from Humphries's provenance.

5. The Lee family's translation of the motto as "Be not unmindful" is too tepid. *Incautus* carries the stronger connotation of "unheededful," and "off one's guard." The motto, which appears in a banderole underneath the crest, alludes to the armorial insignia where a squirrel *sejant, proper*, cracks a nut.

6. Effie G. Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1975; repr., 1947), pp. 517-27.

7. Anne Arundel County Will Book 40, pp. 157-62, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.

8. See Henry Chandlee Forman, *Tidewater Maryland: Architecture and Gardens* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), pp. 127-29. The original patent of Northampton was surveyed on 26 May 1673 for Thomas Sprigg 1, who had been born in Northamptonshire, England. Concerning the Sprigg family genealogy in America, see file box A, MdHS; Christopher Johnston, "Sprigg Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 8 (1913): 74-84; and Emily Emerson Lantz, "Maryland Heraldry: Sprigg Lineage and Arts," *Baltimore Sun*, 11 February 1906.

9. Archives of Maryland, Inventories; Prince George's County, Liber W.A.J. 3, p. 127.

10. All anecdotes about Oak Hill and the Benjamin Lee family descendants come from author's conversation with William Windsor, 8 August 1990.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Prince George's County, Register of Wills, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, case file 13188, 1959.

13. Prince George's County Deed JRM 17:420, 1 October 1817, half lot #36, Upper Marlboro, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis. This deed describes property already purchased but not recorded until 1821. See *ibid.*, Prince George's County Deed AB 2:55, 7 June 1821, half lot #36 and all of #48.

14. For a reproduction of this painting, see Jules Prown, *Paintings from the Manoogian Collection* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), illustration accompanying plate no. 37.

15. See Lloyd, "Philadelphia Story," pp. 162-63 and William H. Gerdtz, "A Deception Unmasked; An Artist Uncovered," *The American Art Journal*, 18 (1986): 21 and fig. 17. The observation that in this painting Raphaëlle's peeling reforms as a "P" was the simultaneous perception of several Randolph-Macon Woman's College undergraduates I taught in the fall of 1989.

16. For the governor's commission see *Annapolis Maryland Republican*, 12 December 1820. I wish to thank Susan G. Pearl for bringing this information to my attention. The site and probable date for the Sprigg portraits emerge circumstantially. Since the Maryland legislature met from early December to mid February, it would have been unnecessary for Sprigg to move his family to Annapolis for the duration. Hence Northampton, only twenty miles away, is the logical place for Raphaëlle to execute the four family portraits. In July 1821 Raphaëlle suffered his third attack of supposed "gout." Because no one has cared to determine whether Raphaëlle ever executed full-scale portraits, there has been nothing to compare a canon to. In the three extant Sprigg portraits, the sitters are lighted from behind by a diamond-shaped halo. The still-missing portrait of Sallie un-

doubtedly featured the same effect and will be readily identified if the portrait has not been destroyed. For the beautiful-woman anecdote see Charles Willson Peale's unpublished autobiography (1826), p. 468, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

17. Raphaelle appears to have suffered from chronic heavy metal poisoning as a result of his taxidermy chores at the family museum in Philadelphia. The victim's father invented the innovative combination of mercuric bichloride and arsenic trioxide, experienced heavy metal poisoning himself, and was persuasive in driving Raphaelle to an extremely hazardous task. This was, I believe, the scandal that some of Raphaelle's siblings and more recently Charles Coleman Sellers wanted covered up. My research concludes that Charles Willson Peale himself fashioned the alibi that Raphaelle suffered from gout brought on by intemperance. The Brewers, in no way agents of Raphaelle's undoing, were also unaware of the cover-up. It seems natural that Raphaelle would seek them out in 1820 and that Patty would accompany him when both must have known that he was living on borrowed time.

18. Charles Willson Peale to Rembrandt Peale, 27 July, 1820, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

19. Charles Willson Peale to Raphaelle Peale, 19 January and 22 July 1821, *ibid.*

William Graham: Branch Manager and Foreign-Exchange Dealer in Baltimore in the 1850s

EDWIN J. PERKINS

In the fall of 1860 Francis Hamilton, a senior partner in the distinguished Anglo-American merchant-banking firm known widely as the House of Brown, visited the firm's branch office in Baltimore to review its operations and to assess the administrative capabilities of the resident manager, William Graham, who had held the post for the last seven years. Earlier, in 1856, the Brown partners had found him "not much of a man of business,"¹ but now, four years later, their opinion of Graham had improved. "He appears thoroughly to understand the working of the agency and so far as I can judge takes a comprehensive and business-like view of the operations that came before him," Hamilton wrote in a confidential report for his partners. "His manner is frank and pleasant with our customers and yet decisive when the occasion requires it." In conclusion, Hamilton gave Graham a strong endorsement: "His general views of business and the necessary steps to be taken in case of need meet my ideas of the proper mode of conducting business."² Thus by the end of the decade William Graham had developed into a competent manager for the Browns' branch office in Maryland, and his expertise extended to handling the daily transactions involving the purchase and sale of foreign bills of exchange for the port's importers and exporters.

An unusually large number of letterbooks and account books detailing the daily operations of this Baltimore branch survive.³ This abundance of source material, combined with the House of Brown's stature as the nation's largest foreign-exchange dealer, makes the Baltimore office an especially interesting subject for the study of both the day-to-day functioning of a foreign-exchange dealer over a period of years in a single port city⁴ and the working relationship between a branch office and the firm's headquarters. Furthermore, William Graham was employed as a resident manager in an era when most enterprises did business in distant ports through independent agents rather than through hired employees.



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By mid century the Maryland office was only one of several links in the international banking chain. Alexander Brown, an immigrant from northern Ireland, founded the business in Baltimore in 1800. Beginning as a typical all-purpose merchant, Brown gradually shifted operations away from merchandising toward providing financial services for the American trade sector.⁵ Meanwhile, he sent three of his sons to open branch offices of the firm in Philadelphia, New York, and overseas in Liverpool. After the closing of the second Bank of the United States in 1836, the Browns became the largest foreign-exchange dealers in the American market. They handled 12 to 15 percent of the U.S. volume of sales and purchases of foreign bills of exchange by the 1850s,⁶ when most of the firm's senior partners directed its business activities from New York and Liverpool. The head of the Baltimore branch, rather than a member of the firm, was a hired manager who received instructions from the two main offices.

William Graham joined the Browns' Baltimore branch in 1853. At first he shared managerial duties with another inexperienced young man; but Bernard Campbell died two years later, leaving Graham completely in charge. Graham was chosen for the position because of his ties to the Brown family: the son of one of the firm's most reliable and loyal ship captains, he was also the son-in-law of Alexander Brown's second son, George, who had withdrawn from the general family partnership following the Panic of 1837. The Brown firm generally conformed to the traditional practice of offering employment to members of the family, but unlike many competitors, it expected first-rate performance on the job and eased out relatives who failed to live up to expectations.

In the 1850s the Brown partners made a strong, and generally successful, effort to coordinate the operations of their branches and to promote uniform internal business procedures. In Baltimore Graham was expected to rely heavily on the New York partners for guidance, and he exchanged letters with them several times a week. The branch manager reported on economic activity in his locality and described in great detail any new business proposals that came before him. The partners, in turn, reviewed conditions in the New York market and often commented on factors accounting for adjustments in their foreign-exchange rates. Whenever they instructed Graham on the handling of a transaction, they explained the main business principles influencing their decision. The branch manager's questions were answered promptly, and the partners willingly stated the basic features of the firm's policies over and over again. Such letters were an important part of the Browns' informal but highly effective management training program. When Graham assumed his duties in 1853 he received a flat salary of \$4,000 a year. Later he was put on a strictly commission basis. Most of his earnings came from a 20 percent participation in the fees the firm charged Baltimore importers for the issuance of letters of credit, which guaranteed their overseas debts and permitted them to buy foreign goods in more places and often at much lower prices.⁷ In foreign exchange he received a .125 of 1 percent commission based on the face value of bills of exchange bought and sold, excepting transactions with letter-of-credit customers, which accounted for approximately one-half his total sales

volume and on which he earned no fees. In 1859, for example, Graham earned \$7,712, including foreign-exchange commissions of \$2,604.

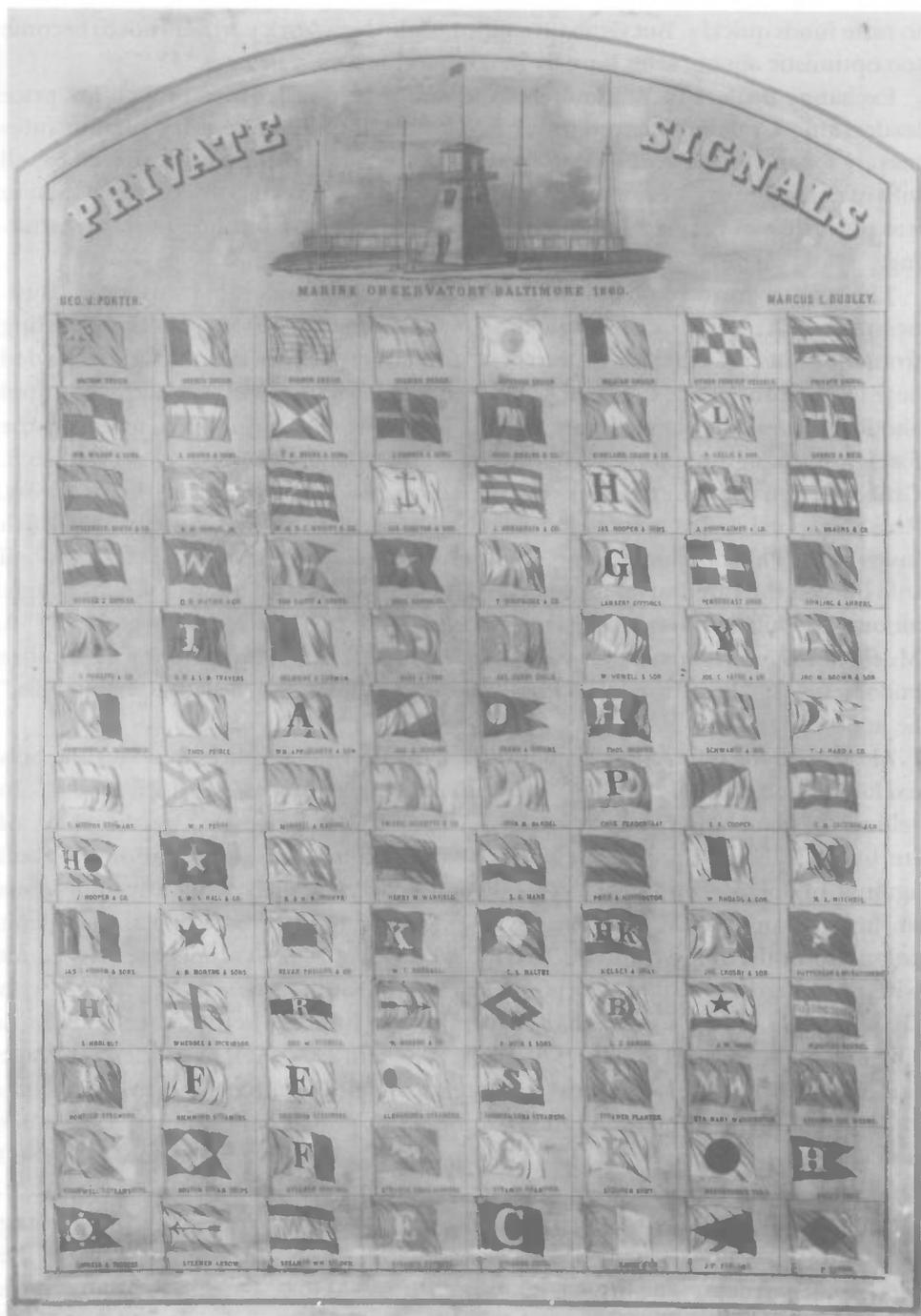
In the late 1850s the port of Baltimore was in a close contest with Philadelphia, its long-time rival, for the largest share of the foreign trade of the middle Atlantic region.⁸ On the eve of the Civil War, Baltimore was leading her neighbor in exports but trailing in imports. Maryland's leading imports were coffee and sugar from Central and South America, while tobacco for Europe and flour for Brazil headed the list of exports.⁹ In contrast to other American seaports, Baltimore's foreign trade was well balanced: from 1855 through 1860 total exports of \$53.3 million were almost matched by imports of \$49.6 million.¹⁰ As a consequence, there was greater equilibrium in the port's foreign-exchange market, and the Baltimore branch manager divided his time more evenly between the purchase of bills of exchange and their sale than did the Browns' representatives in other cities, including New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Mobile, and New Orleans.



In Baltimore only two firms maintained a continuous market for foreign exchange in the 1850s, the Browns and McKim & Co., a local business that had a correspondent relationship with George Peabody's London-based merchant-banking house. Peabody had made a fortune as a Baltimore merchant before moving overseas to participate in international banking activities. In December 1859 Graham referred to the McKims as his "great opponents."¹¹ The House of Baring, then the world's most renowned international bankers, had a designated agent in the port, Oelrichs & Lurman, but in the late 1850s it was relatively inactive in foreign exchange. Other competitors Graham sometimes mentioned in correspondence were Josiah Lee & Co., R. & H. R. Tucker, and Robert Garrett & Sons, a firm that was closely associated with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and that also cooperated with George Peabody and Co. in London.¹² Although Graham restricted his sales to sterling bills of exchange, Boninger Brothers, primarily commission and shipping merchants, advertised foreign exchange "on all principal cities of Germany, on Paris, and on Amsterdam."¹³

The relationship between Graham and McKim & Co. was friendly but intensely competitive. There is no evidence that the two largest firms in the market made any effort to peg sterling rates. The exchange rates in force at the Baltimore branch were set to correspond exactly with those the Brown partners established in New York, and Graham received new information on rate adjustment by telegraph. His inability to deviate from New York rates thwarted any inclinations toward price collusion in the local market.

Unlike New York, the sterling market in Baltimore was often very narrow. At times little demand existed even at reduced prices. For example, in March 1860, after a sharp rate reduction had gone into effect, Graham received instructions to sell as much as possible because the main office was in a tight cash bind and needed



Private Signals, Marine Observatory, Baltimore, 1860. Lithograph by E. Sachse & Co. Shipping formed the bedrock of the Alexander Brown fortune, and pennants such as these announced the arrival of Baltimore vessels in port. The "A. Brown & Sons" pennant appears in the second row, second from the left. (Maryland Historical Society.)

to raise funds quickly. But Graham cautioned the New York partners not to become too optimistic about "sales here by making a concession in rates."¹⁴

Exchange dealers in Baltimore often looked to the Browns' branch for price leadership. Graham believed other firms often inquired about his current rates merely for the purpose of setting their own. Yet when competitors offered to sell bills of exchange to customers at slightly less than the Browns' official rate, Graham was powerless to retaliate. The inability to compete with local firms was frustrating.

The market for foreign exchange was subject to considerable variation. Businessmen with a small or moderate amount of capital bought most of their sterling from Baltimore exchange dealers, but for larger buyers the market extended beyond the confines of the local port. The B&O, for example, regularly inquired about the rates of other exchange dealers in New York. During certain periods the foreign-exchange markets in Baltimore and Philadelphia were closely related. Graham often commented about the periodic inflow of sterling from the rival port. Ross Campbell & Co., a local commission house, was the channel through which much of the Philadelphia sterling was dumped on the Baltimore market. Campbell sold bills on the London house managed by John and David Stuart. "I hear a large amount of Philadelphia sterling is sold here," Graham reported in November 1859. Much to his amazement, many sterling bills had been sold without a Baltimore endorsement. "It is strange what risks some persons run in buying sterling bills," he added.¹⁵

Along with the other American branches, the Baltimore office drew sterling bills exclusively on Brown, Shipley & Co., the parent firm's office in Liverpool. In selling Graham was not restricted, as were most competitors, by the value of sterling bills he had previously purchased; in other words, he could draw at will against an open account. In fact Graham was unconcerned about any limitations on his exchange activities. He never expressed anxiety over the size of debit balances nor the time within which it would be appropriate to reimburse his account with covering bills at the Liverpool branch. McKim & Co.'s arrangements with George Peabody are unknown, but the Barings limited their agent, Oelrichs & Lurman, to uncovered drawings of only £10,000 in 1850, and even then coverage was expected every three months.¹⁶ Graham, on the other hand, never completely reimbursed his account at any time during 1859; at one point in early December his debit balance ran as high as £123,800, or about \$600,000.¹⁷ Not until May 1860 did the Baltimore account with the Liverpool branch shift to a credit balance. Graham expressed little concern about the magnitude of his drawings and the long period until reimbursement because such matters were the responsibility of the New York partners. The branch manager's duty was to sell within the stated rates and to make weekly reports to the main office on exchange activity. He reported the weekly volume of bill sales and purchases, the balance of his account with Brown, Shipley & Co., and an estimate of his current cash position. The main office gathered similar reports from the other branches, and partly based on this information, the New York partners made decisions reflecting the overall needs of the

Brown organization. The partners followed the Baltimore account closely, and adjustments in its status were usually incorporated in the firm's broad seasonal strategies. But as far as Graham was concerned, any time a customer was willing to meet the quoted rates, he (except during panics) had sterling available for immediate sale in any amount desired.

Although the firm's rate structure was normally fixed and non-negotiable, Graham occasionally pleaded with the New York office to permit slight rate concessions so that he could compete for a potential sale. Especially when the amount of sterling was substantial, he frequently tried to obtain a .125 of 1 percent allowance for a customer. Indeed, he badgered his superiors about small concessions. The reasons Graham gave to justify these allowances were manifold: to meet the prices of a local competitor; to accommodate an otherwise important customer, such as the state of Maryland or the B&O; to match favors reportedly granted by the firm's Philadelphia office; to avoid the permanent loss of a customer to a competitor; and so on—the list was long. In October 1858 he justified sales to the Baltimore Copper Co. at slightly less than the current rate since the buyer was prepared to pay with New York funds, which were then scarce in Baltimore and selling at a premium.¹⁸ On another occasion Graham suggested that an important letter-of-credit customer be given a .125 of 1 percent discount in settling with the Liverpool house. Since he was allowed no commission on such settlement payments, Graham argued that his employer's savings might just as well be passed on to the customer.¹⁹

However, with few exceptions, the Brown partners adhered to the philosophy that all customers should receive equal treatment and pay full rates. The Browns hoped to avoid special favors for individuals or concessions to any group of businessmen. Indeed, the Browns were one of the first firms to sell bills in amounts between £20 and £100 at the same low rates as larger bills.²⁰ Sterling bills under £20 carried a higher rate, however, to cover nominal handling costs. Most small bills were sold to recent immigrants who remitted the funds to their relatives in the homeland.²¹ With few variations throughout the antebellum period, the small bill rate was set at \$5.00 to the British pound, only 3 percent above par. The Browns considered this phase of their business mainly a public service, and even at the higher rates, their profits, if any, were certainly not very great. Because the firm's gross margin on small bills was larger, however, the partners paid Graham a commission of .25 of 1 percent on their sale, in comparison to the .125 of 1 percent he received on regular transactions. In 1859, small bills accounted for only 1 percent of his total sales, but they were responsible for 6 percent of Graham's commissions on foreign-exchange transactions.²²

On very large transactions the New York partners were sometimes willing to concede as much as .25 of 1 percent to a customer. In October 1858 the B&O wanted to buy £18,000, and after much negotiation the firm agreed to lower its rate .25 of 1 percent to match the offer of Robert Garrett and Co. for bills drawn on George Peabody. If the transaction actually occurred at the preferential rate, the branch manager was instructed to make the sale "Sub Rosa private." Graham

was not very optimistic about the chances of keeping the deal secret for very long: "it is not an easy thing to sell to a Rail Road Company . . . on a private rate," he warned.²³ As it happened, all Graham's efforts went for naught. The B&O bought its sterling from another source. He expressed disappointment in not being able to accommodate them: "I should have liked to have made the sale," he wrote New York, "but from your letters I did not feel authorized to do so."²⁴



At times the Browns agreed to extend credit to customers who bought sterling bills. They called such transactions "time sales." On principle the New York partners opposed the practice and repeatedly asked William Graham to discourage customers from making credit requests. Even so, many were made and occasionally the partners consented. Only first-class customers were deemed eligible for this form of financing, and each application for credit had to be submitted to the main office for consideration.²⁵

When the New York office authorized a time sale, the inducement was usually the prospect of a large sale, an exceptionally high rate of interest on the loan, or both. For example, the prospect of a sale involving £30,000 (\$124,000) convinced the partners to accommodate the Baltimore Copper Co. in 1858. More often the stimulus was an attractive rate of interest. A year later another customer approached Graham about a time sale, and he passed on the details to the New York office: "I was asked about selling £10,000 and taking four months paper but replied that at present you are not discounting. Would you do it for 8 percent interest?"²⁶ The last sentence apparently caught the partners' attention. "As our cash has run low for a day or two, we would not care to discount for money at the moment," they responded, "but we should be disposed to sell £10,000 for remittance to London for A #1 endorsed paper at 4 months. . . . from what you say we presume you can get it at 9 percent and if very choice would not like to miss it at 8 percent."²⁷

Periodically Graham bombarded the main office with requests for time sales because during two months every year it was very difficult for his customers to borrow from Baltimore banks. Maryland banks were required by law to make a public report of their financial condition twice a year, on the first of January and July. On those statement dates, Baltimore banks wanted to show strong cash positions and a correspondingly moderate amount of outstanding loans. Each institution feared that the publication of a weak reserve position and a high loan ratio might precipitate a run on the bank. Therefore, to improve balance sheets just before the statement date, the banks turned down many loan requests in June and December. Their tight money policies during these months inconvenienced some of the Browns' customers and caused them to appeal to Graham for assistance.

Given the unique nature of this recurring problem, Graham finally asked the main office in December 1859 to make Baltimore an exception to their regular rules: "I think you should reconsider your general policy of not selling £ on time

because just at this time of the year our customers cannot get money at the banks until January 5. Banks here . . . lend freely for five months and then do nothing so as to accumulate specie," he explained. "The rate . . . would be about 9 percent which is the price of number 1 single name paper at present." In Baltimore, he argued, "where there are so few such houses, if you would make exceptions here it would not interfere with your rule in New York, and not send them away from us."²⁸

But the New York partners were adamant; they refused to make any alterations in their general policy strictly for the benefit of the Baltimore branch. One objection was that many customers wanted credit based simply on their signatures, and it was absolutely against the Browns' policy to sell exchange on time without adequate collateral.



Graham purchased foreign exchange from an entirely different set of customers. On this side of the exchange equation he dealt mostly with exporters. The bills he bought and remitted to the Liverpool branch were generally of moderate to high quality. The reputation and financial strength of the local seller were key factors in his buying decisions. A trustworthy customer was a prerequisite in this business because in the event a sterling bill was dishonored in England, Graham had to seek out the Baltimore seller for reimbursement. To reduce risks, the partners usually placed limits on the amount of sterling Graham could buy from a given seller in a two or three month period.

The firm's offering price for sterling bills was directly related to its current selling rate. In the 1850s Graham tried to purchase sterling bills at .5 of 1 percent less than his current rate on sales. Although the Baltimore market was not highly competitive, there were still times when he faced difficulty in buying bills. In August 1859 Graham complained to his superiors in New York: "The competition is so sharp among the brokers that it is hard to get bills at the rate you name."²⁹ On other occasions the prices he offered were so low, Graham told his superiors, that Baltimore exporters uniformly rejected them because "more could be had by sending the bills to New York."³⁰

One of his main bill suppliers, Thomas Winans, regularly compared Graham's quoted rates with the prices a business friend in Philadelphia received from the Browns' outlet there. Winans often complained that the prices Graham quoted did not match those paid his friend in the rival port. To protect himself from these accusations of unfairness, Graham asked the Philadelphia branch manager to keep him well informed about any recent transactions with Winans' acquaintances.

Another important consideration in purchasing bills was the name of the English banker on which they were drawn. For day-to-day guidance Graham could refer to the indication list compiled by the Liverpool partners. It gave ratings for all English drawees that were frequently named in the United States. The list often proved valuable. In September 1858 Graham had considered buying sterling from

a local drawer whose credit rating in Baltimore was very high. But, he told the New York office, "as BS & C's report on the Drawees was not very strong, I declined to name a rate."³¹ The rating list was also helpful in driving hard bargains on marginal bills. Graham described the circumstances under which he had finally agreed to take one such bill in a letter to the New York office in September 1858: "I bought £3550 on Johnston & Co at 9 & 3/8ths. The amount is perhaps large upon the report of BS & C but the house here are good for the amount. . . . they tried very hard to get 9 1/2 and succeeded in selling £1200 at that price."³² This appears to have been a recurring pattern among Baltimore exporters; they could find buyers for a portion of their drawings at a good price, but they were then forced to offer the remainder of their bills to Graham, who agreed to buy at a lower rate.

Mostly as a community service, Graham bought Bank of England notes—that is, actual currency—in denominations as low as £5. In December 1858, the Liverpool branch warned him about a series of reported forgeries, and he revealed the extent of his activities in these banknotes to his New York superiors: "There are no brokers here who deal in such notes and I sometimes take them from poor people who have received them by letter which they show at the time and so far I have never had any go wrong. . . . (of course) there is no one to guarantee the amount. I will now decline to take any more."³³ The scare apparently did not last very long, however, because several months later Graham stated that he had taken a £5 note at the rate of \$4.80.³⁴ Despite the absence of a genuine local market for English currency, Graham paid surprisingly full rates for the notes. Indeed, the prices at which the Baltimore branch transacted its business with the "lower classes" appear to have been exceedingly liberal. The firm's generosity on this score undoubtedly contributed to the Brown family's charitable image among the populace.

Although Graham did not sell bills of exchange drawn in continental currencies, he did buy Dutch guilders from a few tobacco exporters who regularly sold him sterling bills. Before 1840 the Baltimore office had taken a substantial volume of guilder bills; but by the time Graham was employed as a subordinate of the New York partners, large scale purchases of guilders were discouraged. The Browns' Liverpool partners objected to the so-called political risks and to the difficulties and delays generally associated with the collection of bills drawn on Amsterdam. Graham was authorized to bid for only the choicest guilder bills, and then at a rate a full .5 of 1 percent below the current offering price for sterling bills. The authorization of such a low offering price, he complained, was tantamount to removing the branch completely from the local guilders market; as a result, most of the bills drawn by Baltimore exporters on Amsterdam apparently went to buyers in New York.

By the late 1850s the only guilders Graham purchased came from tobacco merchants in Alexandria, Virginia. Apparently these customers found it either impossible or inconvenient to channel their bills to the New York market. In fact, there were few, if any, active foreign-exchange dealers in the Washington area, and these two tobacco merchants sold Graham most of their sterling bills as well. The decreased activity in the guilders market soon affected the overall mix of sales and

purchases in the branch's aggregate foreign-exchange volume. In 1856 Graham noted that bill sales had exceeded bill purchases for the first time in many years.³⁵ Three years later, in 1859, local purchases covered only 40 percent of his aggregate foreign-exchange sales.

During certain months of the year the Baltimore branch was also an active buyer in the local market for domestic exchange. From approximately January to May, Graham was responsible for purchasing domestic bills drawn in dollars on those southern cities where the parent firm had other outlets. The extent of his purchases was determined by the relative values of southern funds in Baltimore and New York funds in the South; the greater the discount in either situation, the greater the incentive for Graham to purchase southern bills and send them back for collection. He then instructed the southern representatives to credit the proceeds of the bills to the account of the New York office. On occasion the firm was able to realize a gain of up to 3 percent from such operations—Graham purchased New Orleans exchange in Baltimore at 1.5 percent discount; meanwhile the New Orleans branch was able to “save” a like amount by purchasing sterling bills with local funds instead of paying an additional 1.5 percent for New York money.

Most of the domestic exchange the Baltimore branch bought, however, was drawn on Charleston. In the winter the market could behave unpredictably; there were days Graham could buy southern funds at a discount and sell exchange on New York at a premium. On 31 January 1860, he reported the purchase of \$4,000 on Charleston at a .25 of 1 percent discount and the sale of \$7,000 he had drawn on the New York office at a .1 of 1 percent premium.³⁶ On 26 June 1860 Graham wrote the New York branch that he had an opportunity to purchase New Orleans funds at a 1 percent discount, although he doubted the partners would want any bills so late in the cotton season.³⁷

The branch generally functioned on minimal cash reserves. Excess funds were periodically transferred to the main office. In New York the partners worked diligently at getting the most out of the firm's cash resources and idle funds were readily moved from branch to branch. In Baltimore William Graham did not need a large cash reserve. Whenever an especially good opportunity to buy exchange found him short of cash, he could always wire the New York or Philadelphia office for funds. Some requests reached \$50,000. Graham thought nothing of wiring the Philadelphia office for as much as \$20,000 without giving any explanation except that he was temporarily in need of extra funds. Broadly speaking, the Browns exhibited much sophistication in the management of their resources and this was demonstrated time and again by the skill with which the partnership integrated the Baltimore account into their interbranch cash account.



The financial statements prepared by the Baltimore branch manager did not list revenue from the sale of sterling bills. In the Browns' antebellum accounting system, foreign-exchange profits for all the branches were determined once a year

on the books of the New York office. Since a given branch's transactions were often heavily skewed in the direction of bill sales or bill purchases, a consolidation of branch accounts at the main office was essential in calculating the year's overall earnings. Of course, the one great drawback in this pattern of specialized activity was that the partners were unable to determine exactly how much each branch contributed to the firm's overall success—or lack thereof. This problem of allocating costs and revenues among various branch offices was a formidable challenge, and it was only in later decades that techniques of financial analysis were sufficiently developed to remedy some of the mysteries of "joint-cost" situations.

By employing modern techniques in retrospect, however, we can make a belated analysis of the Baltimore branch's earnings from foreign-exchange sales. To do so, ample data is required on the entire firm's sterling operations. Fortunately, the surviving records from 1859 are sufficiently complete to yield some meaningful estimates. William Graham's sterling sales that year amounted to £565,500 (\$2.7 million), and his purchases totaled £209,500 (\$1.0 million).³⁸ His sales were sufficient to pay for 25 percent of Baltimore's imports of \$10.4 million in 1859. Bill purchases, on the other hand, amounted to only 11.5 percent of the city's \$8.6 million export figure. Graham's purchases were affected by the fact that almost 40 percent of exports consisted of tobacco shipments to the Continent, and, according to his testimony, most of the foreign exchange drawn in continental currencies went to the New York market for sale.

Overall, the Baltimore branch generated 6 percent of the Brown firm's sales volume in the United States of £9,299,833 (\$44.6 million).³⁹ Since the Maryland port accounted for only 3 percent of the nation's total imports in 1859, Graham's sales were quite respectable. According to the branch's reconstituted income statement, gross earnings on foreign-exchange transactions were roughly \$8,600, or around 3 percent of sales.⁴⁰ After Graham's commission of \$2,604 was deducted from the gross figure, the net contribution to the firm's earnings amounted to just under \$6,200. In comparison, the branch's net commissions from letter-of-credit activities were about three times greater.⁴¹ The Baltimore office's exchange earnings accounted for 6.2 percent of the firm's total profits in the field—a figure slightly higher than its proportion of the sales volume. Graham's better-than-average performance can be traced wholly to the fact that when he covered his own account, he always did it at a margin of at least .5 of 1 percent.



In the Browns' administrative system, a branch manager was relieved of much of the responsibility for foreign-exchange operations. In Baltimore William Graham had few discretionary powers. The sterling rates he quoted were dictated by the New York partners, and deviations from the schedule were permitted only on rare occasions. Graham's main assignment was merely to buy and sell sterling bills within the price limits prescribed by his superiors. His interbranch exchange

account with the Liverpool house, which was overdrawn by \$500,000 in the fall of 1859, was managed by the senior men in the New York office as well.

The branch manager's most positive contribution to the firm's success in foreign exchange lay in communicating vital information. Throughout the year he kept up a steady flow of information on local conditions to the partners in New York. A report on sterling sales and purchases was compiled each week. Unusually large transactions that took place during the interim were duly mentioned in the daily correspondence. Indeed, the New York office was continually apprised of changes in the branch's financial position. The completeness and timeliness of interbranch communications were essential for the smooth functioning of the firm's foreign-exchange activities.

Besides submitting data on sterling sales and purchases, the Baltimore branch manager also participated in the exchange of credit information with the other offices in the chain. The reports he received from the Liverpool house on English drawees were an invaluable guide to the judicious purchase of sterling bills. At the same time, the financial strength of the endorser was a consideration of equal importance, and Graham himself was responsible for keeping informed about the current standing of local exporters and other bill sellers.

In terms of the firm's overall foreign-exchange activities, the Baltimore branch handled a small volume of business. On the eve of the Civil War, the office accounted for approximately 6 percent of sterling sales and an even smaller percentage of purchases. At least one-half of Graham's bill sales were made to merchants whose importing activities he also regularly financed. Therein lay the primary justification for his sterling transactions in the Baltimore market: more than anything else, the Brown partners wanted to provide their letter-of-credit customers with a reliable source of foreign exchange for debt settlements. On their own, exchange profits in the late 1850s were barely adequate to cover the clerks' salaries and office expenses.

In the years that followed, Graham continued to demonstrate more evidence of the managerial skills he had acquired as a novice branch manager in the 1850s. He maintained operations successfully during the difficult Civil War period. Soon after the war, however, he resigned as an employee of the parent Brown organization and joined in a partnership with his brother-in-law, George Stewart Brown, a grandson of the founder. The New York partners closed the branch office in Baltimore and immediately negotiated an agency agreement with the new partnership. Thus William Graham's association with his former employers was not interrupted. The agency continued to buy and sell foreign bills of exchange for the main organization on a commission basis.

The maintenance of strong ties between the two business organizations was especially important since, after 1875, Baltimore's volume of overseas trade, primarily in foodstuffs for Europe, rose dramatically. A corresponding increase in the size of the port's foreign-exchange market occurred. The training Graham received in the 1850s as branch manager was a vital stage in his business career; it

was also an important period in the history of Baltimore's foreign-exchange market and the Brown family's enduring link to the Maryland port.

NOTES

1. Brown, Shipley & Co., Liverpool, to Brown Brothers & Co., New York, 18 March 1856, Historical Files of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., New York Historical Society (hereafter abbreviated HF).

2. Hamilton to BB&C, 17 October 1860, HF.

3. The Alexander Brown & Sons Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter AB&SP) include letterbooks providing a continuous, daily record of the branch's outgoing correspondence from 1800-1879, with the exception of a few gaps early in the century. Material on the 1850s is abundant.

4. Arthur H. Cole, "Evolution of the Foreign-Exchange Market of the United States," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1 (1928-29): 348-421; Ralph Hidy, *The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance: English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763-1861* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); and Perkins, *Financing Anglo-American Trade: The House of Brown, 1800-1880* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

5. There are numerous studies of Alexander Brown and his business enterprises. In addition to my monograph, other publications include Gary L. Browne, "Business Innovation and Social Change: The Career of Alexander Brown after the War of 1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 243-55; John Killick, "Risk, Specialization and Profit in the Mercantile Sector of the Nineteenth-Century Cotton Trade: Alexander Brown & Sons, 1820-80," *Business History*, 16 (1974): 1-16; and Perkins, "Managing a Dollar-Sterling Exchange Account: Brown, Shipley & Co. in the 1850s," *ibid.*, pp. 48-64.

6. Perkins, *Financing*, p. 148.

7. For more information on this aspect of the firm's operations, see Perkins, "Financing Antebellum Importers: The Role of Brown Bros. & Co. in Baltimore," *Business History Review*, 45 (1971): 421-51.

8. James Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry* (Harrisburg, Pa.: 1947).

9. Frank Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1897), and Thomas Whedbee, *The Port of Baltimore in the Making, 1828 to 1878* (Privately printed, 1953).

10. *De Bow's Review*, 28 (March 1860): 333.

11. Graham to BB&C, 7 December 1859, AB&SP.

12. Other firms not mentioned by Graham but listed in local newspaper advertisements were Philip Gover & Co. and Appleton & Co.

13. *American and Commercial Advertiser*, 1 July 1858. A New York firm, John Munroe & Co., advertised its willingness to handle transactions in French francs in Baltimore papers as well.

14. Graham to BB&C, 5 March 1860, AB&SP.

15. *Ibid.*, 17 November 1859.
16. Hidy, *House of Baring*, p. 469.
17. BB&C to Graham, 7 December 1859, Brown Brothers & Co. Papers, New York Public Library.
18. Graham to BB&C, 19 October 1858, AB&SP.
19. *Ibid.*, 4 February 1860.
20. This practice of non-discriminatory pricing between large and small bills was abandoned in the postwar period.
21. Many of these smaller bills were actually drawn on the Northern Banking Co. in Belfast, Ireland. The exact terms of the agreement between the bank and the Browns are unknown.
22. For statements of the branch's operations, see AB&SP and HF.
23. Graham to BB&C, 15 October 1858, AB&SP.
24. *Ibid.*, 19 October 1858.
25. A major factor in a credit decision was the New York partners' assessment of their own internal requirements. For instance, a proposition was almost certain to be declined at any time the parent was trying to liquidate its portfolio of short-term investments.
26. Graham to BB&C, 15 October 1859, AB&SP.
27. BB&C to Graham, 6 October 1859, Brown Brothers & Co. Papers, New York Public Library.
28. Graham to BB&C, 19 December 1859, AB&SP.
29. *Ibid.*, 15 August 1859.
30. Graham & Campbell to BB&C, 22 June 1853, AB&SP.
31. Graham to BB&C, 28 September 1858, AB&SP.
32. *Ibid.*, 6 September 1858.
33. *Ibid.*, 15 December 1858.
34. The Browns seem to have taken English bank notes at a rate of \$4.80 or the equivalent without variation for over half a century.
35. Graham to BB&C, 22 December 1856, HF. This letter was marked "Private and Confidential," and it was not recorded in the regular letterbook. The only copy is located in the historical files at the New York Historical Society.
36. Graham to BB&C, 31 January 1860, AB&SP.
37. *Ibid.*, 26 June 1860.
38. Data from statements in AB&SP and HF. The conversion rate is \$4.80/pound.
39. The overall sales figure is from BS&C, Liverpool, to BB&C, New York, 22 February 1860, HF.
40. The profit figure was arrived at by crediting the branch with a .5 of 1 percent margin on £209,510 in sales that were covered by local purchases. On the sales of £357,059 covered elsewhere, I used the firm's overall net margin of .21 of 1 percent.
41. The Baltimore branch contributed earnings of approximately \$18,332 to the main organization from its letter-of-credit activities in 1859.

Mrs. Hunt and Her Coal Oil Refinery in Baltimore

DAVID N. HELLER

"They crushed her business and her spirit as remorselessly as they would have killed a dog."¹

Sylvia C. Hunt owned a small coal oil refinery in Baltimore during the 1860s and 1870s. After many years as an independent operator, she decided in early 1878 to lease her plant to the new Baltimore United Oil Company. The BUOC included a number of Baltimore refiners who were brought together by J. N. Camden at the behest of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. Rockefeller was in the midst of a sweeping program to monopolize the oil refining business in the United States, and he squeezed his competitors until they joined Standard Oil or closed up.

Soon after Mrs. Hunt allowed her refinery to become part of the local Standard affiliate, a story began to circulate through the oil community: Mrs. Hunt had not wanted to give in, but she was subjected to such pressure that her health failed and her business was lost. The story was picked up by a prominent oilman who published an inflammatory version as part of an anti-Standard pamphlet quoted above. Twenty years later this hyperbolic account was repeated, unquestioned, by Ida Tarbell in her classic muckraking work, the *History of the Standard Oil Company*.² Twentieth-century biographers of Camden and Rockefeller largely accepted this version of events, although Allan Nevins questioned its veracity in 1940.³ Even a recently published history of the city of Baltimore highlighted the fate of Mrs. Hunt.⁴ Sylvia Hunt ran one of the smallest coal oil refineries in one of the smallest centers of refining nationwide, yet she did not slip completely into historical oblivion as had so many others. Why does this obscure tale continue to crop up over the years? Is there any truth to the story that Camden and Rockefeller destroyed Mrs. Hunt's health and business?



Sylvia Crossman Hunt was born in 1829 in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, a small town some twenty miles south of Pittsburgh.⁵ Her father had emigrated from

An analytical chemist with the Food and Drug Administration, Baltimore native David Heller long has pursued an interest in local industrial history.

Massachusetts in the early 1820s and married a woman from a local family.⁶ Canonsburg's most distinguishing feature at the time was Jefferson College, one of the first schools of higher learning west of the Appalachians. The Hunt family lived in an "old log dwelling" on a hillside above the college where they moved just before Sylvia was born. She grew up during a time when Canonsburg's population of only 650 was swollen by students attending Jefferson College from all over the country.⁷

In 1844 the widow of a Presbyterian minister from a nearby town founded a small women's academy in Canonsburg. Sylvia enrolled and became its second graduate.⁸ Her family was of middling means—of the carpenters in town, her father possessed the smallest value of real estate⁹—but Sylvia's schooling apparently brought her into contact with students at Jefferson College. She met William J. Hamill, a student from Baltimore who boarded down the street, and the two were married in December 1851. Though William attended Jefferson College for nearly four years, he never graduated. He began publishing a newspaper during his senior year, but, "on account of Mr. Hamill getting into trouble with the school faculty," he left school and moved to Baltimore with Sylvia, where their first child was born in October 1852.¹⁰

Hamill taught school in Baltimore for several years, served two terms as a clerk in the Court of Common Pleas, and then opened a feed dealership.¹¹ By 1860 William and Sylvia had three children and were quite prosperous, with about \$10,000 in real estate and personal property. They had two live-in servants and owned some small properties just outside the city limits. Meanwhile, one of Sylvia's younger sisters, Isabella, had come to Baltimore to live with the Hamills.¹²

During this period William Hamill's father, Alexander, opened a china shop on Gay Street where he specialized in lamps and oils.¹³ Here the Hamills learned about a new product for illumination called coal oil. Alexander and William recognized an opportunity in the manufacture of coal oil and established what became the second coal oil refinery in the city. They leased a lot in 1861 at the corner of Canton (now Fleet) and Eden streets and got their operation under way. By the end of that year, despite fire damage, the refinery was substantial.¹⁴

The Hamill refinery was a small part of a revolutionary trend. Coal oil, today referred to as kerosene, burned more brightly than any other illuminating oil known at the time, and it quickly became a desirable commodity. The technique for its production was developed in Scotland around 1850 and first appeared in America several years later at the Samuel Downer plant of Boston.¹⁵ Coal oil was originally produced by roasting certain coals at high temperature and condensing the volatile byproducts. The condensate was redistilled, agitated with sulfuric acid and caustic soda, then washed with water and allowed to settle. In this era, refining meant a chemical treatment which removed impurities and unpleasant smells.¹⁶ In 1858 the Merritt brothers started the first coal oil refinery in Baltimore on Eastern Avenue near Fells Point,¹⁷ just around the corner from where the Hamill plant was later established. After Edwin Drake discovered how to drill for petroleum in 1859, a movement began to use this crude oil rather than coal as a

raw material. By 1863 nearly all American refiners had switched to petroleum.¹⁸ The Civil War brought an increased demand and a wide profit margin that spurred many people like the Hamills to start up coal oil refineries in Baltimore.

These primitive refineries quickly gained a bad reputation for their tendency to catch fire. In response to a plague of refinery fires, the city made it illegal to manufacture coal oil after 25 April 1862 without sanction of the mayor and city council.¹⁹ The ordinance did not apply to the "manufactories now erected and in use," so the Hamills were able to continue as before. Although their establishment burned again in late 1862, the Hamills persevered, leasing an adjacent lot in 1863. They advertised the company of "A. and W. J. Hamill" in the 1863-64 Baltimore City Business Directory along with many other refiners and coal oil dealers.²⁰ At this time approximately eight refiners were active in the Baltimore area, representing only 1 percent of the country's refining capacity.²¹

While business seemed good for the family refinery, William and Sylvia Hamill's marriage disintegrated in an abrupt and dramatic fashion. In 1864 Sylvia's younger sister Isabella Hunt, who was then nineteen years old and still living with the Hamills, became pregnant with William's child. To make matters worse, Sylvia was pregnant at the same time. William and Isabella fled the country for Australia, never to return.²²

Sylvia was left with five children and a significant amount of money tied up in property, real estate, and the refinery.²³ In February 1865 she filed for divorce in the Circuit Court of Baltimore and by July had obtained a divorce decree.²⁴ Around this time Sylvia began an effort to take over the coal oil refinery from Alexander Hamill, and two years later she bought out his share of the business. The divorce and litigation papers have been lost; the only documentation of these events is in the 1868 land records describing the transfer of Alexander's claim at a price of \$6,250: "Whereas the said Alexander Hamill and a certain William J. Hamill family of the city of Baltimore entered into partnership for the purpose of refining coal oil in January Eighteen hundred and sixty-one. . . ." ²⁵ The term "family" could indicate that Sylvia had an early involvement in the refinery, but otherwise might refer to other Hamill relatives who later worked in Baltimore's coal oil businesses.²⁶ One relative of Sylvia's ex-husband, Robert W. Hamill, joined with her to run the refinery after William's departure. Entries in the Baltimore City Directories tie Robert W. to the refinery at Canton and Eden between 1865 and 1867.²⁷ He sold oil products in 1866, possibly from the Hamill refinery, although he also had his own company. He got into financial trouble in 1867 and was allowed to maintain his business by creditors, eventually moving on to become a partner in a successful oil refinery in Canton.²⁸

Sylvia began to run the Hamill refinery herself in 1867, reverting to her maiden name in the process. However, she was active in the business well before this time; refiners outside of Baltimore already knew her by her married name. In May 1867 W. P. Logan, a Pittsburgh refiner, wrote to Walter Poultney to discuss a controversy over some barrels between Logan and a third party, and he asked Poultney to "be

ADVERTISEMENTS.			11
W. DENMEAD.	T. DENMEAD.	G. B. DAVIDS.	
<p>A. & W. DENMEAD & SON, Machinists, Boiler Makers, <small>AND</small> STEAM ENGINE BOILERS, Office, Cor. North and Monument Streets,</p>			
<p>Having ample facilities, are prepared to execute orders for MARINE and STATIONARY ENGINES and BOILERS, also MACHINERY for Sugar, Grist, Saw Mills. IRON FURNACES, &c.</p>			
<p>CASTINGS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION. REPAIRS DONE AT SHORT NOTICE.</p>			
STANDARD OIL WORKS, CANTON.			
<p>R. W. HAMILL & CO. <small>MANUFACTURERS OF</small> COAL OIL, BENZINE, <small>LUBRICATING OILS, &c.</small> <small>AND DEALERS IN</small> <i>Lamps, China, Glass and Queensware,</i> Office and Warehouse, 160 Franklin-st. BALTIMORE.</p>			
<p>NICHOLAS STEIN, <small>DEALER IN</small> OIL, LAMPS, CHINA AND GLASSWARE, No. 258 E. PRATT STREET, BALTIMORE.</p>			

Advertisement for the Standard Oil Works of R. W. Hamill & Co., Canton. Baltimore City Directory of 1867-68. (Maryland Historical Society.)

good enough to 'punch Mrs. Hamill up' on the empty barrels question."²⁹ How she was involved was not made clear.

The refinery remained a small, successful operation. The year 1866 had been a disaster for the fledgling oil industry, as crude oil supplies boomed, war demand fell off and the refiners' profit margins shrank. The refineries started by two other Hamill relatives suffered during this time, but Mrs. Hunt prospered. She expanded in December 1867 by leasing an adjacent lot, and then bought the first refinery lot in 1868.³⁰ She worked with the local commission merchants Poultney & Moale, who arranged the delivery of crude oil and sold products such as residuum

(petroleum tar left over from the distillation process) for her on the New York market.³¹ The 1869 Sachse *Bird's Eye View of the City of Baltimore* specifically identifies six of the local refineries, several in detailed insets, but Mrs. Hunt's appears only as a long shed across the street from "R. Read's Coal Oil Works, the third in that vicinity."³²

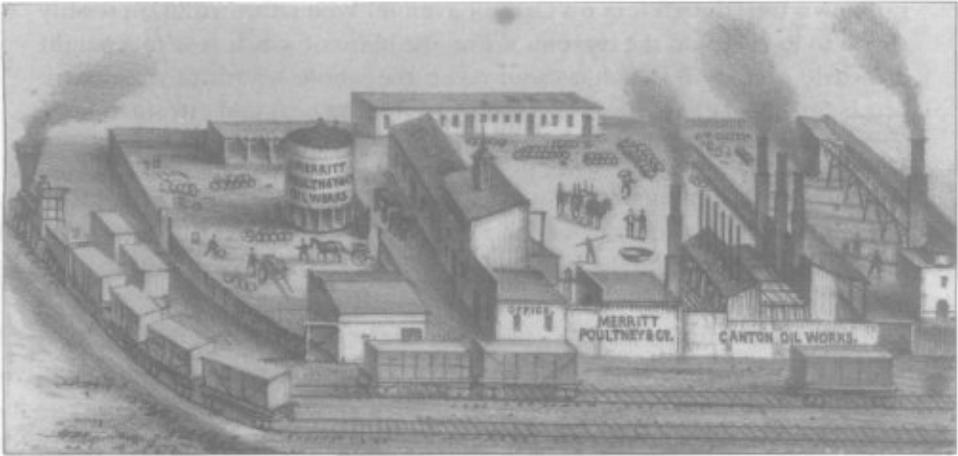
In 1869 Mrs. Hunt began a series of land purchases in the Baltimore area with J. W. S. Brady, who was also involved in the oil business.³³ Brady worked in the firm of J. Parkhurst & Co., commission merchants who dealt in illuminating oils, lubricants, and other related products.³⁴ Brady and Mrs. Hunt (now referring to herself as a widow), joined with George Parkhurst and an attorney, John H. Keene, to make these purchases. Mrs. Hunt stopped dealing with Poultney & Moale, and Brady became the agent who handled her products. Furthermore, he was a trustee of the building association where she took out a mortgage to buy her refinery lot.³⁵

During 1872 the citizens of Baltimore moved again to eliminate coal oil refineries because of the public safety hazards. Many refiners had relocated to the industrialized area at Canton, then just outside the city limits, but the six who remained—including Mrs. Hunt—signed a petition against banning refineries and presented it to the city council. The petition claimed that "one million dollars was added annually to the trade of the city" and that two-thirds of the oil produced in Baltimore was exported.³⁶ At this time Baltimore was the smallest of the country's refining centers, being substantially overshadowed by Pittsburgh, New York, and especially Cleveland, where the Standard Oil Company operated the nation's largest refinery.³⁷

Mrs. Hunt continued to prosper during the next several years. For a time she leased the old Merritt refinery after its owners opened a new plant in Canton.³⁸ By March 1873 she had bought the second tract of land at the Canton and Eden street refinery and paid off her mortgage on the first. And although Robert Read moved his refinery from across Eden street to the Canton area along with many others, Mrs. Hunt kept hers in the same location and continued to make money. In 1875 she bought a house in a fashionable area near the Washington Monument.³⁹



Meanwhile the Standard Oil Company deliberately set out to gain control of the refining centers throughout the country. The company had been founded in Cleveland in 1870 with John D. Rockefeller as its leader and major shareholder. Rockefeller intended to "stabilize" the still-young industry by directly or indirectly controlling all the crude oil refining in the United States, and to do this he forced competitors from one region after another to shut down or join with Standard. In the mid-1870s Rockefeller took on the threat posed by Robert Garrett and the B&O Railroad. Garrett wanted to build the B&O's share of the oil trade, and he was positioned to support independent refiners from Baltimore to southern Ohio. Rockefeller chose Johnson Newlon Camden of Parkersburg, West Virginia, to carry



The Canton Oil Works, operated by Merritt, Poultney & Co., as depicted in the margin of Edward Sachse's monumental *Bird's Eye View of the City of Baltimore*, 1869. This refinery was taken over by J. N. Camden in 1877 and with other Canton refineries formed the Baltimore United Oil Company. (Maryland Historical Society.)

out his plans for Baltimore. Camden owned a refinery which had fallen on hard times before Standard secretly took it over. Beginning in 1875 Camden instituted a strategy that would give him a foothold in Baltimore. Among other things, he persuaded Garrett that his Camden Consolidated Oil Company was still a competitor of Standard Oil so the B&O would give him preferential treatment. Camden's letters to Rockefeller from this period are full of personal flourishes revealing his exhilaration as the Baltimore refiners buckled under the pressure.⁴⁰

During 1876 Camden tried to strike a deal with Baltimore's leading refiners, the West family, but the plan fell through when they demanded higher salaries than Camden wanted to pay. Then another opportunity appeared, when the Philadelphia refiner who had leased the Canton Oil Works of J. C. Merritt and Isaac Jones decided to get out after a fire struck the plant.⁴¹ Camden's oil company took over the lease in January 1877⁴² and with this plant Camden was convinced he could begin to control the local trade of Baltimore. He intended to sell Parkersburg refined oil below the price at which Baltimore refiners could sell, "and it need not be known whether the oil is made at the Merritt-Jones refinery or in Parkersburg."⁴³

A portent of the difficult times ahead came on 1 June 1877 when Mrs. Hunt's refinery caught on fire. The Firemen's Record published an account of the fearful blaze that claimed her establishment.

In the building were eighteen large tanks of oil and turpentine which ever and anon exploded with terrific force and the reports could be heard blocks away. But the worst was yet to come, for the huge oil tanks, holding nearly a thousand barrels each began to burst one by one, and as they burst the oil

ran down into the gutters on Canton avenue. Water thrown upon it only added to its fury and the torrent of fire, the blaze of which rose to a height of nearly seventy-five feet, flowed down the whole length of the square across Spring to Caroline street, and by its intense heat and uncontrollable flame the rows of houses caught on fire.⁴⁴

Flames from oil burning in the gutters completely surrounded an adjacent block, but no one was hurt and most of the residences were saved. In the process of rebuilding the plant during the summer of 1877 Mrs. Hunt expanded it by leasing two more lots in the same block.⁴⁵

The Baltimore refiners knew by this time of the threat posed by Camden and Standard Oil. There had been some hope that a proposed pipeline from Pennsylvania to the Baltimore harbor would help keep the local manufacturers independent, but Camden fought this in the courts even as he was arranging for Charles Lockhart, a Pittsburgh refiner also in the Standard fold, to sell his oil in Baltimore below cost.⁴⁶ The final blow fell against the Baltimore refiners on 17 October 1877, the day the Empire Transportation Company was dissolved and all its refineries, pipelines, and tank cars were sold to Standard Oil.⁴⁷ Although it belonged to the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Empire Company was the last major competitor to Standard Oil left in the country. The railroad gave in to Rockefeller after being crippled by a rate war and violent strikes, and it sold the company out from under its president, Joseph Potts. The B&O Railroad fell into a pool of railroads whose shares of the oil trade were determined by Standard. Baltimore's refiners reacted immediately: Camden wrote to Rockefeller that they were "in a demoralized and panicky condition," and would be easy prey if he struck at once.⁴⁸

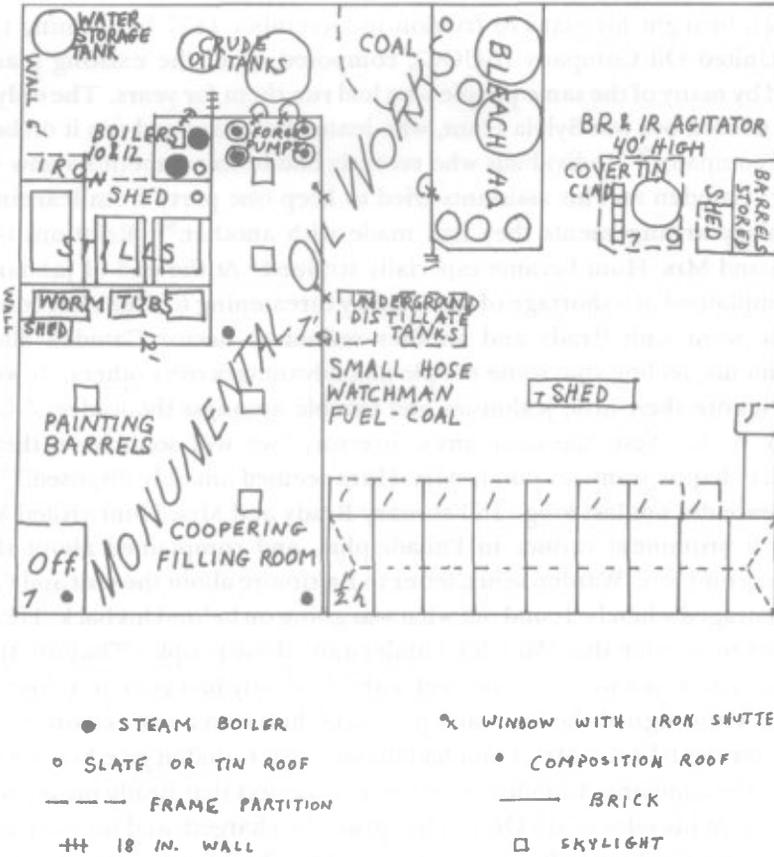
On 30 October 1877 Camden identified eight Baltimore plants, six of which he thought were supplied or controlled by Poultney & Moale. The other two were the Wests, who bought crude oil on their own, and Mrs. Hunt, who dealt with the Parkhurst firm. Camden thought Mrs. Hunt was neither experienced nor successful; he predicted that when a united oil company was formed in Baltimore she would sell her business.⁴⁹ When the two met for the first time a month later, Mrs. Hunt revealed the extent of her financial success in the oil business, driving "to our office . . . with an elegant turn out Driver in Livery, and she in diamonds."⁵⁰ The two met again a week later, and Mrs. Hunt told Camden that "she has saved \$80000 in 10 years besides spending \$6000 a year in raising and educating her family, and that she wants it arranged so she can have an income of \$6000 a year for her refinery and her services. . . . She wants to superintend it, she is today the most careful and best *man* in the business in Balto."⁵¹ The next day he wrote to Rockefeller that Mrs. Hunt was willing to lease her refinery for \$5,000 a year for five years, and was willing to close a deal shortly. Camden visited her works and reported that her refinery was very complete and snug, having been rebuilt that summer. He also noted that "She says the present condition of the business is making her crazy."⁵²

Camden brought his plans to fruition in December 1877 by forming the Baltimore United Oil Company (BUOC), composed of all the existing plants and operated by many of the same people who had run them for years. The only owner who did not sell out was Sylvia Hunt, who leased her plant and ran it on behalf of the local company.⁵³ Individuals who recently had been competitors now worked together; Camden and his assistants tried to keep one party from learning what secret salary arrangements they had made with another.⁵⁴ Relations between Camden and Mrs. Hunt became especially strained. At the end of January, Mrs. Hunt complained of a shortage of crude oil by threatening to break her contract.⁵⁵ Then she went with Brady and another refiner to hector Camden about the arrangements, feeling that some people had advantages over others. It would be best to "ignore their little jealousies and trouble amongst themselves," Camden wrote to W. C. West, the company's director; "we will soon have them in a moderately happy frame of mind. Mrs. Hunt seemed amiably disposed."⁵⁶

The peace did not last long. In February Brady and Mrs. Hunt visited William Warden, a prominent refiner in Philadelphia, and complained about the new Baltimore company. Warden sent a letter to Baltimore about the visit and Camden became enraged when he found out what was going on behind his back. He angrily wrote back to Warden that "You don't understand these people. They are the most pestiferous cases that we have ever met with."⁵⁷ Brady had gone to Camden soon after Mrs. Hunt signed the lease and pressured him into a very favorable deal as an agent for the BUOC. Mrs. Hunt had insisted that Camden give her son George a job with the company. Camden now began to suspect that Brady misrepresented the amount of his sales of BUOC oil, the prices he charged, and his commissions.

At this point Camden believed that he could head off further trouble with Mrs. Hunt. The BUOC managers were instructed to manage matters through Mrs. Hunt's son George without dealing with Mrs. Hunt or Brady, making no explanation to them of anything having to do with the business. Camden observed with satisfaction that "the young man has good business qualities," and unlike Brady "very much is disposed to hold things level" between his mother and the BUOC.⁵⁸ Camden believed their problems were due to Brady's influence, and he claimed that Brady had taken Mrs. Hunt to Philadelphia to see Warden and complain about the management.⁵⁹ In April Mrs. Hunt began to press for more concessions on her own. She wanted a guarantee that Standard would buy her refinery at a set price at the end of the five-year lease, and Camden apparently received Rockefeller's approval for this arrangement.⁶⁰

Mrs. Hunt's next move was completely unprecedented. In mid-May her lawyer, John H. Keene, returned her quarterly rent check to the office of the Camden Consolidated Oil Company along with a letter claiming that Mrs. Hunt was suffering "severe mental prostration" and that her condition was such that her contract with Camden had not been executed in good faith. "Her condition is extremely critical," he said, "and is obviously the effect of the meshes which have been spread for her entanglement."⁶¹ Keene demanded her arrangements be nullified. The company treasurer forwarded the letter to Camden in Parkersburg,



Monumental Oil Works as it appeared on an 1880 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. At this time Sylvia Hunt had leased her refinery to the Baltimore United Oil Company. Here one can see all of the elements of an oil refinery of that day. (The Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)

adding that Mrs. Hunt was not confined to bed but had been seen several days earlier on business.⁶²

Camden wrote to Rockefeller defending his attempts to keep Mrs. Hunt satisfied. He consistently had met her demands, but she pressed him for more money, being “conscious of her position of vantage.” Camden increased the annual rent and modified the original lease so Mrs. Hunt would be released from personal attention to the refinery. She seemed to be preparing to leave the business by having her son installed as refinery manager and extracting a guarantee that Standard buy her out in five years. Now it seemed that she wanted nothing less than the return of her refinery, but when he offered to try to make such an arrangement, Camden wrote, she declined to take it back, and said no more about it. “The poor woman does not seem to know her own mind for a day at a time.” He concluded in



Advertising envelope from Newbold & Sons, Baltimore, c. 1870. A fanciful rendition of oil production, transportation, and storage. Newbold & Sons sold lamps and oil products during the 1860s and in the early 1870s took over an existing refinery on North St. (now Guilford) between Eager and Chase. (Courtesy, R. H. Stever, Corpus Christi, Texas.)

exasperation that “Mrs. Hunt is not in her right mind,” and recommended that they should not respond at all.⁶³

The contentious negotiations came to a sudden end when Camden went to Europe to recuperate from physical ailments. He no longer trusted Mrs. Hunt and washed his hands of the affair. Consequently, nothing further came of Keene’s letter. The lease continued, as Mrs. Hunt gave the BUOC everyday control of the coal oil refinery, now called the Monumental Oil Works. But Mrs. Hunt had not been totally destroyed, despite her protestations of mental distress. She reentered the oil business barely four months later, taking over a small paraffin works in Canton. Mrs. Hunt later sold a half interest in the property to Brady, and the pair operated the “Hunt-Brady” works together until 1886.⁶⁴ Paraffin was a valuable byproduct of coal oil production, and it required redistillation of the heavier oil fractions followed by treatment with acid and caustic soda. This product was chilled in an icehouse or outdoors in winter, then pressed through cotton bags to yield the wax.⁶⁵

Signs of difficulty gradually increased in Mrs. Hunt’s life. In 1881 she and Brady tried to get Albert Neilson, then employed by the BUOC, to work at their paraffin plant. Camden reported to Rockefeller on this situation, and commented, “I learn that Mrs. Hunt has been advised by her physician that she must quit business. She has been in a bad condition mentally for the last two or three years from the overstrain that she has subjected herself to in the past. I should, therefore, not be surprised if they did want Neilson to run the paraffine works in order to relieve

her.”⁶⁶ When the five-year lease of the Monumental Oil Works expired in 1883, Mrs. Hunt tried unsuccessfully to get Standard to fulfill its agreement to buy the refinery.⁶⁷ Two years later, as her businesses began to wane, Mrs. Hunt wrote the first of a series of pleading letters directly to John D. Rockefeller. She insisted that he had a moral obligation to buy out her refinery. “Take the property off my hands, that is now made useless to me, by the combination [Standard], just at a rate that will make me comfortable. I ask this & beg you to ask yourself & your conscience, where you go before God in your Closet, what is just to the widow & stranger, for I am both here. You well know how I came to be in the oil business & just as I commenced to be able to get fairly in the way of doing well for myself, ask your conscience, what took my business away from me.”⁶⁸ Her financial state worsened, and she took out a mortgage on all the original refinery lots in late 1885. By the late 1880s Mrs. Hunt had sold her house and some of her real estate holdings with Brady. She continued to have money problems, and in 1888 wrote a last letter to Rockefeller asking to borrow \$5,000.⁶⁹

Despite her troubles, Sylvia Hunt lived thirty more years and was still able to leave a small estate for her children.⁷⁰ She finally convinced the BUOC to take over the coal oil refinery and turn it into a storage and delivery place. She had nearly begged for a deal, and tried to play down the problems of the past, emphasizing that “I have not been towards the Standard people what I have been represented.”⁷¹ The site of her refinery—the block bounded by Fleet, Eden and Spring streets and Duker Court—was finally purchased by Standard Oil in 1892, after she had been connected with it for nearly thirty years.⁷² This site was used for oil-related operations longer than any other in the Baltimore area during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the Canton area waterfront that later became the site of a massive Standard Oil refinery.⁷³ The brick stable on Fleet and Spring streets (torn down in September 1988) was the last building in the city remaining from Baltimore’s nineteenth-century oil industry. The structure dated from 1892, when Standard demolished the old refinery.⁷⁴



Various writers used the story of Sylvia Hunt to suit their own ends. The diatribe written by Joseph Potts was fueled by his own outrage at losing his company, the Empire Transportation Company, to Standard Oil. He exhorted petroleum producers to fight Rockefeller, and Potts capped his argument by describing the fate of heroic but defenseless Sylvia Hunt. He established Mrs. Hunt’s story as a “case of peculiar atrocity,” concluding that “the anxieties and anguish of the poor lady over the desolation which they have decreed shall mark her future, having driven her to a sick bed from which it is probable she may never rise in health again.”⁷⁵ Many other tales of unscrupulous competition and rampant abuse of power surfaced in the courts and press nationwide, even as Rockefeller consolidated his monopoly. The business ethic of the day condoned many of the practices Standard thrived on—cutthroat price competition, secret agreements, rebates and draw-

backs from shippers, even company spies—but Rockefeller's company was judged to have gone too far. The weight of public opinion over the next thirty years ultimately resulted in the court-ordered breakup of the Standard Oil Trust in 1911.

One person greatly responsible for blackening Standard's image was Ida Tarbell. She grew up in the oil regions of northwestern Pennsylvania, where her father worked as a joiner building oil tanks. Later she made a reputation as a muckraking journalist and as an advocate for the independence of women in American society. When in 1898 she began to research the Standard Oil Company she found in the story of Sylvia Hunt an opportunity to publicize and promote the interests of American businesswomen. Tarbell wanted to show that pressure from competitors had denied Mrs. Hunt her rightful opportunity for further profit because her business had been effectively closed down. Excerpts from Potts' pamphlet were paired with another story concerning the mistreatment of a Cleveland businesswoman. In that case of a widow named Backus, Tarbell had unfortunately selected a story known to many in the oil industry to be incorrect. Despite claims by "Mrs. B—" in the late 1870s that Rockefeller had cheated her out of valuable property by paying far less than its market value, it was later shown that this was not the case and that Mrs. Backus's claims of unfairness were unjustified.⁷⁶

Tarbell's twinned examples of women victimized by Standard Oil helped awaken the nation's moral sensibility. No company could justify taking advantage of women in business during this era. Rockefeller himself conceded late in his life that this issue had contributed to the public outcry against his company.⁷⁷ Although Tarbell chose to include these stories to promote equal opportunities for women in society, the prevailing belief in women's greater vulnerability made such stories extremely damaging to Standard Oil. That each story was not entirely accurate did not matter.

Some defensiveness about Tarbell's characterization of Mrs. Backus and Sylvia Hunt shows in the analyses of the two cases by biographers of Camden and Rockefeller. While Nevins fully refuted Mrs. Backus's claims, neither he nor Summers conclusively reviewed all the remaining evidence pertaining to Mrs. Hunt. Summers felt compelled to respond to "the puzzling case of Mrs. Sylvia C. Hunt" in his 1937 biography of Camden. Citing Camden's comment that Mrs. Hunt was not in her right mind, he observed that "Rockefeller and Camden had unexpectedly met their match. Mrs. Hunt was conscious of her position of vantage and pressed it for all it was worth."⁷⁸ Nevins, in his 1940 biography of Rockefeller, referred to the "baseless story of a Baltimore widow, Mrs. Sylvia C. Hunt." He concluded that Camden was "tormented" by Mrs. Hunt, who took "advantage of Standard's desire to be liberal" and later "spread abroad a tale of abuse."⁷⁹

When in the 1950s more of the Camden-Rockefeller correspondence surfaced in the Rockefeller collections, a different picture of Mrs. Hunt emerged—of an independent and competent businessperson who was determined not to lose control of her situation. Camden's attitude changed from ignorance to respect when he first met her and saw the refinery; only later did his opinion shift. She proved to be as capable of pressing an advantage as Camden. Furthermore, she

complained to others in the business if she was not satisfied, a trait that vexed Camden and gradually turned him against her. In 1953, updating his biography of Rockefeller, Nevins pointed out the "dramatic element" of the case and offered a more positive view of Mrs. Hunt.⁸⁰

Sylvia Hunt involved herself almost continually in small-scale oil refining for more than twenty years. She grasped the opportunity to take over her ex-husband's business and may have already been involved in it before he left Baltimore. She allied herself with others along the way, first her ex-husband's relative, Robert W. Hamill, and then J. W. S. Brady, who worked with her while they gained a regional reputation as a pair of shrewd, small-scale operators. Even after her son took over management of the original coal oil refinery, Mrs. Hunt opened a paraffin works and was active in operating that plant. Her businesses declined when basic changes in refining technology made small, batch operations like hers obsolete.

The complete truth about her health during the late 1870s may never be known. It is clear that the strain of dealing with Standard Oil's manipulation of the Baltimore market either caused or exacerbated a disorder that Mrs. Hunt then used as a weapon in the struggle to maintain control of her business. She was an independent-minded, capable and vocal person. It seems in character for her to have complained throughout the oil community that her health problems resulted from the unscrupulous conduct of J. N. Camden and Standard Oil. The story passed down through Joseph Potts and Ida Tarbell most likely represents Sylvia Hunt's own view of her situation.

People in the oil business knew and remembered Sylvia Hunt. In 1898 Ida Tarbell discovered that agents for the Empire Transportation Company "knew Mrs. Hunt's cars" [railroad tank cars carrying crude oil] and gave them special treatment.⁸¹ In 1917, when the managers of Standard Oil's Baltimore plant asked their oldtimers to look back at the early days of the oil business, they spoke of Mrs. Hunt and the "unique procedure" she used to produce paraffin wax.⁸² That year the family of John D. Rockefeller hired a writer to interview him and produce a favorable biography, and Mrs. Hunt again became a topic of discussion. John D. contended that Mrs. Hunt and her "little, picayune" refinery had benefitted from Standard Oil's stabilizing influence, that she would have "been ruined" under the "dreadful conditions which the Standard Oil Company set about correcting in 1870." Standard acted on "behalf of themselves primarily, but just as surely on behalf of every weak competitor in the business, including dear, happy, lucky Mrs. Hunt of Baltimore."⁸³ In Rockefeller's view, Standard actually supported the ill-equipped and poorly-located refiners by offering them a chance to sell out and merge with Standard.

Mrs. Hunt was victimized by Standard Oil. She was by no means alone in that fact, but she tried to use her troubles as leverage in the struggle to resist Standard's power. Unique as a woman working in a field dominated by men, Hunt was entrepreneurial and demanded fair treatment in the marketplace. Despite the

variety of judgments applied to her, she clearly relished her business dealings and stuck to them while many others chose to bow out.

NOTES

1. *A Brief History of the Standard Oil Company* (Pittsburgh: Wisener Co., n.d.). The author would like to thank Frank W. Osborne of the Illawarra Historical Society, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia for the invaluable research carried out on his behalf; James T. Herron of the Jefferson College Historical Society, Canonsburg, Pa., for the Olome Institute Catalog; and Dennis Zembala, Baltimore Museum of Industry, for his encouragement.

2. Ida Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904), pp. 198-99.

3. Festus P. Summers, *Johnson Newlon Camden: A Study in Individualism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937), pp. 198-200. Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), pp. 51-52; Allan Nevins, *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 251.

4. Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 154.

5. Baltimore City Death Certificate D54484 of 13 June 1921 lists her birth on 10 December 1829 in Johnstown, Pa. However, the headstone in lot 35, Area AAA, Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, states the birthplace as Canonsburg, which is likely correct.

6. 1850 U.S. Census, Canonsburg Boro, Washington County, Pa., lists Joseph Hunt born in Massachusetts, as does the death certificate of Sylvia C. Hunt, see above. Joseph was reported in the 1830 U.S. Census, Washington County, but not in the census of 1820. His origin in an old Massachusetts family is suggested in Thomas Wyman, *Genealogy of the Name and Family of Hunt* (Boston, 1862), p. 272, where the second wife of Enoch Hunt of Attleborough is named Sylvia Crossman. The marriage of Joseph Hunt to Eliza Hagerty was noted in *The Reporter*, 16 January 1823, Washington, Pa. Hagerty was a common name in the area.

7. Grantee Index to Canonsburg Deeds, vol. 2N, p. 34, 1 December 1829. Also, the "McClelland Map of 1848" in Blaine Ewing, *Canonsburg Centennial* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Printing Co., 1903). Alfred Creigh, *History of Washington County* (Harrisburg: B. Singerly, 1871), p. 220.

8. "Canonsburg's Olome Institute," in Harriott K. Branton, Focus on Washington County (3 vols.; Observer Publishing Company, 1982), 3:14. *Eighth Annual Catalog of Olome Institute*, Canonsburg, Pa. (Commonwealth Office, 1852), p. 7.

9. 1850 U.S. Census, Canonsburg Boro, Washington County, Pa.

10. *Ibid.*, "William Hamel, student" with Hugh Riddle, who lived two houses down from the Hunts (McClelland Map, see above). Marriage reported in the *Baltimore Sun*, 20 December 1851. Hamill's newspaper described in Boyd Crumrine, ed., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1882),

p. 612. Son George in *Genealogy and Biography of Leading Families of the City of Baltimore and Baltimore County, Maryland* (New York: Chapman Publishing Co., 1897), p. 119 .

11. Baltimore City Directories of 1856-1857, 1858-1859, and 1860.

12. Baltimore County deeds, 22:282 (1858) and 30:181 (1860). 1860 U.S. Census, 6th ward, Baltimore, Md., 11 June 1860, lists "Isabella" in the William Hamill household, born in Pennsylvania, age 15. This corresponds to Sylvia's younger sister Isabella Hunt who was five in 1850 (1850 U.S. Census, Washington County, Pa.). Later events bear out this identification.

13. Baltimore City Directory, 1860.

14. The Hamill refinery was the second established in Baltimore to survive any length of time. The *Annual Report of the Fire Inspector to the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: City Printer, 1858-1875) shows several other coal oil or "etheral oil" refineries suffering fires in 1859 and 1860, but no subsequent record of those proprietors or sites appears in the city directories. Baltimore City Deeds, GR-363:350 (1868) describes lease to A. & W. Hamill from Grafton Dulaney, 1861. *Annual Report of the Fire Inspector to the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: City Printer, 1861) describes a fire on 30 December 1861.

15. Ralph W. Hidy and Muriel E. Hidy, *History of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) 1882-1911: Pioneering in Big Business* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. 5.

16. Harold F. Williamson and Arnold P. Daum, *The American Petroleum Industry; the Age of Illumination* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1959), pp. 49-52.

17. Baltimore City Council Resolution 25, 24 March 1858, permission for J. Merritt to manufacture camphene oil. Fire at this site occurred on 7 December 1858 in *Report of the Baltimore Fire Inspector, 1858*. Also see *The Early History of Oil Refining in Baltimore* (Baltimore: ESSO Standard Oil Company, 1953), p. 1.

18. Williamson & Daum, *Age of Illumination*, p. 287.

19. Baltimore City Council Ordinance 20, 25 April 1862.

20. *Report of the Baltimore Fire Inspector, 1862* (\$2,000 damage occurred on 12 December 1862). Lease to William J. Hamill from Frederick Shaffer, Baltimore City Deeds, 1 September 1863. Advertisement in Baltimore City Directory of 1863-64, p. 163.

21. Williamson & Daum, *Age of Illumination*, p. 291.

22. Isabella Cummings Hamill died in Sydney, Australia, on 20 August 1936 (New South Wales Death Certificate 13107). Her first child, William, was age 72 at that time, and thus would have been born before August 1864. William J. Hamill of Baltimore managed the first oil refinery in Australia. He died in Sydney in September 1897 (New South Wales Death Certificate 7276; Alexander Patrick Fleming, *The 'Pioneer' Kerosene Works at American Creek (Mount Kembla) N.S.W. 1865-1878* [Wollongong, N.S.W.: Illawarra Historical Society, 1967], p. 3). John Wilkins Hunt, Sylvia's youngest child, died in California in 1944 (San Francisco Death Certificate 4702, district 3801), his date of birth listed as 21 March 1864. He was originally named William J. Hamill, but his brother and guardian George

changed it on 14 July 1884 (Circuit Court of Baltimore, Equity docket case 24A, p. 134).

23. Baltimore City Tax Records, 31 December 1866. Property taxed to William J. Hamill included two houses, furniture, and mortgages (\$4,500) and the refinery lot, improvements, machinery and stock (\$4,900).

24. Circuit Court of Baltimore, Equity docket 7, p. 14, 7 February 1865.

25. Baltimore City Deeds, GR-363:350, 27 January 1868. All property was transferred to Sylvia Hunt and all claims based on the partnership of Alexander and William were terminated.

26. One of William's brothers, Alexander T., tried to start a refinery in Canton with J. H. Thies in 1866, but the venture failed in a year. See Hamill, Thies & Co. Refinery Account Books, Ms. 1495, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore (hereafter MdHS). Another brother, James H., was a clerk who spent most of his later life working in the Baltimore Oil Exchange (MdHS Biography File). Furthermore, there were legions of Hamills working in lamp and oil stores throughout Baltimore, according to the city directories of the time.

27. Robert W. Hamill arrived from Ireland in 1859 (Baltimore City Death Certificate 68049, 10 July 1883), and went to work in Alexander's lamp store. Also, he seems to have later married William's younger sister Olivia; the two lived together (1870 U.S. Census, Baltimore, Md.) and are mentioned together in a court case concerning Alexander's property in 1878 (Circuit Court of Baltimore, Equity docket 18A, p. 13). Olivia's age corresponds to William's sister of the same name (1850 U.S. Census, Baltimore, Md.)

28. Ogden Roberts to Walter deC. Poultney, 20 September 1866, Poultney Papers, Ms. 646, MdHS. Robert W. Hamill's company advertised in the Baltimore City Directory of 1867-68, p. 11. Poultney to U.S. Internal Revenue, 13 June 1867, Poultney Papers, Ms. 646, MdHS. Baltimore City Deeds, 53:496, 6 May 1867.

29. W. P. Logan to Poultney, 13 May 1867, Poultney Papers, Ms. 646, MdHS.

30. Baltimore City Deeds, GR-358:293. Baltimore City Deeds GR-397:495, 22 October 1868.

31. Ogden, Roberts & Weber to Poultney, 14 June 1867, Poultney Papers.

32. *Bird's Eye View of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: E. Sachse & Co., 1869).

33. Baltimore County Deeds, 39:377, 14 August 1869; 90:184, 29 December 1874; 99:155, 15 January 1877.

34. *Illustrated Baltimore, The Monumental City* (New York: American Publishing and Engraving Co., 1890), p. 188.

35. Baltimore County Deeds, 63:377, 14 August 1869. Baltimore City Deeds, GR-397:498, 31 October 1868.

36. Baltimore City Archives, 1872-954, 29 April 1872.

37. *Titusville Morning Herald*, 18 May 1872, in Paul H. Giddens, ed. *Pennsylvania Petroleum, 1750-1872: A Documentary History* (Titusville, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947), p. 387.

38. Baltimore city directories, 1870 and 1872.

39. Baltimore City Deeds GR-576:386, 13 August 1872; GR-602:526, 1 March 1873; GR-676:102, 16 October 1874, GR-710:150, August 1875.

40. Camden's letters to Rockefeller are the major source of information about the takeover of Baltimore refiners by Standard between 1875 and 1878. Some of these letters remained in the Camden manuscript collection; see Camden Papers, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, West Virginia University Libraries, Morgantown W. Va. (hereafter WVUL). They were used as the basis for narratives in Summers's biography of Camden and Nevins's first biography of Rockefeller. Additional letters were discovered in the Rockefeller Archives in the 1950s (Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, N.Y. [hereafter RAC]) and were used by Nevins in a second biography.

41. Baltimore County Deeds 98:236, 14 October 1876.

42. Agreement between Norris W. Harkness and Camden Consolidated Oil Co., January 1877, Camden Papers, Deeds, Agreements and Contracts, 2884, WVUL.

43. Camden to H. M. Flagler, 10 January 1877, Camden Papers, General Correspondence, R19A2, box 1, WVUL.

44. J. Albert Cassedy, ed., *The Firemen's Record* (Baltimore: Wm. U. Day & Co., 1891), p. 133.

45. Baltimore City Deeds, GR-780:80, 22 June 1877.

46. Camden to Charles Lockhart, 29 September 1877, Camden Papers, Letter Book 8557, WVUL.

47. Nevins, 1953, *Study in Power*, p. 251.

48. Camden to J. D. Rockefeller, 6 October 1877, Camden Papers, Letter Book 8557, WVUL.

49. Camden to John D. Rockefeller, 30 October 1877, JDR Sr. Business Correspondence, RG1, Series C (hereafter Rockefeller Papers), RAC.

50. Camden to Rockefeller, 28 November 1877, Rockefeller Papers, RAC.

51. Camden to Rockefeller, 6 December 1877, Rockefeller Papers, RAC.

52. Camden to Rockefeller, 7 December 1877, Rockefeller Papers, RAC.

53. Camden to W. T. Poole, 22 December 1877, Camden Papers, Letter Book 8557, WVUL.

54. Camden to W. T. Poole, 1 March 1878, Camden Papers, Letter Book 8557, WVUL.

55. Baltimore United Oil Company to Camden, 31 January 1878, Rockefeller Papers, RAC.

56. Camden to W. C. West, 31 December 1877, Camden Papers, WVUL.

57. Camden to W. G. Warden, 22 February 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL.

58. Camden to W. G. Warden, 8 March 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL.

59. Camden to Col. Thompson of Camden Consolidated Oil Co., 2 March 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL.

60. Camden to Rockefeller, 24 April 1878, Rockefeller Papers, RAC; Rockefeller to Camden, 26 April 1878, Rockefeller Papers, RAC.

61. J. H. Keene to W. T. Poole, 17 May 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL.

62. W. T. Poole to Camden, 18 May 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL.

63. Camden to Rockefeller, 20 May 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL. Camden to Rockefeller, 24 May 1878, Camden Papers, WVUL.

64. Baltimore County Deeds, 108:532, 3 September 1878. Baltimore County Deeds, 111:370, 7 April 1879.
65. See Williamson & Daum, *Age of Illumination*, p. 248.
66. Camden to Rockefeller, 15 March 1881, Rockefeller Papers, RAC.
67. John D. Archbold to Camden, 4 January 1883, Camden Papers, General Correspondence, 2886, box 1, WVaUL.
68. Hunt to Rockefeller, 3 February 1885, Rockefeller Papers, JDR Sr. Family, RGI, box 57, RAC.
69. Baltimore City Deeds, JB 1067:195, 3 October 1885; JB 1206:437, 1 September 1888. Baltimore County Deeds 144:44, 26 January 1885 and 181:417, 12 September 1890. Hunt to Rockefeller, 23 March 1888, Rockefeller Papers, JDR Sr. Family, RGI, box 57, RAC.
70. Circuit Court of Baltimore, Equity Docket 62A, page 339, case A11739, 1922.
71. Baltimore City Deeds, JB 1152:137, 6 August 1887; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Baltimore* (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Co., 1890), vol. 2, plate 19; Hunt to Rockefeller, 4 March 1887, Rockefeller Papers, JDR Sr. Family, RGI, box 57, RAC.
72. Baltimore City Deeds, JB 1395:353, 28 May 1892.
73. The first record of an oil refinery in Canton is a lease from the Canton Company to Aristide DuBreuil in December 1865 (Baltimore County Deeds, 47:370). DuBreuil came to Baltimore to work for the Merritt Brothers (*Early History of Oil Refining in Baltimore*, ESSO, 1953).
74. The site was used as a filling station according to the 1890 Sanborn map, though parts of the refinery were still intact. It was probably not demolished until after Standard purchased it in 1892. By 1898 it had been rebuilt (George W. Bromley and Walter S. Bromley, *Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland* [Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley & Co., 1898]).
75. *Brief History*, p. 10.
76. Nevins, *Heroic Age*, p. 49-51.
77. *John D. Rockefeller Interviews, 1917-1920, Conducted by William Inglis* (Westport, Conn.: Meckler Publishing, in association with Rockefeller Archives, 1984), p. 1319.
78. Summers, *Study in Individualism*, p. 198.
79. Nevins, *Heroic Age*, p. 51.
80. Nevins, *Study in Power*, p. 251.
81. Tarbell, *History of Standard Oil*, p. 198.
82. "Standard Oil Company of New Jersey Operates Great Refinery at Canton," *Baltimore Magazine* (December 1937): 35. This article quotes a survey of employees done some twenty years earlier by Standard Oil of New Jersey. Mrs. Hunt is prominently featured in the article.
83. *Inglis Interviews*, pp. 1318 and 1324-25. Rockefeller visited Baltimore in the summer of 1876, where he caught a "catarrhal cold" (p. 1314).

A U-Boat in Baltimore's Harbor: The *Deutschland*, 1916-1921

MICHAEL POHUSKI

In 1916 submarines torpedoed ships! Like lethal demons from the underworld, they appeared mysteriously out of the cold, wet depths of the sea and launched their bolts of death at unsuspecting vessels. Everyone knew this.

On the night of 9 July 1916 an enormous gray-green German submarine glided up the Chesapeake Bay and dropped anchor off Hawkins Point. At first light the U-boat commander began cautiously maneuvering north, towards Baltimore harbor. Headlines flashed in newspapers around the world. The British and French governments were beside themselves with rage; the State Department, caught unaware, scrambled to make a statement. Crowds of curious citizens flocked to South Baltimore to see the eerie craft, which a swarm of small boats packed with reporters, photographers and newsreel cameramen pursued past Fort McHenry. The submarine was the *Deutschland*, Germany's largest U-boat and the world's first cargo-carrying submersible. Was it a warship? Did it carry torpedoes? Was it an unarmed merchant vessel? The world wanted to know.



Like gulls around a beached whale, Baltimoreans were about to go submarine crazy. In July 1916 the Great War raged in Europe—a modern scientific war with new technologies of death and destruction like airplanes, poison gas—and the submarine. Long-range and anonymous carnage had replaced nineteenth-century chivalry. On the high seas, England and Germany tried to blockade each other into starvation. The British used their surface ships and the Germans their U-boats. American vessels were being commandeered by the British, but worse yet, they were being sunk by the U-boats. The most precipitous loss had been the *Lusitania* the year before. Of the 1,198 people who perished, 128 were Americans. The United States had protested but remained neutral. In an effort to improve public relations in the United States, the German government had spent more than \$100 million in newspaper ads and similar propaganda and also supported many German-American groups. But because of incidents like the *Lusitania*'s sinking, the Fatherland could not quite shake its tainted image.¹

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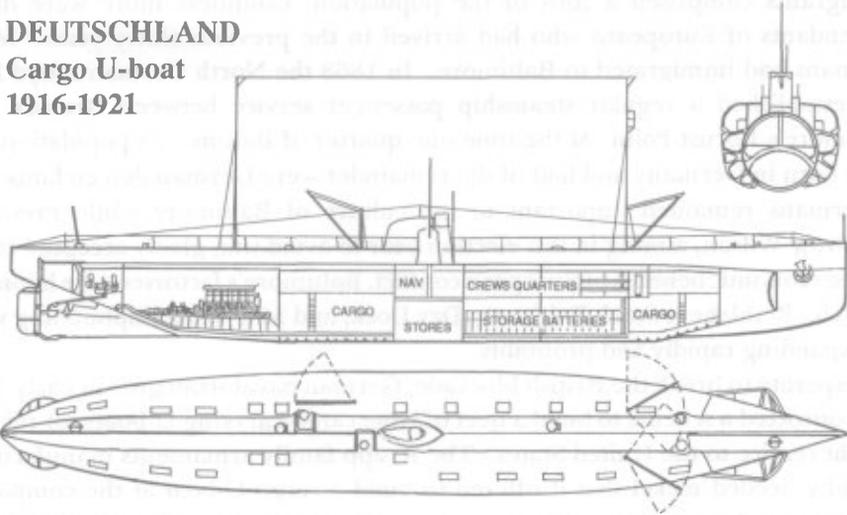
Germans rightly expected more support from America, where in 1916 European immigrants comprised a fifth of the population. Countless more were direct descendants of Europeans who had arrived in the previous thirty years. Many Germans had immigrated to Baltimore. In 1868 the North German Lloyd Line had established a regular steamship passenger service between Bremen and Baltimore's Locust Point. At the time one-quarter of Baltimore's population had been born in Germany and half of the remainder were German descendants.²

Germans remained important to the culture of Baltimore while President Woodrow Wilson, aiming in this election year to avoid war, gladly accepted credit for the economic benefits of European conflict. Baltimore's factories were booming in 1916. Bethlehem Steel, Baltimore Dry Dock, and Maryland Shipbuilding were all expanding rapidly and profitably.

Desperate to break the British blockade, German naval strategists in early 1915 had concocted a scheme to build a fleet of large cargo-carrying U-boats for regular freight service to the United States. The Krupp family armaments manufacturer so badly needed nickel that it offered to build a cargo U-boat at the company's expense on the condition that it transport Krupp nickel. Alfred Lohmann, a wholesale merchant in Bremen, was also interested in the cargo boat idea. He began to discuss the project with government officials in Berlin during the spring and summer of 1915. Lohmann chaired the boards of several companies with connections in shipping, importing, and exporting. In conjunction with the Norddeutsche Lloyd (North German Lloyd Shipping) and the Deutsche Bank (German Bank), Lohmann formed the Deutsche Ozen Reederei GmbH (German Ocean Navigation Company)—a limited-liability holding company to build and operate cargo U-boats. The fact that the German navy and Krupp were also involved was not openly disclosed. The three investors contributed two million marks; the German government guaranteed their capital outlay plus 5 percent interest.³

Krupp won the contract to build the first two cargo U-boats, which would be the largest that Germany had built to date and cost approximately 2.75 million marks each. They presented many new problems for their designer/engineer Rudolf Erbach. The *Deutschland* was 213 feet long, her maximum beam 29 feet—very wide for a submarine. She was built like most U-boats with double-hull construction. The inner pressure hull was shaped round and long, like a cigar. It provided the strength to withstand great pressures underwater. The lighter, perforated outer hull gave it a more maneuverable "vessel" shape. There was a great deal of space between the outer and inner hulls, "wet cargo" such as rubber was carried in these spaces.⁴ In spite of technical challenges, the *Deutschland* was launched on 28 March 1916, only five months after the date of the contract. She completed her sea trials in May and was ready for service in June. Her sister the *Bremen* was completed shortly afterwards, and six other submarines soon were started. If all had gone according to plan, Alfred Lohmann in 1917 would have had a fleet of eight cargo U-boats.

DEUTSCHLAND
Cargo U-boat
1916-1921



Length	Outer Hull (Waterline)	213 feet	65.0 meters
	Pressure Hull	187 feet	57.0 meters
Beam	Outer Hull	29 feet	8.9 meters
	Pressure Hull	19 feet	5.8 meters
Draft	Surfaced	17 feet	5.3 meters
	Submerged	30 feet	9.3 meters
Periscope Depth		42 feet	13.0 meters
Displacement	Surface	1,575 tons	
	Submerged	1,860 tons	
Registered Tonnage		791 gross	
		414 net	
Speed	Surface	9.5 knots (11 knots max.)	
	Submerged	7.5 knots (2 hrs. duration)	
Range	Surface	approx. 8,000 nm @ 9.2 knots	
	Submerged	approx. 65 nm @ 3.0 knots	
Propulsion	Surfaced	two 380 hp. diesel	
	Submerged	two 400 hp. electric	
Compliment	4 officers 25 crewmen		

Specifications sources:

Dwight R. Messimer, *The Merchant U-boat: Adventures of the Deutschland, 1916-1918* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1988).

Eberhard Rössler, *The U-boat, The evolution and technical history of German submarines* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1981).

The *Deutschland's* crew mostly stepped from the ranks of the Imperial German Navy. Few merchant sailors knew how to operate a submarine. Yet whenever possible—to give credence to the “civilian” appearance—crew members were drawn from men who had seen service in the North German Lloyd. The captain was Paul König, a short, elfish man who did not quite fit the usual image of the German U-boat commander. An officer with the Lloyd since 1896, König had made several trips to America, learned the language, and acquainted himself with the lay of the coastline. In 1901 he married a British woman, a passenger, he had met on one of his cruises. The marriage of course helped to improve his English, but she remained in England, which probably did nothing to help the marriage. In 1911 König served as captain of a liner. He flourished in that role and became very popular with his passengers.

When the war began he was ordered to active service on the battleship S.M.S. *Brandenberg*. He saw action against the Russians and was awarded the Iron Cross Second Class. Now, appointed commander of the *Deutschland*, König's abilities as a merchant captain received much attention in the German press. His military record was kept secret.

The *Deutschland* officially made her appearance as a regular commercial vessel with registered tonnages of 791 gross and 414 net. It was important that she and the *Bremen* seemed to be civilian vessels. If a belligerent warship docked at a neutral port for longer than twenty-four hours, the laws of war allowed her internment for the duration of the war. A legitimate merchantman could stay in port longer to unload and load cargo. To make the underwater-cargo scheme successful, authorities in the neutral United States had to believe that the *Deutschland* was a merchant vessel. Ostensibly she belonged to the Ocean Navigation Company and the *Bremen* to Krupp. The navy opened files on the boats as the *U-200* and *U-201*.

The *Deutschland* was the largest submarine in the world, but it could only carry 800 tons of cargo. An average surface steam freighter could carry 4,000 tons or more.⁵ While she was only a single cargo submarine, hundreds of freighters were necessary to supply the needs of a country in wartime. The reason for the Germans' interest in underwater freighters therefore lay not in quantity but in quality of cargo delivered. Since January 1916 the Ocean Navigation Company had been purchasing rubber in the United States for shipment to Germany, and Krupp had been stockpiling nickel in various warehouses on the East Coast since 1914.

Baltimore agents for the North German Lloyd were Henry G. Hilken and Paul H. L. Hilken, father and son owners of A. Schumacher and Company, who had become active in defense of the Fatherland. They established the Eastern Forwarding Company (EFCO) and busily began preparations for the arrival of the cargo boats. Waterfront property, including warehouses and a pier were purchased in Baltimore and a newly constructed loading pier was leased in New London, Connecticut. In New York the Hilkens located a steam tug, the *Timmings*, which they purchased and brought to Baltimore for refitting with the latest communications equipment. The head of the EFCO operation in the United States was Capt. Frederick Hinsch, skipper of the Lloyd liner S.S. *Neckar*, which customs officials

had interned in Baltimore at the start of the war. By June 1916 EFCO was ready for the *Deutschland*.

On the 13th of that month the United States consul in Bremen, William Thomas Fee, issued a certificate of health for the *Deutschland*, a document necessary for American entry. He never reported the information to the State Department; influenced by the Germans, he decided to keep the departure a secret.⁶ The next day, loaded with cargo, the *Deutschland* left Krupp's Germania shipyards in Kiel. She next traveled to the naval base at Helgoland, a fortified island in the North Sea, and remained there until departing for America on 23 June. The Germans may have planned the stay at Helgoland to mask the submarine's actual departure date from British spies operating in Kiel. In any case, the effort was academic: British intelligence earlier had broken German naval codes and was well aware of the *U-200's* movement.



The English Channel was blocked with a network of minefields and anti-submarine nets. To get to the Atlantic, it was safer for a U-boat to travel through the North Sea, around the British Isles, passing between Scotland and Norway. The *Deutschland* followed this route, submerging whenever a smokestack or a light appeared on the horizon, avoiding any possible confrontation. Captain König commented that the purpose of the voyage was "to make a joke of the English blockade, and to return with a valuable cargo." Bravado had no part in the plan, and König was a man following orders.⁷

König did have one brush with danger. While attempting to avoid a destroyer in the midst of a storm, the *Deutschland* made a crash dive. The bow was angled too steeply and the boat drove itself into the muddy bottom. Since the depth around the craft was only 160 feet, the stern was sticking out of the waves with its propellers throwing up a plume of water. When Klees, the chief engineer, realized what had happened, he immediately cut the engines and began flooding the rear compartments, which slowly leveled the vessel and eventually released it from the mud. The destroyer, busy with the storm on the surface, missed its opportunity.

The most harrowing aspect of the journey was simple discomfort. Conditions within the *Deutschland* could be terrible—humid and stifling air, temperatures sometimes reaching 128 degrees Fahrenheit. Condensation collected on every surface. The stench of diesel fuel and bodies was nearly unbearable. The U-boat did not ride well in heavy seas, her pitch and roll so violent that even the most seasoned sailors became seasick. Unfortunately for the crew, storms prevailed for much of their passage.

The *Deutschland* cautiously arrived off the Virginia Capes just after dusk on Saturday, 8 July. The breeze was freshening, but the boat began to roll. After consulting with his officers, König decided not to wait but to sail into the Chesapeake under cover of darkness. In the distance the crew could make out the regular beam of the Cape Henry lighthouse. All eyes in the conning tower strained in the



The tug *Thomas F. Timmins* owned by German interests, guides the *Deutschland* into Baltimore harbor on 10 July 1916. (Maryland Historical Society.)

darkness. Suddenly, a bright light flashed on and off to starboard, then another shone on the port side. Were they war ships signaling one another? The crew stood by at their diving stations, waiting. Slowly, in the distance, the lookouts could discern a lumbering three-masted schooner and a harmless outbound steamer. Just before midnight they passed within the American three-mile limit to safety from Allied warships. It had taken *Deutschland* sixteen days to make the 3,800 mile voyage, about average time for a steam freighter to cross the Atlantic in 1916. She only traveled about ninety of those miles underwater.

Rumors of a German submarine's arrival had been circulating up and down the East Coast since 1 July, when a newspaper advertisement placed by the Trans-Atlantic Trust Company had called for gold, currency, and securities to be sent back to Germany aboard the *Deutschland*.⁸ Speculation ran high on where the U-boat would arrive. Hilken denied that the tug stationed at the Virginia Capes was waiting for a submarine. On 4 July, the *Baltimore Sun* commented that "the alleged German merchant submarine is as intangible as the ghostly Flying Dutchman of maritime mystery and legend."⁹ The British knew the *Deutschland* was coming and did not want the boat allowed into an American port. Their embassy in Washington sent a protest to the State Department on 27 June and again on 3 July. The Allies regarded any U-boat as a warship.¹⁰

Once inside the capes, the *Deutschland's* crew spied the red-and-white lights of a bay pilot steamer and signaled the vessel with the customary blue flare. The pilot

boat approached very carefully, the helmsman apparently not quite believing what he saw. Identifications were exchanged by megaphone. When Fred D. Cocke, a Virginia pilot, climbed on board the submarine he exclaimed "I'll be damned, here she is!"¹¹ Cocke informed König that a tug had been standing by for several days, waiting for his arrival. Sometime around 4 A.M. on Sunday morning the *Deutschland* and *Timmins* were united. The *Timmins* was commanded by Capt. Zack Cullison, but Captain Hinsch, also aboard, was in charge of the operation. In the grey hours of dawn they started for Baltimore.

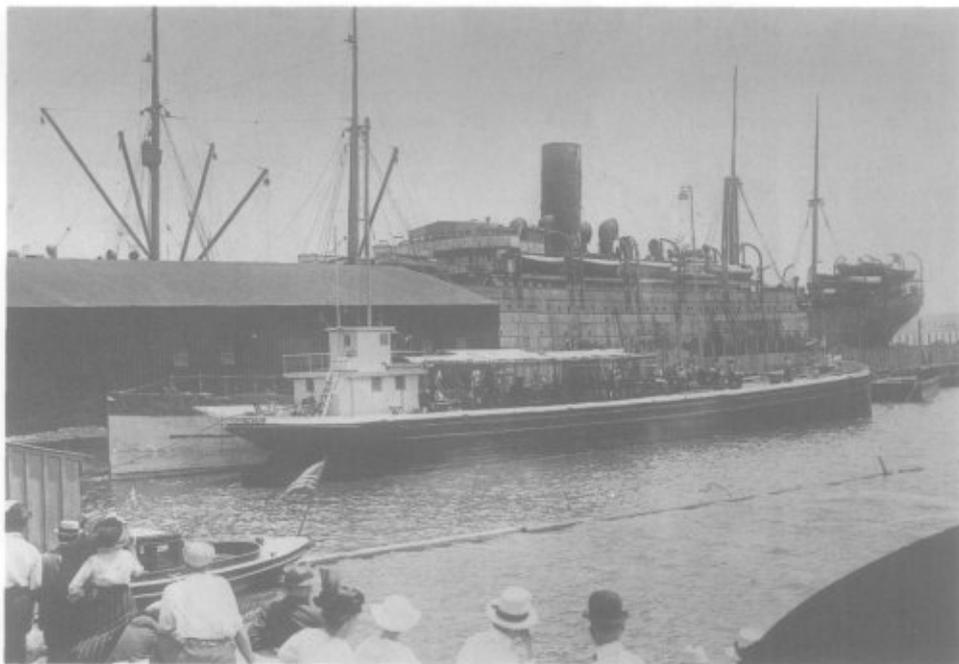
Word of the event spread like wildfire. As the two boats made their way up the bay, they became the center of a nautical procession. Local boats blasted steam whistles; flags snapping in the breeze might have welcomed the foreigners or flaunted their colors, one could not be certain. A thunderstorm later scattered the flotilla, but *Deutschland* and her tender continued their journey, anchoring off the Quarantine Station at Hawkins Point at 11 P.M. Sunday night. Monday morning the Baltimore *Sun's* headline read "UNARMED GERMAN SUBMARINE WITH MERCHANDISE CARGO NOW LIES NEAR BALTIMORE." In smaller type the paper assured readers that "She Is Not A War Vessel." By the time Captain König passed through quarantine and docked his vessel, around 7 A.M., there were hundreds of people outside the EFCO office at the foot of Andre Street in Locust Point. Everyone wanted to see the submarine.¹²

The Germans did nothing to make it easy. EFCO office and warehouse buildings blocked any view of the pier or the submarine. High fences, with barbed wire strung across the top, had been built along the edge of the property and out the pier. The Lloyd liner *Neckar*, docked for the duration of the war on the other side of the pier, both shielded the submarine from one direction and served as quarters for its crewmembers during their stay in Baltimore. Armed guards patrolled the area. Even from the water there was little opportunity to see the *Deutschland* or its cargo operations. Barges and a system of heavy beams and nets blocked access to the boat from above and below the water's surface. Captain Hinsch blamed British saboteurs for these precautions.¹³



Meantime the men of the *Deutschland* did their best to win over American sympathies. On the day of their arrival the captain and crew posed for photographers. König motored to U.S. Customs to file papers and then to the North German Lloyd offices at the Hansa House on German (later renamed Redwood) Street. There he met with reporters. In his prepared statement he stressed the civilian nature of the submarine and said that another boat, the *Bremen*, would leave Germany shortly. Some Baltimoreans still asked the political question of the day: Was the U-boat a warship or merchant vessel? Would it be interned in America or would it be the downfall of the British blockade?¹⁴

At 8 A.M. William P. Ryan, senior customs officer in Baltimore, went aboard the *Deutschland* to answer the question. Accompanying him were Guy W. Steele and F.



The barge *George May*, surface booms, and even underwater nets keep the curious from getting a good look at *Deutschland* while she lies tied up at Locust Point. On the other side of the pier the interned German vessel *Neckar* serves as crew's quarters. (National Archives.)

Sydney Hayward, both marine surveyors. The three officials were shown everything they asked to see. The Germans wanted to demonstrate that they had nothing to hide. Ryan and his assistants were impressed and reported to the Treasury Department that there were no weapons aboard except sidearms and flare guns. Ryan also verified that the officers and crew were members of the German merchant marine.¹⁵

Predictably, this report did not satisfy the Allied governments, which pressured the State Department to declare the *Deutschland* a warship. The British and French complained that the very design of a submarine made it a warship. They also pointed out that a submarine could be quickly converted to a warship outside the three-mile limit and that it could not be searched like other merchantmen. Equally vocal German sympathizers were just as anxious to obtain the opposite ruling. While Ryan and his team were inspecting the submarine, a navy lieutenant showed up to conduct his own investigation. He spoke fluent German and got along famously with the crew, who proudly showed him the entire boat. The second inspection was for a different purpose. It was arranged through the Justice Department, and Lt. J.H. Klein was a member of United States Naval Intelligence.¹⁶ On Tuesday, 11 July, U.S. naval engineers conducted a third American



German submariners, dressed in distinctive leather uniforms, gathered a crowd wherever they went during their visit to Baltimore. Here one exchanges sea stories with an American sailor while some appreciative young men listen in. (National Archives.)

inspection and concluded that the *Deutschland* was indeed a merchant vessel and could not be quickly converted to a warship.

The State Department sent copies of the reports to the Neutrality Board for a decision. On 14 July the board ruled that the boat was in fact a merchant vessel but said that the ruling should not be construed as definitive. In the future every submarine arriving in the United States claiming to be a merchantman would be inspected, each and every time it landed.¹⁷ The Germans were elated.

The Allies were not the only ones protesting the *Deutschland's* arrival. Simon Lake, of the Lake Torpedo Boat Company, rushed to Baltimore from Connecticut. A pioneer in submarine technology, Lake in 1897 had built and launched an experimental submarine, the *Argonaut*, within a quarter mile of where the *Deutschland* now docked. In 1904 he traveled to Germany to sell his submersible designs, signing a contract with Krupp and giving them his design plans. Krupp incorporated his ideas into its production but never paid Lake any royalties. He now claimed patent infringements and stated his intention of filing suit. The British loved it, since Lake could legally tie up the boat in the courts for years.

Lake arrived in Baltimore on 11 July and went straight to the EFCO office. There he met with the charming Captain König, who convinced him that a suit was not necessary because the Germans wanted him to help build a fleet of underwater cargo boats. Two days later, Lake announced his plan to form a company with Krupp and the Hilkens. The organization would construct vessels like the *Deutschland* in the United States and ship cargo to and from Germany. The Germans were completely convincing.¹⁸

Indeed, Captain König and his crew were an instant success on the Baltimore social scene. König's description of wading through the crowds to register his vessel at the customs office (later that year he published a memoir of this trip to America, *Voyage of the Deutschland*) made it sound like an event little short of Caesar's entering Rome. The Baltimore *Sun* printed a political cartoon of König shaking hands with the ghost of Columbus (the two men had done the supposedly impossible). Editorials spoke of the crossing as a "maritime epoch." At the Belvedere Hotel on his second day in town, König was "lionized" at a luncheon in his honor. When the orchestra struck up *The Star Spangled Banner*, König sprang to attention and snapped a salute. The dining room crowd cheered him, and then the band played the German equivalent, *Die Wacht am Rhein*, which led to a series of toasts and a session of autographs. Several members of the Elks Club presented the captain with a miniature submarine. That night König was wined and dined at the Baltimore Country Club.¹⁹

The next day six crew members hired a car and went on a tour of Washington D.C. Besides being stopped for speeding, which made the following morning's headlines, they were also taken to the Department of the Navy and introduced to an assistant secretary, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The next stop was the White House, where on a private tour they saw the Cabinet Room and the president's private office. One of the crew asked to sit in the presidential seat. The guide politely approved, and then all of them took turns sitting in President Wilson's chair.

On the night of 13 July, Captain König and the German ambassador were invited to dine with Baltimore's Mayor Preston. The grand affair was held at the mayor's home and attended by many of the city's most influential business leaders. Baltimore newspapers were filled with accounts of the exploits and antics of the German visitors. The crew was seen all over the city and surrounding areas. Everywhere they went they told tales of their submarine, and each time it must have been a different version. There were so many different stories that newspapers had trouble keeping all of the variations off the same page.²⁰



Many a *Deutschland* rumor concerned her cargo. The press widely reported that she was loaded with dyestuffs and a number of sealed packages of mail addressed to the German ambassador. The manifest filed with customs listed the inbound cargo as six separate lots of dye. The cargo was shipped from the A. Lohmann Co.,

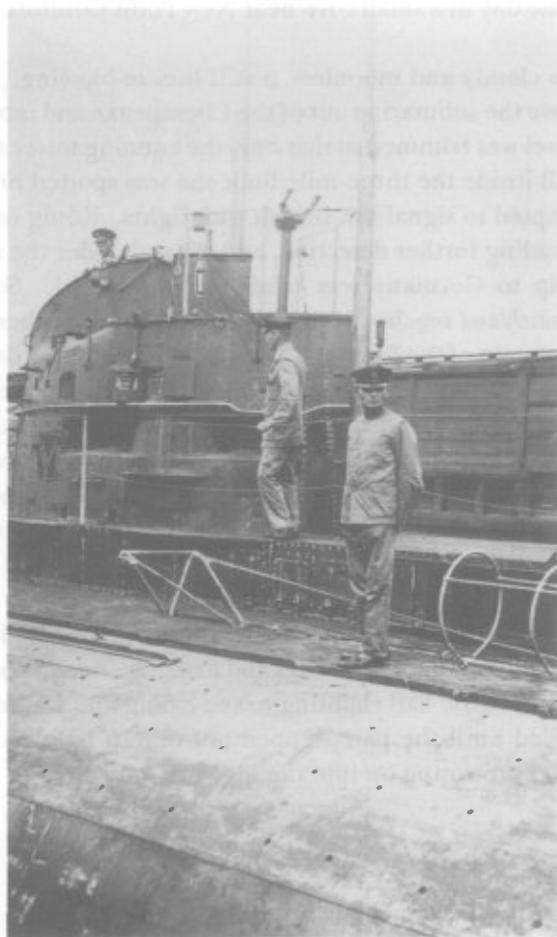
Bremen, to A. Schumacher and Company, Baltimore. It consisted of 3,042 cases of various colors of dyes, each weighing about 500 pounds and valued at \$332,884.²¹

American dyes were not of the same quality as the German aniline dyes, and so there was a great demand for the products. There were several fabric manufacturers vying to obtain the cargo. The Treasury Department had expressed an interest in the dye for the printing of currency. The Hilken owned A. Schumacher and Company and therefore controlled the price and disposition of the cargo. They set inflated prices, partially offsetting the goodwill generated by the shipment's arrival. Ultimately, the dyes sold for about \$6 million.²²

Reloading the merchant submarine took far more time and trouble than did a surface freighter. Access to the holds was more difficult, and the cargo had to be distributed very carefully to ensure smooth diving. It took nine days, with 130 Lloyd stevedores working around the clock, to complete the task, during which security remained tight at the dock. The Germans wanted no one to see what was being unloaded or loaded aboard the *Deutschland*. König believed himself clever that "the entire work was carried out by negroes," whose powers of military observation he held in low regard.²³ The fact that one of the blacks was a British spy who was not "observed" by the Germans until 22 July. The stevedore was immediately dismissed and the company made no comment on the matter.²⁴ Loading was completed on 19 July, and after 23 July the crew stopped touring and stayed within the EFCO facility.

According to the departure papers filed with Baltimore customs, the returning cargo consisted of crude rubber (802,037 pounds) valued at more than \$568,000; 752,674 pounds of nickel worth in excess of 376,000; and pig tin (181,000 pounds) valued at more than \$108,000. The *Deutschland* left Baltimore laden with 868 tons of cargo worth \$1.053 million.²⁵ The return cargo was as controversial as the U-boat's status. In Canada the British controlled the world's supply of nickel; the United States had pledged not to sell to the Central Powers. The British were furious. They wanted to know who had sold Krupp the Canadian nickel, threatening to blacklist any American firm that might be involved. They also made a veiled threat to blockade the South American ports that were transshipping rubber through the United States.

As soon as *Deutschland* appeared ready to depart, speculation began building as to when she would leave and whether Allied cruisers waiting offshore would sink her as she left the Chesapeake. On 24 July the crew moved back on board the submarine from their quarters on the *Neckar*. That day the crew conducted submergence tests at the dock. Two days later Captain König filed his clearance papers with the customs office, and at the Virginia Capes the United States cruiser *North Carolina* and two torpedo boats moved out to the three-mile limit to enforce the neutrality laws. For three more days the drama continued. Baltimoreans knew that British and French warships stood off the coast. Everyone knew that three miles out, water might not be deep enough for the submarine to dive and escape. Baltimore loved the tension.²⁶



Captain König (center foreground) and his officers prepare for submergence tests at the Locust Point pier. (National Archives.)

Late in the afternoon on 1 August the waiting ended. Barges and booms cleared away, and the *Timmins* assisted the *Deutschland* out to the channel. The Coast Guard cutter *Wissahicken* and the police boat *Lannan* stood by to act as escorts and keep spectators away. At 5:30 P.M. the procession started down the bay. Every type of vessel in Baltimore harbor followed the submarine and her escorts, from rowboats to speed boats loaded with the press—even the steamboat *City of Richmond* with “its decks a mass of passengers.” The *Sun* described it as a send off to “the gauntlet of death.”²⁷

By the time they passed Annapolis at 8:45 P.M. most of the convoy had dropped away; at Cove Point only two press boats followed. When the group passed Solomons Island at 2:30 next morning, the press gave up the pursuit. At daylight, the *Deutschland* conducted diving tests in the deep water south of Smith Point and

then waited out the day in a small cove near New Point Comfort. With her waited the *Timmins*.

That night was cloudy and moonless, a stiff breeze blowing. König chose this opportunity to ease the submarine out of the Chesapeake and into the swells of the Atlantic. The vessel was trimmed so that only the conning tower showed above the waves. While still inside the three-mile limit she was spotted briefly by a fishing vessel, who attempted to signal the British with lights. König immediately made a shallow dive, evading further detection, and slipped under the waiting warships.

The return trip to Germany was relatively uneventful. Submerging when necessary, the *Deutschland* reached Helgoland on 23 August. There König was able to meet with the captain of the *Bremen*, Karl Schwartzkopf. The *Bremen* would leave in three days; the briefing was arranged to provide its skipper with the latest information about America. The next morning König headed south for Bremen, and on the 25th the U-boat made its way up the Weser River to Bremen. The banks were lined with thousands upon thousands of cheering Germans. Bands played, bells rang, cannons fired, and the crowds chanted "*Deutschland, Deutschland, Deutschland.*"

That night an official reception and state dinner was given to honor the event. Everyone connected with the *Deutschland* operation received medals, albeit civilian honors. The evening was one of speeches and toasting. Bremen's citizens crowded into the square outside the hall chanting to see König and Lohmann. The crowd would not be stilled until the pair stepped out onto a balcony. Cheers for the *Deutschland* and her crew rang on into the night.²⁸



Submersible transports seemed the country's salvation. *Bremen* left on 26 August and headed out into the North Sea, bound for America by the same route the *Deutschland* had taken. In the United States preparations were being completed for her arrival at the EFCO facility in New London, Connecticut. But the *Bremen* never made it. Perhaps struck by a mine or the victim of a diving accident, she was lost at sea without a trace. In any case, Lohmann's plans continued. After several minor delays, the *Deutschland* in October was loaded and readied for the voyage to Connecticut. She sustained some damage when her anchor broke loose at sea and smashed into the side of the hull; she narrowly missed colliding with a dredge on arriving at New London on 1 November.

Only a small crowd gathered the next morning, most of the curious being members of the press who saw very little. The EFCO facility in New London was even more forbidding than the one at Locust Point. Reporters were not inclined to be friendly anyway: the *Deutschland* shared headlines with the steamship *Marina*, which had been sunk by a German torpedo with the loss of six American lives.²⁹ *Deutschland's* second shipment to America resembled the first—dyestuffs, pharmaceuticals, some semiprecious stones for industrial use, and \$3 million in se-



Fitted with two 150mm. deck guns, a converted cargo submarine stops an Allied freighter in the Atlantic in 1917. (National Archives.)

curities. She returned with rubber, metal, oil, and 6.2 tons of silver valued at \$140,000.³⁰

The difference between the two voyages lay in the public-relations dividend. In Baltimore the Germans had a perfect platform for their triumph over the British blockade. Their loading facility was near Baltimore's German community, and the entire visit was one of pleasant events and testimonials. The military value of the submarine's voyage attracted little notice. The German crew became the symbol of underdog heroes to everyone who was not pro-British. In largely Anglophile Connecticut, the Germans kept themselves as inconspicuous as they could.

In truth, sympathy for the German cause began to fade even before the *Deutschland* left Baltimore. In late July 1916 an explosion destroyed a munitions pier in New York harbor. Several people were killed, and property damage was estimated at \$25 million. The munitions had of course been destined for the Allies, and the blast seemed the work of German saboteurs. Two days after the *Deutschland* left Baltimore, a *Sun* headline read: "U-BOAT SINKS ITALIAN SHIP.. LIFE BOATS FIRED INTO . . . 113 Passengers Believed Lost, Including Women and Children."³¹

American fondness for German submarines dropped even lower in early October, when the *U-53*, a warship, showed up in Newport, Rhode Island. The skipper, Capt. Hans Rose, said he was looking for the *Bremen* (then rumored to have been captured by the British) and received permission to enter the harbor. He stayed for only a few hours, got the information he sought, and then left. He was accompanied to the three-mile limit by a United States naval escort. To avoid conflict, the navy had warned nearby British warships to give way. Once the *U-53* was out of American waters, however, she began attacking merchant steamships, sinking three British, one Norwegian, and one Dutch vessel. The Wilson administration was incensed and embarrassed, and many Americans believed that the smaller *U-53* could have crossed the Atlantic only by being supplied by a larger vessel like the *Bremen*.³²

The *Deutschland* arrived in New London less than a month after the incident and found that its "merchant" status was seriously in question. The naval inspection this time concluded that the vessel was still a merchant ship, but that it would be a simple matter to convert her to a warship. The report also pointed out the possibility of the *Deutschland* supplying other war submarines for operations on the American coast.³³

There were further public-relations problems. EFCO brought the same seventy-five stevedores the firm had used in Baltimore to New London to unload cargo. They arrived on 1 November, after which the town (reflecting 1916 racial attitudes) went into an uproar. Local longshoremen were angry at losing work; the community expressed worry about a crime problem. König explained that the blacks were suited to the labor and would be housed in the company compound. More trouble arose when a barroom argument involving crew members turned into a knife fight. König and Hinsch quickly paid off the injured parties. On the night of 16 November, hoping to put his troubles behind him, König pointed *Deutschland* down river, only to get caught in a fateful tidal surge. The distressed submarine rammed and sank its tending tug, five Yankee sailors losing their lives.³⁴

The *Deutschland* returned home in secret, without reception or fanfare, and in February 1917—when the Kaiser announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare—she along with other cargo submarines became a warship. Two 150mm. guns were installed fore and aft of the conning tower. Rather than dismantling the submarine to install torpedo tubes inside the pressure hull, tubes were built into the cargo spaces between the inner and the outer hulls, four on the bow and two astern. The torpedoes rode in the tubes wet and could only be loaded on the surface. Just seventeen days after the American declaration of war against Germany on 6 April, the *Deutschland*—now the *U-155*, commanded by a German naval officer but carrying its merchantman crew—was ready for patrol duty in the area around the Azores.

This cruise and later excursions proved that the *U-155* was ill-designed for war service. Everything that could go wrong with the boat went wrong. Engines failed, torpedoes (having been immersed in salt water) failed to work, and the big guns shook the deck so as to cause damage. The former *Deutschland* was too slow to catch most Allied ships; even sluggish freighters could outrun the submarine. On the surface she was often outgunned by armed merchantmen (although she did on her first patrol sink nineteen vessels for a total 53,262 tons). Refitted and overhauled after three months at sea, the *U-155* improved only modestly if at all (this time sinking seventeen vessels for 50,926 tons). That August, under its third skipper and still plagued with mechanical problems, the boat took up station in the mid-Atlantic and harassed the sea lanes leading to Halifax. On 17 October the *U-155* was cruising about 1,200 miles off the Maryland coast when it discovered a convoy and fired on the 6,744-ton American freighter *Lucia*, killing four crewmen and severely damaging the ship (equipped with a special bouyancy system that supposedly made her unsinkable, *Lucia* later sank).³⁵ Fearing reprisals from the convoy escorts, the *U-155* never surfaced to finish the job, slipping away instead.

Four days later the *U-155* received a radio message from Germany, recalling all of the U-boats. The war was over. On her last voyage the *U-155* had sunk seven ships totaling 17,485 tons. She arrived in Kiel on 15 November 1918.

Later sent to the British as a small part of Germany's war reparations, the old *Deutschland*—her name painted in large letters on her hull—was towed around England as a traveling trophy and public spectacle. In 1921, U-boat interest having faded, she was sold as scrap for £200.00.³⁶

For Germany, at least briefly, the *Deutschland* had been legendary, an heroic emissary of peace. Older residents of Baltimore, especially those of German descent, remembered her in much the same way.³⁷

NOTES

1. See J. M. Winter, *The Experience of World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 186.

2. United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 9, 105-6, 117. In 1916 the U.S. population stood at 100 million. Twenty million five-hundred thousand European immigrants arrived in the country between 1880 and 1915, 13 million of them after the turn of the century. See also Robert C. Keith, *Baltimore Harbor, A Picture History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 74, and D. Randall Beirne, "The Impact of Black Labor on European Immigration into Baltimore's Oldtown, 1790-1910," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988): 331-45.

3. Dwight R. Messimer, *The Merchant U-boat: Adventures of the Deutschland, 1916-1918* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1988), p. 12; Eberhard Rossler, *The U-boat, The Evolution and Technical History of German Submarines* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1981), p. 67. Unless noted otherwise, all material herein draws from these accounts, translated from the German.

4. United States Naval Institute *Proceedings*, Professional Notes Section, July 1916, pp. 1307-10.

5. In 1916 an average size steam freighter was approximately 4,000 gross tons; see vessel listings in the 1916 volume of *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*.

6. Certificate of Health, 13 June 1916, *Deutschland* Entry Papers, Ms. 1661, MdHS; Gerard to Secretary of State, 14 July 1916, Records of the Department of State, roll 179, National Archives.

7. Paul König, *Voyage of the Deutschland* (New York: Hearst's International Library, 1916), p. x. All details of the *Deutschland's* first voyage to America draw from this source, which König in modern fashion actually told to a "ghostwriter," the journalist Dr. Ernst Bischof. Valuing the memoir as propaganda, the German sent the manuscript to New York for publication on the *Deutschland's* second trans-Atlantic voyage.

8. *New York Times*, 1 July 1916. The half-page advertisement ran in a Hungarian-American newspaper in New York.

9. *Baltimore Sun*, 4 July 1916.
10. British Embassy to State Department, 3 July 1916, Records of the Department of State, roll 179, National Archives.
11. *Sun*, 10 July 1916.
12. *Ibid.* Andre Street is located off Fort Avenue in South Baltimore; the site of the EFCO facility is now incorporated into the Locust Point Marine Terminal.
13. *Sun*, 10-11 July 1916, and König, *Voyage of the Deutschland*, pp. 138-40.
14. *Sun*, 11 July 1916; *New York Times*, 11 July 1916.
15. Ryan to Secretary of the Treasury, 10 July 1916, Records of the Department of State, roll 179, National Archives.
16. J. H. Klein, Report on the German Merchant Vessel *Deutschland*, 10 July 1916, Office of Naval Records and Library, National Archives.
17. Joint Neutrality Board to Secretary of State, 14 July 1916, Records of the Department of State, roll 179, National Archives.
18. *Sun*, 10-13 July 1916. See also Norman G. Rukert, *The Port, Pride of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, 1982), pp. 92-93.
19. König, *Voyage of the Deutschland*, pp. 143-46; *Sun*, 11-12 July 1916. Baltimore hosted the national Elks convention the week of 10 July 1916. In addition to the German U-boat crew there were thousands of Elks everywhere.
20. *Sun*, 11-22 July 1916.
21. Cargo Manifests, 11 July 1916, *Deutschland* Entry Papers, Ms. 1661, MdHS. The total inbound cargo weight was about 760.5 tons (*Sun*, 11-14 July 1916).
22. Messimer, *The Merchant U-boat*, pp. 62-63; *Sun*, 11-19 July 1916.
23. König, *Voyage of the Deutschland*, p. 155.
24. *Sun*, 23-24 July 1916.
25. Cargo Manifests, 22 July 1916, *Deutschland* Entry Papers, Ms. 1661, MdHS.
26. *Sun*, 25 July 1916. The purpose of these tests was balancing the cargo. They were conducted in the previously dredged area (thirty feet deep) below the submarine's berth. See also *Sun*, 27 July-11 August 1916.
27. König, *Voyage of the Deutschland*, pp. 165-82; *Sun*, 2-3 August 1916.
28. König, *Voyage of the Deutschland*, pp. 198-230.
29. *New York Times*, 1-2 November 1916.
30. Report dated 16 November 1916, Records of the Department of State, roll 179; *New York Times*, 1-3 November 1916.
31. *Sun*, 4 August 1916.
32. *New York Times*, 8-9 October 1916.
33. Examination of German Submarine *Deutschland*, 3 November 1916, and German Submarine *Deutschland*, 14 November 1916, Office of Naval Records and Library, National Archives.
34. *New York Times*, 18-19 November 1916. See also *ibid.*, 22 August 1916.
35. William Bell Clark, *When The U-boats Came to America* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1929), pp. 263-75.
36. United States Naval Institute *Proceedings*, "Deutschland—Merchant Submarine," August 1965, p. 120.
37. Author's interviews with Baltimore residents and individuals from Germany.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

A Forgotten Document about Early Railroad Unionization: The 1855 Baltimore Convention and Its Aftermath

MICHEL CORDILLOT

By almost any measure, railroad workers found themselves at the cutting edge of industrial disputes in the postbellum United States. The first genuine national strike and the first moves challenging the power of national corporations were led by railroad workers in 1877 and again in 1894 with the Pullman strike and boycott. As a consequence, knowledge of the early efforts of railway workers to organize is essential to an understanding of late-nineteenth-century developments. Yet the historical relevance of the early endeavors of the railway workers and locomotive engineers to set up a national union has long been underestimated. The paucity of available data led most labor historians to believe that the first attempt, in 1855, had petered out after a few months; accordingly they dismissed these efforts as being of little importance.¹ Some new evidence makes it possible to correct this erroneous view.

The decade of the 1850s was a period of tremendous growth for the railroads, as track mileage jumped from 8,879 miles in 1850 to 30,636 miles in 1860, with a proportional increase in the number of engineers, railroad workers, and operatives employed throughout the country by the railroad companies.² During the early fifties, a period of rapidly increasing productivity and heavy investment, the first tensions between labor and management also began to develop.

Surprisingly enough, the first attempt to organize the railway engineers on a nationwide basis did not originate in one of the northeastern states but was actually born in 1854 from a dispute involving the managers and the employees of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Workers struck for some unknown reason, and their

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movement resulted in the dismissal of sixteen men. As the Baltimore labor movement was then experiencing a period of rapid expansion following the successful strike led by the metalworkers in the spring of 1853,³ many engineers became convinced that their best protection lay in organizing.

When a notice published by the Baltimore *Sun* in the spring of 1855 drew the attention of B&O engineers to a forthcoming railroad convention to be held in Newark, New Jersey, discontent was ripe enough for a widespread spontaneous response to that call. Locomotive engineer Christian Smith reported that at a well-attended meeting of railroad men held in Martinsburg, Virginia, it was decided to send three delegates to Newark. On their way to the convention, Messrs. Alexandria, Lepze, and Christian Smith made the acquaintance of other engineers in Philadelphia, New York City, and Paterson. Once in Newark however, they found out that no such gathering as they had expected to attend had ever been projected.⁴

On their way back, the three delegates discussed the advisability of holding such a convention with all the engineers they met and decided to initiate such a move. A few weeks later, at a new meeting held in Martinsburg upon the return of the three would-be delegates, a decision to call a national assembly in Baltimore on 5 November 1855 was endorsed. Notice was served on the engineers of as many companies as could be contacted, and seventy-one delegates eventually turned up from fourteen states (New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois). With forty-nine companies being represented, this gathering was one of the most representative national conventions held by workers of any trade during the antebellum period.

After four days of deliberations, the National Protective Association of the Locomotive Engineers of the United States was born.⁵ Once they had elected officials (Benjamin Hoxie, from New York, president; J. R. Smith, from Maryland, vice-president; Wm. D. Robinson, from New York, secretary; Christian Smith, from Maryland, corresponding secretary; H. Brown, from Connecticut, treasurer), the delegates set out to draft a constitution and bylaws for their nascent organization. The principle of providing members in good standing with a travelling card that would be accepted by every local was retained. Generally speaking, the stance adopted towards the employers was one of goodwill (the delegates, for instance, did not fail to tender the thanks of the convention to those railroad companies which had extended them the courtesy of a free pass over their roads). The employers were requested to hire members of the association in preference to other applicants, the association promising in return to accept only qualified engineers within its ranks. Before parting, the delegates decided that the next convention would be held in Columbus, Ohio, on the first Tuesday of October 1856.⁶

In the wake of this first successful gathering, plans were made to launch a newspaper (the prospective title to be *The Railroad Operative*) in order to publicize the views of the association. But that project failed to materialize, probably for lack of funds.⁷

In October 1856 the second annual convention of the association convened for three days, with thirty delegates in attendance. Nothing is known of the latter's representativity; but as the officials elected came from four different states, at least that many must have been effectively represented.⁸ The fact that the decisions voted by that convention quickly fell into oblivion (except as regards the choice of New York City as the locale of their next annual convention) might seem to indicate that they failed to evoke widespread response from the rank and file.

But contrary to what has been written by most labor historians, this event did not signal the end of the association. Within a few weeks of the Columbus convention, another gathering was held in Cleveland, Ohio, from 6 to 10 January 1857. The notice calling this convention was once again to be found in the *Railroad Advocate*. This second meeting appears to have been a by-product of the deep confusion prevailing among western railroad operatives concerning the venue of the Columbus convention and the frustrations resulting from their being kept away from the preliminary consultations.⁹

The proceedings of the Cleveland convention bear witness to the eagerness of the western engineers to take the place they were entitled to in the national association. The *Railroad Advocate* commented favorably on their initiative:

We think the Cleveland convention adopted the proper course in making the effort subsidiary to the National Protective Association, and the resolution to extend the benefit of the latter to all the parts of the country cannot be too highly recommended.¹⁰

The presence among the delegates assembled in Cleveland of several southerners (Frank H. Gregory, from Louisville, representing the Frankfort & Lexington Railroad; John Natt and William F. Kendall, from the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad) probably accounted for the passing of a resolution calling for the selection of a more central town for the next convention, in order to foster a better representation of the mid-western and southern companies.¹¹

The original impetus leading to the formation of the National Protective Association was not yet fully exhausted, as is shown by the publication in the *Railroad Advocate* of a letter expressing the "southern feeling" about the organization and the solidarity existing between the locomotive engineers throughout the nation:

Since I have met the Engineers' convention I find that most of its members have great cause to complain so far as remuneration is concerned. . . .

As to this association, let the work of regeneration commence. Let no man be admitted unless he has some respect for himself, and we will soon have whatever pay we want. Now let the North and West adopt measures to suit themselves, and they will find that the South will always sustain them. If engineers generally should *strike*, which we hope they will never have to do, you will never see your places filled by southern men. But you will find them hand to hand and shoulder to shoulder with you in reform. Yours,
John Natt.¹²

Yet, despite the varying conditions of the local branches, the national association was already on the wane. The New York convention was called on 11 November 1857 by President T. B. Askew (from the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad), but it failed to transact any business of importance. It turned out to be the last national gathering convened by the National Protective Association.¹³

Many reasons may account for its demise, among which the backlash of the economic depression of 1857 stands prominently.¹⁴ But beyond this overall failure, it is worth noting that, locally, branches of the association continued to meet and take action. In March 1857 a new branch was started by the Danville Railroad operators in Richmond, Virginia. Reported the *Railroad Advocate*: "From the jealousy on the part of one or two members it was broken up. It will probably be again organized as the project has the favor of the officers of the road."¹⁵ As late as 1859, a convention of railroad men was scheduled in Memphis, although there is no evidence that it ever assembled.¹⁶

The patchy nature of the documentation available makes it so far impossible to ascertain the real strength of the association in the towns where branches had been successfully established. But from the testimonies of contemporaries we may gather that a few locals remained active (though for some undoubtedly as secret societies) until the constitution of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in 1863.¹⁷ It is to be hoped that the discovery of new archival sources will one day shed new light on those pioneering years.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF ENGINEERS¹⁸

The proceedings of the National Convention were duly enclosed to our address in a letter, which unfortunately miscarried. We are indebted, at least, to the good intentions of the party who undertook their transmission, for it argued no negligence on his part that, seeing no notice taken of his letter, he should infer that we were in communication direct with the officers of the Convention. But better late than never. The report of the proceedings is at hand, and the tone of the resolutions and the spirit of the constitution embodied in them are creditable to the engineers of this country. We copy the whole.

PROCEEDINGS

At a meeting of Delegates appointed by the Engineers of the different Railroads in the United States, held in the Hall of the Maryland Institute.

Baltimore, Nov. 6, 1855.

John R. Smith, of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was called to the chair, and Benjamin Hoxie, of New York and Erie Railroad, appointed Secretary.

It was then moved that a committee of three be appointed to receive and examine the credentials of members of this convention, and report thereon. Carried.

Moved and carried, that said committee be appointed by the Chair.

The Chairman appointed H. Brown of Hartford, New Haven and Springfield Railroad; Robt. Walker, of Rome and Watertown Railroad; and C. Smith, of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, on said committee.

It was then moved and carried, that the above named committee have power to decide upon all claims of Delegates to a seat in this convention.

Moved and carried, that this convention adjourn to meet at 3 o'clock P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Committee on Credentials reported—report accepted.

Voted and carried, that a committee of one from each State represented in this Convention be appointed by the delegates to nominate permanent officers for the same, who shall be elected for the term of one year, or until the next annual meeting of this convention.

Moved and carried, that a committee be appointed to form a Constitution and By-Laws for the government of the Engineers Protective Association.

Benjamin Hoxie, W. D. Robinson, C. T. Hanl, William D. Winters, and J. R. Whitney were appointed said Committee.

Moved and carried, that this convention adjourn to meet Nov. 7 at 10 A.M.

Benjamin Hoxie, *Secretary*.

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 7th, 1855

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Committee on nominating permanent officers reported:

For President, Benjamin Hoxie, of N.Y. and E.R.R.

For Vice-President, J. R. Smith, of B.&O.R.R.

For Secretary, Wm. D. Robinson, of N.Y.C.R.R.

For C. Secretary, Christian Smith, of B. and O. R.R.

For Treas., Henry Brown, of H.,S.& N.H.R.R.

Report of committee accepted and committee discharged.

On motion the above nominees were declared unanimously elected and took their seats. When President addressed the convention as follows:—

Gentlemen of the Convention:—In being called to preside over your deliberations, permit me to say that I am unaccustomed to preside over bodies of this magnitude, and will, therefore, claim your kind indulgence and forbearance.

In coming together, as we do, almost entire strangers, representing fourteen of these United States, it is not to be expected that our views will agree on all the different questions that may arise for consideration; and when I say that I thank

you for this mark of respect, it is but a feeble acknowledgment of what the heart would utter.

The convention adjourned to 3 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment, minutes of last meeting read and approved.

When, on motion, the convention adjourned to Nov. 8th, A.M., for the purpose of giving the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws time to complete their report.

TUESDAY, November 8th, 1855.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Roll of Members called.

Minutes of former session read and approved.

The Committee on Constitution and By-Laws presented their report, and, on motion, it was decided to act on each section separately, when the Preamble, Constitution and By-Laws hereto annexed were adopted.

Convention adjourned to 3 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Minutes of forenoon session read and accepted.

Motion made and carried, that a committee of five, on printing, be appointed by the Chair.

The Chair then appointed the following committee:

Charles McKean, Wm. D. Robinson, Henry Brown, John R. Smith, C. T. Ham.

Motion made and carried, that a committee of three be appointed to draft a charter and traveling card.

The Chair then appointed T. B. Askew, R. T. Walker, and Wm. H. Green, as said committee.

The following resolution, offered by Chas. McKean, of New York and New Haven Railroad, met with the most enthusiastic reception by the convention, and, on motion, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That all superintendents and master mechanics of railroads or any other persons employing engineers, be respectfully solicited to give preference to those bearing a certificate emanating from the Engineers Association, as they pledge themselves to recommend only such as are worthy and well qualified. And this convention would call the attention of railroad superintendents to the propriety of granting free passes to all engineers bearing certificates from this association, believing, as this convention does, that the interests of the corporations

they represent would be materially benefitted by their manifesting a liberal spirit towards engineers, in encouraging a free intercourse and interchange of opinion among them, and by extending to them that opportunity for observation, profitable alike to the employer and employed, which a free pass is so eminently calculated to give. And be it further

Resolved, That this convention would respectfully solicit all railroad managers to grant their aid and assistance to the locomotive engineers of the United States, in their efforts to elevate their social and professional position. And be it further

Resolved, That all public newspapers who regard with favor this movement of the locomotive engineers of the United States, now assembled in convention, be and are hereby respectfully solicited to extend their countenance and support.

William Hayden, New York central Railroad, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, As an expression of this convention, that we recommend to the managers of all railroads the propriety of offering premiums for superior practical merit; said premiums to be such, and to be awarded in such manner, as the officers of the respective railroads may deem proper.

After considerable debate, motion was made and carried that the resolution be adopted.

Convention then adjourned to November 9th.

FRIDAY, November 9th, 1855.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Roll called. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Committee on charter and traveling card reported.

Moved and carried, that the report be accepted and committee discharged.

The following resolutions were read and adopted:

Resolved, That it is the purpose of this organization to protect ourselves, the traveling public, and our employers, from the injurious effects resulting from persons of inferior qualifications being employed as locomotive engineers.

Resolved, That this convention respectfully recommend, for the advantage of railroad companies and the safety of the traveling public, that a high standard of qualification and character be required of all persons occupying, or wishing to occupy, the position of locomotive engineers.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention that the interests of railroad companies and the traveling public generally demand an act of Legislature, providing for a Commissioner to examine, all locomotive engineers previous to granting them a certificate, without which no one should be allowed to take charge of a locomotive engine.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention that such Commissioner should be a practical locomotive engineer.

Resolved, That as the advancement of the whole can be effected only by the elevation of each, this convention therefore recommends to all locomotive engineers the establishment of reading-rooms and libraries in their respective localities.

The following resolutions were also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the committee of the Maryland Institute for their generosity in granting to this convention the free use of its Hall.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the engineers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for their successful effort in calling this convention; also, for their unlooked for generosity in providing for the expenses attending the holding of the same.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to all Railroad Companies who have extended to the delegates of said convention the courtesy of a free pass over their roads, and also to all superintendents and master mechanics who have lent their aid and assistance in forming said convention.

Convention adjourned to 3 o'clock P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved. When it was moved and carried—

That the delegates of the present convention will constitute the National Association until the annual meeting, first Tuesday in October, 1855 [sic].

Moved and carried, that the next annual meeting of this Association be held in Columbus, Ohio, the first Tuesday in October, 1856, and that one thousand copies of these proceedings be printed.

The President then addressed the Convention as follows:—

Gentlemen:—The business of this convention is now brought to a close; we are to return to our families, and to submit our acts to our constituents for the approbation; if they approve then will our wishes be realized.

The general good feeling which has prevailed and the punctual attendance of all, is conclusive evidence that the carrying of this work through was your only business here.

Gentlemen:—I return you my grateful thanks for your kind consideration and for your constant and steady support, while in the discharge of the duties of your presiding officer. I wish you a safe return to your several homes, and again I say I thank you.

When a vote of thanks to the officers of the convention was passed by acclamation.

A motion was then made and carried that this convention adjourn to the first Tuesday in October, 1856. W. D. Robinson, Sec'y.

Address of the officers of this convention.

BENJ. HOXIE, *Prest. Port Jervis, N.Y. and E.R.R.*

J. R. SMITH, *Vice-President, 471 West Lombard-St., Baltimore, B. & O. R.R.*

WILLIAM D. ROBINSON, *Sec'y., Rochester, N.Y.C.R.R.*

CHRISTIAN SMITH, *Cor. Sec'y., Harper's Ferry, Va., B. & O. R.R.*

HENRY BROWN, *Treasurer, New Haven, Conn., N.H. & S.R.R.*

CONSTITUTION
OF THE NATIONAL PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas, the rapid multiplication of railroads in the United States, has caused a corresponding demand for locomotive engineers; *and whereas* through the facility which the absence of any license laws, or standard of qualifications has afforded, we believe many persons unqualified for the very responsible post of locomotive engineers have attained to that position to the great detriment of all others engaged in that business, as well as to that of the interests of the corporations who employ them, and also to the safety of the traveling public; therefore, we, the locomotive engineers of the United States, in delegate convention assembled, do hereby agree that we form a National Association for our mutual protection and elevation, and do adopt for our government the Constitution and By-Laws hereto annexed.

ARTICLE I.—*Name and Title.*

SECTION 1. This association shall be known under the name and title of NATIONAL PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEC. 2. *Officers.* The officers of this association shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, to continue in office for the term of one year, and shall be elected at the annual convention of the association by the Delegates annually appointed by the engineers of the different railroads of the United States to attend said convention.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. *Duties and Powers.* It shall be the duty of the National Association to grant charters for the formation of subordinate associations whenever properly and duly applied for in the manner hereafter prescribed.

SEC. 2. The National Association shall have power to decide on all questions as to the violation of the constitution of the National Association, but shall have no power to control any by-laws, rules, or course of action, which Subordinate Associations may deem proper to adopt, when they do not conflict with the constitution of the National Association.

SEC. 3. The President shall have power to fill an order on the Treasurer, signed by the Vice-President, to be drawn by the Secretary, for any funds necessary to defray actual expenses of the National Association, which may be incurred during his term of office; and any surplus funds which may accumulate, shall be disposed of as the annual convention of delegates may deem proper.

ARTICLE III.—*Application for Charters.*

SEC. 1. Application for charters shall be conducted in the following manner: The parties applying shall state the name or title of the railroad and division upon which they are employed; the number of locomotive engineers employed at the time of application; the number of miles in length of the railroad or division, and it shall be signed by one-third or more of said engineers, and shall be accompanied by the sum of ten dollars (\$10.00).

SEC. 2. All Subordinate Associations, consisting of ten or less than ten members, shall send one representative to the annual conventions of this association, and may appoint one for each additional ten members.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. Each Subordinate Association shall have an examining committee of three, who shall be members of the association, and it shall be the duty of said committee to investigate the character and standing of each candidate for the post of engineer, and ascertain if he is qualified to run an engine, before he can become a member of this association.

SEC. 2. Any member of this association wishing to leave the road he is employed on, shall receive a traveling card if he is in good standing on the books and free from censure; but such card shall not be for a longer time than three months.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of each subordinate association to send a report to each annual convention of the National Association, of their condition; and upon the expulsion of any member, a report of the same shall be made to the Corresponding Secretary of the National Association, and by him to all subordinates.

ARTICLE V.

SEC. 1. No man shall be considered competent to run an engine unless he can superintend and do the ordinary repairs of his engine.

SEC. 2. No locomotive engineer shall become a member of this association unless he is a sober man and in good standing in society.

SEC. 3. No candidate for the post of engineer shall hereafter receive a certificate as such from any subordinate association who cannot read and write with facility the English language. This section shall have no reference to those engineers already employed.

ARTICLE VI.

SEC. 1. This constitution may be altered or amended at any future meeting of the National Association duly organized, by a two-third vote of all the members present.

SEC. 2. Twenty members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

The officers of this association shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer.

ARTICLE II.

The officers shall be voted for separately by ballot.

ARTICLE III.—*Duties of the President.*

The President shall preside at all meetings of the association; preserve order; state and put all questions that may come before the meeting; decide upon all questions of order, subject however to an appeal to the meeting; sign all charters that are issued to subordinate associations; and shall have power to call special meetings upon the written request of any five subordinate associations; the object of which meeting shall be set forth in the requisition.

ARTICLE IV.

It shall be the duty of the Vice-President to preside at all meetings of the association in the absence of the President.

ARTICLE V.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary to attend all meetings of this association; keep a fair and correct journal of the proceedings of the same; sign all charters; and to issue notifications to all subordinate associations of all its meetings.

ARTICLE VI.

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to attend to all the correspondence of this association, fill out all charters for subordinate associations and receive all monies, pay them over to the Treasurer and take his receipt therefor, also to assist the Secretary and fill his place during his absence.

ARTICLE VII.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of this association; to pay all demands against it when approved by the President; to

receive all monies from the Corresponding Secretary, giving his receipt therefor, and deposit them in a savings bank, or make such other disposition of them as this association may direct; he shall keep a correct record of the receipts, investments, and expenditures of the association, and report the same at its annual meeting. All monies shall be deposited in the name of the President and Treasurer. The Treasurer shall give three responsible men of this convention as security for the amount supposed to accumulate during the year.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR A CHARTER.

[To be made to the Corresponding Secretary.]

To the National Protective Association of Locomotive Engineers of the United States:

We, the undersigned, Locomotive Engineers of the Railroad, being desirous of forming a Subordinate Association of Engineers, do most respectfully solicit a charter from your honorable body for that purpose. We do hereby pledge ourselves as men of honor to be governed by the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Association.

Our road is located in the State of, and is known as the Railroad, running between and It is miles in length and employs engineers.

Enclosed is the charter fee \$10.

NOTES

1. Philip S. Foner lists the National Protective Association among the national unions founded during the 1850s which did "little more than meet and pass resolutions" (*History of the Labor Movement in the United States* [8 vols.; New York: International Publishers, 1947], 1:236). See also George G. Stevenson, "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and its Leaders, 1863-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1954), and Shelton Stromquist, *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). The only standard history of labor dealing at some length with this union is John R. Commons, et al., *History of Labour in the United States* (4 vols; New York: Macmillan Co., 1918-35), 1:622. Some supplementary details may be found in Reed C. Richardson, *The Locomotive Engineers, 1863-1963: A Century of Railway Labor Relations and Work Rules* (Ann Arbor: Bureau of Industrial Relations, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, 1963), pp. 108-9.

2. George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Rinehart, 1951), pp. 79ff.

3. See Gary L. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 184ff.

4. "Convention of Engineers in 1856," *Locomotive Engineer Monthly Journal*, 31 (June 1897): 496-98.

5. The *Baltimore Sun*, 10 November 1855, published a brief account of the convention, together with its resolutions. A vote of thanks tendered to Zerah Colburn of the *Railroad Advocate* drew the author's attention to that paper, a file of which was located at the Engineering Societies Library in New York City. The complete proceedings of the 1855 convention were published by the *Railroad Advocate*, 8 December 1855.
6. *Railroad Advocate*, 8 December 1855.
7. *Ibid.*, 22 December 1855.
8. "Convention of Engineers in 1856," p. 498. The elected officials were T. B. Askew, from Baltimore, president; I. L. Wadleigh, from Springfield, vice president; J. W. Clark, from Bridgeport, secretary; Moses Doty, from Altoona, corresponding secretary; Henry Brown, from New Haven, was confirmed as treasurer.
9. *Railroad Advocate*, 13 December 1856.
10. *Ibid.*, 10 January 1857.
11. *Ibid.*, 17 January 1857.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Richardson, *Locomotive Engineers*, p. 109.
14. See the tentative analysis subsequently offered by the engineers themselves, "Our Brotherhood," *Locomotive Engineer Monthly Journal*, 31 (June 1897): 530-31.
15. *Railroad Advocate*, 21 March 1857.
16. *Nashville Daily News*, 25 January 1859.
17. George Edwin McNeill, *The Labor Movement. The Problem of Today* (Boston: A. M. Bridgman & Co., 1887), p. 313; "Convention of Engineers in 1856"; Richardson, *Locomotive Engineer*, p. 109.
18. *Colburn's Railroad Advocate*, 8 December 1855.

Maryland Maps in the Peabody Collection

Compiled by THOMAS L. HOLLOWAK

The following is a catalogue of 464 Maryland maps in the George Peabody Library of the Johns Hopkins University. In addition to the Maryland maps, the Peabody has available, though uncatalogued, approximately 289 American and 670 foreign maps.

The Maryland items are housed in twelve drawers of a twenty-drawer map cabinet and have been arranged by locality and subject. In the first category are Baltimore City, individual counties (arranged alphabetically), and state or multi-county maps. Additional maps have been arranged by subject (military, transportation, and bodies of water). Under these two major classifications individual maps have been arranged by date. Among the Maryland items are nine manuscript, 423 printed, and thirty-two photostatic maps. The most frequently used maps in the collection are the Ward Maps, which had been removed from the library's collection of *Baltimore City Directories*. As a result of their heavy use they have been placed in the first drawer. The photostatic maps formed part of exhibitions mounted at the Peabody Library when it was part of the Peabody Institute, they were later added to the map collection.

All of the maps have been placed in acid-free folders and are protected by acid-free paper. Brittle or torn maps have been encapsulated in mylar.

BALTIMORE CITY

Drawer One

Baltimore City Directory Maps:

Date	Author/Publication	Size*	Notes
1829	R. J. Matchett	8.5 x 13.5	12 wards
1833	R. J. Matchett	8.5 x 13.5	12 wards
1855-56	R. J. Matchett	13.5 x 17.25	20 wards
1856	John W. Woods	13 x 17.5	20 wards
1858	John W. Woods	13 x 18	20 wards
1860	John W. Woods	13 x 18	20 wards
1863-64	John W. Woods	13.5 x 14.5	20 wards*
1865-66	John W. Woods	14.5 x 19.5	20 wards*

Mr. Hollowak served as departmental assistant at the Peabody Library between 1978-84. He is now assistant archivist in the reference department, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore.

1867-68	John W. Woods	19.5 x 15	20 wards
1870	John W. Woods	13.5 x 4.5	20 wards
1871	John W. Woods	19.5 x 15	20 wards
1872	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1873	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1874	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1876	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1877	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1878	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1879	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1880	John W. Woods	14.5 x 20.5	20 wards
1881	John W. Woods	13.25 x 14.5	20 wards
1883	John W. Woods	21.5 x 15.5	20 wards
1884	John W. Woods	21.5 x 15.5	20 wards
1910	R. L. Polk & Co.	17.5 x 12.5	
1918-19	R. L. Polk & Co.	17.5 x 12.5	
1921	R. L. Polk & Co.	17.5 x 13	
1922	R. L. Polk & Co.	17.5 x 12.5	
1927	R. L. Polk & Co.	17.5 x 12.5	2 copies

* size given in inches; 2 copies.

Pratt, J. (engraver & lithographer) n.d.

"Lots in Baltimore: Charles, Howard Street and Mt. Vernon Area." 2 maps: 46.5 x 45.5 cm. and 53.5 x 42 cm. (both copies are photostats)

Backman, J. "Baltimore in 1752." Philadelphia, 1856. 72 x 52.5 cm. (sketch map)

"An Exact platt of Baltimore Town in Baltimore County." Baltimore, 1756. 43.5 x 51 cm.

Dempster, John Edgar. "Map of Early Baltimore and its Environs." 1768 [?]. Baltimore, 1935. 77 x 79 cm. (photostat)

Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser. "Baltimore Town in 1773." Baltimore, 1873. 17.5 x 21.5 cm. (photostat of map published in the *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 20 August 1873).

MacCubbin, Zachariah. "Map of the Early Estates Upon Which Baltimore Town was Laid Out." 1786. 92.5 x 90 cm. (prepared by John E. Dempster, 1935).

Folie, A. P. "Plan of the Town of Baltimore and Its Environs." Philadelphia, 1792. 59 x 66 cm.

Varle, Charles. "Warner & Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore. . . ." Baltimore, 1801. 72.5 x 51 cm. (colored)

Varle, Charles. "Warner & Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore. . . ." Baltimore, 1801. 72.5 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1870)

Varle, Charles. "Warner & Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore. . . ." Baltimore, 1801. 72.5 x 51 cm. (reprinted from *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*)

[Davis, John.] "A Map of Todd's Range, Montany's Neck, and Sundry Adjoining Lands. . . ." platted by Z. Maccubbin, copied from a plat belonging to Col. Howard, 14 November 1808. 76 x 55 cm. [1809?] (colored manuscript)

Davis, John. Plat of Ground Belonging to the Baltimore Water Company . . . February 7, 1809. 55 x 76 cm. (manuscript)

Lucas, Fielding. "Baltimore - 1819." see: "Map of Maryland, 1819."

Poppleton, T. H. "Plan of the City of Baltimore as Enlarged & Laid Out Under the Direction of the Commissioners Appointed by the General Assembly of Maryland in Feby. 1818. . . ." New York, 1823. 100 x 115 cm. (photostat)

[Lucas, Fielding.] "Plan of Baltimore." Baltimore, 1832. 34.5 x 25.5 cm. (12 wards are shown, there is a second photostat copy)

[Varle, Charles.] "Plan of the City of Baltimore Including the South Baltimore Grounds." [Baltimore, 1833.] 28 x 37.5 cm. (photostat)

"Valuable Lots on Federal Hill for Sale." [1837.] 46 x 34 cm. (photostat map showing lots and advertisement from newspaper)

Boynton, G. W. "Map of Baltimore, 1838." Massachusetts, 1838. 36 x 28 cm.

"Plan of Greenmount Cemetery." from: Baltimore, Greenmount Cemetery. *Plan, prospectus, and terms for establishment of a public cemetery.* . . . Baltimore, 1838. 68 x 53 cm.

"Plan of Greenmount Cemetery." Dedicated 1839. from: Baltimore. Greenmount Cemetery. *Report of the Board of Managers.* . . . Baltimore, 1840. 54.5 x 39 cm.

Lucas, Fielding. "Plan of the City of Baltimore Compiled From Actual Survey." Baltimore, 1845. 52 x 67.5 cm.

"Plat of Lots on Union Square and Its Vicinity for Sale or Lease by Messrs. Donnell." [Baltimore] 1847 (?) 53 x 68.5 cm.

Drawer Two

Sidney, J. C. "Map of the City and County of Baltimore, Maryland, from Original Surveys." Baltimore, 1850. 103 x 83 cm. (there is also a second photostat copy)

Poppleton, T. H. "Plan of the City of Baltimore as Enlarged and Laid Out by T. H. Poppleton Under the Direction of the Commissioners Appointed by the General Assembly of Maryland in Feby. 1818, & Corrected to Nov. 1851. With a Survey of Its Environs & Canton. . . ." [Baltimore, 1851.] 146 x 114 cm.

Chiffelle, Thomas P. "Map of the City of Baltimore and of Part of Baltimore County Including the Valley of the Great Gunpowder River from the Warren

Factory to Tide Water." Baltimore, 1852. 49 x 110.5 cm. (there is also a second photostat copy)

Simmons, Isaac (publisher). "Map of the City and Suburbs of Baltimore, Compiled from Actual Surveys." Baltimore, 1853. 54 x 51 cm.

Slade, James. "Plan of Baltimore & Vicinity Showing the Proposed Routes for Bringing Water from the Jones' and Gwynn's Falls and Patapsco River." Baltimore, 1853. 69 x 108 cm.

Bouldin, Owen. ["Map of Mount Vernon Place and Washington Place, Baltimore, Maryland."] [Baltimore, (?) 1857]. 74 x 81 cm. (manuscript map)

Colton, J[oseph] H. (publisher). "City of Baltimore, Maryland." New York, 1857. 43.5 x 35.5 cm. (20 wards shown)

Taylor, Robert. "Map of the City and County of Baltimore, Maryland from Actual Surveys." Baltimore, 1857. 147 x 171.5 cm. (2 copies)

"Plat of Druid Hill Park: Property Formerly Belonging to Lloyd N. Rogers, Esq." [1860 (?)]. 94 x 71.5 cm. (manuscript map)

"Plan for a New Approach to Druid Hill Park. Showing the Lots and Parcels of Land as They Now Exist and the Proposed Alterations of the Same-also the Widening of the Street." [186-?]. 51 x 100.5 cm. (manuscript map)

Faul, Augustus. "A Topographical Map of the Swan Lake and Aqueduct of the Baltimore City Water Works, 1862." Baltimore, 1862. 43.5 x 95.5 cm.

Drawer Three

Martenet, Simon J. "F. Klemm's Map of Baltimore and the Proposed Extension of the City Limits." Baltimore, 1872. 57 x 66 cm.

Weishampel, John Frederick. "New and Enlarged Map of Baltimore City, Including Waverly, Hampden, All the Parks, and a Miniature Map of the State. Prepared from the Latest Surveys." Baltimore, 1872. 62 x 73 cm.

Martenet, Simon J. "F. Klemm's Map of Baltimore and Suburbs. . . ." Baltimore, 1873. 58 x 65.5 cm. (there is also a second photostat copy)

Weishampel, John F., Jr. "New and Enlarged Map of Baltimore City, Including Waverly, Hampden, All the Parks, and a Miniature Map of the State. Prepared from the Latest Surveys." Baltimore, 1876. 75.5 x 62 cm.

Johns Hopkins University. "Baltimore and Its Neighborhood . . ." Baltimore, 1884. 60.5 x 61 cm. (first edition)

Gray, Frank A. "Baltimore - 1886." plate from his *Atlas*, p. 61. (20 wards shown)

Martenet, Simon J. "City of Baltimore." from: "Simon J. Martenet's Map of Maryland." Baltimore, 1886 (?) 40.5 x 34.5 cm. (20 wards shown)

Johns Hopkins University. "Baltimore and Its Neighborhood. An Excursion Map compiled for the Johns Hopkins University. Based upon the Triangulation of the

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Published Maps of Local Surveys." Edited by Albert L. Webster. Drawn by Louis Nell. . . . Baltimore, 1887. 60 x 61 cm. (second edition)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Maryland: Baltimore Sheet. Surveyed in 1887." Baltimore, 1890. 43 x 53 cm.

Johns Hopkins University. "Geological Map of Baltimore and Vicinity." Baltimore, 1892. 68 x 63 cm.

Hollander, Jacob Henry. "Map of Baltimore City." Baltimore, 1893. 52.5 x 72 cm.

Topographical Survey Commission. Atlas of the City of Baltimore, Maryland: made from surveys and official plans. Baltimore, 1894. 84 x 76 cm. (24 sheets.)

Topographical Survey Commission. "Atlas of the City of Baltimore, Maryland." Baltimore, 1896. 84 x 76 cm. (14 sheets)

Topographical Survey Commission. "Atlas of the City of Baltimore, Maryland." Baltimore, 1897. 74.5 x 82 cm. (37 sheets) 93 x 82 cm. (1 sheet)

Carrolton Hotel. The Carrolton Hotel Map of Baltimore City. Baltimore, 1895. 54 x 58.5 cm.

Drawer Four

Flamm, William A. & Co. "Map of Baltimore and Vicinity. Compiled from the Latest Surveys and Best Authorities." Baltimore, 1901 (?). 54 x 59 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Maryland-Baltimore Quadrangle, 1904." 51 x 42 cm. (reprinted 1924)

Kirk, Fred W. "Map of the Central Portion of Baltimore." Baltimore, circ 1905. 38 x 42 cm.

Flamm, William A. "Flamm's New Index Map - Baltimore." Baltimore, 1909. 86 x 80 cm.

Munder, Norman T. A. & Co. (publisher) "A Birds-Eye View of the Heart of Baltimore. The Original of This Picture Was Sketched in Pencil by Mr. Edward W. Spofford in . . . 1911 . . ." Baltimore, 1912. 80.5 x 57 cm.

Topographical Survey Commission. "Atlas of the City of Baltimore, Maryland: Made from Surveys and Official Plans." Baltimore, 1914. 101.5 x 84 cm. (35 sheets)

Flamm, William A. "Flamm's New Index Map - Baltimore." Baltimore, 1919. 86 x 80 cm.

Montague, Richard Latane. "Map of Greater Baltimore. . . ." Baltimore, 1919. 94 x 81 cm.

Drawer Five

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Baltimore County and Baltimore City Showing the Topography and Election Districts." [Baltimore] 1924. 124 x 106 cm.

Pitner & Fergie (publishers). "Commercial Map of Baltimore, Maryland." Baltimore, circa 1924. 94 x 121 cm.

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Baltimore County and Baltimore City Showing the Topography and Election Districts." [Baltimore] 1925. 124 x 106 cm.

Hoен, A. & Co. "A Map of City of Baltimore." Baltimore, circa 1926. 84 x 71 cm.

Wagner, A. C. & Co. "Wagner's Complete Map of Baltimore and Suburbs." Baltimore, 1926. 83 x 120 cm. (as revised 1929, two copies)

Cram, George F. & Co. "Street Map of the Baltimore Area, 260 Square Miles, Including Towson-Pikesville-Catonsville." Indianapolis, Indiana, circa 1931. 123.5 x 118 cm.

Board of Zoning Appeals. "City of Baltimore; Use District Map. Part of the Zoning Ordinance (Ordinance No. 1274, Approved 30 March 1931.)" [Baltimore] 1932. 105 x 85 cm. (2 copies)

"Baltimore, 1933." See: Maryland Geological Survey, 1933.

Tunis, Edwin. "Map of Baltimore." [Baltimore, 1933.] 41 x 58 cm. (colored)

"Baltimore, 1937." See: Maryland Geological Survey, 1937. (State Roads Commission Map)

Hearne Brothers (publishers). "Hearne Brothers New Mechanical Map of Greater Baltimore." Detroit, [1937?] 140 x 106.5 cm.

"Baltimore, 1938." See: Maryland Geological Survey, 1938.

"Baltimore, 1940." See: Maryland Writer's Project Administration, 1940.

Baltimore Transit Company. "New Route Map of Streetcars, Motor Coaches, and Trackless Trolleys of the Baltimore Transit Company, Effective 1 June 1941." Baltimore, 1941. 52 x 40.5 cm.

War Department, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army. "Baltimore East Quadrangle; Baltimore West Quadrangle." Baltimore, 1944. 56 x 45.5 cm. (2 sheets)

Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army. "Baltimore East Quadrangle; Baltimore West Quadrangle; and Curtis Bay." Baltimore, 1946. 78.5 x 56 cm. (3 sheets)

Spurll, Barbara. "City Design Print." Scarborough, Ontario, Canada, 1977. 109.5 x 66.5 cm. (2 copies)

Baltimore City Department of Planning. "Baltimore 1990." Baltimore, 1977. 72.5 x 47 cm.

ALLEGHANY COUNTY

Drawer Six

"Map of the Cumberland Coal Region in Allegheny County, Maryland Showing the Lands of the Cumberland Coal and Iron Co., With Various Outlets to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and Chesapeake and Ohio Canal." [n.d.] 67 x 44 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Flintstone Quadrangle; Pawpaw Quadrangle." 1900 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (2 sheets)

ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

Sachse, Edward. "Bird's Eye View of the City of Annapolis." (reprinted from *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Owensville Quadrangle." 1905 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1926)

Darby, J. "A Map of the Town of Annapolis Showing Some of the Important Buildings & Places of Interest." circa 1934. 41 x 53 cm. (photostat)

BALTIMORE COUNTY

Drawer Six

"Map Showing Part of Baltimore County and Harford County." n.d. 46 x 60 cm. (colored manuscript)

"Map of a Portion of Baltimore County, Maryland." n.d. 60 x 30.5 cm.

Baker, James. "Lord Baltimore Gunpowder Manor, Baltimore County. Now the Long Green Valley A Survey by the State of Maryland—1785." 37 x 53 cm. (reprinted 1976)

Green, Samuel (surveyor). ["Plan of Baltimore Company's Land.] Traced from the Original - 15 January 1810." 92 x 115 cm. (reprinted 1932)

Sachse, E. & Co. "View from the Porch: House & Farm of Gustav V. Lurman of Baltimore County, Maryland, U.S.A." Baltimore, [185-?]. 90 x 63 cm.

["Map of Baltimore County and Vicinity."] circa 1875. 41.5 x 26.5 cm. (colored) 31 x 26 cm. (n.d.)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Parkton Quadrangle." 1902 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Relay Quadrangle." 1905 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

"Baltimore County, 1924." See: Baltimore City - Maryland Geological Survey, 1924.

"Baltimore County, 1925." See: Baltimore City - Maryland Geological Survey, 1925.

"Baltimore County, 1931." See: Baltimore City - Maryland Geological Survey, 1931.

Wilkinson, R.B. "Ruxton - Riderwood." Baltimore, 1979. 61 x 46 cm.

CALVERT COUNTY

Drawer Six

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Calvert County Showing the Topography and Election Districts." Baltimore, 1902. 70 x 102 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Prince Frederick Quadrangle." 1910 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Prince Frederick Quadrangle." 1938 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

CECIL COUNTY

Drawer Six

"Chesapeake City - District No. 2." n.d. 33.5 x 41 cm. (2 sheets)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Elkton Quadrangle." 1900 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1918)

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Cecil County Showing the Topography and Election Districts." [Baltimore] 1915. 80 x 70 cm.

CHARLES COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Nanjemoy Quadrangle, 1911." 1913 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

DORCHESTER COUNTY

Drawer Seven

U.S. Geological Survey. "Crapo Quadrangle." 1905 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

FREDERICK COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Frederick Sheet." 1894 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1903)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Rockville Quadrangle." 1908 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Ijamsville Quadrangle." 1909 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1922)

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Frederick County Showing the Topography and Election Districts." [Baltimore, 1913.] 98 x 104 cm. (folded)

GARRETT COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Piedmont Sheet." 1895 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1898)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Oakland Quadrangle." 1899 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Accident Quadrangle." 1900 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Grantsville Quadrangle." 1904 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

HARFORD COUNTY

Drawer Seven

"Harford County." See: Baltimore County, "Map Showing Part of Baltimore County and Harford County."

"Havre de Grace, 1799." See under: Bodies of Water. "A Map of the Head of Chesapeake Bay . . ."

U.S. Geological Survey. "Belair Quadrangle." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Gunpowder Quadrangle." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1930)

HOWARD COUNTY

Robinson, F. E. A. "Ellicott City." [Baltimore ?] 1873. 44 x 55.5 cm. (photostat)

Mason, Jesse Harrison. "Howard County in the State of Maryland." Baltimore, 1937. 67 x 64 cm. (colored)

KENT COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Tolchester Quadrangle." 1848 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Betterton Quadrangle." 1900 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1931)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Chestertown Quadrangle: 1899-1900." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1913)

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Montrose Quadrangle, 1900." 1892 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1904)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Seneca Quadrangle, 1907." 1908 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1925)

ST. MARY'S COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Nomini Sheet, 1890." 1898 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1914)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Point Lookout Sheet, 1890." 1894 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1898, there are approximately hand-written people and place names on the map)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Leonardtwn Quadrangle, 1900." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

Drawer Seven

U.S. Geological Survey. "Piney Point Quadrangle, 1900." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Point Lookout Quadrangle, 1900." 1912 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

SOMERSET COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Deal Island." 1904 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

TALBOT COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Oxford Quadrangle, 1902." 1904 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "St. Michael's Quadrangle, 1902." 1904 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

WICOMICO COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Salisbury Quadrangle, 1900." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Pittsville Quadrangle, 1901." 1902 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Nanticoke Quadrangle, 1902." 1903 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Wicomico Quadrangle, 1911." 1914 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

WORCESTER COUNTY

U.S. Geological Survey. "Ocean City Quadrangle, 1900." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Snow Hill Quadrangle, 1900." 1901 edition. 42 x 51 cm.

MARYLAND

Drawer Eight

Papenfuse, Edward C. and Joseph M. Coale III. *Historical Maps of Maryland: Portfolio*.

"A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America (viz) Virginia, Mariland, Deleware, Pensilvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut & Rhode Island, of Aquanishuonigy, the Country of the Confederate Indians, Comprehending Aquanishuonigy Proper, Their Place of Residence, Ohio & Tiiuxsoxruntie, Their Deer Hunting Countries Couxsaxrage & Skaniadarade, Their Beaver Hunting Countries of the Lake Erie, Ontario and Champlain and of Part of New France." 1766. 50 x 67.5 cm. (colored manuscript map)

Griffith, Dennis. "Map of the State of Maryland, Laid Down from an Actual Survey of All the Principal Waters, Public Roads and Divisions of the Counties Therein; Describing the Situation of the Cities, Towns, Villiages . . . as also a Sketch of the State of Delaware Shewing the Probable Connexion of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. 20 June 1794." Philadelphia, 1795. 37 x 64 cm. (reproduction issued by the U.S. Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, 1944)

Griffith, Dennis. "Map of the State of Maryland. . . ." Philadelphia, 1795. 81 x 138 cm. (one positive and negative photostat copy)

Lewis, Samuel. "The State of Maryland from the Best Authorities." Philadelphia, 1795. 28 x 41.5 cm. (removed from: Carey, Mathew. *Carey's American Atlas*. plate No. 12)

Anderson, Hugh. "States of Maryland and Delaware from the Latest Surveys." Philadelphia, 1799. 24 x 18.5 cm. (photostat)

"Map of the State of Delaware and Eastern Shore of Maryland from Actual Survey & Soundings Made in 1799, 1800 & 1801 by the Author." Philadelphia, 1801 (?) 72 x 103 cm.

"Map of the State of Delaware and Eastern Shore of Maryland from Actual Survey & Soundings Made in 1799, 1800 & 1801 by the Author." Philadelphia, 1801 (?) 72 x 103 cm. (photostat copy)

"Maryland." 1814. 56 x 44 cm. (Inset: Western part of Maryland. This colored map is framed and on display in the office of the Peabody Librarian)

"Maryland." [1818.] 56 x 44 cm. (removed from: *McCarey's, General Atlas*)

Lucas, Fielding. "Maryland." Baltimore, 1819. 35 x 54.5 cm. (Inset: Plan of the City of Baltimore)

Lucas, Fielding. "[Geographical, Statistical and Historical Map of Maryland.]" [Philadelphia, 1822]. 50 x 28.5 cm.

Drawer Eight

[Lucas, Fielding, Jr.] "*Atlas Geographique, Statistique et Historique du Maryland.*" Paris, 1825. 47 x 28 cm. (removed from: Buchon, J. A. C., *Atlas Geographique, Historique et Chronologique des Deux Ameriques*. . . . Paris, 1825, No. 24. Translation of Carey & Lea, *Complete Historical, Chronological and Geographical American Atlas*, Philadelphia, 1822)

Young, J. H. "The Middle States, Maryland and Virginia." 1824. 24.5 x 20 cm. (colored)

Bradford, T. G. "Maryland." Massachusetts, 1838. 41 x 33 cm. (colored)

Morse, Sidney Edwards. "Maryland and Delaware." New York, 1842. 27.5 x 35 cm. (removed from: Morse, S. E. and Breese, S. *The Cereographic Atlas of the United States*. New York, 1842. No. 13. Inset: District of Columbia)

Drawer Nine

Weishampel, John F. "A Miniature Map of the State of Maryland." See: Baltimore City – Weishampel, John F., 1876.

Gray, Frank A. "Map of Maryland." Philadelphia, 1879. 68 x 43 cm. (prepared to accompany Scharf's *History of Maryland*)

Martenent, Simon J. "Martenent's Map of Central & Southern Maryland." Philadelphia, 1886. 103 x 68.5 cm.

Martenent, Simon J. "Martenent's Map of Eastern Maryland." Philadelphia, 1886. 103 x 68.5 cm.

Martenent, Simon J. "Martenent's Map of Western Maryland." Philadelphia, 1886. 103 x 68.5 cm. (Inset: Hagerstown, Cumberland, and Frederick City)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Anne Arundel, Howard, Montgomery, and Prince Georges Counties, 1890." 1894 edition. 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1899)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Patuxent Quadrangle, 1897." 1899 reprint. 42 x 51 cm. (Includes Maryland and District of Columbia)

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Maryland Showing the Geological Formations and Agricultural Soils." Baltimore, 1907. 89 x 53 cm. (colored)

Drawer Nine

U.S. Supreme Court. "Map Showing the Boundary Line Between Maryland and West Virginia from the Potomac River to the Pennsylvania State Line as Surveyed and Marked Under the Decree Rendered 31 May 1910." Connellsville, Pennsylvania, 1911. 79 x 596 cm. (rolled)

Skirven, Percy Granger. "Map of Maryland Showing Ten Counties and Thirty Parishes as Laid Out in 1692-1694 in Accordance with the Law of 1692 Establishing the Church of England." Baltimore, 1923.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Maryland-Virginia Indian Head Quadrangle, 1923." 1925 edition. 51 x 41 cm.

Howard, John Spence. "Routes Traveled by George Washington in Maryland, prepared for Maryland Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, 1732-1932." Baltimore, 1932. 71 x 86 cm. (3 copies)

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Maryland Showing State Road System, State Aid Roads, and Improved Road Connections." Baltimore, circa 1933. 86 x 126 cm.

Pitner, Carl. "Pitner's Map of Maryland and Delaware." Washington, D.C., 1934. 79 x 120 cm.

State Roads Commission. "Map of Maryland Showing State Road System." Baltimore, 1937. 63 x 48 cm. (Insets: Baltimore & Washington, D. C., colored)

Maryland Geological Survey. "Map of Maryland Showing State Road System and Improved County Road Connections." Baltimore, 1938. 87.5 x 126.5 cm.

Maryland Writers Project. "Map of Maryland." Baltimore, 1940. 86.5 x 56 cm. (Inset: Baltimore, colored)

Tunis, Edwin. "A Map of the Chesapeake Bay." Baltimore, 1959. 73 x 54.5 cm. (colored map depicting the state of Maryland)

MILITARY

Drawer Ten

Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste. "Camp a Baltimore le 24 Julillet, 13 milles.5 de Spurier's Tavern. Sejour Jusquau 24 Aoust. 1782." 32.5 x 20 cm. (photostat copy of a manuscript map in the Library of Congress)

Melish, John. "Map of the Seat of War in North America. 2nd edition with Additions and Improvements." Philadelphia, 1813. 40 x 55 cm. (removed from, *A Military and Topographical Atlas of the United States*)

Kearney, James. "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and Its Vicinity, and of Patapsco Neck to North Point. Made by Order of Brigadier General Winder." [Baltimore,] 1814. 115 x 58 cm. (includes "Reconnoitring sketch of the road from Norwood's Ferry on the Patapsco to Baltimore; and Reconnoitring of Chesapeake Bay, 1818.)

Bachmann, John. "Panorama of the Seat of War: Bird's Eye View of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia." New York, 1861. 68.5 x 57 cm.

Schedler, J. "Seat of War: Bird's Eye View of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia." 1861. 2 copies: 82 x 71 cm. and 92 x 76 cm.

Lucas, Fielding. "Map of the Seat of War: Maryland and Delaware with Parts of Pennsylvania & Virginia Showing the Railroads." Baltimore, 1862. 54 x 41.5 cm.

Prang, L. & Co. (publishers). "War Telegram Marking Map of Eastern Virginia, Part of Maryland and Pennsylvania, Second Improved Edition." Boston, 1862. 94.5 x 58.5 cm.

Conner, James, C. A. "The Civil War in Carroll County, Maryland, 28 June 1863: The Gettysburg Campaign." 54 x 37 cm. (reprinted 1963 by The Historical Society of Carroll County, Maryland and the Carroll County Planning and Zoning Commission, 5 copies)

"Map of the Battlefield of Antietam." 1863. 80.5 x 65 cm.

"Redwood, George B." Topographical Map of Gettysburg and Antietam." 1863. 51 x 66 cm. (reprinted 1913)

Callahan, Davis. "Portions of the Military Departments of Virginia, Washington, Maryland and the Susquehanna." 1863. 104.5 x 71 cm.

TRANSPORTATION

Drawer Ten

Hollins, William. "View of the Communications Proposed Between the Atlantic and the Western States." Baltimore, 1818. 36.5 x 24.5 cm.

Maryland Susquehanna Canal Commissioners. "Map of Proposed Canal from Baltimore to Conewago." Baltimore, 1823. 33 x 30.5 cm.

Hazlehurst, Henry R. "Map and Profile of the Baltimore & Port Deposit Rail Road as Located and Now Under Construction to a Point near Havre de Grace." 1836. 34 x 88.5 cm. (photostat)

Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. "Map Shewing the Connection of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with other Railroads Executed, or in Progress Throughout the United States." Baltimore, 1837. 44 x 51 cm. (negative photostat)

Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. "Map Shewing the Connection of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with other Railroads Executed, or in Progress Throughout the United States." Baltimore, 184-?. 44 x 51 cm. (photostat)

Fink, Albert. "Map & Profile of the Location of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road from Cumberland to Wheeling, Shewing also the Various Routes Surveyed from the Year 1836 to the Final Establishment in 1850 of the Line Upon Which the Road is Being Constructed." Baltimore, 1850. 163.5 x 85.5 cm. (2 copies)

"Map of the Seaboard & Roanoke Rail Road and the Connecting of Railroads & Steamboats." New York, 1851. 72.5 x 60 cm. (shows Baltimore connection)

Diven, Alexander S. "Williamsport and Elmira Rail-Road." New York, 1853. 117.5 x 70 cm. (shows connections from Baltimore)

Worcester, George P. "Map Shewing the Several Surveys for the Western Maryland Railway." Baltimore, 1853. 84.5 x 44 cm.

Sides, William. "Plan of Curtis' Creek Wharf and Railroad Companys Improvement." Philadelphia, 1854. 57 x 7.5 cm.

Taylor, W. W. "Map and Profile of Surveys from Hagerstown to Cumberland, also from Relay to Canton (Balto.)." Baltimore, 1865. 32 x 86.5 cm.

Kettlewell, S. H. "Map of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with its Branches and Connections, also Profiles." Baltimore, 1867. 126.5 x 117 cm.

Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. "Baltimore & Ohio System; All Trains via Washington, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, with Stop-Over Privilege." New York, 1926 (?) 104 x 160 cm.

BODIES OF WATER

Drawer Eleven

Hoxton, Walter. "Bay of Chesepeack, with the Rivers Potomack, Potapasco North East and Part of Chester." [London] 1735. 138 x 94 cm. (photostat)

Smith, Anthony. "A New and Accurate Chart of the Bay of Chesapeake, as far as the Navigable Part of the Rivers Patowmack, Patapasco and North-East." London, 1776. 2 copies: 49 x 36.5 cm. and 146 x 99 cm. (both photostats)

Hills, John. "Plan of the Peninsula of Chesopeak Bay, Compiled from Actual Surveys." 1781. 2 copies: 46.5 x 28.5 cm. and 104.5 x 60 cm. (both photostats)

Hauducoeur, C. P. "A Map of the Head of Chesapeake Bay and Susquehanna River. Shewing the Navigation of the Same with a Topographical Description of the Surrounding Country from an Actual Survey." 1799. 58.5 x 44.5 cm. (photostat)

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Harbor of Annapolis." [Washington, D.C.] 1846. 48.5 x 41 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Mouth of Chester River." [Washington, D.C.] 1849. 48.5 x 40 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Preliminary Chart of Delaware and Chesapeake Bays and the Sea Coast from Cape Henlopen to Cape Charles." [Washington, D.C.] 1855. 81.5 x 70.5 cm.

Lucas, Fielding. "A Chart of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays; Compiled and Published by Fielding Lucas, Junr . . . Baltimore, 1832 . . . corrected 1859." Philadelphia, 1859. 102 x 71 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Chesapeake Bay from Choptank River to Potomac River." [Washington, D.C.] 1862. 102 x 80 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Chesapeake Bay from Magothy River to Potomac River." [Washington, D.C.] 1862. 101.5 x 76.5 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Patapsco River and the Approaches from a Trigonometrical Survey." [Washington, D.C.] 1870. 44 x 68 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Chesapeake Bay from Choptank River to Potomac River." [Washington, D.C.] 1872 98.5 x 80 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Chesapeake Bay from Magothy River to Potomac River." [Washington, D.C.] 1872. 100.5 x 77 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Chesapeake Bay from Head of Bay to Magothy River." [Washington, D.C.] 1862. 100 x 79 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Coast Chart, No. 33, Chesapeake Bay, Sheet No. 3: Potomac Entrance, Tangier and Pocomoke Sounds." [Washington, D.C.] 1877. 100 x 69 cm. (contains two seals of the State of Maryland; Governor's signature and others. Ex Library – Land Office of Maryland, used to settle borders between Virginia and Maryland)

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "General Chart of Delaware and Chesapeake Bays and the Seacoast from Cape May to Cape Henry; from a Trigonometrical Survey 1855. Aids to Navigation Corrected to 1879." [Washington, D.C.] 1879 (?) 79 x 63 cm.

U.S. Costal and Geodetic Survey. "Delaware and Chesapeake Bays." [Washington, D.C.] 1892. 92 x 69 cm. (reprint of 1855 edition)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Choptank Quadrangle, 1895." 1898 edition, 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "St. Mary Quadrangle, 1895." 1898 edition, 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1903)

Drawer Twelve

U.S. Geological Survey. "Bloodworth Island Quadrangle, 1900." 1903 edition, 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1927)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Green Run Quadrangle, 1900." 1901 edition, 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Annapolis Quadrangle, 1902." 1904 edition, 42 x 51 cm. (reprinted 1913)

U.S. Geological Survey. "Sharps Island Quadrangle, 1902." 1904 edition, 42 x 51 cm.

U.S. Geological Survey. "Drum Point Quadrangle, 1904." 1905 edition, 42 x 51 cm.

Maryland Shell Fish Commission. "Charts of Natural Oyster Beds, Crab Bottoms, Clam Beds and Triangulation Stations of Maryland, 1906-1912." [Washington, D.C.] 1913 (?) 82 x 110.5 cm. 42 charts:

- A-B. Index Charts
- 1-4. Anne Arundel County
- 5-10. Somerset County
- 11-12. Wicomico County
- 16-18. Worcester County
- 19. Calvert, St. Mary's and Charles Counties
- 20. Calvert and St. Mary's Counties
- 21-25. St. Mary's County
- 26. Charles and St. Mary's Counties
- 27. Baltimore County
- 28. Kent County
- 29-30. Kent and Queen Anne Counties
- 31-32. Queen Anne and Talbot Counties
- 33-34. Talbot County
- 35-37. Dorchester and Talbot Counties
- 38-42. Dorchester County

Book Reviews

The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe: A Review Essay

The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Series IV, Volume 1, 1784-1804. Edited by John C. Van Horne and Lee W. Formwalt. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984. Pp. xxxvii, 612. Illustrations, notes, index. \$60.00.); Volume 2, 1805-1810. Edited by John C. Van Horne. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986. Pp. xxxiv, 982. Illustrations, notes, index. \$90.00.); Volume 3, 1811-1820. Edited by John C. Van Horne. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. Pp. xlv, 1116. Illustrations, notes, index. \$140.00.)

Few figures have left so voluminous a record of life in early nineteenth-century America as Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Born in Yorkshire, England, in 1764, Latrobe came to America in the winter of 1795-96. Here he found his skills as an architect and engineer well suited to the new republic, and he was soon swept into a wide array of important design projects. Although he often struggled with the vagaries of earning a living and collecting the professional fees he was due, Latrobe enjoyed considerable success and recognition during his lifetime. He has come to be recognized as a seminal figure in American architecture.

The expansive collection of papers that Latrobe left at his death in New Orleans in 1820 has been the subject of scholarly interest for much of this century. Excerpts from Latrobe's personal papers have been published in a variety of sources over the years, ranging from an important volume of the Latrobe diaries edited by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (*Impressions Respecting New Orleans* [Columbia University Press, 1951]) to Talbot Hamlin's scholarly biography (*Benjamin Henry Latrobe* [Oxford University Press, 1955]). In the early 1970s under the auspices of the Maryland Historical Society an exhaustive editorial project set out to make the Latrobe collection more accessible to the public and academic scholars. This three-volume collection is the latest product of that effort.

The project's greatest challenge has been the very size and breadth of interest represented within the entire Latrobe collection. Thus from the beginning it was necessary to sort the Latrobe papers into several series of publications, each with a specific theme and approach. From a general reader's perspective, the easiest point of entry is an overview collection of Latrobe's extraordinary drawings and watercolors, *Latrobe's View of America, 1795-1820* (Yale University Press, 1985). This volume provides an exquisite sampling of Latrobe's artistic skills, ranging from scientific wildlife studies to bucolic landscapes and genre scenes of life in

America from New Jersey to New Orleans. While this book will unfailingly serve as fascinating browsing material for the upscale coffee table, it is a scholarly work at heart, with insightful essays by three of the project editors.

Next in order of practical appeal are three volumes of Latrobe's journals, the first two volumes a record of his sea voyage and early sojourn in Virginia (*The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1795-1798* [Yale University Press, 1977]). The third volume—*The Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1799-1820: From Philadelphia to New Orleans* (Yale University Press, 1980)—covers a wider sweep of time and topography but continues in the tradition of the Virginia volumes, providing an extraordinary record of Latrobe's travels and life on the road after his departure from Virginia.

The journals were intended in part as a running diary that Latrobe compiled for his family, and the style and subject material reflect his desire to share his experiences with his wife and children. Absent are the harsher details of Latrobe's business travails and the demands of his professional life. Instead, readers will learn much about the look of the early American landscape and its people, richly embellished with drawings that range from quick little thumbnail sketches in the margins to full page watercolor studies.

To address the core of Latrobe's professional life, two specialized volumes focus on his work as an engineer and architect. *The Engineering Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Yale University Press, 1980) contains an exhaustive scholarly study of his many engineering projects, large and small. A companion study of Latrobe's architectural works is now nearing publication and will complete the editorial project.

The three volumes to be considered in detail here belong to Series IV, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*. Here one finds a staggering collection of letters, published papers, and other material covering the full range of Latrobe's career and interests. Despite a cumulative 2,700 pages in length, these three volumes comprise only about 15 percent of the correspondence known to have survived.

The full collection of Latrobe letters includes nineteen polygraph letterbooks containing 5,700 letters, another 1,200 original letters that reside in other archival collections, and at least 300 letters addressed to Latrobe. In selecting the 1,100 letters and papers for publication in this series, the editors have had to balance many conflicting demands. One had to begin with the premise that Series IV would prove too intimidating for all but scholarly readers, and yet the academic audience would inevitably want more than would reasonably fit into the published volumes. To address this problem *The Microfiche Edition of the Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* was published in 1976, encompassing all known documents into a compact research source that is marketed to academic and institutional libraries. A supplement to the microfiche edition will upon final completion of the project add several hundred additional documents that have come to light since 1976.

Thus the published volumes provide a careful selection of the most critically important Latrobe papers combined with a thoughtful cross section of the more

routine items of correspondence. If detailed research is contemplated for a particular project or subject, one should use Series IV to explore the principal documents that merited inclusion and then proceed to the exhaustive microfiche edition, or to the parallel primary and secondary sources identified in the extensive footnotes.

Before exploring the contents of the individual volumes, it might be useful to provide some sense of the diversity and usefulness of this collection. I have personally used these volumes to explore, among many issues, the rise of architectural design as a distinct profession in early nineteenth-century America; to gain insights into the working relationships between architects, craftsmen and clients; to track the history of a marble statue commemorating the Battle of Tripoli; and to search for clues to the location of a schooner that sank in the lower Chesapeake laden with the iron boiler parts for the New Orleans waterworks. Nearly one thousand research notes pepper my files with every imaginable kind of useful historical tidbit, from costs and sources of building materials in Washington to an analysis of the acoustical properties required for a theater. It is hard to imagine any research project concerned with early nineteenth-century America that would not benefit from some aspect of the Latrobe papers.

The first volume spans the period 1784 to 1804, and covers Latrobe's early career in England, his voyage to America, and the beginnings of his rise to prominence in America. Latrobe's correspondence during this period is somewhat sparse, in part as a reflection of his relative success, but also due to the vagaries of document survival. In 1803 Latrobe acquired a polygraph machine from Charles Willson Peale, and afterward Latrobe kept a much more complete record of his outgoing correspondence.

Major architectural projects addressed within the first volume include the Virginia State Penitentiary of 1797, Latrobe's proposal for a theater in Richmond in 1798, and the Bank of Pennsylvania of 1799. Engineering projects include the Philadelphia Waterworks, Latrobe's survey of necessary improvements for the Susquehanna River, and his extensive involvement on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. In 1802 President Thomas Jefferson asked Latrobe to develop plans for a drydock at the Washington Navy Yard. The resulting design included an extraordinary enclosed drydock fed by an eight-mile canal through the city. This project was at first tabled but demonstrated convincingly to Jefferson that Latrobe was a man of considerable talent, and the following year Latrobe was appointed to the position of "Surveyor of the Public Buildings of the United States at Washington," a position he held until 1811. The first volume therefore closes in 1804 with Latrobe juggling his new responsibilities in Washington with on-going commitments to projects such as the financially troubled C&D Canal.

Scattered among these landmark undertakings is a wonderful array of less imposing but equally fascinating interludes. Latrobe's casually undertaken attempt at a house design for Captain Pennock of Norfolk led to a construction project so ineptly executed (in Latrobe's view) that Pennock was forced to send a messenger off to Richmond in search of the "French" fellow who gave him the design. In the

process of unraveling the confusion, Latrobe revealed a great deal about his own views on proper design while simultaneously offering insights into local tastes and the difficulties of working with untrained craftsmen.

In another instance, Latrobe wrote to Bishop John Carroll in Baltimore to give his "undisguised opinion" of a plan for the cathedral Carroll proposed to build. Latrobe found fault in the structural design and the cost and suggested that if these elements could be corrected he could add additional comments on the architectural tastes of the anonymous designer. This was the beginning of a long relationship with Carroll that eventually led to Latrobe's masterful design for the Basilica of the Assumption on Charles Street, widely considered to be among Latrobe's most powerful works.

The second volume covers the years 1805 to 1810 and is therefore primarily concerned with Latrobe's work on the federal Capitol and President's House. Work continued as well on the Washington Navy Yard, and Latrobe contributed to Albert Gallatin's efforts at a comprehensive plan for creating a national transportation system. In April 1805 Latrobe submitted the first of his own designs for the cathedral in Baltimore and the following year construction began, providing Latrobe with another monumental building to supervise in addition to his Washington projects.

The quickening pace of Latrobe's career and the extensive record preserved by Peale's polygraph machine provide an endless stream of insights. In March 1805, for example, Latrobe wrote a six-page letter to William Waln of Philadelphia explaining the architect's views on urban house design. Latrobe was attempting to convince Waln of the merits of an innovative alternative to the traditional forms favored by Waln's wealthy neighbors. Latrobe was unable fully to convince Waln, but in the process, he composed an exhaustive discussion of the major elements of an urban gentry house.

Here too may be found an important letter to Latrobe's most famous understudy, the architect Robert Mills. The letter opens with matters of design but soon moves to a detailed discourse on the principles of successful practice. "Do nothing gratuitously," Latrobe admonished Mills, or clients will assume that your work has little value. Never lose possession of your drawings, Latrobe continued, and insist on control of the workmen and all payments. He reviewed his own experiences with commissions and rates of reimbursement and in so doing provided advice that would serve well in a modern book of architectural practice. More important, he offered an important document for understanding the evolving role of the professional architect in early nineteenth-century America.

The final volume, covering the last decade of Latrobe's life, is different in both tenor and territory. Until 1811, Latrobe's career had moved steadily upward. His greatest challenge lay in balancing the many demands on his time, and in maintaining control of diverse projects spread over several states. But by 1811 work had ground to a halt on the public buildings, and Latrobe became increasingly absorbed with a variety of entrepreneurial undertakings. These ranged from a tangled involvement with Robert Fulton and the Ohio Steam Boat Company to his

work on the New Orleans Waterworks. The War of 1812 slammed the door on projects in Washington but opened up new opportunities in the West. Latrobe moved to Pittsburgh with high expectations in October 1813, but he teetered on the edge of bankruptcy by the end of the following year. The war intervened again, this time to his benefit. The British attack on Washington had left the Capitol and the President's House burned-out shells. Latrobe returned to Washington in 1815 and supervised the reconstruction of the public buildings. His second tour of duty on the Capitol was a troubled one, however, and in 1817 Latrobe's world caved in. In September his son Henry died of yellow fever while working on the New Orleans Waterworks. In November Latrobe resigned in frustration as architect of the public buildings. A month later he declared bankruptcy.

The last three years of Latrobe's life are sparsely recorded in correspondence—presumably his polygraph machine was sold to settle a debt. In September 1820 Latrobe died of yellow fever in New Orleans, while working on the same project that cost him his son. This is in many respects a difficult volume to read. In contrast to the journals, Latrobe's correspondence traces every setback and heartbreaking failure. His final letter to Robert Goodloe Harper eerily includes a report on the fever rampant among the workmen, a foreshadow of the architect's own death a week later.

Despite the heightened anxiety level, however, the third volume is rich in detail, particularly with regard to Maryland projects. In addition to the Basilica, Latrobe teamed with Maximilian Godefroy on the Baltimore Exchange and executed designs for the Baltimore Library Company and the Washington County Court House in Hagerstown. There is even brief mention (and a detailed editorial discussion) of Latrobe's plan for Riversdale, the Prince George's County home of George and Rosalie Calvert now undergoing restoration. Suggestions for improvements to the Jones Falls, a healthy dose of material on Maryland as a source of building materials (marble from Baltimore County, building stone from Seneca, lime from Frederick), and correspondence with Robert Goodloe Harper are just a few of the incentives for Maryland readers.

The Latrobe collection in general and these three volumes in particular are invaluable research tools that will have a significant impact on scholarship for this period. The editorial effort has been stellar, and the only negative comment I can conjure is disappointment that Yale University Press seems so callously unaware of the wear and tear that these volumes will need to withstand. The books are bound with a level of quality I associate with popular hardcover novels. This would be unwise at popular novel prices and, given the cost of these volumes, it is nothing short of irresponsible.

ORLANDO RIDOUT V
Maryland Historical Trust

Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland. By Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. xxi, 362. Illustrations, tables, maps, appendices, notes, index. Cloth \$39.95; paper \$19.95.)

Three leading historians of the colonial Chesapeake have used Robert Cole's will and the Cole plantation account prepared by the guardian of Cole's estate to fill the knowledge "gap" of farm building and agricultural practices in seventeenth-century Maryland (p. xvi). Based on their extensive study of early Maryland, they describe in six chapters the life and times of a Roman Catholic "yeoman" family.

Judiciously combining primary and secondary sources, the authors fill out the framework of a few surviving documents to recreate Maryland life when the colony consisted of a few isolated farms on the edge of a vast forest. Chapter 1 notes that if settlers brought some wealth and survived the "seasoning" period of disease, then, like Robert Cole, they could take advantage of Maryland's fluid social system. In chapter 2 Carr, Menard and Walsh describe building a farm. Cole based his operation, as did his neighbors, on tobacco culture. In addition, the Coles were extraordinarily successful livestock producers. In the next chapter, the authors detail the agricultural year and household tasks. Chapter 4 analyzes the income and expenses of the operation under Robert Cole and then, after his death, under the guardianship of Hugh Gardiner. The authors compared Cole's growth in income and wealth with what might have been had he settled in New England or the West Indian Sugar Islands. Chapter 5 outlines the semi-isolated, fluid society of early Maryland, where settlers without extended kinship networks relied on their neighbors. This society was also characterized by sexual imbalance, late marriages, and frequent deaths. The concluding chapter discusses the changing world of the Cole children as they come of age—changes that included the shift to slave labor, Protestant rule, and the rise of a native-born gentry. The economic, social, and political opportunities for "poor" settlers were rapidly narrowing. The authors also provide four useful appendices, one on "Livestock Survival and Meat Consumption" is particularly significant.

These three historians have accomplished what they set out to do. They have filled some of the knowledge gap about seventeenth-century Maryland life. Since agricultural practices are different in each era and each area, more specialized studies, such as this one, are needed. Historians of the Chesapeake will find *Robert Cole's World* a welcomed addition to the growing work on that region's colonial era.

DAVID O. PERCY
Durham, North Carolina

The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615-1655. By James R. Perry. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. Pp. 253. Maps, tables, notes, index. \$32.50.)

This solid, well-written monograph is yet another useful contribution to the growing historical literature on the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century. The task Perry sets for himself is an important one: to examine the origins of society in one Virginia locality. As he points out in the introduction, most studies of the beginnings of English settlement in either Maryland or Virginia focus on the provincial level; and most local studies start at mid-century, the point at which he ends. The latter strategy has prevailed among the majority of local historians because of a general lack of source material for the first years of a region. But Perry's subject, Accomack-Northampton County, has an unusually complete set of surviving court and land documents that lends itself to the tedious but ultimately rewarding job of record-stripping, a job Perry has performed with skill and meticulous care.

Perry's main theme is forecast by his title. He contends that, at least at the local level, the English people who settled in early Virginia quickly developed a coherent society in which individuals were linked by kinship, mutual assistance, and sustained economic interaction. Challenging those historians who, concentrating on political conflicts within the colonial elite, have seen early Virginia as fragile and unstable, Perry asserts that Virginians were—indeed, that they had to be—as committed to community life as were the New Englanders who have become for historians the model community-builders of early America.

Neighborhoods on Virginia's early eastern shore looked very different from the nucleated villages of Massachusetts Bay, but Perry demonstrates, through a careful reconstruction of land patents, that people preferred to settle on adjoining plots along river banks on the western side of the peninsula rather than scattering themselves hither and yon across the countryside. Settlement on the eastern shore proceeded north, south and east from an initial core near lands patented through the Virginia Company and first occupied by whites in 1620. This pattern was not produced by fear of or pressure from the local Indians, since they remained friendly (even during the 1622 attack on the mainland settlements), until the whites assaulted them in 1651.

Through a detailed analysis of wills, deeds, and court records Perry documents the economic and social ties that linked the residents of Accomack-Northampton to one another. Marriages, and perhaps more importantly, remarriages—the latter a result of the high mortality rates common to the Chesapeake—soon enmeshed the colonists in an intricate web of kinship. An equally intricate network of credit and exchange created a community economy, with a few storekeepers and artisans playing leading roles both internally and externally, connecting the eastern shore residents to each other and to the rest of Virginia, New England, and the mother country. Neighbors assisted each other in times of crisis, joined in communal

celebrations, served together on juries, stood bond for each other, and gossiped about each others' lives. Most such interactions (including marriages) occurred within a radius of three to five miles from one's home.

The portrait Perry paints is in many ways convincing. His research is impressive in its scope; on finishing this book the reader is convinced that the author has mined every available document for every possible nugget of information. Moreover, Perry's analysis is always precise, his conclusions based on an extraordinarily detailed reconstruction of this county society. And yet two doubts remain about Perry's interpretation of his data.

First, was ideology wholly meaningless? True, the eastern shore settlers acted very like their New England counterparts on a day-to-day basis other than concentrating on tobacco production for an international market. But they did not describe—or evidently think about—their society in the same way New Englanders did. For example, in this early Virginia community, few people worried about maintaining a “just price” for commodities or about premarital fornication; the militia, a unifying institution in Massachusetts Bay, existed only on paper; and no one expressed a communal vision of any sort. Are regular daily interactions the only components of “community”? After all, it is hard to imagine a society composed entirely of isolated individuals under any circumstances Perry is obviously right in correcting the notion, too prevalent among historians, that early Virginians sought and largely achieved self-sufficiency, but there was a different texture to local life in New England and the Chesapeake, a difference Perry fails to acknowledge.

Second, in his understandable effort to prove his thesis, Perry overlooks or ignores what might be termed the dark side of community, the potential for conflict among persons who live close to each other, especially in an age in which there was little concept of privacy. It is not that he never acknowledges that eastern shore settlers slandered or assaulted or sued each other, but rather that he consistently downplays the importance of such acrimonious interactions, stressing instead the positive aspects of the settlers' lives together. A more balanced presentation, one less focused on a specific theme, might have taken a somewhat different tack, admitting that neighbors were not always friendly and examining the implications of conflict as well as harmony.

Despite these problems, *The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore* is a fine work that deserves a place on the bookshelves of serious students of the early Chesapeake, Maryland and Virginia alike. It reveals much about the process through which previously unconnected individuals and family groups developed a viable society that endured for many years.

MARY BETH NORTON
Cornell University

Records of Christ Reformed Church also known as the German Reformed Church (a congregation of the United Church of Christ) Middletown, Frederick County, Maryland: 1771-1840. Translated and edited by Frederick S. Weiser. (Maryland German Church Records, vol. 1. Manchester, Md.: Noodle-Doosey Press, 1986. Pp. x, 98. Index. \$15.00.)

Scholars searching for the origins of early American democracy increasingly have become attracted to topics related to ethnic and religious pluralism. If modern America resembles a quilt or a rainbow rather than a melting pot, then inquiry that focuses merely on the homogeneity of New England or tidewater Virginia is inadequate. Although much of the current scholarship on early American tolerance and diversity concentrates on Pennsylvania and New York, Frederick S. Weiser's six-volume set of church books from German Lutheran and Reformed congregations is a reminder that these conditions prevailed in western Maryland as well. The first entry in Weiser's series, *Records of Christ Reformed Church*, is carefully constructed. Although an earlier translation appeared in 1952 for the Daughters of the American Revolution, Weiser's edition is a fresh translation.

The volume consists primarily of baptismal records and an index, but Weiser, an experienced editor of church books, incorporates several additional features. The index lists every name, an improvement over the customary surname index. The book contains several lists of confirmands, one list of members, and two of communicants, all falling between 1775 and 1783. Weiser includes financial records, not normally found in church books, but they are extremely terse, and sometimes more than a year passed between entries. The statements are typically an annual one-sentence audit and the names of those financially indebted to the congregation. The book also contains facsimiles of the script, which is in several hands, indicates the original pagination, and quickly surveys the history of the Middletown area and the formation of the congregation. Editorial notations are few.

Occasionally, the entries are intriguing. The 1783 list of communicants, for example, includes several prisoners of war, probably Hessians, and the baptism of "George Washington Wagner" in 1834 (p. 56) demonstrated that significant assimilation had occurred.

Weiser offers a skillfully organized primary source about a prominent minority group in early Maryland. Religious and ethnic historians will benefit from this book, but genealogists will find it most valuable.

STEPHEN L. LONGENECKER
Bridgewater College

The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789- 1989. By Thomas W. Spalding. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. Pp. ix, 591. \$29.95.)

Thomas Spalding has succeeded in doing what many would fear to try. He has written an institutional history in an age when such histories are unfashionable. But this is perforce an institutional history, for it is the story of the nation's oldest Catholic diocese, which included the nation's capital until 1940, and Spalding has gone well beyond a traditional institutional history to include not only the stories of the bishops but of the priests and laity as well. Such inclusion this reviewer can attest is severely limited by the woeful dearth of documentary evidence for the lower clergy and laity not only for Baltimore but for other places. While recording the contributions of prominent members of the eighteenth-century Maryland aristocracy like Charles Carroll, and twentieth-century political leaders like Thomas D'Alesandro, the mayor of Baltimore, Spalding has supplemented material on individual lay people by recounting the myriad of lay organizations on the parish and diocesan level.

Religious orders of men and women also played a major role in the history of the nation's oldest see, especially in regard to schools and hospitals. The Jesuits had been in Maryland since 1634. Sulpicians from France arrived in 1791 to open the first American seminary, St. Mary's. The Mill Hill Fathers (later renamed the Josephites) came from England in 1871 to work with black Catholics. Women's religious life began in 1790 when four Carmelite Sisters, three of whom were Maryland-born, arrived at Port Tobacco from Flanders. A religious congregation founded at Georgetown was affiliated with the Visitation order in France in 1816. In 1809, Elizabeth Ann Seton, the first American-born saint, founded her new order of the Sisters of Charity in Baltimore and then moved to Emmitsburg. In 1829, Elizabeth Lange and two other "Mulatto Ladies" gained Archbishop James Whitfield's approval of the Oblates of Divine Providence. Other orders of men and women would follow and make the Archdiocese of Baltimore their home.

Although Spalding has produced a virtual encyclopedia of the religious orders and lay organizations in the archdiocese, he remains at his best in treating the bishops. He has a norm against which he measures the development of the archdiocese: the "Maryland tradition" that embraced American values and civic concern was ecumenical, at least analogously, and encouraged lay involvement. Three bishops expressed this tradition: John Carroll, the first bishop and a member of Maryland's aristocracy; James Gibbons, Baltimore's first cardinal; and Lawrence Shehan, the second cardinal.

Granted Spalding's primary focus on the bishops, he evaluates each of them with stark honesty. Some examples will suffice. Carroll represented "the classic restraint [of] . . . the Catholic aristocracy of Maryland" and had few intimate friends (p. 63). Carroll's Maryland-born successor, Leonard Neale, was temperamentally different and provided "no evidence that he was overly patriotic, civic minded, or ecumenical" (p. 76). Samuel Eccleston, the first convert-bishop in the United

States, recognized the needs of his increasingly immigrant flock in the face of anti-Catholic nativism and promoted "national parishes." But his growing mental problems, exacerbated by a head injury, led a close adviser to agree with an innkeeper's assessment that "Your Archbishop is completely crazy" (p. 148).

In 1849, when the nation had spanned the continent, American bishops gathered in council in Baltimore and recommended that the Holy See establish new archdioceses, granting Baltimore the title of "primate see," a canonical designation that would have given its incumbent certain privileges. Rejecting this title for fear of growing American nationalism, the Holy See conferred on Baltimore the innocuous privilege of "prerogative of place," the title of one of Spalding's chapters, as he traces the emergence of other, ultimately more important, archdioceses. New York gradually overshadowed Baltimore as a center of Catholic life, although the tension in personality and style between John Hughes, the first Archbishop of New York, and Francis Kenrick, the first Irish-born Archbishop of Baltimore (1851-1863) did not come out into the open.

Spalding usually devotes only a single chapter to each of Baltimore's prelates, including Martin John Spalding (1863-1872), the subject of his earlier biography, *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman* (Washington, 1973). He makes an exception for James Gibbons, archbishop from 1872 to 1921, who takes up three chapters, almost one fifth of the book. The story of Gibbons has been told elsewhere, but here again Spalding makes a valuable contribution by stepping back from his subject to give a critical evaluation. Although Gibbons ably presided over the Third Plenary Council in 1884, which passed legislation for, among other matters, parochial schools, after the council his "advocacy of parochial schools was not as remarkable," particularly when confronted with the choice between churches and schools in poor rural parishes. While he is remembered for winning papal toleration for the Knights of Labor, earlier he seemed more concerned with the "evils of idleness" than with reform of the social order (p. 253) and, later "often disappointed his admirers in the unions" (p. 287).

Gibbons' conservative social orientation is further illustrated by his attitude toward immigrants. He alienated the Germans, the largest immigrant group in Maryland, by supporting the Americanizing program of Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul and his friends. Gibbons urged these new immigrants to obey the laws of their new country and "cultivate a spirit of industry." He was, in Spalding's words, "an effective preacher of the Gospel of Wealth" (p. 259). Gibbons also witnessed the increasing ethnic diversification of his diocese, as new immigrants came from Italy, Poland and other eastern European countries.

A conservative on domestic issues such as women's suffrage, Gibbons as archbishop of Baltimore was the principal Catholic contact with the American government. On close terms with President Theodore Roosevelt, he had less than cordial relations with Woodrow Wilson. Through tenure in the nation's oldest see and his long life—he was the last survivor of the First Vatican Council and the Third Plenary Council and, in fact, the oldest bishop in the entire Catholic Church—Gibbons attained greater prominence than any other American Catholic churchman

until Cardinal Francis Spellman a generation later. Noting this, Roman officials determined that Baltimore should never receive a prelate of equal stature.

Gibbons's successor was Michael J. Curley, the Irish-born Bishop of St. Augustine who showed more interest than Gibbons in lay organizations. Always ready to defend the church, he took to the pulpit against the Baltimore *Sun* for publishing a story comparing Hitler with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. Curley's successor in 1947, Francis P. Keough from Providence, took leadership roles in the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the American bishops and presided over a building spurt in the archdiocese (Washington, D.C., became a separate see in 1939) as the church in Baltimore expanded into the suburbs and parochial schools reached their peak. Like American Catholics in general, those in Baltimore followed their pastor's campaign against obscenity and communism. All seemed in good order, but there were already signs of the changes that would rock the church during and after Vatican II.

The laity was already changing. While Maryland Catholics between 1949 and 1959, for example, contributed increasing amounts to charity campaigns, their income had increased yet more. As a result, "Catholics of the oldest archdiocese gave proportionately less of their income to the church as their economic condition improved" (p. 397). Pre-conciliar Catholics attributed to the church an importance different from their parents. Even at the ancient St. Mary's Seminary, winds of change were beginning to blow under the charismatic introduction of the seminarians to the liturgical movement by Father Eugene Walsh. Keough was not pleased. As he told one priest: "Liturgists are the communists in the church" (p. 405). In ill health for some time, he took up permanent residence for his last eight years at Stella Maris Hospice.

In September 1961, Lawrence J. Shehan, a Baltimore native, returned to his home as coadjutor archbishop. In two months Keough had died, and Shehan took up the reins. To his episcopate Spalding devotes two chapters. The first recounts Shehan's progressive moves before and during the second Vatican Council. He initiated the first American Catholic ecumenical commission, supported the council's approval of the Declaration on Religious Liberty, promoted racial justice at home, and continued to build schools. It was a period of tremendous change and upheaval. Priests marched on picket lines and got arrested for protesting segregation and the Vietnam War. Named a cardinal in 1965, Shehan was still booed in 1966 for testifying in favor of open housing. Packed with information, scrupulously researched, narrated in a stimulating style, this book belongs in the library of every school and of anyone interested not only in Catholic but in Maryland history.

GERALD P. FOGARTY, S.J.
University of Virginia

The Impossible H. L. Mencken: A Selection of His Best Newspaper Stories. Edited by Marion Elizabeth Rodgers. Foreword by Gore Vidal. (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell, 1991. Pp. lx, 707. Notes to the introduction, index. \$27.50.)

H. L. Mencken has been dead for almost thirty-four years, his typewriter stilled since 1948. It follows naturally that Mencken is dull, dated. He is an anachronism irrelevant to today. None now needs read his stodgy outgivings, bother with his yellowed observations, listen to his crumbled wit. Alas, poor Henry; he wouldn't know which is the business end of a word processor.

Right? How then account for his sharp analysis of the gathering rivalry between Japan and the United States? This was written in 1939. What of his admiring report on Eretz Israel, of his pointed warning that Arabs would soon be jostling Jews for living space? That one is dated 1934. What's dated about his bone-chilling exposure on the border between east Germany and Russia—even if it did occur in 1917? As early as 1928 Mencken stood aghast at the dictator of Cuba, at Yanqui imperialism in Mexico, at election abuses in Panama; was the man clairvoyant?

And who since Mencken has squeezed from an American election year the preposterousness, the ribald rivers, the unspeakable—but oh-so-writeable—deliciousness he joyously laid out on Baltimore editorial and news pages beginning in 1904? Entering the 1928 Democratic convention hall, he spies Andrew Mellon: "If there is anything in his head, which is very doubtful, it has surely left no trace upon his face"; and the delegates, who will "spend the week crossing and recrossing their legs, lurching on stale ham sandwiches and asking the newspaper correspondents what is going on." There, too, were the members of "The Women's National Committee for Law Enforcement," most of whom he described as being sixty-eight years old, at 160 pounds, bearing a huge sign: "God Keep Us Pure and Strong." ("No one, as far as I could make out, challenged this pious wish.")

This kind of thing began in the Baltimore *Morning Herald* and *Sunday Herald* eighty-eight years ago and ran on, mostly in the Baltimore *Sun* and *Evening Sun* until Mencken's last convention in 1948 where (Henry) "Wallace's imbecile handling of the Guru matter revealed a stupidity that is hard to fathom.")

Now that it's 1992—with Pat Buchanan noisily America Firsting around out there, with Mario Cuomo fallen quivering upon his sword, with George (Poppy) Bush sweating to convert Japan Inc. to a new-model Willie Horton—Mencken could pick up where he left off, scarcely missing a beat.

Thanks to Marion Elizabeth Rodgers, he almost does. In *The Impossible Mr. Mencken*, this lively old party disports once again upon the journalistic scene—as vigorous, as infuriating, as perceptive, as clever, sometimes as startlingly tender as in his heyday. What Marion Rodgers manages to do is re-erect not just Mencken himself alone but his heyday with him.

We get the exuberant style on stage center, but we get too as background the flappers and the bootleggers, Woodrow Wilson's (bah!) idealism and Teddy Roosevelt's (hah!) "extraordinary mentality," the boosters and the Babbitts, the Rotarians and the Prohibitionists (bah! bah!).

So magical is the Mencken word-touch, so close up and accurate his scrutiny, that these elderly sprigs are not left there to wither dry on the vine. Instead they spring alive again with Mencken and—together, observer and observed—they draw us backward to a day they make easily as fresh as today and twice as much fun.

This is Rodgers's secret. She starts with Mencken as a newspaperman, his first role, his favorites, many—including literary critic—and his last. He wrote three thousand pieces, of which she chooses two hundred. These represent more than just his best on-the-spot writing; they show the incredible breadth of his curiosity. His political convention pieces, of course, are classics; so is the Scopes trial, with its pathetically sagging old anti-hero—William Jennings Bryan.

But who has read Mencken's version of how Jack Dempsey whipped Georges ("the gallant Frog") Carpentier? His dim view of Calvin Coolidge, we know; how about his even dimmer view of hot dogs, then his high view of "Victualry as a Fine Art"? He worships Beethoven; he adores Mark Twain; he despises short-story classes; he treasures Baltimore above all cities, the English language above all others—except that it was invented by Englishmen. You probably didn't know all this, so Ms Rodgers permits H. L. Mencken, who is good at it, to tell you.

She manages too, if not finally to right a recent wrong, to clarify and counter-balance suggestions, only partly understood, that Mencken was anti-Semitic. He did in his diary write bitterly about some Jews, just as he did about some Catholics and some Methodists, some whites ("Kluxers") and some blacks, some British and some French and some Greeks, some American women in saloons, all American men in the White House. The Rodgers supplement is a sturdy set of Mencken quotations to the contrary, illuminating the high aspirations of Jewish religion and education, then the crisply businesslike way Jews pursue their aspirations.

She even sprinkles in a few anti-Hitler Menckenisms. Kaiser Wilhelm, however, reigns as nobly and as untouched as ever.

BRADFORD JACOBS

Baltimore

Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. By Robert M. Bliss (Studies in Imperialism. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990. Pp. xi, 300. Notes, index. \$79.95.)

Robert Bliss plows familiar ground in this political survey of the emerging English colonies in North America through most of the seventeenth century. His primary concerns are the evolving concept of empire, the political debates and tensions that attended the spread of English settlement to the New World, and the bureaucratic structures that sprang up to govern relations between the English abroad and at home. While this volume is a part of the Studies in Imperialism series of the Manchester University Press, it stands apart from the other fifteen volumes to date which have focused almost exclusively on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, Bliss's predominantly political examination also seems out of step with the pronounced goal of the series "to develop the new socio-cultural

approach which has emerged through cross-disciplinary work on popular culture, media studies, art history, the study of education and religion, sports history and children's literature" (p. i). Bliss largely eschews cultural or social aspects of England's new empire when he might very profitably have drawn on an increasing body of literature that is attempting to address many of these very concerns—issues equally significant when ideas of imperialism were just emerging as in the later heyday of Britain's far-flung empire.

In chapters alternately focusing on the mother country and the American colonies, Bliss recounts developments on both sides of the Atlantic that affected the respective political worlds. He argues that England's two major revolutions in these years—the Puritans' overthrow of Charles I and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 against his son James II—profoundly influenced the history of the colonies; in addition, the very growth of the colonies constituted an important third revolution that significantly shaped the history of the mother country. Bliss presents a more persistent theme of continuity of attitudes and practices than the changes from one reign to another that many would posit. In unfolding the inevitable tensions that beset this new empire, he also emphasizes that English rule was more deeply sought and accepted in the colonial experience than it was resisted. In the closing pages of this volume, he takes pains to stress the colonists' passive behavior, as late as the 1680s, to a more assertive English authority.

Students of Maryland history will be disappointed to find very little attention given to that colony. Passing references to the Calverts' colony rarely exceed a sentence or summary paragraph. Of the mainland settlements, Virginia and Massachusetts, as is so often the case, receive the greatest attention (it is gratifying, however, to note far more concern than usual in such books to the island colonies in the Caribbean). As a group, the proprietary colonies are most neglected; this slighting creates a distortion and implies more commonalities within the empire than actually existed. It also seems strange, in light of much study by David Beers Quinn and others, to ignore ways in which English settlement and dominance of Ireland affected both attitudes toward the New World natives, theories of settlement, and political responses to developments in America.

DAVID W. JORDAN
Austin College

A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence. By John Shy. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990. Pp. xii, 298. Notes, index. \$14.95 paper.)

Originally published in the bicentennial year, John Shy's collection of essays, *A People Numerous and Armed*, restored the military struggle to the scholarly inquiry of the quest for American independence. Historians had ignored the war, Shy asserted, and concentrated instead on the Revolution's ideological and social aspects. However, "without war to sustain it," he insists "the Declaration of Independence would be a forgotten abortive manifesto" (p. 165). In this revised

edition, the author again contributes a better understanding of "how the Revolutionary War links what caused it to what it produced" (p. 3). Shy succeeds by combining social and military history into a more complete depiction of the American Revolution. He reprints all but one of the original essays in this edition. These include studies of the colonial militia, pre-Revolution British imperial strategy, Thomas Gage, Charles Lee, the average rebel, and Loyalists in arms.

Three new chapters more clearly define the book's unifying theme and provide the reader with an interpretive summary of the military conflict from Lexington and Concord to Yorktown. Shy's central idea is that the complexities of an American society in flux shaped the war's character. The war in turn, as a long and bloody episode that in some way touched nearly every American's life, ultimately patterned the course of American society to come. The Revolution, therefore, at least in terms of the war, was truly revolutionary. The book's most important essay remains "The Military Conflict considered as a Revolutionary War," in which Shy answers a troubling question: Why did the average American participate, on either side, in the Revolution? Shy contends that the war itself was "a social process of political education" (p. 243). The British army and the American militia, present everywhere, were the political teachers to the great neutral mass at the war's outset. The war, Shy maintains, forced many Americans who were otherwise apolitical to choose sides, or at least to cooperate with whichever army happened to be in town.

Problems with the work are few and stem primarily from the book's essay format. In one chapter Shy accounts for the radical, terrorist nature of the armed Loyalists; in another he discusses British prevention of Loyalist guerrilla warfare. However, as Shy has greatly improved an already masterful interpretation of the American Revolutionary War as a social process and has further reinstated military history as a necessary vehicle for historical inquiry.

PAUL D. NEWMAN
University of Kentucky

The South's Role in the Creation of the Bill of Rights. Edited by Robert J. Haws.
(Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991. Pp. 186. Notes, index. \$27.50.)

While the title of this book is misleading enough, the dust jacket's claim that the book comprises "a complete discussion of the writing and ratification of the Constitution and the adoption of the Bill of Rights" is a total misrepresentation. Instead, the book is a series of generally related essays on the South and ratification which grew out of the 1989 Chancellor's Symposium on Southern History at the University of Mississippi. Like all such conferences, the quality of the papers varies dramatically. In several cases the annotation is more impressive than the narrative.

The introduction claims that the process of setting the southern states apart from the rest of the Union began during the struggle over the Constitution. To anyone who understands the politics of the Revolution such a claim sounds hollow. Fortunately Jack P. Greene's outstanding essay on the question of southern distinctiveness is more sophisticated. He argues that two distinct Souths existed in 1787:

the lower South—Georgia, South Carolina, and southern North Carolina— and the Chesapeake or the upper South. Peter Charles Hoffer's thought-provoking essay launches the collection beyond the ratification period by focusing on constitutional originalism, surveying the changing attitude of Georgia toward federalism from the Federal Convention through *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793). The essay could have been strengthened by more attention to the decision of the Georgia legislature not to ratify the Bill of Rights and Georgia's condemning the federal government for its support of the Creek Indians.

Edward C. Papenfuse's essay on Maryland, "The 'Amending Fathers' and the Constitution: Changing Perceptions of Home Rule and Who Should Rule at Home," discusses the relationship between the new Constitution and the state's ruling elite. Particularly interesting are his arguments for the importance of Tench Coxe's "American Citizen" essays to ratification in Maryland and the 1776 Maryland Declaration of Rights to the evolution of the federal Bill of Rights.

David Konig's essay on Virginia makes a good point that the ratification debate in the state involved the balance of localism and nationalism. Its contention that James Madison had come to accept Antifederal concerns about consolidated government by the time he proposed the amendments that became the Bill of Rights that Richard Henry Lee chose to serve on the Senate's judiciary committee, and that Virginia almost convinced the First Congress to call a Second Federal Convention do not correspond to what actually happened in the First Federal Congress. Furthermore, the essay ignores Virginia's critical role in the ratification of the Bill of Rights.

The essays on the Carolinas are the most disappointing. James Ely's on South Carolina covers the story of the ratification of the Constitution and the role of South Carolinians in the adoption of the Bill of Rights in the United States House of Representatives. More attention should have been given to the amendments proposed by the state when it ratified both the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. William L. Smith's role in the drafting of the Bill of Rights may have been limited as the author claims, despite his taunting of Madison on the floor of the House; yet Smith's support for the Antifederalist version of the tenth amendment "the powers not expressly delegated . . . are reserved," because he believed it would go far toward preventing Congress from interfering with the institution of slavery within the states, would seem to have been particularly important to this collection of essays.

Walter Pratt's essay on North Carolina is based on the assumption that the state had little impact on the ratification of the Constitution or the Bill of Rights. From such a perspective it is hardly surprising that the essay ignores the importance North Carolina's failure to ratify the Constitution had as a force for the adoption of a Bill of Rights both on James Madison personally and on the debate in the First Federal Congress. Also ignored are the eight additional amendments that the state proposed when it ratified the Bill of Rights. Nevertheless, Pratt's anthropological approach is provocative and begs to be tested more widely.

KENNETH R. BOWLING
First Federal Congress Project
George Washington University

Old Hickory: A Life Sketch of Andrew Jackson. By James G. Barber. (National Portrait Gallery and Tennessee State Museum. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1990. Pp. 128. Chronology, index. \$14.95 paper.)

Andrew Jackson, A Portrait Study. By James G. Barber. (National Portrait Gallery and Tennessee State Museum. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1991. Pp. 291. Notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

A dying Andrew Jackson apologized to his last portraitist, "I wish I could do you greater justice as a sitter, Mr. Healey." (*Andrew Jackson, a Portrait Study*, p. 197). These volumes attest to the substantial justice Jackson did as a sitter in his years of national prominence between 1815 and 1845. They chronicle the more than one hundred likenesses produced by about fifty artists in these years which in turn were widely copied in lithographs and casts and on such diverse artifacts as election tickets and snuff boxes, postage stamps and plates, currency and ship figureheads. Both books also pay heed to Jackson as a subject of cartoons and include daguerreotypes taken during Jackson's final year.

The two books, both products of the same exhibit, differ substantially. The slighter volume, *Old Hickory*, after a brief biographical sketch by Robert Remini, offers illustrations of Jackson but also of his personal and political contemporaries and of artifacts such as his dueling pistols, most accompanied by a paragraph or two of comment. It is an attractively designed and ably presented and illustrated exhibit remembrance. *Andrew Jackson* has all the virtues of the other book (except for its sixteen color illustrations), but also approaches a full iconographic record of Jackson in a coherently developed monograph that offers rich glimpses of the ties of art to patriotism, politics, and power in the antebellum era.

Barber's political history is careful, competent, and conventional. Aside from vagueness about Jackson's "democratic reforms" and what he did when "he went about the business of reforming government," his data and interpretations are soberly accurate, especially compared to Remini's hyperbolic insistence that Jackson was "the original self-made man" and that no earlier American could "compare to Old Hickory" in popular affection (*Andrew Jackson*, pp. 26, 156; *Old Hickory*, p. 16). The great value of the *Portrait Study*, however, relates to art history and to Barber's sharp eye, shrewd evaluations, and rich data, much drawn from fugitive newspaper and manuscript sources.

The book hardly supports Alan Fern's claim in the foreword that this art marks a transition from the work of earlier "European-trained artists" to "a new generation of native-born painters and sculptors" (*Andrew Jackson*, p. 6). Clearly Jackson's aesthetic portrayal was an international enterprise, with most participating American artists having had some European training and artists from England, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Ireland active in it. Yet Fern and Barber are right that this is "an extraordinary pictorial record of a remarkable man" (*Andrew Jackson*, p. 7). Even more, the book provides fascinating account of the variety and vitality of art in the young nation, where artists had to depend largely on the free market. Barber's careful attributions, discussions, and tracings of images make it

a valuable addition to the thoughtful generalizing monographs of the antebellum art industry by Lillian Miller and Neil Harris.

Jackson stimulated strong images from many of nation's best-known artists: Charles Willson Peale and (in Baltimore) Rembrandt Peale, John Vanderlyn, Thomas Sully, John W. Jarvis, Asher Durand, Hiram Powers, George P. A. Healey. He also attracted many lesser-known artists and popularizers, some of whom produced remarkable work. Perhaps the best portrait is by a Kentucky-born farm boy and Cincinnati artist Aaron Corwine; the most appealing bust the recently recovered terra cotta by Philadelphia shipcarver William Rush; the best drawing a sketch by David Claypoole Johnston which he later used in his cartoons, including his depiction of Jackson as "Richard III"—the most visually inventive and concentratedly venomous one in American history. The section on cartoons, far from complete, is the best coverage available, especially good on the work of James Akins and Edward Clay Williams, the latter doing much to integrate the game of politics to other central aspects of Americana such as barbecues, fist fights, horse races, and poker games.

If the cartoons chronicle recognition of politics as an aggressive sport, the paintings of Ralph E. W. Earl, who made a career of creating and partially controlling the images of Jackson, suggest the dignity officially sanctioned and captured in most serious works. A close friend and relative by marriage of Jackson who lived with the general in his public years including those in the White House, Earl was, as Francis Blair quipped, the "King's Painter," who turned out countless woodenly sincere images of Jackson, all looking, as Barber writes, "as if the artist had produced the facial features with a large rubber stamp!" (*Andrew Jackson*, pp. 146, 135). In this iconography there is nothing of the frontier or common-man Andy, but sternly determined dignity underlined by an often fierce singleness of vision. Even Earl's clearest popularizing attempt, the "Farmer Jackson" portrait, shows an aristocratically caped Jackson posed in front of broad acres and (in some versions) his race horses, his spectacles giving the hero a speculative aura. This official Jackson is the gentleman thinking, with clearly no intention of ever touching a plow.

Old saws about pictures and those "thousand words" suggest false alternatives. All evidence matters, and *Andrew Jackson* provides the pictorial record much more fully than any other source, along with a great many words that contribute to understanding it. What this iconography tells

is as important as it is elusive. On the simplest level, the visual evidence points up historical mistakes such as Reimini's comment that in early manhood Jackson had "bristly dark hair . . . nearly as erect as the man himself" (*Old Hickory*, p. 18). All the portraits prior to the presidential campaigns show hair falling in loose locks over Jackson's brow. On deeper levels, one glimpses here what Americans saw and wanted to see in the age's central public figure, in ways that suggest why the phrase "I see" is often appropriate indication of understanding.

DAVID GRIMSTED
University of Maryland

Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman. By William Tecumseh Sherman. Edited by Charles Royster. (New York: Library of America, 1990. Pp. 955. Appendices, notes, index. \$35.00.)

Memoirs and Selected Letters: Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, Selected Letters 1839-1865. By Ulysses S. Grant. Edited by Mary Drake McFeely and William S. McFeely. (New York: Library of America, 1990. Pp. 1120. Chronology, notes, index. \$35.00.)

Among the many developments, great and small, which resulted from the Civil War was the creation of the modern memoir as a literary form and publishing category. Almost from the moment of Lee's surrender Americans yearned to record their own experience in the war and to read about the exploits of others. It is doubtful that there has ever been a period in American history where more people, from ordinary citizens to national leaders, wrote more about themselves and what they had done. Many of these works were private acts of testimony and went unpublished (at least until recently when social historians, interested in anonymous Americans, have caused to be published diaries, letters, and autobiographies long buried in archives and private collections). For the war's prominent actors, memory and the preservation of memory intersected with commercial publishing and the newly created national marketplace. As one might expect, the two heroes of the Union cause—Grant and Sherman—were rewarded the most handsomely in their book contracts.

What was probably not expected, and what has surprised subsequent generations of readers, is that both men (but especially Grant) produced finely crafted narratives that have important positions in American literature. The writing of these two generals, shaped by a war that influenced their perceptions, signalled the advent of a style that became dominant in America (for both fiction and nonfiction) from the late nineteenth century down to the present: descriptive prose, empirical, terse, and largely unaffected. As the war changed many things, it helped to refashion American literature.

First and foremost the memoirs are narratives of the Civil War from the perspectives of two commanding generals. They are not autobiographies since both books are shaped like bell curves: neither author devotes more than cursory attention to his life before and after the conflict. Neither do the books fulfill a traditional role of the autobiography, one which had been hitherto operative in America, as a cautionary tale or an extended moral lesson (such as Franklin's *Autobiography*) based on a life's journey. Neither is at all self-revelatory. Grant, for example, writes nothing about the string of failures he endured after leaving the army in 1854, and he is absolutely silent on his drinking problem. Sherman, who may have had a nervous breakdown early in the war when confronted with the demands of command, glosses over this episode and pugnaciously blames the charge on irresponsible newspapermen.

If the memoirs are not introspective neither do they contain any wide ranging considerations on the larger causes, course, and consequences of the Civil War. Instead, following the model of a military report, each memoir's range of vision is

focused on the immediate activity of the author in his operations against the enemy. Those operations were largely in the western theater as Grant, with Sherman campaigning under him, sliced the Confederacy in two along the Mississippi and then, when placed in command of the western armies, won the battles at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Grant was transferred east to assault Richmond in the bloody battles of 1864 while Sherman was given command to attack Atlanta and march to the sea.

The western focus of these memoirs is instructive since so much of Civil War historiography and mythology has been written as if the eastern theater was the war's only cockpit. In contrast to the muddled Union efforts in the east to hold off Robert E. Lee, the western campaigns of Grant and Sherman were largely unbroken, if hard fought, successes. Grant early came to the recognition that the Southern armies had to be attacked and destroyed, and he drew the logical conclusion that his task was to fasten onto the Confederate forces that confronted him, keep that army on the defensive with relentless pressure, and defeat it. At the end of the first day of Shiloh, his troops having been battered back almost into the Tennessee River, Grant responded to Sherman's comment on how hard the fighting had been: "Yes. Yes. Lick 'em tomorrow." The exchange is possibly apocryphal (neither man mentions it in his memoirs), but it perfectly sums up Grant's determination just as it reveals the irresolution that plagued Union commanders (like McClellan and Hooker) in the East.

The campaigns waged by Grant and Sherman helped shape modern warfare. Battles, under Grant, began to develop along the lines of the massive fixed engagements and sieges that would characterize World War I. The assumption that the enemy must be defeated in totality, still a tenet of modern American military practice, also arose out of Grant's almost accidental formulation of the policy of unconditional surrender. Sherman, with Grant's approval, took mass warfare involving conscript armies to its next step with the assumption that in national wars there was no distinction between soldiers and noncombatants; war had to be taken to the civilian population. In Sherman's order to depopulate Atlanta, his scorching march through Georgia, the burning of Columbia and other lesser actions, the shape of twentieth-century warfare began to emerge. Sherman was forthright about his intentions in waging total war: "I can make this march, and make Georgia howl" (p. 627). But he was disingenuous in declining to see anything especially significant in his march: "I considered this march as a means to an end, and not as an essential act of war" (p. 697). He must, however, have understood or at least suspected that his Georgia and South Carolina campaign had changed the way wars would be fought. Whether he was willing or able to face the consequences of his actions may be questioned. Grant distilled and assimilated his experiences in the battles and campaigns of the war to present them with a fresh and immediate perspective. Some sense of Grant's mastery of the military art can be discerned in his command of the recounting of the war as he fought it. Interestingly, Sherman, who has a reputation of not being the best battlefield general, tends to disappear when it comes time to refight the battles on paper. Grant is not absent from a single page of his memoirs.

In *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York, 1962), Edmund Wilson has made the connection that giving military orders and writing reports contributed to the "chastening" of the American prose style. In part, Wilson argues, the new stripped down directness of American prose resulted from the culture of the industrial revolution and its emphasis on standardization, efficiency, and production for the mass market. The specific impact of the war in creating a new style was that men like Grant and Sherman, under terrible pressure, had to act decisively and quickly to implement their plans. Their writing had to be plain, unadorned, and immediately comprehensible. This decisive style was carried over into memoirs or recollections of the war and, since thousands of men issued orders, it had wide impact on the way that Americans wrote.

Wilson's explanation provides the reasons why there was a technique that could be adopted by American writers but does not explain why they should have adopted it. That reason lay in the enormity of the war, especially—but not solely—in the magnitude of the casualties, and the inability or inadequacy of language to express men's experience and emotions. Terseness and brevity was a way of coping with the insupportable or the incomprehensible. The new American style, then, can be considered an act of repression in which emotion is drained away because of the fear that expressing emotion will be incapacitating. For Grant and Sherman this influence toward repression only reinforced the tendency of military language to deal flatly (and at its worst euphemistically) with the reality of warfare so that officers and men will not be unable to function when faced with what they have to do. In neither memoir is there any mention (except, significantly, in the abstract form of statistics) of the totally unprecedented numbers of casualties, let alone how each general dealt with the slaughter. Grant was the more courageous writer since he did refigure the battles in his memoirs, doing so in a style that bears comparison with Hemingway when confronted with the carnage of World War I.

In the recent, immensely popular, PBS series "The Civil War" Shelby Foote calls Confederate cavalry leader Nathan Bedford Forrest one of the two "geniuses" of the war, the other being Lincoln. With respect to Forrest, it is hard to know what Foote meant. Forrest liked to fight and fought well, but his exploits, however bedeviling to the Union, can only be characterized as a sideshow, irrelevant to the way in which the Civil War was reshaping how wars would be fought. Forrest, or rather the Southern image of Forrest, embodied the South's infatuation with the ideal of the beau sabreur. His wild individualism generated a romantic appeal which, as part of the "lost-cause" mythology and as evidenced by Foote's comment, still resonates. But by the mid-nineteenth century, as Mark Twain signalled in *Huckleberry Finn* with the wrecked steamboat "Sir Walter Scott," romanticism was dead, killed in large measure by two laconic Midwesterners, U. S. Grant and William T. Sherman. And Grant and Sherman may be said to have killed romanticism twice, first in the war itself and then in their telling of it.

DAVID C. WARD
Smithsonian Institution

At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915. By William Cohen. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991. Pp. xix, 339. Tables, appendices, bibliography, index. \$42.50.)

The South's slaves tasted their first fruits of freedom even before Gen. Robert E. Lee's men stacked their guns at Appomattox. From the moment Union troops entered their districts, blacks ran off searching for loved ones and friends. Thousands tested their new found freedom, the opportunity to make decisions for themselves. Despite the "new" emancipation studies that have revolutionized our understanding of freedom as a dynamic process, except for William Cohen no scholar has systematically examined the issue of black mobility in the context of postwar southern economic conditions and legal, labor, and social policy.

Cohen brings to the task two decades of patient research and reflection on racial control and black migration in the South from the Civil war to World War I. He sorts out conflicting evidence on the meaning of black freedom after slavery's demise. This was a period, Cohen writes, "when southern blacks lived at freedom's edge, suspended between the world of slavery that once had been theirs and a world of freedom that still belonged mostly to whites" (p. 3). Though aware of the legal, social, political, and economic restraints on the freedmen during Reconstruction, Cohen nonetheless argues that black southerners experienced considerable freedom of movement within the South. Few of these poor people—many at subsistence level—could afford the transportation necessary to relocate to the North, to Kansas, or to far off Liberia. But they still possessed freedom of movement. "Ultimately, black movement proved to be the stuff of freedom, for as long as blacks could respond to economic opportunities by voting with their feet, their employers were forced into at least a limited competition with one another" (p. 248).

This represents a major reinterpretation, challenging scholars who have argued that the South resembled "a vast jail run by the planter class" (p. 24), and others, like C. Vann Woodward, who argued that segregation did not emerge full blown until the turn of the century. According to Cohen, "The most common manifestations of racial oppression and segregation were fully evident long before the 1890s" (p. 246). Cohen sees a link between late nineteenth-century labor and migration practices with those of the pre-emancipation South. "What was new was simply that the blacks made their own decisions about when to leave home and when to come back" (p. 137). And, Cohen adds, for all its flaws, sharecropping "was indeed a free labor system in which blacks had the right to move about and to bargain with their employers over terms" (p. 22). Ultimately economic and demographic forces—transporting the supply of available freedmen where demand was greatest—prevailed. Cohen concludes that despite the erection of a complex legal structure of involuntary servitude for blacks after 1900, blacks still were relatively free to migrate when and where they chose.

For all Cohen's thorough research, his book is riddled with contradictions and unexplained paradoxes. He argues persuasively that whites throughout the post-war years established a tight legal net that kept blacks trapped in the condition of

near-slavery. But Cohen points again and again to the relative mobility of black southerners. He admits that his own conclusions have changed since the publication of a preliminary analysis in 1976; his arguments here would have been much stronger had he determined more satisfactorily the degree to which the laws he discusses were enforced. He also fails to develop thoroughly his point that fissures within the white community enabled blacks to escape the full force of southern law. Finally, Cohen's book falls short of placing the labor controls and migratory patterns into the broad intellectual context of Jim Crow America—the lingering proslavery argument that emerged full-blown into an American apartheid.

Still, Cohen has written an important book that underscores the vital nexus among racial control, labor control, and black mobility.

JOHN DAVID SMITH
North Carolina State University

Entering the Auto Age: The Early Automobile in North Carolina, 1900-1930. By Robert E. Ireland. (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1990. Pp. xvi, 139. Illustrations, notes. \$6.00.)

Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935. By Howard Lawrence Preston. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991. Pp. x, 206. Illustrations, chronology, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$38.50 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

In 1921, President Warren G. Harding told Congress that “the motorcar has become an indispensable instrument in our political, social, and industrial life” (Ireland, p. 118). During the first third of the twentieth century, horseless carriages and hard-surface roads worked in tandem to transform America in general and the South in particular. For some time, important parts of the Maryland story have been available in *A History of Road Building in Maryland* (1958), by Charles T. LeViness, and *Maryland Automobile History, 1900 to 1942* (1985), by Rector R. Seal.

Two new books point the way toward increasingly full and sophisticated treatments of the impact of automobility in every state. Even before 1900 news of gasoline-powered vehicles was reaching “every blacksmith, buggy maker, and bicycle maker in the land” (p. 3), suggests Robert E. Ireland. The early machines—whether powered by steam, electricity, or gasoline—generated more noise than power, and they did not immediately displace mules, buggies, or wagons. But by the 1920s, a new constellation of gasoline engines, mass production, and installment purchasing made the automobile an increasingly universal part of life in rural as well as urban areas. Trucks, buses, and tractors, too, began to transform Southern life. And in 1924 the Charlotte Motor Speedway began operation for fans of a new sport.

The full advent of automobile culture had to wait on the widespread availability of driveable roads as well as of reliable and affordable cars. By the 1920s, the state and federal governments alike were generating large sums of money to finance road improvements. North Carolina undertook to develop a state system of roads,

and highway construction became, in dollar terms, much the largest part of state operations. At the same time that the state worked to promote automobility, it worked to regulate it. Speed limits and driver licensing were two components of an emerging effort to curtail the carnage that proved to be the downside of the new freedom. Enlarging on a theme introduced by Ireland, Preston develops the story of a turn-of-the-century call for road improvements that had little to do with automobiles. Rather, it sought to cut farmers' cost of shipping goods to market, and it promised access to schools, churches, and towns that, during the muddy months of winter, were otherwise simply inaccessible. But long before the 1920s the agenda changed. Long-distance highways, not farm-to-market roads, took center stage and the lion's share of the new funds.

Both books could have been better. Ireland's book has no index, and he drops an occasional stitch, as when he fails to note that in 1931 North Carolina repealed the ancient labor tax on the roads. As for Preston's book, some readers will find it under-edited and over-priced. When he denies that the South's road improvements led to higher rates of school attendance or literacy, he compares the South with the North rather than the South at different times. But both books do much to reconstruct the chronology of the coming of the automobile and the highway. Both sketch the impact on business, society, and culture. Both contribute significantly to a dimension of the region's past that has suffered as much neglect as had the South's roads before the age of the auto.

PETER WALLENSTEIN

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

"For Hell and a Brown Mule": The Biography of Senator Millard E. Tydings. By Caroline H. Keith. (Lanham, New York, London: Madison Books, 1991. Pp. xvi, 527. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

Millard E. Tydings was the most significant United States Senator from Maryland in the twentieth century. Elected four times, chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee, father of legislation creating the Defense Department and ensuring Philippine independence, he fought disparate adversaries—Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s and Joseph R. McCarthy in the 1950s—with equal vigor. Since his death in 1961 Tydings has deserved a major biography. Now he has one in this splendid, authorized work by Caroline H. Keith. Skillfully researched in the available sources—the Senator destroyed most of his correspondence after leaving office—and vividly written, *"For Hell and a Brown Mule"* faithfully reflects its subject's conservative beliefs and values. (The book's title is drawn from a response the vociferous Tydings once hurled at constituents during a meeting.) Born in Havre de Grace in 1890, Tydings was educated at the Maryland Agricultural College in College Park and the University of Maryland Law School in Baltimore, before entering the House of Delegates at twenty-five. Still in his twenties during World War I, he served as lieutenant colonel of a machine gun battalion in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. This experience, which earned him the Distinguished

Service Cross, "critically shaped his life" (p. 162), according to Ms. Keith. Decades later, during the illness preceding his death, a delirious Tydings imagined himself once more on that battlefield of long ago.

The war enabled Tydings to resume his political career with a flourish in 1919, as "the fair-haired boy of Harford County" (p. 168), and an ally of newly elected Gov. Albert C. Ritchie. By 1926 Tydings had functioned successively as Speaker of the House of Delegates, state senator, and two-term congressman from the second district. The Ritchie organization then helped place him in the U. S. Senate, after which he thrived in that arena on his own. Following the governor's defeat in 1934, Tydings emerged as Maryland's foremost public figure. Yet, as Ms. Keith makes clear, he never wished to be a local political boss. His ambitions were focused on Washington.

It was there that he became "one of the leading and most articulate spokesmen for the traditional conservative Democratic point of view" (p. 459), namely the Jeffersonian creed of states' rights and limited central government. Thus, although Tydings voted for some high priority New Deal measures, he resisted more of them, including the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Works Progress Administration, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Public Utility Holding Company Act. However, it was his role as a chief opponent of Roosevelt's ill-fated judicial reorganization proposal in 1937 that solidified the president's bitter enmity, and engendered the so-called "purge" election of 1938. The administration tried to thwart Tydings' bid for a third term that year by promoting his main rival in the Democratic primary, Representative David J. Lewis. Roosevelt campaigned for Lewis in Maryland, and half his cabinet participated in the anti-Tydings crusade. But the effort backfired, contributing to a massive Tydings victory, which was duplicated in the November general election. Tydings had triumphed over Roosevelt, one of his two most potent antagonists in American politics.

He was less fortunate personally in his struggle with the other antagonist, Senator Joe McCarthy. The Tydings-McCarthy conflict constitutes the dramatic highlight of Ms. Keith's book. She devotes nearly one-third of her volume to it, and is quite critical of tactical errors the Marylander made in confronting the Wisconsin demagogue. It was as chairman of a special subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee in 1950 that Tydings demolished McCarthy's charges depicting the State Department as "riddled with communist infiltrators" (p. 2). These accusations, said Tydings, were simply "a fraud and a hoax" (p. 67). McCarthy retaliated that autumn by orchestrating Republican John Marshall Butler's successful attempt to prevent Tydings from gaining election to a fifth term. The Butler endeavor included circulating a composite photograph of Tydings conversing with former communist party head Earl Browder. A Senate report later considered this and similar McCarthy-inspired actions as comprising a "despicable 'back street' campaign conducted by non-Maryland outsiders" (p. 426). And although retired to private life, Tydings continued to combat McCarthy, until the latter's final condemnation by his colleagues in late 1954.

Ms. Keith discusses all this and more with an exceptionally acute understanding of Tydings' personality and character. He was portrayed in the *New York Times* as "distant and rather . . . austere" (p. 455), but Ms. Keith's perception allows readers truly to know the man behind the public persona. This is her book's greatest strength. Its most serious flaw is her perfunctory coverage of Tydings' lucrative law practice. Ms. Keith neither describes nor evaluates his career as an attorney. Still, "*For Hell and a Brown Mule*" remains a luminous and thoroughly enjoyable biography.

MYRON I. SCHOLNICK
Towson State University

The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985. By Jon C. Teaford. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1990. Pp. 383. \$48.50 cloth; \$16.95 paper.)

Teaford here describes the changes that have occurred in the big old cities of the Northeastern and Midwestern United States since World War II. Teaford, a professor of history at Purdue University, compares the vital statistics for twelve "rustbelt" cities (Baltimore included) with the public policies emanating from their city halls. His findings shed light and cast shadows on the "Baltimore Renaissance."

Teaford finds two constants throughout the period of his study. The first was a centrifugal economic and social force moving the well-to-do population, commerce, and industry to the suburbs. The other was a reactionary effort by the leaders of the central cities to perpetuate their wealth and power.

During the postwar years the automobile transported the middle-class to the suburbs in their search for a cleaner, quieter, safer place to live. The poor filled the vacated city houses. Downtown commercial districts also declined as retailers followed their best customers, and as manufacturers sought accessible sites near highway interchanges. For example, in Baltimore the percentage of non-white inhabitants grew as the overall population shrank, and by 1976 city dwellers earned only 78 percent of the wages of their county counterparts. Between 1977 and 1982 retail sales dropped more than 23 percent, and the number of Baltimoreans employed in manufacturing jobs dropped more than 10 percent. Baltimore and other cities found themselves with a diminishing tax base and facing a growing demand for social services.

The cities might have accepted this reduced circumstance as their demographic destiny—the result of a free market determination that least-cost houses should be located in the center city, that first-class retailers should be near their best customers, and that industry should be decentralized. Instead the leadership chose to castigate the changes that were taking place as pathological. The cities were viewed as suffering from a "blight," and the job of municipal officials was to "mix the elixir" that would cure their ills. Teaford reviews the efficacy of the various remedies which were tested over the postwar years and the mood swings which accompanied them as a side effect.

Immediately after World War II hopes were high that the central cities could beat suburbia at its own game. Cities emphasized the construction of highways and airports and the provision of more housing and a cleaner environment. By the late 1950s, however, there was some nay saying as the billion dollar schemes for public improvements and rehabilitation failed to do the job. In Baltimore, for example, the plan drafted by Robert Moses calling for an east-west freeway demoralized the neighborhood through which it was to cut. And, the Federal Home Owners Loan Corporation sponsored efforts to "fight blight" in the old inner city neighborhood of Waverly attracted nationwide attention but had no lasting impact.

Notwithstanding their shortcomings urban renewal programs continued into the 1960s. Upon Charles Center's completion in 1962, Baltimore's downtown redevelopment was immediately hailed as a masterpiece (overlooked was the rent in the city fabric). Optimism soared as the "white knight" mayors of this era, New York's John Lindsay and Baltimore's "young Tommy" D'Alesandro for examples, became generals in the "War on Poverty" and undertook to rebuild the cities in both physical and human terms. Federal aid would be employed to eliminate poverty and promote racial justice. Slums would disappear and crime would abate.

These dreams were deflated by the urban riots of the late 1960s. When the smoke cleared residences were found abandoned, retail sales down, and the demand for office space diminished. Indeed with the benefit of hindsight it was clear that the War on Poverty was a "no win" situation from the cities' point of view. The problems to be solved—crime, illiteracy, unemployment and squalor—were intractable. During the last half of the 1960s the violent crime rate in Baltimore tripled. And besides, even if programs were developed which effectively transferred some wealth to the poor, they attracted the wrong class of newcomers and thereby worked at cross-purposes to the real goal of the cities, which was to make themselves more middle-class, more affluent. Lindsay and D'Alesandro quit, having determined that the cities were "ungovernable."

This was the scene that marked the arrival of Baltimore's William Donald Schaefer and New York's Edward Koch as the archetypal "messiah mayors." They claimed to be the urban saviors by miraculously redeeming their cities from financial doom, creating a favorable climate for business, and keeping a lid on social disorder.

Schaefer worked his miracles for Baltimore. A city fair lavished praise on old-fashioned neighborhoods and created a justification for the expenditure of federal UDAG funds on the middle class rather than the poor. Touted "dollar-houses" attracted upper-income suburbanites back to the city. Flashy creations such as the "festival marketplace" created a tourist mecca that spawned hotels. A new skyline (promoted by tax subsidies, and financed by ill-advised commercial loans) provided lawyers and stock brokers with spanking new office space.

But in the last analysis we recognize the irony in Teaford's title. In the eleven other cities surveyed and ". . . Schaefer's Baltimore there was a world beyond the hype issuing from city hall, a world of continuing decay and distress . . ." (p.287). In this other world poverty was rampant, housing squalid. The murder rate soared

while the school system failed to adequately train teenagers for the available jobs. Schaefer had created an "illusion of success" and "convinced many Americans that places like Baltimore were fun" (p.307), but the "residents of . . . Baltimore knew . . . that life . . . was actually no festival" (p.287). Such was the harsh reality of the "renaissance."

GARRETT POWER

University of Maryland School of Law

Books Received

Those interested in visiting historic districts will enjoy Ralph W. Richardson's *Historic Districts of America: The Mid-Atlantic*, the third volume in his series, covering Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The districts included in this book are all of historical, architectural or cultural significance with information arranged by state and city, the name of the district or item of interest, date(s) of origin or heyday, a brief description of the district or item, the availability of tours, and addresses for gathering additional information.

Heritage Books, Inc. (paper), \$17.50

Thanks are due the Johns Hopkins University Press for a fresh edition of Robert Keith's *Baltimore Harbor: A Picture History*, exploring what the blurb calls "a wonderful old American seaport." The book originated in a program sponsored by the Chesapeake Bay Foundation for young people. Their classroom was the harbor studied from a boat. The book's dedication gives readers notice of what kind of voyage they are making: "To Dad, who taught us to prowl the waterfront and enjoy the ships." In that tribute the author reveals purpose and tone. He invites us on an informative, amiable cruise. The informative part of this picture history seems well suited to a general reader. Captions to Keith's black-and-white photos allow busy people to pick up essentials of a long, distinguished record. With them Keith persuasively argues that seeing Baltimore from the perspective of the water is educational—a word that must not discourage purchasers. *Baltimore Harbor* is neither a coffee-table paperweight nor a dry academic tome.

Johns Hopkins, \$16.95 (paper)

John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan, editors, have completed and recently published volume four of the *Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*. This addition to the distinguished series covers the abolitionist and statesman's public utterances between 1864, when Douglass spoke eloquently on "The Mission of the War" and 1880, when Douglass, actively seeking a Republican victory in the presidential campaign, associated the Democrats with the South and the name of John Wilkes Booth. During these sixteen years Douglass made some of his most important speeches in Maryland, including "A Friendly Word to Maryland," issued shortly after the state had ended slavery by adopting a new constitution; his address to the Douglass Institute in Baltimore immediately after the war on the subject of self-help and educational advancement—a topic he returned to in "Black Teachers for Black Pupils" in 1879; and his public remarks when in June 1877 he revisited his boyhood home near St. Michaels. On that occasion, according to the reporter whose account Blassingame and McKivigan rely upon, Douglass told his listeners that he had come back because "he loved

Maryland and the Eastern Shore. . . . He claimed to be an Eastern Shoreman, with all that that name implies" (p. 479). Future students of the African-American experience in the United States and of race relations in Maryland will refer to this important documentary record often and always profitably.

Yale, \$85

Those Marylanders who appreciate the work of Don Swann (and there are many) will be pleased to know that his *Colonial & Historic Homes of Maryland* has gone into another printing. A map of the state on the inside front cover makes clear how extensively he traveled in doing his etchings, which famously capture the texture and character of Maryland's old mansions—some of which have disappeared since Swann worked.

Johns Hopkins, \$15.95 (paper)

Nelson Addington Reed's *Family Papers* began with boyhood skepticism about the tales older relatives told of his ancestry. As an adult, Reed began collecting the wills, letters, and diaries that his family had accumulated. The result is not a formal genealogy but a collection of stories and documents that tell of ancestors who included New Englanders involved in the 1692 witchcraft episode, Tidewater Virginians and pioneers in the Shenandoah Valley, Marylanders from the Eastern Shore, and other family branches in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In his epilogue Reed opines that "the past wasn't so different a place from our own. We have changed our clothes, our architecture, our vocabulary, but not our humanity."

Patrice Press, St. Louis, \$32.95

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

This letter is in response to comments made by a teacher in Hagerstown whose letter to the editor appeared in the winter 1991 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. His correspondence included two partially rewritten versions of the state song, *Maryland, My Maryland*. The teacher writes that . . . the original words are unsuitable for a Christian and unsuitable for the state because they are pro-Confederate. He says Maryland remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War.

. . .

Maryland was never completely a loyal Union state by choice, since it spent the period 1861-1865 with a gun held to its head.

Two classic examples: The federal commanding officer occupying Baltimore threatened to demolish Mt. Vernon Place, including the Washington Monument, with cannon, and intimated he would poison the city water supply with arsenic. That certainly sounds like "The despot's heel is on thy shore."

Maryland continues to honor its Southern heritage in many ways, which include just within Baltimore's city limits five monuments and memorials to the Confederacy and one to the Union. After the war, Maryland sent \$100 million to help the devastated South.

An important aspect of Maryland's character was demonstrated in 1898 when the 6th Massachusetts Regiment again marched through Baltimore headed south during the Spanish-American War. They were cheered, applauded, and honored by all citizens, possibly even some who threw stones and worse at the regiment in 1861.

Leave *Maryland, My Maryland* alone, or next thing we know someone will want to change history and write a nonresistant response to the *Star Spangled Banner*.

Donald T. Fritz, Baltimore

Editor's note: An excerpt from my letter to Mr. Lowry last October:

Personally (and for reasons that have all to do with my sense of what history should involve and nothing to do with aesthetics or politics) I'm in favor of keeping as our national anthem *The Star Spangled Banner*, as our state motto "Manly Deeds, Womanly Words," and as our state song the anguished and deeply felt *Maryland, My Maryland*—for the very reason that all these things are dated and say something about our forebears and their times, their assumptions, their divisions, their sense of place or custom or outrage.

To which Mr. Lowry replied:

I think I do understand your historian's position on the national and state songs, although our [Mennonite] church community has never embraced the sentiments of either, historically. We would traditionally continue to agree with the thought of the state motto, at least with some interpretations of it. However, we would not think of our position as political in any way, but rather as religious.

James W. Lowry, Hagerstown

Notices

UNDERGRADUATE ESSAY CONTEST

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces its third annual undergraduate essay contest. Papers must be on a Maryland subject and make use of primary sources. A prize of \$250 will be awarded to the best essay. The deadline for submission is 30 May 1992. Please send papers to the Education Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201

LOIS GREEN CARR CONFERENCE

A conference entitled "Lois Green Carr—The Chesapeake and Beyond: A Celebration" will be held at the University of Maryland, College Park, on 22-23 May 1992. Sessions will be devoted to assessing the state of scholarship in the several areas in which Dr. Carr has made significant contributions. There will be papers by, among others, Jack P. Greene, Jacob Price, Jackson Turner Main, Lorena Walsh, Russell Menard, and Richard Dunn. Bernard Bailyn will give the keynote address. For more information about the conference, please write to Dr. Jean Russo, 3307 Wake Drive, Kensington, Maryland 20895.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER ANNOUNCES APPOINTMENTS TO HISTORIC ST. MARY'S CITY COMMISSION

On 23 September 1991, Governor Schaefer announced the appointment of twelve members to the newly created Historic St. Mary's City Commission. The governor named Benjamin C. Bradlee, vice president of the *Washington Post* and St. Mary's County resident, chairman. The Historic St. Mary's City Commission is an agency of the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development. It was created to preserve the historic areas of St. Mary's City, interpret findings related to the history of the city, and educate people about historical events surrounding this site—one of the earliest and best-preserved examples of seventeenth-century English settlements in North America.

EVENTS AT HISTORIC ST. MARY'S

On 28 and 29 March, between 10 A.M. and 5 P.M., Historic St. Mary's opens its season with the Maryland Days Weekend open house. Admission is free all weekend. Pageantry and ceremonies mark the founding of the state in 1634. There will be music of all kinds, fresh seafood, crafts, and special exhibits.

During Militia Days, 13 and 14 June, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., the St. Maries City Militia musters at the old capital. You can see demonstrations of carpentry, hearthcooking, and shoemaking, and learn how to fire a matchlock musket—in thirty-two easy steps.

CALL FOR 1993 NGS CONFERENCE LECTURE PROPOSALS

The National Genealogical Society invites lecture proposals for its 1993 Conference scheduled for 2-5 June 1992 in Baltimore, Maryland, with the theme "A Chesapeake Homecoming." The conference will also celebrate the Society's ninetyeth birthday.

Program Committee solicits proposals for lectures on the history, records, repositories, and ethnic and religious groups of the Chesapeake region (Maryland, Virginia, and neighboring states); migrations into, within, and from the region; and the Old World origins of those who settled there. In addition, the committee invites proposals covering broader themes in genealogical research, including methodology, problem solving, and the use of computers and related technologies.

Each proposal should include a descriptive title, an abstract of the lecture, an indication of whether the lecture will be directed at beginning, intermediate, or advanced researchers, and the lecturer's full name, address, telephone numbers, and qualifications for speaking on the proposed topic.

Each NGS conference lecturer receives an honorarium based on distance from the conference site and complimentary conference registration and banquet ticket. Proposals must be received by 15 April 1992. Address questions and proposals to the program co-chairman, Eric G. Grundset, 5200 Marvell Lane, Fairfax, Virginia 22032

MARYLAND SHEEP AND WOOL FESTIVAL

The Maryland Sheep and Wool Festival will be held 2 and 3 May at the Howard County Fairgrounds, West Friendship, Maryland. There will be over two hundred craft booths, sheep dog demonstrations, sheep shearing contests, a fashion show, live entertainment, and other events. For further information call Lynne Clary (410) 290-6967.

FRENCH PAINTINGS AT THE DELAWARE ART MUSEUM

The Delaware Art Museum will present an exhibition of thirty-eight French paintings from the New Orleans Museum of Art from 15 May through 29 June 1992. The exhibition draws upon the breadth of the New Orleans collection, presenting a variety of periods and reflecting many of the most significant stylistic transitions in the rich history of French painting. For more information, contact the Delaware Art Museum at (302) 571-9590.

Picture Puzzle

This issue's Picture Puzzle relates to a Maryland event from a springtime past. What occurrence does this photograph depict? Please give the date and the specific Maryland town in the image.

The winter 1991 Picture Puzzle showed local dignitaries laying the cornerstone for the U.S. Customs House at Gay and Lombard Streets on 13 June 1903. This cornerstone weighed more than eleven tons, "one of the largest ever laid in the United States," according to the *Sun*.

The following persons correctly identified the fall 1991 Picture Puzzle: Carlos P. Avery, Moses J. Cohen, G. Harvey Davis, Mary Inglehart Duke, James H. Jensen, James Winship Lewis, Albert L. Morris, John Riggs Orrick, Thomas G. Peter, Wayne R. Schaumburg, and James Thomas Wollon.



If There is Alzheimer's Disease...

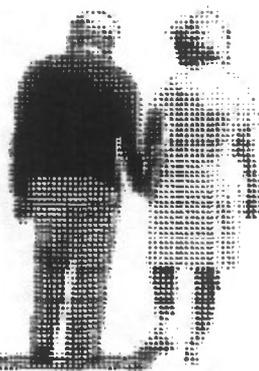
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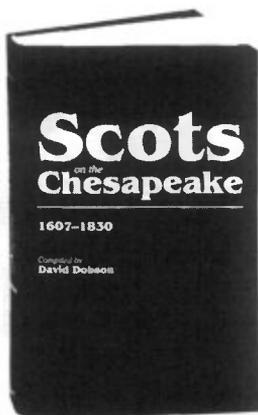
10917 Liberty Road Randallstown, Md 21133

301-521-5481.

Scots on the Chesapeake

1607-1830

Compiled by David Dobson



Brings together all available references to Scots in Virginia and Maryland from sources scattered throughout Great Britain and North America. The result is an exhaustive list of several thousand Scots including, where known, details of birth, marriage, and death, occupation, age, date of emigration, place of settlement, and family relationships.

169 pp., cloth, 1992. \$20.00 plus \$2.50 postage and handling. Maryland residents add 5% sales tax; Michigan residents add 4% sales tax.

GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO.

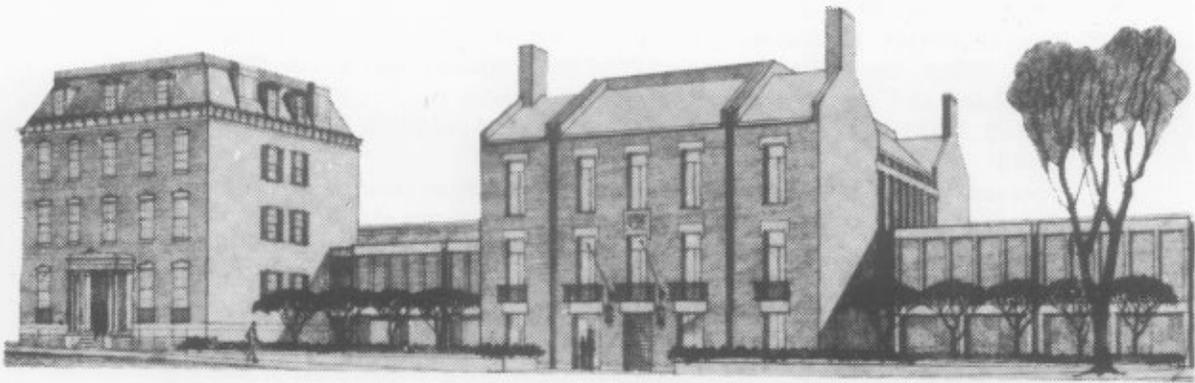
1001 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 21202

Maryland Historical Society Publications List Best Sellers

- * ANDERSON, GEORGE MC C. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck, 1828-1912, who chose for his name the anagram V. Blada.* 222pp. Illus. 1970. \$20.00 (\$18.00)
- * CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. \$4.50 (\$4.05)
- * COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy, 1760-1820.* 139pp. Illus. 1981. (paper) \$15.00 (\$13.50)
- * COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. \$9.50 (\$8.05)
- * ELLIS, DONNA; STUART, KAREN *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* 202pp. Illus. 1989 \$17.95 (\$16.15)
- * FILBY, P. WILLIAM AND HOWARD, EDWARD G. *Star-Spangled Books.* 175pp. Illus. 1972. \$17.50 (\$15.75)
- * FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. \$4.95 (\$4.45)
- * GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. \$30.00 (\$27.00)
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