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Editor's Notebook

What Is It with Jane Austen?

This venerable magazine, first published in 1906, receives many requests for copies of old articles. At hand is a letter asking for an article from 1911. Opening the eighty-five-year-old issue is like peering into a time capsule. Extending that idea, and flattering ourselves that this issue may be similarly delved into fifty or a hundred years from now, we offer a sampler of cognitive consonance and dissonance in the daily lives of Marylanders in early 1996.

Nothing matches in grandeur the recent discovery of two new planets and the subsequent revival of interest in the possibilities of intelligent life in galaxies yet unknown. Our Hubble telescope, flawed by human error and corrected by human ingenuity, is performing remarkably well. The lay mind boggles at most astronomical calculations and hypotheses, but we know that much is at stake for our philosophies. Awestruck by the pace and complexity of interspatial discovery, we can conjure nevertheless, and we do—in rare quiet moments.

A visitor from Mars might be fascinated by our obsession with characters invented by a novelist who died in 1817, leaving behind a cast of great civility and hypocrisy whose female members spend virtually all of their time waiting for gentlemen with "5,000 pounds a year." Jane Austen's scenes of gentility fill our screens large and small. Oxford University Press and several book clubs are doing brisk business with handsome new sets of the complete works in hardcover and paperback. Evidently Austen provides respite from our increasingly vulgar and cacophonous times. To calm down, we take a literary tranquilizer, willingly swallowing her limited slice of society and accepting with little comment the narrowness of her women's lives. Austenites further fuel their addiction to nineteenth-century England with the delightful book *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew* by Daniel Pool, published in 1995 and reprinted this year in paperback (Touchstone Books).

Moving from the truly sublime to the relatively sublime to the ridiculous, we have the spectacle of O. J. Simpson selling for $30 a portion of what he would not say at his trial for murder in 1995—a perfect metaphor for our celebrity-driven, media-overloaded culture.

We are in our quadrennial presidential cycle, repelled by its excesses and yet drawn to the greatest of all democratic exercises. Television advertising, much of it negative, now drives the contest. We fret about the lack of will in the Congress for campaign finance reform. We marvel at how quickly balancing the budget in seven years (or whatever) fell off the radar screen as the primary season began in February. We deplore the zeal of the press for covering the process (the horse race) rather than the issues. We see that continuous polling, instead of measuring what we think, threatens to tell us *what* to think. (By the way, readers of this magazine who subscribe to *American Heritage* have unwittingly contributed to

a presidential campaign. Forbes, Inc., the publisher, has done fairly well by a magazine that once was sponsored by the American Association for State & Local History and the Society of American Historians, but they have tricked it up with merchandising gimmicks. It is hard to find the articles between the thick tear-out advertising cards.)

There are signs that the American press may be ready to critique its own posturing and preoccupation with process over substance. In January, James Fallows published *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy* (Pantheon Books; excerpted in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February), causing a healthy outbreak of soul-searching and new rounds of seminars.

We think of our troops in Bosnia with pride, concern, and ambivalence. We are divided about being there but not bitterly so. We want to lead as befits our standing as a nation, but fear that we are only buying time, at great risk, between hostilities.

A lot of Marylanders worry vaguely about what will happen to the USF *Constellation*, once the glorious (and mythic) centerpiece of Baltimore's Inner Harbor but now a sadly decaying relic. The March-April issue of *Naval History*, published by the U.S. Naval Institute, contains a useful article by Frank Royalance about current efforts to preserve the de-masted vessel. (Call 1-800-233-8764 to buy the issue for $3.50 or a subscription.)

So there: a little time capsule, a loose assortment of things that are on our minds as this issue is published and read.

E.L.S.

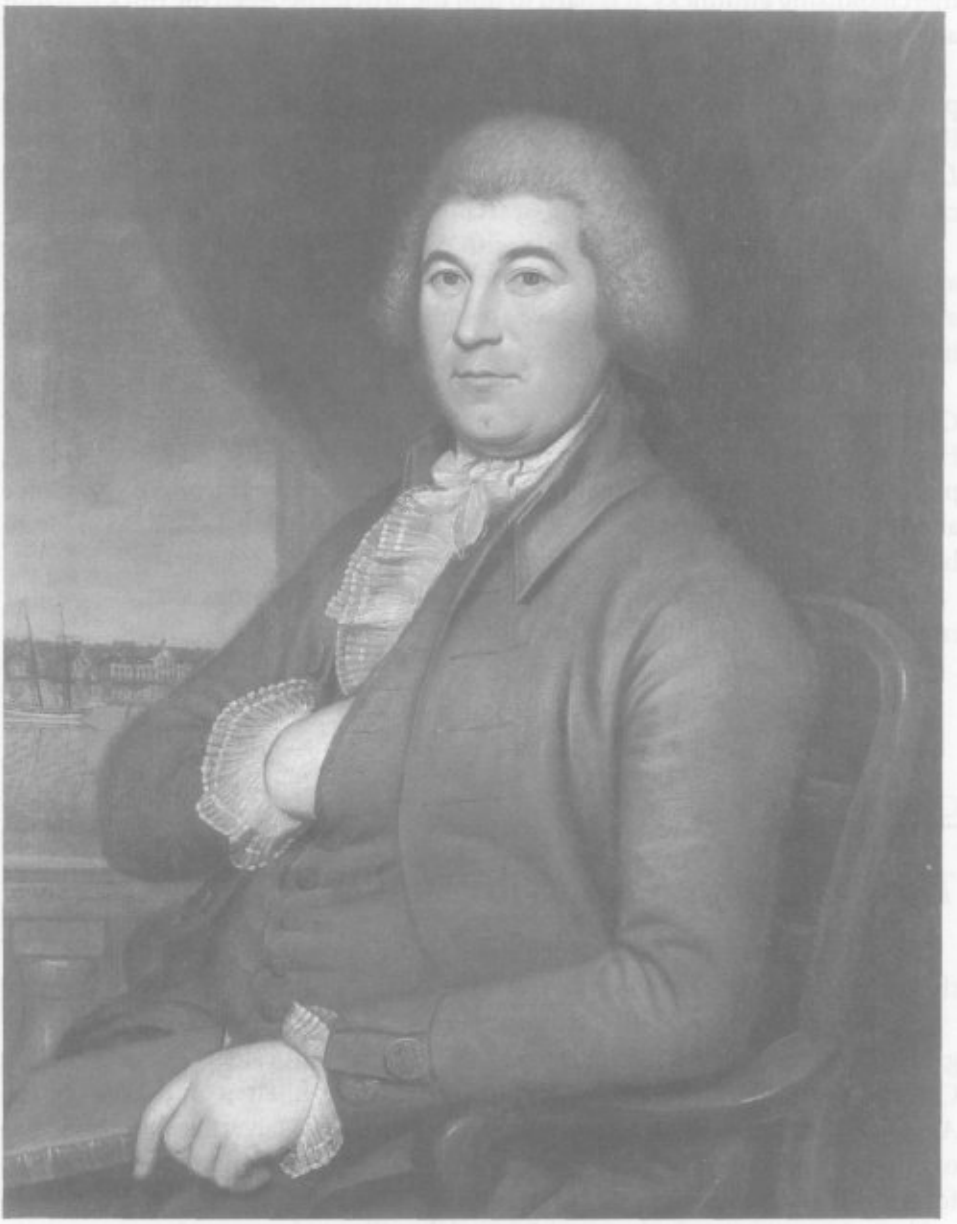
Cover

The Octagonal Barn at Riversdale

Our cover salutes the citizens of Prince George's on the 300th anniversary of the founding of their county.

The octagonal barn at Riversdale in Prince George's County stood on the grounds of the Calvert family estate. Built by agriculturalist George Benedict Calvert, the structure attracted national attention when it appeared in the *American Farmer* in 1854. This younger son of George Calvert and Rosalie Stier organized and gave the land for the First College of Agricultural Research, forerunner of the University of Maryland at College Park. Although the octagonal barn is now gone, the house at Riversdale still stands, a grand monument to generations of Maryland's founding family.

P.D.A.



The Crocodile: Christopher Hughes grew rich when the paper money system failed and the value of his gold and silver escalated. Oil on canvas by Charles Willson Peale, 1788. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The Carpenter and The Crocodile

GARRETT POWER

Pre-revolutionary Baltimore Town grew rapidly in commerce and population. Its harbor on the Chesapeake Bay served a larger trading area than any other American seaport. As production of wheat and iron ore increased, Baltimore, with its mills and furnaces, became a center of export, import, manufacture, and exchange. A cluster of twenty-five houses in 1750 became a village of three thousand in 1770, and a town of six thousand in 1776. Artisans, mechanics, and merchants, and their families swelled the population.[1]

Two young fortune seekers were among the newcomers in the 1770s. Twenty-eight-year-old Leonard Harbaugh was a "sturdy carpenter" eager to find work. And silversmith Christopher Hughes, age twenty-six, arrived from Ireland on the lookout for trade. Both prospered.[2]

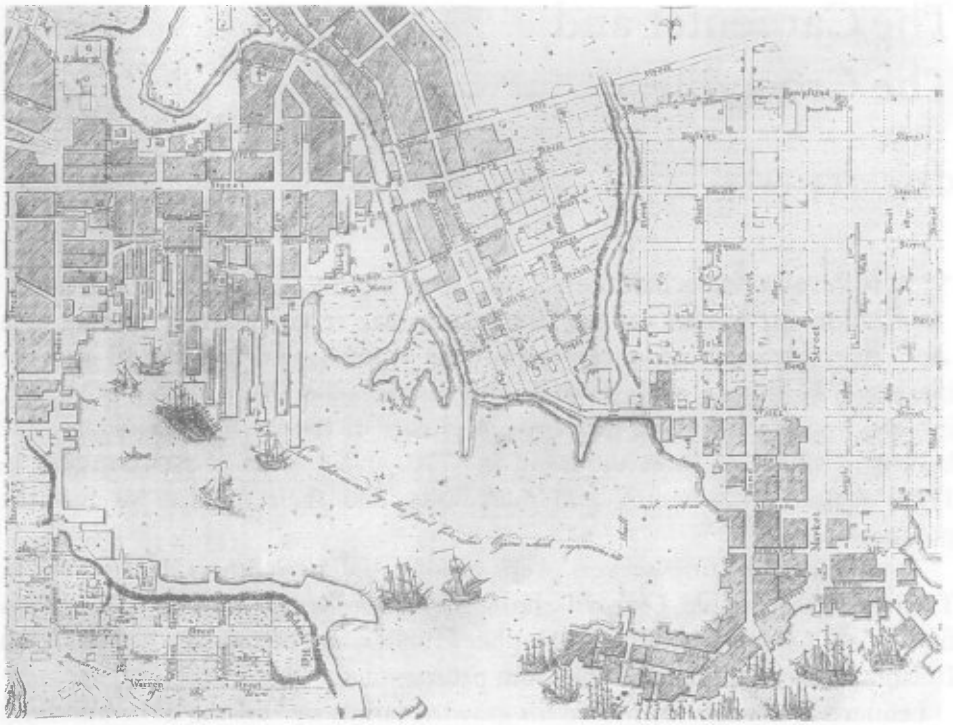
Leonard Harbaugh supported his growing family by "having done buildings to more than the amount of one hundred thousand pounds." Among his first customers was Christopher Hughes for whom he built a house on Gay Street.[3]

Hughes opened a shop nearby at the "sign of the Cup and Crown" on the corner of Market and Gay Streets. There he manufactured, bought, and sold "plate and jewellery." He dealt in gold and silver.[4]

Money in colonial Maryland was in short supply. Due to the deficit in the trade balance, pounds sterling inevitably ended up back in England. Parliament had forbidden the colonies to issue legal tender of their own. The paper bills of credit issued by the colony only served in discharge of obligations when the parties expressedly so agreed. The Spanish dollar (382.85 grains of silver) and smaller silver coins were accepted as standard money, but they were scarce. This left gold and silver in great demand as a medium of exchange. Hughes's dealings in specie proved a profitable sideline. He became a banker as well as an artisan.[5]

The American Revolution brought about a boom in Baltimore's economy. When British sea power cut off American trade, Baltimore's merchants immediately benefited—they were now excused from debts owed to English creditors. Colonel Samuel Smith and others became rich by capturing English merchant ships as prizes and by running the blockade to sell wheat and flour at wartime prices to Spanish forces in the West Indies.[6]

Garrett Power is a professor of law at the School of Law, University of Maryland.



Detail from Plan of the Town of Baltimore and its Environs *by A. P. Folie, 1792. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

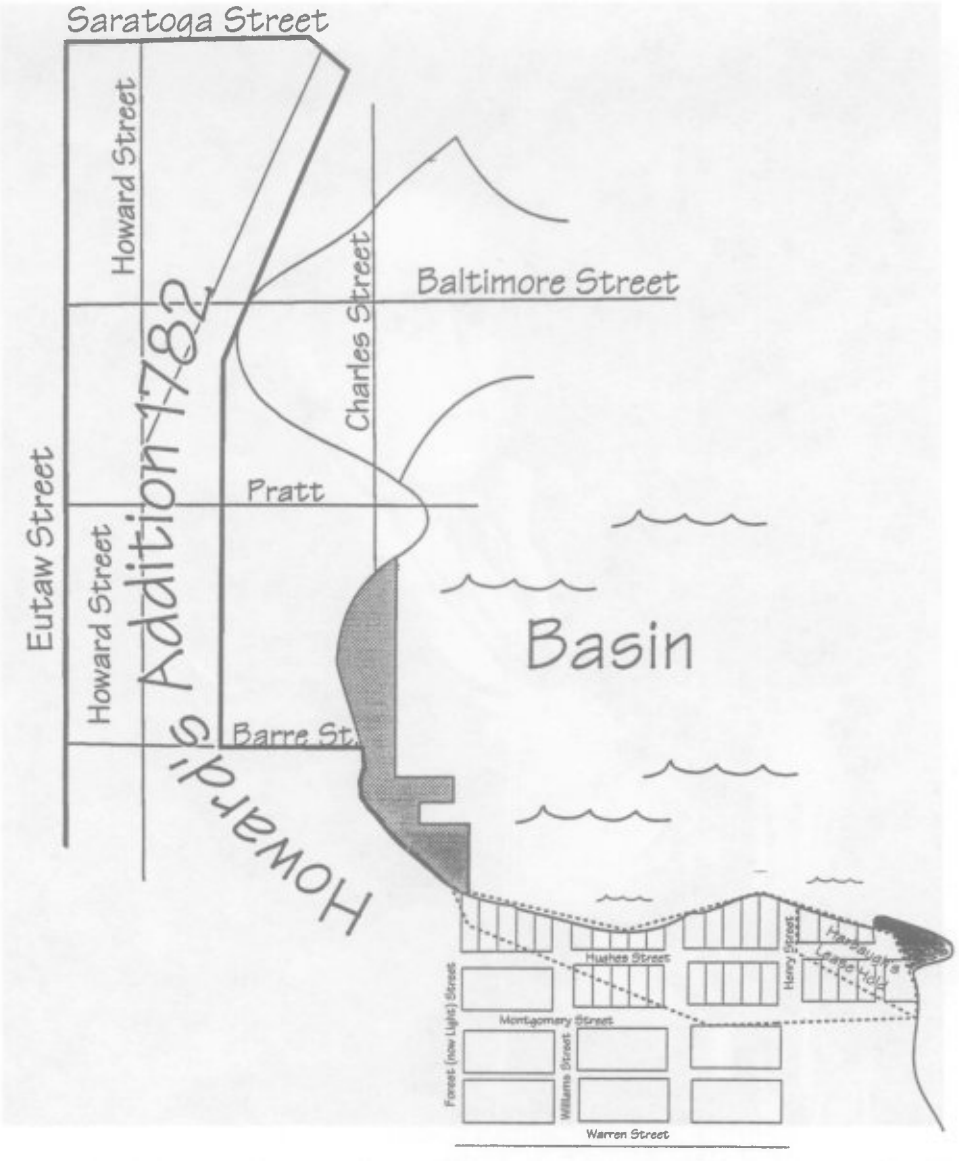
Independence created monetary havoc, however. English pounds sterling were no longer to be had through ordinary exchange, and the colonies had no credit abroad. Gold and silver were in short supply at a time when the Continental Congress was calling upon all the confederated states to pay their share of the cost of waging war. Maryland and the other states had little choice but to print paper money.[7]

The colonial experience with paper money had not been a positive one. The colonies had failed abysmally in efforts to sustain its value. Colonial currencies issued according to the English reckoning in pounds, shillings, and pence rapidly depreciated in real exchange value to as little as 10 percent of their par value against the English pound sterling. Nevertheless, the states tried again, with trepidation.[8]

When creating new paper money, Maryland (and the other confederated states) had three problems to face: first, how to denominate the currency; second, how to fix its par value; and third, how to make that value stand up in the marketplace. A resolution of the Continental Congress in 1775 specified that the old English monetary units system should be abandoned in favor of a paper dollar equivalent in value to "Spanish milled dollars or the value thereof in

The Carpenter: Leonard Harbaugh, Baltimore builder in the years following the Revolution, became a bitter adversary of Christopher Hughes. (Antiques Magazine.)

gold and silver." The units of the coinage system remained unspecified. The states were to issue paper money and, after contributing a share to the Congress for prosecution of the war, circulate the remainder in their domestic economies. This answered the first two questions but left each state to its own devices in securing the value of its bills.[9] Maryland's General Assembly took two steps to back up its paper dollars. First it passed a law that made the new Maryland dollars legal tender for all debts and contracts, past as well as future.



Baltimore waterfront west and south of the Basin in 1783. Adapted from Plats of John Eager Howard's Addition *in the Maryland State Archives. (Baltimore County Plats, C 2043, MdHR 19958-17, B5/9/27 and C 2043, MdHR 19958-30, B5/9/2.)*

Then it legally rated its dollar as equivalent to 7 shillings and 6 pence (90 pence). Anyone who offered goods at a discount if paid for in gold and silver, was subject to a fine. In essence the legislature decreed the dollar's value.[10]

The laws proved powerless to stop the devaluation of paper money in the marketplace. Traders distrusted the dollar's true worth. State efforts to restore confidence in its currency by guaranteeing its redemption in gold or silver failed.

When the English trustees refused to honor a draw upon an account of £34,000 pounds which Maryland had deposited in the Bank of England before the war, the state had no hard currency with which to acquire the necessary specie.[11]

In the final accounting in 1780, Maryland broke the faith. It redeemed the old issues of its paper money with one new paper dollar for every $40 turned in. Moreover the General Assembly specified that the new bills would be without the support of a legal tender clause. When contracting for future loans, the parties were free to specify whether the medium of repayment was to be specie, English pounds sterling, or Maryland's paper money.[12] The new state paper currency was to be backed up by a sinking fund into which the state would place tax revenues and proceeds from the sale of confiscated Tory property. When paying taxes or buying property, payments were to be made in gold or silver; paper money was *not* an accepted medium of exchange.[13]

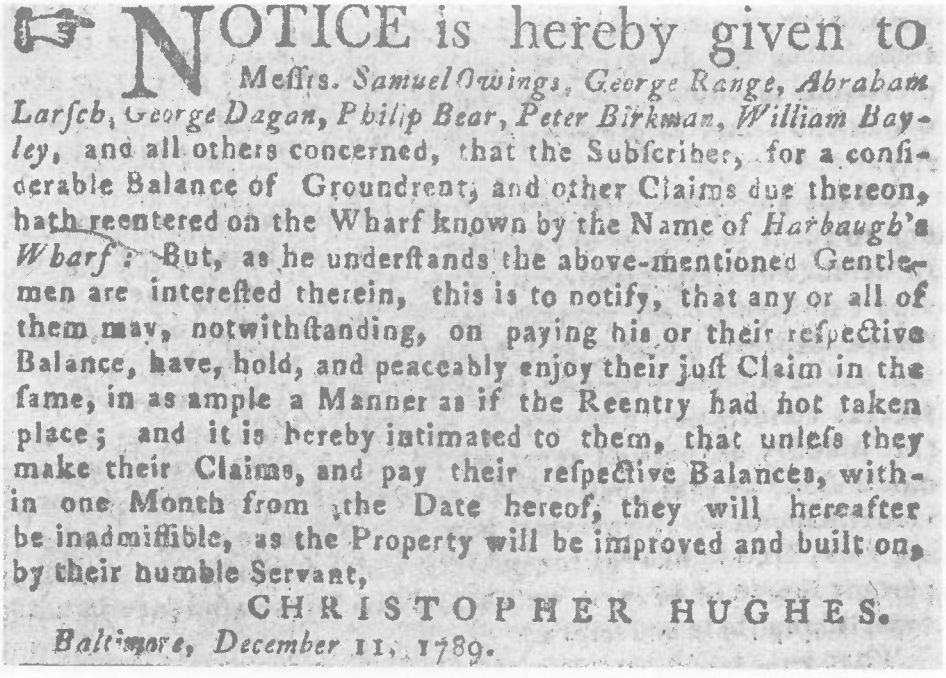
The failure of the monetary system made Christopher Hughes rich. When the value of state money crashed, the value of specie soared. With an inventory of gold and silver, and experience as a currency trader, he literally grew fat on his speculations. After the war, Hughes cut a portly figure as he rode his white-faced horse about the town.[14]

Notwithstanding monetary instability, all classes prospered during the first years of American independence. New Maryland dollars issued in 1780 and 1781 served as a circulating medium in the domestic economy. British merchants contributed to the climate of excess by freely extending credit for purchases abroad. After ten years of privation Marylanders eagerly bought European goods without much thought as to how they would pay for them.[15] These postwar years held out great prospects for Leonard Harbaugh. By 1781 the town had swelled to 13,000 inhabitants and its leaders were promoting construction all around the town. The sturdy and skilled Harbaugh stood ready to build a better, bigger Baltimore.[16]

An extension of Calvert Street was among the public works proposed for the 1780s. A courthouse that had been built in 1768 stood in the way, however. The first plans called for its demolition, but Leonard Harbaugh persuaded the town council that he could save the building by excavation of earth and construction of an arched passageway beneath it. Many townspeople dismissed this idea as the "dream of a bold projector," but in 1785 Harbaugh accomplished the incredible feat, leaving the courthouse on stilts with its entrance twenty feet above street level.[17]

While Leonard Harbaugh continued his work as a builder he was on the lookout for new challenges. Although the construction trade was profitable, real fortunes were to be made in shipping. If shippers were to do business in the shallow Baltimore harbor, they had to wharf-out into deeper water. Harbaugh decided to construct and operate a wharf.[18]

To the north of the basin, Colonel Samuel Smith and his Scots-Irish co-religionists, the Sterretts, Spears, and Buchanans, had already cornered the



☞ NOTICE is hereby given to Meſſrs. *Samuel Owings, George Range, Abraham Larſcb, George Dagan, Philip Bear, Peter Birkman, William Bayley*, and all others concerned, that the Subſcriber, for a conſiderable Balance of Groundrent, and other Claims due thereon, hath reentered on the Wharf known by the Name of *Harbaugh's Wharf*: But, as he underſtands the above-mentioned Gentlemen are intereſted therein, this is to notify, that any or all of them may, notwithſtanding, on paying his or their reſpective Balance, have, hold, and peaceably enjoy their juſt Claim in the ſame, in as ample a Manner as if the Reentry had not taken place; and it is hereby intimated to them, that unleſs they make their Claims, and pay their reſpective Balances, within one Month from the Date hereof, they will hereafter be inadmiſſible, as the Property will be improved and built on, by their humble Servant,

CHRISTOPHER HUGHES.

Baltimore, December 11, 1789.

Hughes (above) and Harbaugh (opposite) had notices printed in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser *to publicize their argument. (Maryland Historical Society Library.)*

market on the waterfront. Their wharves along Water Street stretched a thousand feet out into the basin. Debris had been placed between the landsends of their piers, and *terra firma* had moved a block south to the newly extended Pratt Street, which was built on the fill. Leonard had to look elsewhere for a site for Harbaugh's Wharf.[19]

Meanwhile, *nouveau riche* Christopher Hughes was also on the lookout for opportunities to diversify his investments. In 1782 he bought a parcel of land known as Gist's Inspection, which bordered the harbor basin to the west and south. He promptly filled in the mud flats along the western waterfront to create building lots bounding the newly created Forest Street (Light Street, today).[20] The southern tip of the tract lay at the foot of newly christened Federal Hill and remained undeveloped. Some of it was dry land, but much of it was a sand bar washed by the tides. Major effort and expense would be required to make the land usable .[21]

In 1783 Hughes leased this part of Gist's Inspection to Harbaugh for ninety-nine years, renewable forever. Harbaugh agreed to pay an annual ground rent of £206, 12 shillings. The lease specified that the periodic payments were to be made in pounds sterling—hard English currency.[22] Harbaugh rushed to profit from the postwar boom in imports and exports. According to his own reckon-

☞ NOTICE is hereby given, to all whom it may concern, but eſpecially to Mr. CHRISTOPHER HUGHES—That your Intimation to thoſe Gentlemen whom you have inſulted in your Advertiſement of Friday laſt, is conſidered only as the Croaking of a hungry CROCODILE for more Plunder.——They know very well, and the Experience of the Subſcriber *from* you will teſtify, that there is neither Peace, Credit, or Juſtice to be had in having any thing to do with you, or to hold, or enjoy any thing, when you can, by any Colour, or any Means, lay hold of it—I will, therefore, undertake to ſay for thoſe Gentlemen, that you have nothing to do with them; nor will they have any thing to do with you.——As for myſelf, I ſhall only repeat what I have heretofore told you to your Face, that had I, by Chance, fallen into the Hands of Highwaymen, I ſhould have had better Terms—There are Examples that, when they have found they had robbed a Perſon that got his Living by Honeſty and Induſtry, beſides a large Family to maintain, as I have, they have reſtored the whole, or Part, back again.——Juſtice is all I look for from any Man; but you have now far more than *Three Thouſand Pounds* of my Property in your Hands, for which I have not received *One Penny*; and becauſe I cannot, nor will not, pay you *Two Hundred* and *Six Pounds* Rent, yearly, for a Piece of Ground that is not worth *Twenty Dollars*, as Times now are, you will —— if you can, and ſtill want more. It is true you have got my *Coat*, my *Cloak* and *Jacket*, very eaſy; but as it is now come to the *Skin*, and I find you are below Humanity, you ſhall find that a MAN will give *Skin for Skin only*, and you ſhall have Piece for Piece, as often as you ſay any thing in the Public Papers concerning *Harbough's Wharf*.——I am,——LEONARD HARBAUGH—*but no more your humble Servant.*

Baltimore, December 14, 1789

ing he spent £3,300 creating Harbaugh's Wharf by extending logs into the basin and then filling in with soil behind. He subdivided the higher ground and subleased building lots.[23] But a sound and stable currency was still lacking. It had become apparent that the new Maryland paper money issued in 1780–81 was dramatically depreciating in value, first by one-, then by two- and even three hundred percent. The sinking fund was empty—taxpayers and purchasers of confiscated property were in default on their obligation to pay the state in specie. Debtors seized the opportunity to pay off their dollar debts with

worthless paper. And creditors were fearful that the soft-money faction in the Maryland General Assembly might push through new "legal tender" legislation that would once again make all debts payable with paper money (even if contracts called for specie or pounds sterling).[24]

Creditors, led by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, made a preemptive strike. They persuaded the General Assembly at its 1784 session to pass the Consolidation Act, which provided for liquidation within six years of all debt owed the state. In the short run the act was a boon to debtors since it disregarded the market exchange rate and accepted Maryland dollars at a par with specie in the payment of debts owed the state. There was a reverse run on the treasury as debtors rushed to pay off debts owed in gold and silver with depreciated paper dollars.[25]

The Consolidation Act had the intended side effect. Dollars disappeared into the treasury, and as the supply of paper money diminished the remaining bills increased in value. No longer would creditors be cheated by repayment in valueless paper. But the act had unintended side effects. There was not enough specie and foreign money left in circulation to serve as a monetary vehicle. Trade suffered, land values plummeted, and interest rates soared to 25 percent and 30 percent. Hard currencies, such as the pound sterling, dramatically increased in value.[26]

Leonard Harbaugh was a two-way loser. The land he had leased, long-term, no longer had any resale value, and the rent he had promised to pay had become exorbitant. He had made the financially fatal mistake of undertaking to pay the annual ground rent in English pounds, not anticipating their runaway increase in value. Unable to pay the rent for five years, Harbaugh found himself eleven hundred pounds in arrears. He avowed that he "would not or could not pay Two hundred six pounds rent, yearly, for a piece of Ground that is not worth Twenty dollars as Times now are." In 1789, Hughes reentered and dispossessed Harbaugh of the leasehold. Hughes then pressed Harbaugh for payment of the back rent.[27]

Harbaugh responded with a public airing of his grievances in the columns of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser.* In a series of broadsides the self-styled "enemy of tyrants" attacked Hughes's efforts to collect the debt as "the Croaking of a Crocodile, hungry for more plunder."[28] Harbaugh recounted his side of the story to the public. He was "a person that got his Living by Honesty and Industry" with "a large family to maintain." Hughes already had "more than Three Thousand Pounds of his property in hand" and still wanted more. Having already Harbaugh's "cloak and jacket it had now come to the skin"; Hughes was "below humanity." Harbaugh added a menagerie of insults, characterizing Hughes as "a crooked serpent," "a porpoise," "a bugbear," "a hungry wolf," and "a devil."[29] And in a final stroke Harbaugh went for Hughes's throat. In 1788 Hughes had celebrated his success by commissioning a portrait by Charles Willson Peale. The flattering portrait had been

placed on public display, prompting Harbaugh to observe: "I have done you more justice in drawing your general character, than even Mr. Peale has in drawing your fine picture, though it is believed in general that it is not the artist's fault but your particular request to counterfeit one of your chins."[30]

Leonard Harbaugh won the battle of words, but Christopher Hughes took possession of the land. Harbaugh and his family fled to the newly established District of Columbia, one step ahead of the sheriff. Harbaugh subsequently submitted entries in the design competition for the Capitol and the President's House, but his plans were not selected. He died in 1822 and was buried in Washington's Congressional Cemetery. Christopher Hughes lived on in affluence in his Forest Street house at the foot of Federal Hill until his death in 1824. He is buried in Baltimore's St. Paul's Cemetery.[31]

So ends the brief history and cautionary tale of the carpenter and "the crocodile." In the boom years of the early 1780s an under-capitalized investor leveraged his assets and agreed to a long-term lease on what seemed to be favorable rent. When the crash inevitably came, he was busted. The story was repeated in the commercial real estate market of Maryland in the 1980s. "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*"[32]

And the story is a reminder that the conflict of interests between creditors and debtors is as old as the Republic itself. In the 1780s the General Assembly made dollars scarce. In the 1990s the Federal Reserve Board does the same. Today as yesterday, creditors prefer a strong currency and a high rate of return, while debtors will opt for easy money, low interest, and a little bit of inflation. "One man's justice is another man's injustice."[33]

NOTES

1. Gary L. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 3–13; J. Thomas Scharf, *History* (Philadelphia: H. H. Everts, 1881), 1:59–60, 185, 290–291; Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 10–15, 25; Paul Kent Walker, "The Baltimore Community and the American Revolution: A Study in Urban Development, 1763–1783" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1973), 91–94, 119.

2. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, December 24, 1789; "Christopher Hughes," Dielman-Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., August 20, 1773 (facsimile edition found in "Christopher Hughes," Dielman-Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society).

5. Kathryn L. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland, 1727–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1923), 46–58; Neil Carothers, *Fractional Money* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1967), 17–36.

6. Frank Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 35–40; Olson, *Baltimore*, 13–15.

7. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 59–87; Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation*, 8–97. Prior to the Revolution all of the colonies reckoned their circulating medium in the English style of pounds, shillings, and pence. The system was confusing, however, in that there was no equivalency. Colonial ratings of a pound were not in accord with one another, nor with the actual value of the English pound, sterling. After independence, this confusion was resolved by denomination of the "dollar" (based on the concrete metallic value of the Spanish silver dollar) as the basic unit of American currency. In Maryland the legal rating of the dollar was 7 shillings and 6 pence. See Carothers, *Fractional Money*, 21, 37–45.

8. Sidney Homer, *A History of Interest Rates* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963), 274–279; A. Barton Hepburn, *A History of Currency in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1915), 1–12.

9. Carothers, *Fractional Money*, 21, 37–45.

10. Ibid., 37–45; Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 59–67; Md. Laws (February) 1777.

11. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 59–67.

12. Md. Laws (June) 1780, ch. viii, ch. xxviii; Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 58–68.

13. Md. Laws (June) 1780, ch. viii, ch. xxiv, ch. xxviii; Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 68–70.

14. *Baltimore Advertiser*, August 20, 1773, reproduced in "Christopher Hughes," Dielman-Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society; Scharf, *History*, 1:81.

15. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 78.

16. Olson, *Baltimore*, 25.

17. Md. Laws (November) 1784, ch. xviii; Browne *vs.* Kennedy, 5 H & J 195, 197–199 (Md. 1821). Scharf dates the diversion of the Jones Falls to 1781 but the 1786 date from Browne seems more reliable. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874) 1:61–63.

18. Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors: 1783–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 26. When Chancellor James Kent, a distinguished jurist from New York, visited in 1793, he estimated that the harbor was only five or six feet deep.

19. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman*, 4–11, 35–40; Olson, *Baltimore*, 13–15; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 1:52–53, 56–57.

20. Gist's Inspection had originally been patented to Richard Gist in 1732. Giraud's Lessee *vs.* Hughes, 1 G & J. 249, 250–254 (Md. 1829).

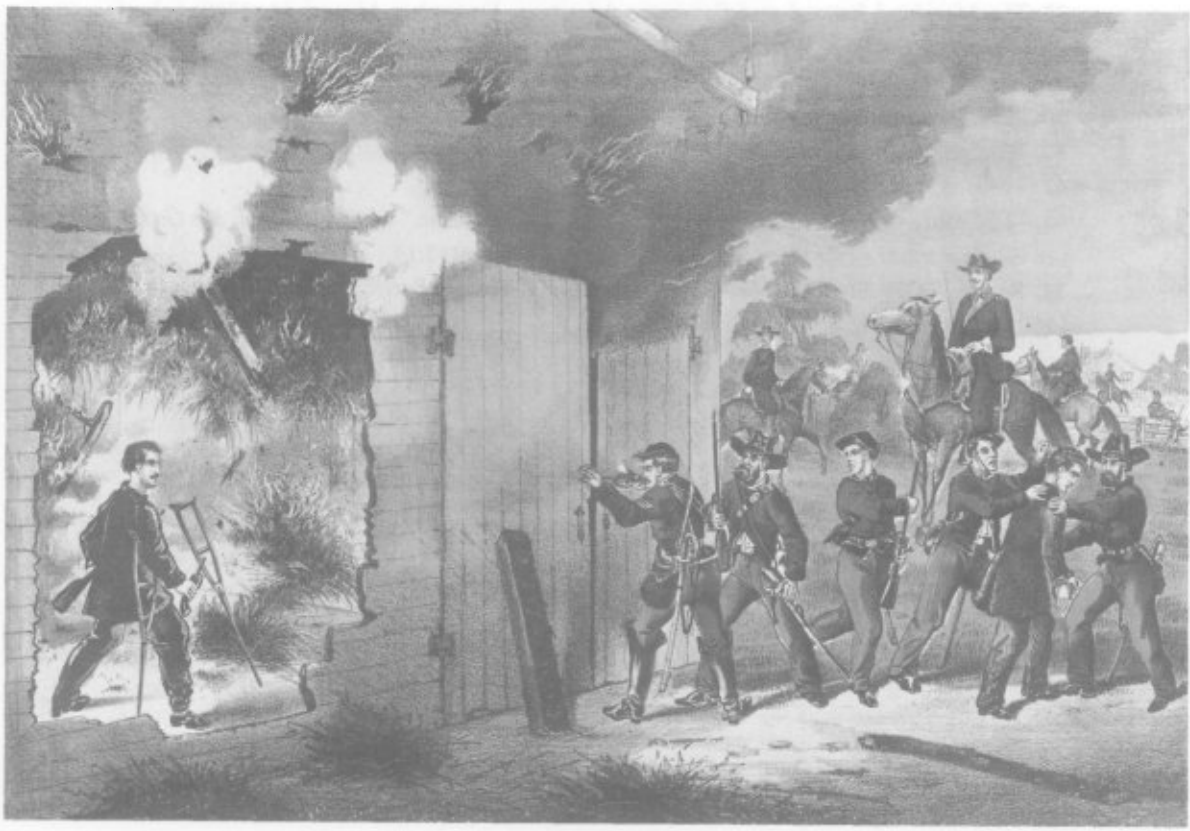
21. Ibid., 249, 250–254.

22. Porter to Hughes, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber WG no. K, folio 3 (Maryland State Archives); Hughes to Harbaugh, Baltimore County Land Records (Deeds) Liber WG no. L, folio 500 (Maryland State Archives).

23. Giraud's Lessee *vs.* Hughes, 1 G. & J., 249, 252–255 (Md. 1829); *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, December 14 & 24, 1789. Among the sublessees were Samuel Owens, George Range, Abraham Larseb, George Dagan, Philip Bear, Peter Birkman, and William Bayley.

24. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland*, 68–87.

25. Md. Laws (November) 1785, ch. lv.
26. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation,* 12; Homer, *A History of Interest Rates,* 278; Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland,* 78–87.
27. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* December 14, 1789. There was an investment lesson to be learned. Long-term ground leases were essentially purchase money mortgages. The rents were a fixed-rate obligation for ninety-nine years. In times of inflation the debtor benefited, but in times of deflation the debtor suffered: each payment was more onerous and there was no prepayment privilege.
28. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* December 11 and 14, 1789; Scharf, *Chronicles,* 1:81–82.
29. *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* December 24, 1789.
30. Ibid., December 24 and 31, 1789.
31. "Christopher Hughes," Dielman-Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society; *Antiques,* 42 (1942), 325.
32. "The more things change the more they remain the same." Alphonse Karr, *Les Guepes* (1849), in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* (16th ed., 1992), 443:19.
33. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays,* First Series (1841), in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* (16th ed., 1992), 432:8



The capture of John Wilkes Booth and David Herold. A print by Chr. Kimmel & Forster. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Charles County: Confederate Cauldron

WILLIAM A. TIDWELL

Notwithstanding the rural isolation and sparse population of Charles County, Maryland,[1] that county played a unique role throughout the Civil War, and many of its people were heavily involved in the investigations conducted by the federal government after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. New insight into these matters may be derived from a fresh consideration of the residents of the county.

First the State of Virginia and then the Confederate government maintained an organization in Charles County that transported information, newspapers, people, and choice items of matériel to the Confederacy throughout the Civil War. The main element of this organization was known as "the Secret Line" and was operated by the signal corps of the Confederate army. The functioning of this element has been described in *Come Retribution: Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln,* by the author with James O. Hall and David Winfred Gaddy.[2]

In addition to these long-standing arrangements, during the winter of 1864–65 John Wilkes Booth and his associates organized a route by which they planned to bring a hostage Abraham Lincoln to a boat hidden near the Potomac for transportation across the river to Virginia. This route led from Washington via the Confederate safe house at Surratt's Tavern in what is now Clinton, Maryland, to the crossroads of TB (which took its name from a colonial boundary marker) where the route turned to the west and, passing below Piscataway, turned south into Charles County through Pomonkey and Bumpy Oak to the vicinity of Nanjemoy Creek, where the boat lay hidden.[3] The route was designed to avoid the town of Piscataway which was frequented by Union soldiers.

A third Confederate operation was a communications network established by Captain Thomas Nelson Conrad from a base on the Potomac shore in western King George County, Virginia, through Charles County, into Washington. This network appeared to support the clandestine Confederate operations unit in Washington, of which Booth's operation was a part.

When we examine the nature of these Confederate activities from the aspect of the citizens of Charles County, it becomes clear that a large number of indi-

William A. Tidwell, a retired intelligence officer, is author of April '65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War.

Samuel Cox, prominent Charles Countian and Confederate sympathizer. (The Surratt Society.)

viduals with ties of kinship, friendship, and past association were involved in one way or another with secret work in support of the Confederacy, forming what amounted to an amorphous Confederate underground.

Judges and Jurors

The single annual activity on which the entire population of Charles County seemed to focus was the county fair, usually conducted by the Charles County Agricultural Society in early November of each year. Nearly all of the leading people in the county took part in this activity by helping to organize it, by acting as judges in the various competitions, or by entering their own products in the competitions.

There were numerous other factors that brought the most active citizens of the county into almost continuous contact. The practice of religion was one such cohesive force. Many of the citizens of Charles County were Catholics, and churches such as St. Mary's near Bryantown and St. Ignatius at Chapel Point, below Port Tobacco, were leading centers of social interaction. There was also a Jockey Club, which sponsored horse races that were popular with the gentry. At least two militia units, one mounted and one infantry, involved many citizens. The units had checkered histories—being very active on some occasions and quiescent at others—but interest in them increased dramatically as the prospect of civil war arose. From time to time there were concerns about the behavior of the black population in the county, and special patrols were organized to ensure public order. Many of the people involved in these patrols also took part in the militia activity.

An important concern of the substantial men in the community was service on the grand jury or petit jury. The same leading citizens appeared on these panels year after year. In addition to such public service there was considerable political activity. Both Democratic and Whig organizations existed in the county. After the Whig Party was replaced in the national arena by the Republican Party, many of the Charles County Whigs moved into the Democratic Party. In the election of 1860 the county voted almost entirely for either Stephen A. Douglas or John C. Breckinridge, the two Democratic candidates.

In summary, a group of two to three hundred people took a leading part in nearly all of the public activities in the county. They all knew each other, and many were related by blood. From this close association came the personnel who operated various clandestine Confederate activities in the county. The importance of this group to Confederate operations is illustrated by the examples that follow.

On the night of April 15/16, 1865, John Wilkes Booth and his companion David Herold sought the assistance of Samuel Cox, a wealthy planter who lived near the present village of Bel Alton in the southern part of Charles County. In Cox they were consulting one of the county's most prominent figures and a dedicated supporter of the Confederacy. For years, Cox had served on several grand and petit juries, acted as executor for the estates of a number of deceased people or minors, served as a leader of the Whig Party in the county, as an officer of the Charles County Agricultural Association, and as judge at numerous county fairs. He also had headed citizen patrols that policed the county roads at night and had been president of the Charles County Jockey Club.

In 1854, Cox had been captain of Company I of the 1st Regiment of Militia; again, when a company of mounted volunteers was organized in December 1859, Cox was elected captain. In April 1861 the mounted volunteers prepared to support the Confederacy, but when Maryland was occupied by federal troops, the unit was disbanded.[4]

In June 1861 the federal government sent a unit of one hundred soldiers to search for weapons issued to the mounted volunteers and believed to be hidden on Cox's property.[5] This probably ended the effort to organize a Confederate unit in Charles County. Unfortunately, the newspaper published at Port Tobacco was suppressed during much of the war and copies of other issues are missing. As a result we know little about what Cox and other citizens did between 1861 and 1865. Some information has survived, however; Cox was reputed to be able to help people across the Potomac. At one point he fled to Virginia for a time to avoid arrest by Union authorities. On his way back to Maryland he visited the home of Dr. Richard Henry Stuart in King George County, Virginia.[6] Dr. Stuart would later provide assistance to John Wilkes Booth after he reached Virginia.

John J. Hughes fed Booth and Herold before they crossed the Potomac into Virginia. (The Surratt Society.)

Kith and Kin

From what we know of Samuel Cox, it is reasonable to conclude not only that he was a leading citizen of Charles County but that he may have been the most prominent of those with Confederate sympathies. As such he was undoubtedly aware of all the major clandestine Confederate operations in the county—not necessarily in detail, but at least to the extent of knowing they were occurring and the identities of some of the persons involved. His links to some of those individuals are quite clear.

Thomas A. Jones, Cox's foster brother, was the chief mail agent for the Secret Lines on the Maryland side of the Potomac.[7] Jones was a farmer and fisherman who had worked with Cox on Whig Party affairs, and had served as a constable in the second election district[8] and as a member of a petit and a grand jury. By 1857 he had switched to the Democratic Party, possibly under the influence of Major Roderick G. Watson, a wealthy neighbor on the bank of the Potomac River. In December 1860, it was announced that at a meeting at Allen's Fresh for the organization of a permanent rifle company, Jones had been appointed a 4th Lieutenant. In early 1861 he signed a letter, also signed by Cox, Watson, and others, expressing hostility to the incoming Republican administration.[9]

In the early months of the Civil War, Jones helped a large number of people cross the Potomac, including Major William Norris, who became chief of the Signal and Secret Service Bureau in the Confederate War Department. He also delivered newspapers and mail to Richmond. On returning from one of these trips in September 1861, he was arrested by Union authorities and

Thomas A. Jones of Charles County served the Confederacy as a mail agent and helped ferry Booth and Herold across the Potomac. (The Surratt Society.)

jailed in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington. There he made the acquaintance of Rose Greenhow, an agent of the large espionage operation organized in Washington by Colonel Thomas Jordan of the Virginia (later Confederate) army. He also met Virginia Baxley and Augusta Morris, who were engaged in similar activities.

Other friends among the prison population included Benjamin Gwin Harris of St. Mary's County and George Dent, another of Jones's neighbors on the Potomac shore. Harris was later elected to the U.S. Congress to represent southern Maryland, but near the end of the war was convicted of hiding two Confederate soldiers.[10] Dent and Samuel Cox had many associations in Charles County, having served on the same juries and worked together in Whig affairs and other activities. They had also served as justices of the same magistrates court. Later Dent and several of his relatives were involved in the operation of the Secret Line.[11]

Jones was released from prison in the spring of 1862, and was later visited by Ben Grimes, who lived across the Potomac in King George County. Grimes had been sent by Major Norris to recruit Jones into the Secret Line on the grounds that "nowhere on the river was there a better location for a signal station than the bluffs near Pope's Creek, or a more suitable place for putting mail across the river than off [Jones's] shore." After some negotiation, Major Norris visited Jones in person and agreed that he should be in full charge of the ferry and the agents in Maryland. Jones continued in this capacity throughout the war and ended his service by putting John Wilkes Booth and David Herold in a boat to cross the Potomac.[12]

During Jones's stay in prison, his neighbor, Major Roderick Watson, died on November 8, 1861. Watson had been a leading citizen of Charles County for many years—almost as active as Samuel Cox, and involved in many of the same activities. For example, he succeeded Cox as president of the Jockey Club. Watson left behind several children, two of whom are known to have continued their father's involvement in pro-Confederate activity. His daughter Mary worked with Jones in watching for Union gunboats on the Potomac and manipulating the window shades in the Watson home to signal to the Virginia shore when gunboats were in sight.[13] His son Roderick D. Watson was active in the summer of 1861 in arranging for Confederate-bound mail to cross the Potomac. On March 19, 1865, Roderick wrote to Booth's associate John Harrison Surratt, summoning Surratt to a meeting in New York. Not all of Roderick's activities during the war are known, but he was under suspicion as a Confederate agent in New York in 1864 and was obviously involved in clandestine Confederate activity.[14]

When Major Watson was president of the Jockey Club, his first vice-president was Peregrine Davis, another of the leading citizens of Charles County. Davis owned the Indian King Hotel in Port Tobacco and had been active in state politics as well as serving on juries and as a justice of the peace. He had also been active in the Charles County Agricultural Society. On October 25, 1855, Davis's daughter Victorine married Colonel John J. Hughes. The couple lived on Davis's property at Indiantown near the shores of Nanjemoy Creek. While the operation to capture Lincoln as a hostage was active in the winter of 1865, Booth's associates hid a large boat on King's Creek, a nearby tributary of Nanjemoy Creek. Booth's associate David Herold knew Davis, and Booth asked his associate, George Atzerodt, for instructions concerning the route to Indiantown. Later, after the assassination, when Booth and Herold were on their flight from Maryland to Virginia, they took refuge in Nanjemoy Creek and were fed by Colonel Hughes.[15]

Hughes was a lawyer, widely known in Charles County in his own right. In 1852 he helped to manage a party benefit for St. Ignatius Church at Chapel Point. In 1853 a Whig convention at Port Tobacco included Hughes, Samuel Cox, George Dent, Thomas A. Jones and Roderick G. Watson. One result of the convention was Hughes's election to a four-year term to the state legislature.

On April 27, 1854 the Port Tobacco newspaper carried the news that Hughes had been commissioned as lieutenant colonel of the 43rd Regiment of Maryland Militia.[16] Hughes had been a member of the Port Tobacco Debating Club, and in 1857 he was elected a register of wills along with James L. Brawner, who sold a boat to John Wilkes Booth, and Jeremiah Dyer, brother-in-law of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who set Booth's broken leg after the assassination. Hughes was also serving as secretary of the board of school commissioners—a position he held as late as 1862. In 1860 he was recording secretary of the Charles County Agricultural Society while Samuel Cox was one of the vice presidents of the society.

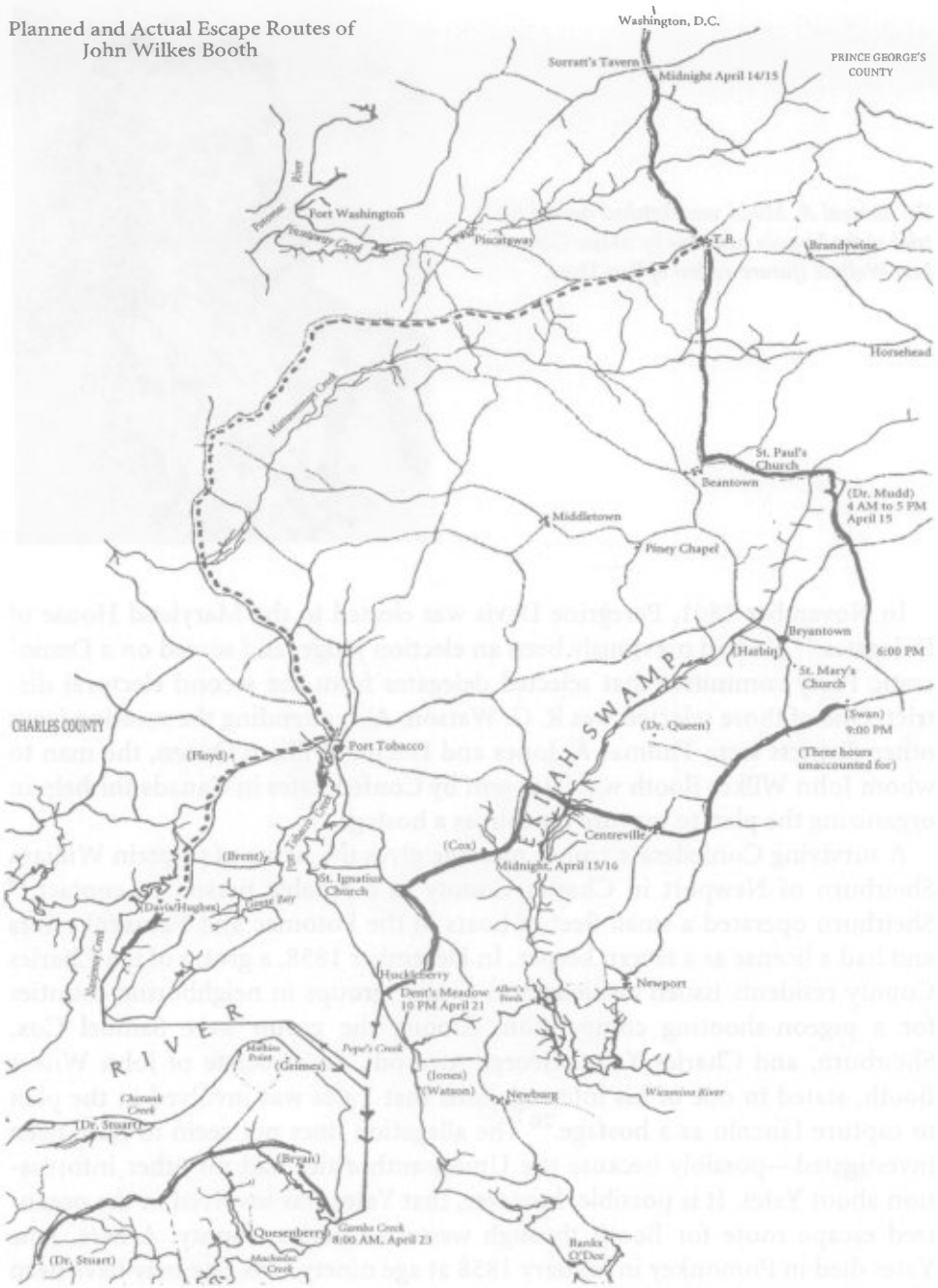
Dr. Samuel A. Mudd was sketched during the trial of the Lincoln assassins by Major General Lew Wallace (future author of Ben-Hur*).*

In November 1861, Peregrine Davis was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates.[17] He had previously been an election judge, and served on a Democratic Party committee that selected delegates from the second electoral district. One of those selected was R. G. Watson. Also attending the meeting from other districts were Thomas A. Jones and Doctor William Queen, the man to whom John Wilkes Booth was later sent by Confederates in Canada for help in organizing the plan to capture Lincoln as a hostage.[18]

A surviving Confederate cipher message gives the name of Captain William Sheirburn of Newport in Charles County as a reliable person to contact.[19] Sheirburn operated a small fleet of boats in the Potomac and Patuxent rivers and had a license as a tavern keeper. In December 1858, a group of ten Charles County residents issued challenges to similar groups in neighboring counties for a pigeon-shooting competition. Among the group were Samuel Cox, Sheirburn, and Charles Yates. George Atzerodt, an associate of John Wilkes Booth, stated in one of his interrogations that Yates was involved in the plan to capture Lincoln as a hostage.[20] The allegation does not seem to have been investigated—possibly because the Union authorities had no other information about Yates. It is possible, however, that Yates was involved in the organized escape route for Booth through western Charles County. A Mrs. Jane Yates died in Pomonkey in January 1858 at age ninety-two. She may have been a relative of Charles Yates, indicating his association with the area.

In 1857 Sheirburn was elected a justice of the peace in the same election that chose John J. Hughes, Jeremiah Dyer, and James L. Brawner as registers of wills. Sheirburn was reelected in 1861.

About nine o'clock on the night of April 15, 1865, the day after the assassi-



Booth shot President Lincoln shortly after 10 P.M. on April 14, 1865. His intended escape route through southern Maryland is shown by the broken line. Because he broke a bone in his leg leaping to the stage of Ford's Theater after the assassination, he changed his route and sought the assistance of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd. The route he actually followed is shown by the solid line. There is a gap of three hours not accounted for in the records of Booth's escape. (Map by the author.)

nation, John Wilkes Booth stopped at the home of Oswell Swan, a black man who lived southeast of Bryantown. Booth sought guidance to Samuel Cox's home, but Cox was a second choice. First, Booth asked to be taken to the home of William E. Burtles south of Bryantown. Burtles was a successful farmer who in January 1861 had served on a committee to report the business and resolutions of a convention of Charles County residents. Cox was also a member of the committee. In March 1857, Burtles had advertised for seine haulers for a fishery on Pomonkey Neck in the northwestern part of Charles County. Earlier he had served on a commission to evaluate estates. His wife had died in 1854, leaving three sons and a daughter. In 1852 he was on a list of justices of the peace that included Peregrine Davis. In 1846 he was on a list of justices of the peace that included Stoughton Dent (who served on the Secret Line), George Dent, and Samuel Cox.[21]

Judging from Burtles's association with Pomonkey Neck, he may well have come in contact with Booth's group during the organization of the escape route through Pomonkey, and the timing of Booth's request to see him suggests that Burtles may have been involved in helping Booth during his escape.

The Mudd Connection

Another Charles County man sometimes seen in association with Samuel Cox was Henry L. Mudd, the father of Doctor Samuel A. Mudd. Henry Mudd and Cox had served on the same juries and worked in the same county fairs. In 1860 the senior Mudd acted as a judge for jacks and mules while Cox owned horses, jacks, and mules. Others active in the same county fair were Cox, Peregrine Davis, John J. Hughes, R. G. Watson, George Dent, and James L. Brawner.[22] Henry Mudd also served with Doctor William Queen as a trustee of St. Mary's Church.[23]

In addition to the connections by association set out above, there were many family relationships. For example, the Mudd family was related to the Reeves, Dyers, Gardiners, Boarmans, Edelens, Poseys, and Clarkes.[24] Moreover, there was almost unanimous feeling among these families about the issues of 1860. On December 20, 1860, the Port Tobacco newspaper reported a meeting in Middletown that discussed a "plan of action to be pursued in relation to those who voted for Lincoln and Hamlin." A committee was appointed to give notice to one of the parties, "a Black Republican emissary," to leave the county by the coming new year.[25]

There was such cohesion by association, kinship, and political view among the white population in Charles County that little effort was required on the part of the Confederates to create the clandestine activities that were needed to support their various projects. It seems clear that all of the white persons directly or indirectly in contact with John Wilkes Booth in Charles County knew or knew of each other: Doctor William Queen, Booth's initial contact; Queen's

son-in-law, John C. Thompson; Thomas H. Harbin, former postmaster at Bryantown and a member of the secret service of the Confederate War Department; James L. Brawner, who provided the boat that was to have taken Lincoln across the Potomac; Doctor Samuel Mudd, who introduced Booth to others in Charles County and who is reported to have stored food and liquor in support of the operation to abduct Lincoln; William Gardiner, from whom Booth bought a horse; William E. Burtles, who may have tried to put Booth in contact with a Confederate reception party; Samuel Cox who turned Booth over to the care of Thomas A. Jones; Franklin Robey, who hid Booth initially; Thomas A. Jones, who fed Booth in hiding and gave him a boat for crossing the Potomac; and John J. Hughes, who fed Booth when his first attempt at crossing the Potomac failed. In the aftermath of the assassination, many of them tried to minimize their involvement, but we can be sure that during the war, when they were supporting a cause in which they all believed, their cooperation would have been readily given.

All of these men were loyal to the Confederacy and to their Charles County neighbors. In April 1865 they conducted themselves in such a way as to protect the trail of John Wilkes Booth and their associates in the various clandestine Confederate operations. Doctor Samuel Mudd, for example, told his Union interrogators that Booth had inquired about Parson Wilmer and that he had left the Mudd home to go west into Zekiah Swamp. Wilmer's church was west of the swamp. Wilmer, however, was known to be pro-Union, and it has been clearly established that Booth traveled to the east of Bryantown and did not enter Zekiah swamp. Mudd deliberately mislead his interrogators. Postwar attempts by residents of Charles County to deny involvement with clandestine activities of the Confederacy clearly were self-serving in a radically changed political atmosphere.

NOTES

1. The census of 1850 listed 1,135 households in the county. Jack D. Brown, et al., *Charles County Maryland* (Charles County Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 339–376.
2. William A. Tidwell, et al., *Come Retribution: Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln* (Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 1988).
3. Statement by George Atzerodt made on April 25, 1865. Reprinted in *From War Department Files* published by the Surratt Society of Clinton, Maryland, in 1980, 69.
4. Erick F. Davis, "The Charles County Mounted Volunteers," *Surratt Society News*, VI, 4 (April) 1981.
5. Roberta J. Wearmouth, *Abstracts from the Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser* (3 vols.; Bowie, Md: Heritage Books Inc., 1991) 2:136.
6. National Archives, M-599, reel 6, frame 0205.

7. Thomas A. Jones, *John Wilkes Booth* (Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1893), 24–25, 66–67.
8. There were four election districts in Charles County; Allens Fresh was district number 1 including the southern part of the county east of Port Tobacco, Hill Top was district number 2, containing most of Charles County west of Port Tobacco, Port Tobacco was district number 3, including the town and the county north of the town, Bryantown was district number 4, including the eastern part of the county.
9. Wearmouth, *Abstracts,* 2:128
10. Jones, *John Wilkes Booth,* 20–22; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1971* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).
11. Wearmouth, *Abstracts,* vols. I and II, passim.
12. Jones, *John Wilkes Booth,* 23–25, 101–111.
13. Ibid., 26–27.
14. Tidwell, et al., *Come Retribution,* 65.
15. Ibid., 339, 454–455.
16. Wearmouth, *Abstracts,* 1:164
17. Ibid., 2:142.
18. Ibid., 2:50.
19. David Winfred Gaddy, "Secret Communications of a Confederate Navy Agent," *Manuscripts,* XXX, 1 (Winter 1978): 49–55; "A Confederate Agent Unmasked: An Afterword," *Manuscripts,* XXX, 2 (Spring 1978): 94.
20. Photocopy of statement of George A. Atzerodt to Provost Marshal James L. McPhail and John L. Smith on May 1, 1865. The original is now in private hands.
21. Wearmouth, *Abstracts,* vols. I & II, passim.
22. Ibid., 2:120–121.
23. Samuel Carter III, *The Riddle of Dr. Mudd* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), 13.
24. Ibid., 24–25.
25. Wearmouth, *Abstracts,* 2:125.

Newspaper photograph of Louise Malloy, Baltimore's first woman journalist, reproduced here from the Baltimore American. *Malloy worked for thirty years on the newspaper staff and used her position to promote social reform, including a juvenile court system and modernization of the fire department. (Maryland Historical Society, MS. 556.)*

Malloy of the *American*: Baltimore's Pioneer Woman Journalist

AGNES HOOPER GOTTLIEB

Louise Malloy's career as a woman journalist in Baltimore began as an experiment. In 1886, the publisher of the *Baltimore American* was persuaded to hire a woman as a staff writer, a previously unthinkable position for a woman in Baltimore. But the experiment succeeded and Malloy worked at the newspaper for more than three decades as drama critic, children's page editor, humor columnist, editorial writer and, most significantly, as a social reformer and advocate for the city.

Malloy joined other female writers of her time in urging women to expand their traditional "sphere" to include municipal chores that would help clean up the cities. Women responded by becoming involved in reform activities that improved the lives of city residents, especially women and children. They built parks, established libraries, and opened kindergartens and orphanages. Reformers and the writers like Louise Malloy who promoted this path for women adhered to the tenet that a woman's place was in the home, but believed that the home was more than just the four walls that provided shelter. The home, they asserted, was the city in which they lived. It was a womanly duty, therefore, to keep the city clean and protect the lives of their families and the city's children.

Some women writers advocated these municipal housekeeping reforms on a national scale. Though Malloy never attained a national forum and limited her concerns to her own city, she provides an interesting example of the kind of local reform activities journalists promoted in their communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the so-called Progressive Era. In Baltimore, Malloy consistently used her pen and abilities to advocate change in her city. She wrote articles and editorials that helped plant the idea of a juvenile court in the minds of the citizens of Baltimore and staunchly advocated an improved fire department. In the wake of the 1904 fire that nearly destroyed the city, she insisted that a first-rate fire department was one of the most important goals of city government.

In addition to her accomplishments in journalism, Malloy taught writing, authored plays that appeared on Broadway, published poetry, and penned an opera libretto and song lyrics.

Dr. Gottlieb teaches journalism at Seton Hall University.

A Compassionate Home

Marie Louisa Malloy was born in Baltimore on December 12, 1858, the first daughter of two Baltimore natives, John and Frances (Fannie) Sollers Malloy. Her paternal grandparents had emigrated from Ireland and settled in Baltimore where her grandfather became a prominent merchant. John, a bank clerk, and Fannie married in 1856. The following year, Fannie gave birth to their son, Charles M. Marie Louisa arrived fifteen months later and Mary, born in November 1861, was the baby of the family.[1]

Although christened Marie Louisa, Malloy never used her first name, perhaps to avoid confusion with her sister. All written records refer to "Louise Malloy," which also was the byline under which she penned most of her works. Intimates referred to her by the nickname "Loulie."[2]

Malloy grew up in a family tradition of helping, and this nurtured the reform spirit that characterized her later newspaper work. When she was a girl, her father once saw a young Irish woman standing on the docks in Baltimore crying. She had just arrived in America and had nowhere to go. John Malloy took the immigrant to his home and she lived there as a domestic and eventually as part of the family for the rest of her life.[3] In later years, Louise and her sister often entertained the neighborhood children and worked at their church.[4]

Like other nineteenth-century women who found a niche in journalism, Malloy decided as a child that she wanted a literary career.[5] In fact, she dreamed of working on a newspaper, but feared that it was an impossible goal.[6] While other women like Malloy sought income through fiction writing and correspondence for newspapers, Malloy, in fact, realized her dream and succeeded as a dramatist and journalist.

Malloy and her sister studied at the Academy of the Visitation, a prominent finishing school for Catholic girls located in a convent in the heart of Baltimore. After completing her education, she set about getting herself a job on a newspaper—a formidable, and previously unheard of, task for a woman in working-class Baltimore. She secured her job through the intercession of John T. Ford, manager of theaters in Baltimore as well as Washington and a personal friend who admired her ability and originality. Ford persuaded the publisher of the *American,* General Felix Agnus, to take a chance on hiring a woman. Malloy's first assignment appears to have been a test of her resourcefulness: she was told to take a walk on a main street in Baltimore's business district and to write what she saw, including an account of the weather.[7] Whether the editor meant to thwart her career as a writer with such an amorphous assignment is unclear, but the article she turned in secured her position. Thus began her career as a journalist in Baltimore.

Malloy had great leeway in her writing. Male editors often gave women on staff a free hand to write as they pleased; probably they abhorred treating "ladies" like

Felix Agnus, publisher of the Baltimore American, *hired Malloy at the request of theater producer John T. Ford. (*The Baltimore American Anniversary and Jubilee Edition *[Baltimore: Charles C. Fulton & Co., 1905].)*

their male counterparts and were loathe to involve themselves in the women's work.[8] When Agnus told her to "look around and make a place for yourself," she established a women's department, "Facts and Fancies." She also began writing a humor column and set up a Sunday department.[9] This was at a time when newspaper editors established women's pages to lure department store advertising dollars aimed at women.[10] Malloy also wrote human interest features, interviewing such high-profile Marylanders as the wife of Frank Brown, governor of Maryland in 1892–1896, and Mayor E. Clay Timanus, the Republican reformer who took over the office when Mayor Robert McLane died in 1904.[11] The interview with the state's first lady was, in fact, Malloy's first feature. Governor Brown walked in during the interview "and laughingly observed that his wife looked scared to death, for the interview was her first one as well."[12] In the Timanus article, Malloy described how difficult it was for a woman to pursue the task of getting an interview:

> It required some little courage to call it by no harder name to send word to the mayor of such a large city as Baltimore that you, especially if you are a woman, would like to invade his office, remain for the day and see how he does his work, so it was in fear and trembling with a very oppressive knowledge of just what it would be most natural to think of such a presumptuous person as myself that I sent this request to Mayor E. Clay Timanus—and then waited.[13]

The result of her petition was a half-page article with several illustrations.

After a short time on staff, Malloy also assumed the additional assignment of drama critic, perhaps because of her clear and abiding interest in the theater. During her lifetime she wrote at least fifteen plays, two of which appeared on Broadway.[14] Her first play, staged in Baltimore in 1894, premiered about the time she was taking on the role of drama critic at the newspaper.[15]

She stayed at the paper until her retirement, then continued to write long after she gave up her daily newspaper career. She penned numerous freelance articles during the 1920s and 1930s, many of which appeared in the *Baltimore Sunday Sun*. As late as 1940, when she was eighty-two, her play, *The Boy Lincoln*, appeared on Broadway.[16]

Like many other career women of her day, Malloy never married.[17] Through 1916, when her father died, the entire family continued to live together while Malloy wrote for the *American*.[18] Her brother Charles worked as a government bookkeeper and Mary, popularly called Miss Minnie, taught music.[19] Minnie and Charles never married and, except for a brief period when Charles worked in Philadelphia, the trio of siblings lived together as a family even after the deaths of their parents. Louise outlived her entire family. Charles died in 1934 and Mary died three years later.[20] After her sister died, Malloy went to live with a friend and then, when her health failed, she moved to a nursing home, where she died on February 25, 1947.[21] Malloy's obituaries say there were no survivors but that shortly before her death she lived with Catherine Murphy.[22] Their relationship is unclear.

Malloy and her family were devout Catholics. Her paternal grandfather helped found St. Patrick's Church, where Malloy was baptized.[23] Sister Minnie played the organ at St. Leo's Church in Baltimore for fifty years.[24]

Malloy often wrote on Catholic themes and evidently traveled to Rome to attend the canonization of Joan of Arc. In her twenty-nine-page pamphlet, *The Life Story of Mother Seton,* published in 1924, Malloy wrote about the hope that Mother Seton would someday be canonized as the first native-born American saint. "Those who attended the canonization of Joan of Arc at Rome in 1920 will not soon forget the magnificence of the spectacle and the thrilling impressiveness of this rare and beautiful ceremony," she wrote.[25] She then offered, in what can only be an eye-witness description, the details of the event.

Malloy wrote other profiles of the saints and some of her works appeared in the Catholic press, although it was not her main outlet for publication. These writings and other manuscripts that are among her papers underscore Malloy's interest in history. She wrote about the fifth Lord Baltimore in an article, "A Forgotten Love Story," in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in 1922.[26] She often combined her interest in history with religion and penned many articles concerning Catholic saints or events. Her manuscript collection at the University of Maryland includes dozens of historical and religious articles, among them "Assisi," "The Baby Czar of Russia," "Concerning the Antipopes," "The

Election and Coronation of the Popes," and "The French Clergy in England."

Rarely relying on quotations or attribution to the work of others, Malloy's historical writing gives the impression that she considered herself an historical novelist as well as a journalist. She wrote in a chatty way, often citing conversations between historical figures, yet never saying how or from where she unearthed exact quotes. So it appears that she fictionalized.[27]

She also wrote a regular feature for the *American* about motor jaunts in Maryland and day trips by auto from Baltimore. After leaving a daily newspaper career, sometime in the 1920s, Louise turned her attention to her free-lance writing and tried her hand at short story writing. Although her papers include a stack of twenty-eight short stories, there is no evidence that any were published. In the 1920s, she taught English at the Calvert Business College,[28] and in the 1930s she published at least one song that was performed on the radio.[29]

Typical of the women journalists of her time, Malloy also joined women's clubs. She helped found the Women's Literary Club of Baltimore, which began in 1890, and she continued her club membership throughout her life.[30] The group, the first of its kind in Baltimore, actually opposed reform work by women's clubs and, in its earliest days, confined itself strictly to educating its members through literary pursuits and encouraging them to publish books, articles, and essays.[31] By the 1894–95 club season, however, the club had moved beyond simply discussing literature. We may suppose that Malloy had a hand in the change. The January 1895 program, for example, called for Malloy to discuss education and share the podium with the principal of the training school for kindergarten teachers.[32]

Malloy also became active in the Baltimore branch of the National League of American Pen Women. She served as the president of the club from 1926 to 1928. The organization honored her in 1939 for her contributions to journalism in the city.[33]

Neighbors of the Malloys remembered long after their deaths how the two sisters entertained children, looked after stray animals, and performed charitable works. But perhaps more memorably, neighbors recalled their eccentric style of dress. The two elderly women in the 1930s wore floor-length dresses and little black hats perched atop their hair, which was piled up on their heads in nineteenth-century style.[34]

Solid Work, Eschewing Stunts

The exact date Malloy joined the staff of the *American* is not known,[35] but at least five sources credit her as the first woman to work on a daily newspaper in Baltimore.[36] At the time Malloy joined the *American,* there was a flurry of hiring women in Baltimore and, if indeed Louise was the first woman hired by the newspapers, she was unique only for a short time. By the end of the 1880s, more than a few women had joined the city press. Mollie Irene Cook, a stunt

Blue Ridge Summit Tour Is Fairyland of Scenery

Quaint Village Founded by Swiss Settlers, Horseshoe Curve and State Sanatorium Are Points of Interest to Motorists on Route.

By LOUISE MALLOY

A RIDE into the mountains sounds promising, and this trip to Blue Ridge Summit and the State Sanatorium surpasses most promises in the vital respect that it is kept to the eye and to the hope—especially to the eye—for the beauty for which Maryland is famed gains added charm as one rolls along the smooth roads of the fertile farm lands into the winding paths which lead one into the heart of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Especially does a touch of the unusual give zest to the scene when after a snowfall the bare limbs of the trees are clothed in snowy white, with the sunlight on it giving gleams of silvery light until the whole reminds one of a scene in fairyland with its dazzling brilliancy.

The road which one takes as it leaves the city and its suburbs far behind and goes into the regions of country and villages along the way affords glimpses now of the picturesque, now of the tragic and again of the humorous in its suggestions of the hidden human life pulsing all along the route. With the smart, newly built suburbs so far back as to be practically forgotten, one comes unexpectedly on old frame houses, little better than shacks, half tumbling over, with a discouraged expression as though to say: "Oh, what's the use?" while others, holding mere remnants together, with perhaps an old barn or stable with three corners plunged down in the earth with the remaining one still rampantly erect, have a gay "I don't care" look about them as though their residents were determined to enjoy life in spite of dilapidation. Then suddenly there looms up at the side of the road a modern cottage with all the fads and frills of suburban architecture right up to the minute. But however archaic the scene, however old straggling homesteads take one back into years past, the omnipresent automobile first-aid stations never allow one to forget he is in the middle of high-class civilization.

FIRST GLIMPSE OF MOUNTAINS.

The thrill of the ride comes with the first glimpse of the mountains, dim and misty, the level fields sweeping far around their base, rising in curved outline against the brilliantly blue sky of a perfect day. Now it is up and down grade, as the roads wind their way, passing through smaller settlements, one finds oneself in the picturesque little town of Thurmont, and going through its streets, finds one running with its neat row of pretty houses right up to a mountain which closes the end of the street with the air of a protecting giant.

One of the villages passed on the route in this region is Catoctin, one of the oldest to be seen, with a row of queer whitewashed cottages looking like a scene from the Old World or a Christmas toy, unlike any to be met elsewhere. From Thurmont the way goes on up the mountains and Sabillasville, a handsome village located between two high mountains, with none of the old decayed air or dilapidation seen in others, but pretty homes kept spick and span. Yet this is an old settlement, for the first one made here was in 1756 by Swiss

A mile from the village is the State Sanatorium, resting like a fortress on a fine hill site overlooking all about it. And it is indeed a fortress, for it is a splendid defense with its guns of fresh air and modern scientific treatment trained constantly against the arch enemy, the great white plague, wresting health and vigor out of his skeleton clutch and sending the victims rescued from him back to the world of life and hope. This institution, which is one of the outstanding features of the State, is a settlement in itself, for it consists of about 14 or 15 large buildings, including eight so-called shacks, which are really commodious buildings surrounded by great, wide, open porches, each having a capacity of 20 beds; a handsome recreation hall for the amusement of the patients; the hospital proper, with its room for 210 beds, and the children's "shack" of 50 beds. Topping all is the fine administration building, which includes also the home for the nurses.

PASS ALONG GORGE.

The State Sanatorium is often confused in the popular mind with Sabillasville, whereas it is entirely separate, as it is a mile from the village, and has a postoffice and railroad station of its own, while its name is officially distinct as a settlement of its own. Its situation from both a health and picturesque standpoint is unsurpassed. About halfway to the Sanatorium the route passes along a mountain gorge whose steep banks rise like walls above a fierce little torrent which breaks its way in shallow depths over a clear, rocky bottom, making a picture which is a feast for an artist's eye.

About a mile on the descent from the Sanatorium the route passes through Blue Ridge Summit, whose handsome homes and well-kept grounds proclaim it at once as a summer resort for wealth and leisure, situated, as its name implies, on the mountain ridge. More modest workday settlements dot the way along till one comes to one of the most interesting Maryland villages in Taneytown, the oldest village in Carroll county, laid out in 1730 by Frederick Taney, who came originally from Calvert county, and whose ancestors were among the earliest settlers of Maryland, the largest landed proprietors under the Lords Baltimore. It was this family that had the honor to include among its descendants Roger B. Taney, the famous Chief Justice of the United States. Before the Revolutionary War, and even after, this village was the principal thoroughfare between the North and South. Its most famous visitors were George Washington and his wife, who

ERA OF INDIANS.

But Taneytown in those days was busy as well as patriotic. An old frame building bearing the date of 1796 was used as a factory for making firearms, nails and other iron ware, the manufacture of firearms being under the supervision of the Government, which annually sent inspectors to the factory, and here many guns were made for the Government forces. In these days of wonderful mechanical devices and machinery, almost human-like in its intricacy and efficiency, it is almost laughable to record that the only equipment of this primitive factory was a huge grindstone which was turned by an old and patient horse. But the horse and the grindstone made the guns, and these guns helped to make the nation. This manufactory was eventually burned down, and never rebuilt, as the Government transferred its work to Harper's Ferry.

The Indians about Taneytown were very friendly with the settlers, and no bad feeling and bloody outbreaks marred the life there as in so many other parts of the country. Often the red men engaged in friendly competition with their white friends, and it is recorded that on one occasion in a marksmanship contest the supply of lead gave out, whereupon one of the Indian leaders volunteered, if given means of transportation, to bring a sufficient quantity for ammunition within an hour. He was supplied with a fast horse, and in the given time returned with a large lump of lead. But he refused point-blank to tell where he got it; so did the other Indians, guarding the secret jealously from the white man. The latter searched again and again for the evident lead mine in the neighborhood, but every effort ended in failure and the mine was never discovered.

As the Taney family were devout Catholics, provision was early made for the religious needs of the settlers, and in 1804 a church named St. Joseph's was built by Prince Gallitzen, a Russian nobleman who, renouncing wealth and rank on his conversion to Catholicism, became a priest, and who came to America as a missionary, being reverenced as a saint, his work being principally done in Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1836 Taneytown was incorporated by the Legislature as a town. It is of exceptional neatness in its appearance, with well-built, well-kept homes and no signs of ancient decay, despite the antiquity of its origin.

From Emmitsburg on for some distance a smooth concrete road, with the mountains dimly disappearing in the increasing distance and the homelike aspect of fields and peaceful villages again stretching before one on the way back to Baltimore, motoring is a pure delight until, at the end of the day, the twinkling lights of the city come into view and the ride into the mountains becomes a never-to-be-forgotten memory.

The predominantly male staff of the Baltimore American. *(*The Baltimore American Anniversary and Jubilee Edition *[Baltimore: Charles C. Fulton & Co., 1905].)*

journalist, performed such feats as riding a balloon over Baltimore for the *Baltimore News*.[37] May Garrettson Evans, the first woman on the *Baltimore Sun* when she joined the staff in 1888, gained fame because she covered night assignments with her mother as chaperone. The elder Evans waited outside the *Sun* building while young May wrote her stories inside. Eventually, mother stayed home and Evans carried a stiletto on her nightly rounds to protect herself from unwanted advances.[38]

Malloy and contemporaries such as these played a key role in breaking down gender barriers against women in journalism in Baltimore, but the city was truly behind the times in opening its newsrooms to women. New York papers had been hiring women as novelties for many years. In 1880, 288 women were numbered among the 12,308 working journalists in the country, but Baltimore could not count a woman in its ranks.[39]

In 1886, around the time Malloy went to work at the *American*, the trade publication *The Journalist* estimated that already five hundred women worked on the editorial side of the country's newspapers.[40] Baltimore, then a city of more than 400,000 people, treated its women conservatively, perhaps in keeping with its attitudes as a blue-collar, working man's town. When the *Baltimore American* published its souvenir edition in 1894, Malloy still was the only woman pictured among the staff photos.[41]

The *American* was the Republican paper in town, not particularly known for

Opposite: Among Malloy's many journalistic interests were a series of day trips through Maryland, all of which could be taken by automobile. (Maryland Historical Society, MS.556.)

its reform tendencies. The *Baltimore Daily News* sounded most of the cries for reform in Baltimore. It is in keeping with the conservative nature of the *American* that, instead of all-out calls for reform, the editors chose a woman to attack non-controversial, "domestic" issues, including any problem that could threaten the home. Malloy's own reform choices—the fire department and the juvenile court—were typical municipal housekeeping projects: clearly, fire could easily destroy the home and juvenile delinquency could threaten all the city's children.

On a national scale, women of Malloy's time such as Elizabeth Cochrane, the *New York World's* sensational "Nellie Bly," made headlines as stunt journalists. These women grabbed headlines through stunts such as posing as a mental patient to expose mistreatment of patients, or seeking a job as a seamstress to uncover abuses in factories. Nellie Bly's trip around the world increased circulation of her own newspaper and became such a news event that other newspapers were forced to cover her journey.

Malloy did not follow this trend. In fact, she never did general assignment reporting.[42] She spent her career writing more refined features, removed from the daily rough-and-tumble of the newsroom. Her writings indicate a strong interest in women's rights, again a typical feature of the journalists drawn to municipal housekeeping reforms. But like many other women journalists, Malloy refrained from a vigorous campaign for suffrage. There is no evidence that she was ever a member of the Baltimore Woman's Suffrage Association. She did, however, write accounts of the suffragist movement and a profile of Susan B. Anthony. She often wrote about strong women who managed great accomplishments—the early women pilots, Joan of Arc, Elizabeth Anne Seton.[43] She also wrote a humor column, a unique job for a woman in the early twentieth century when it was generally agreed that women had little or no sense of humor.[44] Malloy proved them wrong. Her daily humor column, "Notes and Notions," appeared under the name "Josh Wink." It included anecdotes, jokes, and humorous poems and ran for years on page six of the *American.* Other newspapers often quoted tidbits and jokes from it. Although readers considered it quite wry and funny in its day,[45] the humor of the pieces has not held up over time. Many of the jokes are lost on us today, to wit:

> The shy damsel whom the unsuspecting youth had taken to the restaurant had ordered everything on the menu except bread and butter, when she turned to the young man and said:
>
> "Do you know, I am not one bit hungry."
>
> The poor man felt the dollar and thirty cents in his vest pocket, laughed feebly and inquired:
>
> "Are you—do you—that is—are you doing this on a bet?"[46]

In other pieces, her humor, unsophisticated as it may seem today, is still

evident. "No, indeed," said the Eminent Cornetist, when asked if he had been educated by some master of the instrument. "I never had a teacher. You might say that through all my career I have been my own tooter."[47]

A newspaper article that probably ran around 1910 noted that Malloy was "one of the few women who make a business of being funny. She is said to be a healthy, normal sort of woman, who does not pose as a genius and is a hard worker."[48] Another article, written by another woman journalist, Sadie Miller, ran in *Leslie's Weekly* with a photo of Malloy (interestingly, Malloy also wrote a feature about Miller that ran in the *American*). The latter article, under the headline "She is a Genuine Humorist" praised Malloy's talent at making jokes: "A woman humorist is a rarity, as the talent for writing jokes is more frequently found among men than among women and when one of the fair sex succeeds in making a reputation as a genuine 'funny woman' it indicates a mind of unusual intellectuality."[49]

Miller noted that Malloy's jokes and stories were often copied in other newspapers around the country. Affirmation is contained in Malloy's scrapbook collection, which contains little snippets from numerous newspapers. The article also described Malloy herself, noting that she was a "sedate little woman with sparkling black eyes and is a most entertaining conversationalist."[50]

Although Malloy wrote her humor column and held the title of drama critic, she, like many other journalists of the era, carried other responsibilities. She also held the position of children's page editor. As she attained more professional renown in Baltimore, she became an editorial writer and turned her attention to problems in the city.

In Aid of Reform

Having created a platform, Malloy now made her biggest impact as a journalist: she began advocating reform in Baltimore. She took an active role in fostering modernization of the fire department and the establishment of a juvenile court for the city. Contemporary journalists credited her writings with sparking a public outcry against sending children to jail and generating interest in the development of Baltimore's juvenile court.[51] City officials publicly praised her work toward improving the Baltimore Fire Department at the turn of the century.[52] Ishbel Ross, in her 1936 chronicle *Ladies of the Press,* credited Malloy with bringing about reform in both these areas. Carroll Dulaney, author of the "Baltimore Day by Day" column in the *American,* claimed Malloy was "highly instrumental" in improving the fire department and abolishing the practice of jailing children.[53]

Her dedication to reform also went beyond her writing. She involved herself in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the League of Women Voters and volunteered as a "friendly visitor" at the city jails. The Charity Organization Society, founded in the 1880s, sponsored the "friendly

visitors" program by recruiting volunteers to help uplift the city's poor.[54]

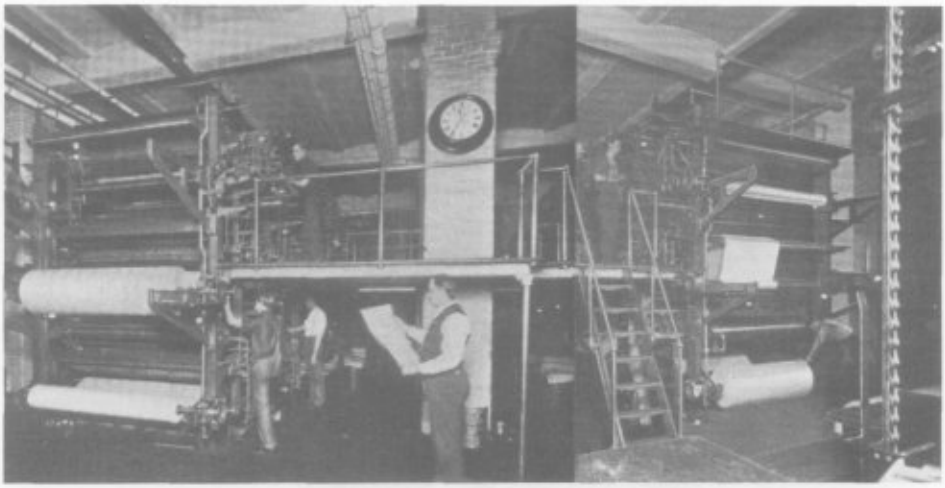
In advocating changes for Baltimore as a journalist, Malloy showed that she truly understood her hometown. Baltimore was, and still is, a working man's (and woman's) town—a city of homeowners and blue-collar workers. True, it contained a large population of immigrants, following the trend of other cities, but local folklore had it that to be considered a true Baltimorean, one had to have been born there.[55] In 1900, Baltimore's population of 508,957[56] relied heavily on the city's status as a port. The port had always been the backbone of the city, luring the steel companies, tobacco exporters, and sugar refineries. Manufacturers located in the city to be near maritime transportation. Factory workers, longshoremen, and railroad workers abounded in the town.

As in many other cities, the waning years of the nineteenth century saw a spirit of reform born in Baltimore. Reformers toppled ingrained political organizations. Such was the political climate in Baltimore—ripe for the journalistic housekeeping duties of Malloy and others who sought change in the status quo. Numerous Baltimoreans participated in this social reform.[57] But the first stage in any reform movement was awareness of social ills, and "Baltimoreans had to be awakened to the conditions that surrounded them and then organized into groups pushing for reform."[58] Progressives successfully tapped the ability of journalists like Louise Malloy to expose ills, alert readers, and challenge government.[59]

Several organizations played a primary role in effecting change. The Charity Organization Society attempted as early as the 1880s to uplift the city's poor through donations and one-on-one contact with impoverished families. And, like most American cities, Baltimore benefited from the activism of its women's clubs in the 1890s and later. In 1895, reformers carried Baltimore City and state elections, and, almost simultaneously, good government clubs began their activist roles.[60] The Arundell Good Government Club, the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, the local Consumer's League and other reform-minded women's clubs encouraged middle-class women to become activists against social ills.

The Arundell Club drew most of its members from the Baltimore Social Register, a status beyond the reach of Malloy, a solidly middle-class woman who needed to work for her keep.[61] Whatever their social standing, reformers within the group desired a pro-active approach to good government and formed a subsidiary group, the Arundell Good Government Club. Although this group apparently opened its membership to any woman interested in good government, it lured only thirty members, half of them from the Social Register.[62] Malloy's name does not appear on dues lists or in the minutes, so it appears that she limited her club memberships to writing groups that touched on her career.

While clubwomen worked to improve public education, create recreation programs, and establish playgrounds for children, male reformers in Balti-



The presses of the Baltimore American. (The Baltimore American Anniversary and Jubilee Edition *[Baltimore: Charles C. Fulton & Co., 1905].)*

more lobbied for child labor laws and public health reform. Together, they overhauled voting systems, revamped education, established city courts, and improved municipal services in a decade of reform from the 1890s through the early days of the 1900s.

When Malloy became an editorial writer in the 1890s, she suggested to Felix Agnus that she work within the pages of the newspaper to better civic conditions. Armed with the belief that Baltimoreans would respond positively if they were made aware of social ills, Malloy asserted that her mission was "rousing public opinion."[63] Her two most intense interests continued to be fire safety and children, followed closely by her love of animals.

A family friend who worked as a fire commissioner sparked her interest in the fire department.[64] As editorial writer at the *American* she lobbied intensely to foster improvements in the department, which had been neglected by the city and previously ignored by the newspapers.[65] Her interest in the fire department was apparent from her early days on the newspaper. Clips in her scrapbook from the early 1890s described the latest fire-fighting equipment purchased by the city, ways to escape a fire, and the daily business of the department. Her editorials on the need for a reliable fire department intensified after the great Baltimore fire in February 1904, which destroyed virtually the entire business district and caused damage of more than $70 million.[66]

After the fire, Malloy wrote repeatedly that the department was inadequate to match the growth of the city. There had been no fire engine company in the business district, and Malloy publicized that fact. The editorial column of the American did not mince words: "The most cursory glance over the situation shows the imperative need of, first of all, enlarging the Fire Department." The

The new Baltimore American *building opened for business one year after the Great Fire of 1904 destroyed the newspaper's headquarters on the corner of Baltimore and South Streets.* (The Baltimore American Anniversary and Jubilee Edition *[Baltimore: Charles C. Fulton & Co., 1905].*)

editorial argued further that it was foolish to institute other modern municipal improvements "when the prime requisite of safeguarding them has been neglected." The editorial noted that money spent for other improvements would be wasted if the city fell victim to another "Great" fire. "The careful builder attends first to the foundations of the building he is to erect. So with a city. Its protection from fire is its foundation."[67] Another editorial in the *American* claimed "the eyes of the public at large have been opened to the inadequacy of protection in life and property from fire."[68]

In a reminiscence written about 1930, Malloy stated that her editors at the *American* completely backed and supported her when she lobbied on the editorial pages for the enlargement of the fire department and exposed unsafe conditions. One campaign, she wrote, ended successfully with the establishment of several new city companies and the installation of the high pressure system for firefighting in 1912.[69] This new equipment not only brought Baltimore into the twentieth century in firefighting capability but ensured that it had one of the most modern systems in the country.[70] As a result of her interest in the fire department and her work to modernize it, city officials awarded her a fire badge as the first woman to be an honorary member of the fire department.[71]

Malloy also crusaded in the pages of the *American* against sending young children to jail.[72] Because she was friendly with the daughters of the warden of the Baltimore City Jail, Malloy learned that young children could be found in prisons and that he believed the city was creating "a training school for the penitentiary."[73] After receiving the publisher's approval for an investigation, Malloy set about to enlighten those who suffered from "the widespread ignorance" about juveniles in prison. Malloy's editorials were considered "the first impetus" behind the juvenile court system.[74]

Malloy's editorial push bolstered the efforts by Baltimore's Charity Organization Society to establish a city juvenile court, an innovative idea in the early days of the new century and one that also was advocated by women's clubs and prominent municipal housekeepers, such as reformer Jane Addams in Chicago. The *American* frequently printed stories about small children being sent to prison with convicted criminals for want of a better place to send them. In one such article the newspaper described the case of five-year-old Elijah Smith, his nine-year-old brother, and a twelve-year-old companion who were sent to jail on charges that they had assaulted an eleven-year-old boy. The clipping noted that Elijah, a black child, was the youngest child ever to be sent to jail in Baltimore.[75]

The plight of these children highlighted the campaign that was being conducted on the editorial pages of the *American:*

> For years the really criminal system of sending children even as young as six or seven years to jail has prevailed with, apparently,

> little protest, due, possibly, to the fact that few comparatively knew of the practice. In fact, when the *American* some years ago began an agitation looking towards a remedy for this evil some public officials were ignorant both of the fact and of the extent of this practice.[76]

The Charity Organization Society wrote a juvenile court bill, circulated it among city reform groups, and then hired a lobbyist to insure the bill's passage.[77] The result of this campaign, which strongly benefited from Malloy's editorial efforts to help wayward children, was the creation of the Juvenile Court of Baltimore, only the third such court in the nation when it convened on June 24, 1902.[78]

After the juvenile court success, Malloy continued her role as advocate, but rolled up her shirtsleeves. She reinforced her position as a municipal housekeeping journalist with her own activism. Not content to let others get personally involved while she only wrote about wrongs, she did something about social problems herself. She often claimed the children who had been detained and helped them find homes and jobs at her own expense. She was publicly praised for her efforts in Maryland's Court of Appeals.[79]

Meanwhile, as a drama editor and critic, Malloy became widely known in the theater world, partly because Baltimore was a try-out city for plays bound for Broadway. After Malloy's death a novelist friend, Blanche Smith Ferguson, recalled that producer David Belasco called Malloy "the greatest dramatic critic of her day upon whose every word we hung. Opening in Baltimore and rating her praise we inevitably went on to Broadway success." She counted many theater people among her friends and was a favorite of the popular actor Otis Skinner.[80]

When she died in 1947, the *Baltimore American* ran several tributes to the work she accomplished in her lifetime. In addition to the praise she received for her involvement in the theater, her efforts on behalf of the fire department and the juvenile court, friends cited her charitable work. Ferguson wrote that Malloy had often visited prisoners and brought them food and candy.[81] Another friend described her as "the guardian angel" of prisoners.[82] She was remembered for her love of animals and her good works regarding them. Every eulogizer was able to recall an instance of her caring for an animal.[83]

Malloy's successful career as a pioneer woman in Baltimore journalism established that women could write about serious municipal concerns as well as features for the women's page. She was fortunate to live and work in a time of social reform and change when she could indeed "rouse public opinion." Her work for the juvenile court and the fire department made lasting changes for Baltimore. She can be counted as one of the "foremothers" of the modern woman journalist. Malloy made a career of journalism—it wasn't merely a pleasant pastime while looking for more traditional ways to fulfill herself through marriage. She held positions of increasing responsibility and impor-

tance on the *American.* As one of her friends explained after her death, "To the end of her life Miss Malloy remained a newspaper woman. Printer's ink was in her nostrils."[84]

NOTES

This article is based on a study of Louise Malloy's manuscript collection, housed at the University of Maryland's McKeldin Library, and her scrapbooks, which are part of the collection of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. It also is based on a study of editorials and articles from the *Baltimore American* and the *Baltimore Sunday Sun.* Several Baltimore residents provided personal reminiscences of Malloy in response to my column "Does Anyone Out There Remember Louise Malloy?," published in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* in 1986 when I was doing graduate research at the University of Maryland in College Park.

1. U.S. Census, 1880, Baltimore.
2. Carroll Dulaney, "Day by Day: Woman Novelist Adds Tribute to Miss Malloy," *Baltimore American,* March 6, 1947.
3. Letter from Angelo P. Pente of Baltimore, friend of Louise Malloy, September 1986.
4. Letter from Rita Rudo, friend of Louise Malloy, September 27, 1986.
5. "Miss Marie Louise Malloy," undated clip, *Baltimore American.* Dielman-Hayward files of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
6. "Louise Malloy," *The Owl o' Baltimore* (Newsletter of the Baltimore Branch of the National League of American Pen Women, 1 (March 1945): 8–10. Quote found on page 8.
7. Ibid.
8. Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 205.
9. "Louise Malloy," *The Owl o' Baltimore,* 8.
10. Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism: A History 1690–1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 507 and 599.
11. Undated clip, the Louise Malloy Scrapbooks, Maryland Historical Society, 1:26.
12. "Louise Malloy," *The Owl o' Baltimore,* 8.
13. Undated clip, Malloy scrapbooks, Maryland Historical Society, 1:26.
14. *The Player's Maid* had a brief Broadway run around the turn of the century, and in 1940, *The Boy Lincoln* had a New York presentation.
15. "Louise Malloy" manuscript, part of the Louise Malloy manuscript collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
16. Dulaney, "Day by Day," March 6, 1947.
17. Robert W. Smuts, *Women and Work in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971). In this work, the author estimates that only 5 percent of American married women had jobs that took them away from their homes (23).
18. "John F. Malloy is claimed by death," newspaper clip with penciled date, June 12, 1916, in the Malloy Scrapbooks, Maryland Historical Society, 2:210.
19. U.S. Census, 1900, Baltimore.

20. The Maryland Historical Society, Dielman-Hayward Files, obituary notices.
21. *Baltimore Evening Sun,* obituary for Louise Malloy, February 27, 1947.
22. "Louise Malloy Dies; Writer, Playwright," *Baltimore Evening Sun,* Baltimore, February 26, 1947.
23. Baptismal records from St. Patrick's Church, Baltimore.
24. "Miss Louise Malloy," *Baltimore Sun,* Funeral Notice, March 2, 1947.
25. Louise Malloy, *The Life Story of Mother Seton* (Baltimore: Carroll Publishing Co., 1924), 25.
26. "Louise Malloy," *The Owl o' Baltimore,* 10.
27. For example, an article titled "The Baby Czar of Russia" recounted the life of Ivan and reads like a gothic novel. There is dialogue between Ivan and his captors, but the reader never knows whether the author is recreating what could have transpired or whether there was an historical source—there were no footnotes.
28. Letter from Catherine M. Litz of Baltimore, student of Miss Malloy, September 25, 1986.
29. Letter from Hanarah Alseth of Baltimore, September 30, 1986 and undated newspaper clip circa 1932.
30. David C. Holly, *Baltimore in American Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1933), 73–74.
31. J. C. Croly, *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America* (New York: Henry G. Allen, 1898), 580–581.
32. The Women's Literary Club of Baltimore, 1894–1895, club program, 39, at the Maryland Historical Society.
33. Dulaney, "Miss Louise Malloy's Good Work Lives On," *Baltimore American,* March 6, 1947.
34. Letter from Rudo.
35. Any personnel records that may have identified when Louise Malloy joined the staff of the *American,* if they did indeed exist, perished in the great fire of 1904, in which the newspaper building burned to the ground.
36. Louise Malloy is described by Carroll Dulaney in his "Day by Day" column, February 27, as the first woman journalist in Baltimore. Her obituary in the *Evening Sun,* February 26, 1947, stated that she "probably" was the first woman journalist in the city. An undated newspaper clip (that probably appeared in the early 1900s) claimed that she was "the first woman in this city to engage in work on a newspaper." An entry in the book *Maryland Women,* a directory of prominent women in the city who had to pay a fee to be included in the list, stated that Louise could "claim the distinction of being the first newspaper woman in Baltimore." In *Roads to Success by Maryland's Men and Women of Achievement,* Malloy was described as the first woman journalist in Maryland. Malloy probably wrote this entry herself, because an original manuscript found in her private papers is almost identical to the entry that appeared in print.
37. *Baltimore News-American,* special edition, August 19, 1973, 3.
38. Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1936), 493.
39. Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993), 10.

40. Ibid.
41. *Baltimore American Souvenir Edition: A Souvenir of the 121st Anniversary of the Baltimore American, 1773–1894,* (Baltimore: *Baltimore American* Press, 1894), 37.
42. "Louise Malloy," *The Owl o' Baltimore,* 9.
43. The Louise Malloy Manuscript Collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, series 5, "Articles."
44. *Leslie's Weekly,* "She is a Genuine Humorist," undated clip in the Louise Malloy Scrapbooks, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 47.
45. Ibid.
46. Josh Wink, "Notes and Notions," *Baltimore American,* May 28, 1900, 6.
47. Ibid.
48. Undated clipping, "Women Humorists Are Not in Great Number," Louise Malloy Scrapbooks, Maryland Historical Society, 47.
49. "She is a Genuine Humorist," undated clipping from *Leslie's Weekly* found in ibid., 47.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ross, *Ladies of the Press,* 496.
53. Dulaney, "Day by Day" column, *Baltimore American,* February 27, 1947.
54. James B. Crooks, *Politics & Progress* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 159.
55. Francis F. Beirne, *The Amiable Baltimoreans* (Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1968), 22.
56. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1912), 224.
57. Crooks, in *Politics and Progress,* 155, defines "social reform" as "the phase of the urban progressive movement which attempted to correct by governmental action the injustice that a changing society had inflicted upon city dwellers."
58. Ibid., 157.
59. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 186.
60. Crooks, *Politics & Progress,* 169.
61. Ibid., 169.
62. Ibid., 170.
63. "Miss Louise Malloy," undated manuscript in the Louise Malloy Manuscript Collection, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland.
64. Ross, *Ladies of the Press,* 496.
65. Ibid.
66. Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People,* the chapter on "Fire Protection," which actually was written by Malloy, 424–437.
67. "Protect the City from Fire," undated *Baltimore American* clip from the Louise Malloy Scrapbook, Maryland Historical Society, 2.
68. "Fire Protection Fight Won," undated clip, Louise Malloy Scrapbook, Maryland Historical Society, 5.
69. "Louise Malloy," the Louise Malloy Collection, series 2, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland.

70. Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People,* 437.
71. Dulaney, "Day By Day," undated column from the *Baltimore American.*
72. "Louise Malloy," the Louise Malloy Collection, series 3, University of Maryland.
73. "Louise Malloy," *The Owl o' Baltimore,* 9.
74. Ibid.
75. "Five-Year-Old Boy Committed to Jail" *Baltimore American,* March 6, 1902, 6.
76. "Must Pass This Bill," *Baltimore American,* March 3, 1902, 6.
77. Crooks, *Politics & Progress,* 175.
78. G. Kenneth Reiblich, *A Study of Judicial Administration in the State of Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929), 17, and D. Zietz, "The Development of the Juvenile Court Movement in Maryland 1900–48," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1971.
79. Dulaney, undated "Day by Day" column, *Baltimore American.*
80. Dulaney, "Day by Day," *Baltimore American,* March 6, 1947.
81. Ibid.
82. Letter to Carroll Dulaney, published in the *Baltimore American,* March 3, 1947.
83. See Dulaney's columns for February 27, March 6, and March 8, 1947.
84. Letter from Blanche Smith Ferguson, published in Carroll Dulaney's column, "Day by Day," *Baltimore American,* March 6, 1947.

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A Forgotten Love Story: An Episode in the Life of Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore

LOUISE MALLOY

In Miss Burney's interesting Memoirs, frequent mention is made of Mrs. Delany, who was so great a favorite of George III and his family that court etiquette was waived in her regard—a concession that, from Miss Burney's account of etiquette in those days, was little short of miraculous. This lady, who is often noticed in the memoirs of her contemporaries, was a noted personage in her day, and possesses a peculiar interest for Marylanders, as she is the heroine of a romance in which one of the founders of the colony figured as the hero.

Mary Granville [Delany] was born in 1700, and lived to be nearly a century old.[1] She belonged to a noble English family; her grandfather enjoyed the rather doubtful honor of being the first to tell Charles II that he was at last the undisputed king of England—a piece of information more profitable to the Merry Monarch than to the people he forthwith proceeded to misgovern. The king marked his appreciation of this service by creating Granville Groom of the Bedchamber, and from this time on the family seems to have been always connected with royalty.

Mary was, from early youth, most attractive in manner and appearance. Edmund Burke said of her: "She is not only the woman of fashion in her own age; she is the highest-bred woman in the world, and the woman of fashion of all ages." At the age of ten she met Handel, but was not at all impressed by the great master. She liked his playing, but on being asked if she thought she could ever play as well, answered with conviction: "If I thought I should not, I would burn my instrument!"—an opinion she lived long enough to correct. While visiting her uncle Lord Lansdowne, she met a friend and countryman of the latter, Alexander Pendarves, of Roscrow, Cornwall. She says of their first meeting: "I expected to see somebody with the appearance of a gentleman, when the poor old dripping, almost drowned, Pendarves was brought into the room, like Hob out of the well. His wig, his coat, his dirty boots, his large un-

1. *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville Delany.* Edited by Lady Llanover. 6 v. London, 1861–62.

wieldly person and his crimson countenance were all subjects of mirth and observation to me." He soon ceased to be "a subject of mirth" to her, for he fell in love with her, "to her great sorrow," at which we do not wonder, when she says that Mr. Pendarves was then near sixty and she only seventeen. She adds: "I formed an invincible aversion towards him, and everything he said or did, by way of obliging me, increased that aversion. I thought him ugly and disagreeable; he was fat, much afflicted with gout, and often sat in a sullen mood, which I concluded was from the gloominess of his temper. I knew that of all men living, my uncle had the greatest opinion of and esteem for him, and I dreaded his making a proposal of marriage, as I knew it would be accepted."

Her fears of being forced into a marriage with him by her uncle were speedily realized. Lord Lansdowne needed the influence and services of Pendarves, and promised his niece's hand to her elderly lover. "I was not entreated," she says, "but commanded." She was finally forced to consent to a union she detested, and was married "with great pomp," pathetically adding: "When I was led to the altar, I wished from my soul I had been led, as Iphigenia was, to be sacrificed. I was sacrificed. I lost, not life indeed, but I lost all that makes life desirable—joy and peace of mind."

The marriage, as might naturally have been expected, was miserable. She calls her husband "her tyrant and jailer," and their residence, Roscrow, "her prison." Pendarves was jealous, sullen, and made her life wretched by his tyranny. Finally he took her to London, and put the finishing stroke to her misfortunes by falling ill of the gout, and keeping her in close attendance on him.

About this time she met a young married lady whose husband was intimate with her own, Mrs. Hyde, a beautiful woman of noble family. A fondness sprang up between them, and Mrs. Pendarves frequently visited her new friend, whose society must have afforded a pleasant relief from her gouty husband's. "By being often at Mrs. Hyde's," she says, "I met her brother, Lord Baltimore." She describes him as "a young man in great esteem and fashion at that time, very handsome, genteel, polite and unaffected. He was born to a very considerable fortune, and was possest of it as soon as he came of age, but was as little presuming on the advantages he had from fortune as on those he had from nature. He had had the education bestowed on men of his rank, where, generally speaking, the embellishing the person and polishing the manners is thought more material than cultivating the understanding, and the *pretty* gentleman was preferred to the *fine* gentleman. I thought him more agreeable than anybody I had ever known."

This fascinating young man was Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore. If I do not mistake, his portrait, by Sully, is at present in the Maryland Historical Society Rooms, and we can see for ourselves the handsome face that made such an impression upon poor unhappy Mary Pendarves.

The impression was mutual. Lord Baltimore became attached to his sister's fair friend; but so successfully did he hide his passion, and so respectful and

friendly was his manner to her, that she never suspected him of a warmer feeling. She says: "I never went to Mrs. Hyde's that I did not find Lord Baltimore,"—a fact she evidently ascribed to brotherly affection.

He visited Mr. Pendarves, with whom he became a great favorite; which, after the description given us of this domestic tyrant, is the strongest possible testimony to Lord Baltimore's qualities. He was received in the family circle on a friendly footing, and though Mrs. Pendarves confesses that she was extremely cautious in her behaviour to him, fearing that she might become too much interested, she also admits that during three years of intercourse with them, "he never said a word that could offend her or give her just cause to avoid his company."

After a married life of seven years, Mr. Pendarves died suddenly, leaving her a widow of not yet twenty-four. She frankly declared her widowhood was not unwelcome—a statement no witness of her wedded life would feel inclined to question.

Six months after her husband's death, Lord Baltimore sent for permission to call upon her. With the consent of her aunt, Lady Stanley, to whom she had gone on her "bereavement," she allowed his visit. He repeated it several times. Although she did not always see him, her aunt began to take alarm. Lady Stanley had already destined the young widow to become the wife of her husband's nephew, Henry Monck, a young man in no respect to be compared with Lord Baltimore.

The latter continued to visit her, apparently by no means discouraged by disapproving aunts. No longer suppressed by duty, their mutual love began to show itself, and it gave her courage to oppose her aunt and refuse to be again disposed of by interested relatives. Lady Stanley was disappointed but did persist, although she disliked Lord Baltimore. Mrs. Pendarves says: "She had received an impression to his discredit; I now believe she made a better judgment of him than I did; but his behaviour to me was so respectful and engaging that the natural vanity of human nature led me to think more favorably of him than he deserved." This was rather unfair, for he was then evidently sincerely in love with her.

At this time she speaks of him by various names: "Guyamore," "Bas" (short for *Basilisk*) and the "American Prince," alluding to his province of Maryland, in America. At a ball given to celebrate the Queen's birthday, she complains of the crowd, but adds that "her fortune threw her in the way of Guyamore, who very gallantly got her a seat and sat down beside her." She gives the courtesy significance by calling it "a recompense for the loss and fatigue I had undergone." His aunt, Lady Betty Lee, sat near them, and Mrs. Pendarves asked him "why he did not go and pay his duty to her?" But the young man had not come to the ball to dance attendance on his aunt, and replied, possibly with some temper, that "he hated to look at her she was so confounded ugly;" adding, we may suppose with a lover's sigh, "I would be a happy man were you as ugly!"

Before anything was settled between them, Lord Baltimore was forced to go to Maryland, and during his absence a report of his death was spread in England. How this report affected Mrs. Pendarves we have no record; the first mention she makes of him after his return, is her meeting with him at a "drawing-room." "The American Prince came and sat by me, and after common compliments he said he must ask after his friend, *our sister,* where she was and what she had done with herself. I told him of your flauntings." (This is quoted from a letter to her sister.) "I asked him if he had been in as many perils as was rumored of him, he said no. I told him Mrs. Hyde and his family had been under great apprehensions and concern; he said he was very much obliged to his friends; he wished to know *if I had once thought of him or was sorry* when I heard he was cast away? I asked him why he should suppose I had so much ill-nature as not to be sorry for so unfortunate an accident to an acquaintance?"

The prudence of this answer naturally aggrieved him.

"That common compassion," he said to her in a tiff, "would give me but little satisfaction." She was so afraid of others hearing their conversation that she turned it from sentiment by an inquiry after the unlucky Lady Betty Lee. He answered by another declaration of hatred towards his absent relative, hoped Mrs. Pendarves did not encourage his aunt's acquaintance, for "it was not worthy of me;" said he had quarrelled with Lady Betty on her account and "would never forgive her." Lady Lansdowne was there to play a trick on "me and Bas," but the lovers wisely avoided her. Mrs. Pendarves thought her admirer had grown thinner, but "he looked very well, and not a bit of a tar."

A few days after he called on her, and later in the week met her at the opera. He came and sat near her, telling her that he was very unhappy, and that she was the cause of all his extravagance. She answered she would be so sorry to think so. In two or three days he saw her again. "When he came into the room," she writes, "I could not help wishing his mind might be answerable to his appearance, for I never saw him look so well."

He began the conversation by asking her "if she did not think they were miserable people that were strangers to love? But," he added, "you are so great a philosopher that I dread your answer."

She replied, "As for philosophy, I do not pretend to it, but I endeavor to make my life easy by living according to reason; that my opinion of love was that it made people either very happy or very miserable." He said "it made *him* miserable." But he did not get the encouragement he expected. "That, my lord, proceeds from yourself; perhaps you place it upon a wrong foundation." He did not like her answer, for "he went away immediately."

No wonder; she seems, from her own account, to have been discreet to a degree that would have driven an ordinary lover wild. And yet she loved him deeply, and secluded herself because she could not treat him in public with indifference.

For a whole year they met but seldom—however, this was her own doing. One night, to oblige Lady Stanley, she went to the opera and met there Lord

Baltimore. He came directly to her, asked where she had buried herself, and told her "he had been miserable to see her." He declared that he had so little opportunity of doing so he could no longer conceal his love. He told her "he had been in love with her for five years, but that she had kept him in such awe that he had never had the courage to confess this love." She was much confused by this abrupt avowal, and begged him to say no more then, as it was hardly the proper place. He then asked "if she would be at home the next day?" to which she replied that she would.

Although very much in love with Lord Baltimore, Mrs. Pendarves must have suspected the sincerity of his professed attachment; but even so, she could hardly have been prepared for the extraordinary end of the romance. She went home to dream of her handsome lover, though she expresses herself very mildly on this point.

"The next day he came punctually, very much dressed and in good spirits. Our conversation began with common talk of news. Some marriage was named, and we both observed how little probability of happiness there was in most of the fashionable matches, where interest and not inclination was consulted. At last he said he was determined never to marry unless he was well assured of the affection of the person he married. My reply was: 'Can you have a stronger proof (if the person is at her own disposal) than her consenting to marry you?' He replied that was not sufficient. I said he was unreasonable; upon which he started up and said: 'I find, madam, this is a point on which we shall never agree!' He looked piqued and angry, made a low bow and went away immediately, and left me in such confusion I could hardly recollect what had passed; but from that time until he was married, we never met."

Mrs. Delany's editor explains this remarkable conduct of Lord Baltimore by the supposition that his extravagance necessitated a rich wife; that under the influence of his real love for Mrs. Pendarves he made a declaration that more selfish calculations, in cooler moments, suggested him to reconsider, and that his pretended anger at the following interview was merely a pretext to break off the affair. It may have been this, or it may have been genuine pique at what he supposed her coldness.

His desertion had a serious effect upon her health for a time, but she recovered and devoted her energies to conquering her feelings. Whatever the cause of his sudden change, he never returned to her, but soon after their parting, married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Janssen of Wimbleton. Some years later, she speaks very indifferently of meeting her former lover at the marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Orange.

"Lord Baltimore made a place for us where we could see it all."

And again, at a court ball, she mentions that the Prince played "whisk" with Lord Baltimore, Lady Blandford and Lady Carteret. At another ball she speaks of him once more.

"My Lord Baltimore was in light brown and silver, his coat lined quite

throughout with ermine. His lady looked like a frightened owl, her locks strutted out and most curiously greased, or rather gummed, and powdered." She evidently had not forgiven her successful rival, if this malicious description is to be trusted.

The old lovers met again on terms of friendship. She speaks of his visiting and advising her, and once uses his old name of Guyamore. But they were friends merely, as is proved by his congratulations on her engagement to the Rev. Dr. Delany, Swift's friend and biographer, to whom she was afterwards most happily married. In a letter written a friend, she mentions her youthful lover for the last time:

"I saw in the newspapers that Lord Baltimore was ill; is he dead? He had some good qualities. I wonder where his poor sister Hyde is? I wish he may have done something for her. I fear his poor children at Epsom have been sadly neglected."

Lord Baltimore died April 23, 1751. He was succeeded in the title and province by his son Frederick, the sixth and last Lord Baltimore.

Mrs. Delany survived her first love many years, living far into the reign of George III.

Book Excerpt

Plain Truth vs *Common Sense*: James Chalmers for the Loyalists, 1776

M. CHRISTOPHER NEW

The editors of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are pleased to present to our readers the following article, adapted from chapter two of the forthcoming book *Maryland Loyalists in the American Revolution,* to be published in the fall of 1996 by Tidewater Publishers of Centreville, Maryland. Publication is by permission of the author and publisher.

In January and February of 1776, Philadelphia, not New England, was the epicenter of the conflict with Great Britain. Despite bloodshed at Lexington and Concord and terrible losses at Bunker Hill, Tories and a few moderate Whigs hoped in vain for a last-minute reconciliation with the mother country.

The motives for wanting such a miracle were quite naturally divided along party lines. The Tories sought an end to the conflict before armed resistance spread throughout the colonies; some Whigs, on the other hand, felt they had flexed their muscles enough to show they were serious about not submitting to Parliament's arbitrary rule of the colonies. The consequences of resistance, however, were to go beyond what most colonists and Britons expected. Rebellion was about to become revolution, largely because of a simple pamphlet. On Wednesday, January 10, 1776, the words of a virtually unknown English dissident would change the world forever.

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* was like a lightning bolt in the colonies. Its message was simple: Britain had no right to govern America, the monarchy system itself was basically corrupt, and Americans would be much better off on their own. Paine's arguments certainly struck a chord. The French and Indian War of the 1750s had shown the colonists just how far they had drifted from their English counterparts in nearly every aspect of politics and culture. England saw colonists as crude and uneducated, while the English were seen as drunk with power and subservient to a monarchy that had no meaning to the average colonist, who pretty much lived by his own rules.

M. Christopher New is a free-lance writer of fiction and non-fiction in Reisterstown.

PLAIN TRUTH;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

Containing, Remarks

ON A LATE PAMPLET

entitled

COMMON SENSE.

Wherein are ſhewn, that the Scheme of INDEPENDENCE is Ruinous, Deluſive, and Impracticable: That were the Author's Aſſeverations, Reſpecting the Power of AMERICA, as Real as Nugatory ; Reconciliation on liberal Principles with GREAT BRITAIN, would be exalted Policy : And that circumſtanced as we are, Permanent Liberty, and True Happineſs, can only be obtained by Reconciliation with that Kingdom.

WRITTEN BY CANDIDUS.

Audi et alterem partem. HORACE.

Will ye turn from flattery, and attend to this Side.?

There TRUTH, unlicenc'd, walks ; and dares accoſt
Even Kings themſelves, the Monarchs of the Free !

THOMSON on the Liberties of BRITAIN.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed, and Sold, by R. BELL, in Third-Street.

MDCCLXXVI.

Not everyone, though, read Paine's work and nodded with approval. Hardcore loyalists were realizing that they had been blindsided by a powerful piece of propaganda. Anxious to put out the fires that *Common Sense* was igniting, they attempted to strike back. One of the very first to do so was a gentleman of means from the colony of Maryland—a planter named James Chalmers.

Chalmers's life is something of a mystery. An account of his early years, pieced together from what he told the British government after the war, revealed the story of a man of ambition. Born in Scotland in 1727, he went to the British West Indies when he was thirteen years old. His profession there for the next twenty years is unclear. One thing we know for sure is that he made a lot of money. In the West Indies, the eighteenth-century road to wealth was the sugar, rum, and slave trade. Like most white men of the time, the concept of owning human beings didn't seem to trouble him very much.

In 1760, Chalmers arrived in Maryland with several black slaves and a hefty 10,000 British pounds in his purse. This substantial sum made it easy for him to become a farmer and landowner of great standing on the Eastern Shore. Before long, he owned several thousand acres around Chestertown in Kent County. His wealth gave him influence, which he spent a lifetime trying to exert.

Sometime in 1775 he appears to have been offered a regiment in the rebel service. This isn't as peculiar as it seems: the conflict still centered around resistance, not revolution. Chalmers, however, turned down the offer and requests to attend rebel committees. By his own admission, he armed his family in Chestertown and prepared to "repell force by force."[1]

"Well-bred and well-informed," despite "the strong peculiarities of his temper, manner, address, and diction," Chalmers is further described as "a sound disciplinarian, resolute, strict, and humane."[2] When war came, this well-read but irritable Scotsman had had enough. Surrounding himself with wealthy Eastern Shore loyalists, Chalmers was to become lieutenant colonel of the First Battalion of Maryland Loyalists a little over a year after writing *Plain Truth,* his famous rebuttal to *Common Sense.*

Plain Truth

Nestled in a building on south Third Street beside Saint Paul's Episcopal Church was Philadelphia's most popular bookstore. Robert Bell's shop carried books on the arts, sciences, languages, history, biography, divinity, law, voyages, travels, as well as poetry, plays, novels, and virtually anything else the well-read eighteenth-century gentleman might care to read.[3] Bell also published pamphlets, and Chalmers was only too anxious to see his thoughts appear in the best bookshop in town. Chalmers must have enjoyed the irony that Robert Bell had published the first edition of *Common Sense.*

On Saturday, March 16, 1776, an advertisement first appeared in *The Pennsylvania Ledger,* a local newspaper that favored loyalist views. For three shil-

lings, interested citizens could purchase *Plain Truth; addressed to the Inhabitants of America.* Writing under the name "Candidus," James Chalmers launched an all-out assault on Paine's work. In the space of seventy pages, he resorted to everything he could think of to tear down *Common Sense.* For those who just couldn't get enough of the Maryland loyalist's writings, *Additions to Plain Truth* appeared on April 10 for only one shilling.

Unfortunately for Chalmers, he adopted precisely the wrong style and tone. While Paine wrote in the plainest language possible in order to reach the common man with his argument, Chalmers took the high road with a strong emphasis on literary references and history through the ages. A semiliterate blacksmith who could muddle his way through *Common Sense* may well have looked at *Plain Truth* and shrugged his shoulders. Many educated and learned men were already loyalists. It was the "great unwashed" who needed convincing that Great Britain was still their sovereign master.

Chalmers began his work, in supreme flowery form, with a dedication to John Dickinson, the famous representative of Pennsylvania at the Continental Congress. He acknowledged, "I have not the Honor to be Known to You," to which the reader can easily fill in what must have been his next thought, ". . . but I would certainly like to be known to you." These were the words of a man who never feared the taste of boot polish.

> Step then forth; exert those Talents with which HEAVEN has endowed you; and cause the Parent, and her Children to embrace, and be foes no more. Arduous as this extraordinary talk may seem, perhaps your Virtue and Talents, may yet effect it. Your Endeavors to stop the Effusion of Blood, of Torrents of Blood, is worthy of your acknowledged Humanity—Even the honest attempt upon recollection, will afford you ineffable satisfaction.[4]

As complimentary as this may be, Chalmers had more in mind than mere flattery. A man like John Dickinson was exactly what a man like Chalmers wanted to be: a powerful and influential colonist, respectful of Great Britain, mindful of colonists' concerns, and, most importantly, a man who could influence millions with his writings.

In a series of letters to the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* in 1767 and 1768, Dickinson wrote in no uncertain terms that Parliament lacked the authority to tax the colonies simply because it needed revenue. Under the title *Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania to Inhabitants of the British Colonies,* Dickinson's words were read throughout the colonies as well as in England, causing quite a stir. In subsequent years, Dickinson had risen to the forefront of reform. To loyalists, moderate men like Dickinson seemed the last hope to end the fighting. Unfortunately for Chalmers, Dickinson later refused to endorse his pamphlet.

Chalmers, by his admission, chose to write *Plain Truth* after waiting week

upon week for someone to respond with anger to *Common Sense.* No one did. New York's *Constitutional Gazette* called Paine's work "a wonderful production," and others were equally complimentary. Sensing great opposition, the Kent County planter boldly took the initiative.

He wasted no time calling Paine a "political quack" and expressing offense at the New Englander's attack on the English constitution. "With all its imperfections [the English constitution] is, and ever will be, the pride and envy of mankind."[5] This was a safe argument in March 1776. The Declaration of Independence, which so elegantly expressed the dissatisfied American point of view, did not yet exist. The rebellion itself was being propelled mostly by a few loud orators from New England. No one, of course, had suggested how colonists could come up with something better than England's system of laws. Loyalists like Chalmers were banking on the hope that they never would.

Paine's love of democracy was a ripe target in *Plain Truth.* Few now realize that the word "democracy" didn't have a particularly appealing ring to it in the eighteenth century. Even radical John Adams, who was pushing hard for independence, was nervous about Paine's brand of unregulated democracy. It "was so democratical, without any restraint or even an attempt at any equilibrium or counterpoise, that it must produce confusion and every evil work," he wrote.[6] Later, he declared, "What a poor ignorant, Malicious, short-sighted, Crapulous Mass, is Tom Pains Common Sense."[7] For one fleeting moment, Chalmers and John Adams were in agreement.

Adams may have been a radical but he was no one's fool. He knew any new government would have to be run by politicians and not by mob leaders. To many, Whigs and Tories alike, democracy for its own sake didn't seem like an especially good idea. Historically, democracies had come and gone, a fact that Chalmers doesn't hesitate to point out.

> The demogogues to seduce the people into their criminal designs ever hold up democracy to them. . . . If we examine the republics of Greece and Rome, we ever find them in a state of war domestic or foreign. . . . Apian's history of the civil wars of Rome, contains the most frightful picture of massacres . . . that ever were presented to the world.[8]

Mistrustful of France and her intentions, Chalmers was compelled to remind his readers of the great debt owed England by the colonies. Citing William Penn and the Pennsylvania Quakers as settlers who brought "toleration, industry, and permanent credit" to the colonies, Chalmers observed that England had taken proper notice.

> The people of England, encouraged by the extension of their laws and commerce to those colonies, powerfully assisted our merchants

> and planters, insomuch, that our settlements increased rapidly. . . . It may be affirmed, that from this period, until the present unhappy hour; no part of human kind, ever experienced more perfect felicity. Voltaire indeed says, that if ever the Golden Age existed, it was in Pennsylvania.[9]

Chalmers was on firm ground with this argument and he knew it. By the time of the revolution, the American colonies were about the best place in the world to live. Opportunity was everywhere, land on the frontier was for the taking (or stealing as the case may be) and taxes were almost nonexistent in comparison to what the inhabitants of England were forced to pay. Best of all, the heavy-handed authority of King George III and Parliament was diffused by several thousand miles of ocean.

Chalmers mentioned the French and Indian War only in passing, saying, "In the hour of our distress, we called aloud on Great Britain for assistance, nor was she deaf to our cries." This strong sense of obligation to England for defeating France is curiously understated by Chalmers. It may have been a matter he considered so obvious that it did not require special attention.

To counter Paine's hints that England and the rest of Europe were becoming dependent on American wheat, Chalmers sardonically asserted that "I believe the Europeans did eat before our merchants exported our grain." Citing a drought in Poland and the Ukraine as the cause of the sudden increase in exports, Chalmers denies that "this momentary commerce" had much effect on the colonies. As proof, he cited his own region. "The most fertile and delectable wheat country in America, bounded by Chesapeak-bay," is terribly underdeveloped, he wrote. Lack of manpower, industry, and wealth were the prime culprits. He implied that those industrious few who cultivated the land in this area had done quite well for themselves.

It isn't difficult to gather from his description that the cultivated Maryland land he talked about was, of course, his own in Kent County that he later called "the best Lands in America."[10] No one would ever accuse James Chalmers of modesty.

The British West Indies inevitably arose in any discussion of colonial trade. Chalmers wanted very much to convey his own experience concerning this vital link of trade to the British empire.

> We are unacquainted with the West India Islands, if we believe that they solely depend on us for provisions and lumber. . . . I know it will be re-echoed that the West India islands cannot do without America. The contrary is nevertheless true.[11]

This economic argument is one of Chalmers's worst miscalculations. Quite simply, he should have known better. For someone who had spent so much time in the British West Indies, he seemed to have absolutely no clue of the

power the colonies had over the Caribbean islands in terms of trade. When war came, the West Indies were crippled by Britain's effective blockade of the tropical ports. The loss of trade may have denied money to the colonies, but it also denied timber and other needed supplies to the sugar islands.[12] A strange preoccupation with the West Indies would make itself known over and over again until the end of Chalmers's life.

After a few digressions, he moved on to the heart of all loyalist argument: the colonists couldn't possibly win a war against Great Britain. At every level, England outgunned and outmanned the colonies. On paper, the weakness of the colonies was almost comical. A nonexistent navy, badly disciplined recruits, and a great scarcity of heavy industry to produce arms and ammunition combined to create a picture of wishful-thinking colonists who didn't stand a chance once England roused what Shakespeare had called "its sleeping sword."

Then Chalmers did a curious thing: he spoke of his pride in the army that the colonies had raised. "I am under no doubt, however, that we shall become as famed for martial courage, as any nation ever the sun beheld," he stated enthusiastically.[13] These were, of course, the same troops who had wiped out rank after rank of redcoats on Breed's Hill in Boston just eight months before. It turned out to be a backhanded compliment, however, because Chalmers felt that a simple desire for liberty wasn't enough to keep the colonists from losing a war with England. Alone, they didn't stand a chance. To win, they would have to have a great European power such as France or Spain on their side.

Will Europe Intervene?

Here, Chalmers made an important and often overlooked observation: he found it illogical for any foreign power to side with the colonists against England, and with good reason.

> Can we be so deluded, to expect aid from those princes (France and Spain), which inspiring their subjects with a relish for liberty, might eventually shake their arbitrary thrones. . . . Can we believe that those princes will offer an example so dangerous to their subjects and colonies. . . ?[14]

One can't help but think that if King Louis XVI of France had read this passage of Chalmers's pamphlet, he might have saved his own life. On this point Chalmers could not have foretold the future with any greater exactness. France *was* deluded enough to aid the colonists, the French people *were* inspired with a relish for liberty, and they *did* shake the arbitrary throne by relieving the king of his head in the French Revolution.

For his part, Chalmers couldn't imagine that a country like France would be foolish enough to join the fight. Against the expectations of loyalists and rebels

alike, France leapt into the war effort with money, arms, and troops. Victory for England would suddenly become impossible. That conclusion, however, was still years away.

In *Plain Truth,* Chalmers was blunt about the resolve of England to put down the rebellion.

> Can a reasonable being for a moment believe that Great Britain, whose political existence depends on our constitutional obedience, who but yesterday made such prodigious efforts to save us from France, will not exert herself as powerfully to preserve us from our frantic schemes of independency. Can we a moment doubt, that the Sovereign of Great Britain and his ministers, whose glory as well as personal safety depends on our obedience, will not exert every nerve of the British power, to save themselves and us from ruin[?][15]

This, of course, was a great sticking point for those colonists who didn't know which side to join. The revolutionaries talked of their own resolve, but what of Great Britain's? The mother country couldn't afford to lose the colonies, could it?

Chalmers himself made a surprising admission when he stated, "I see no reason to doubt that Great Britain may not long retain us in constitutional obedience." Despite her powerful position in the world, Chalmers confessed that "time, the destroyer of human affairs, may indeed end her political life by a gentle decay." It was a subtle, but definite admission that aligned him far closer to Thomas Paine then he would have liked to admit. For all his posturing, Chalmers was not an Englishman; he was a displaced Scotsman and enterprising colonist. It would take a bitter war, the loss of his lands, and the ruination of his reputation in Maryland to turn Chalmers into an unflinching Englishman in his later years.

He ended *Plain Truth* with a stark, Orwellian statement. The final line, in capital letters, reads: INDEPENDENCE AND SLAVERY ARE SYNONYMOUS TERMS.

It was an odd pamphlet indeed. Seldom concise, often wandering off on tangents, it reflected one man's gut reactions. Other loyalists would write on the same subjects with greater eloquence, but all would follow after *Plain Truth.* Meanwhile, Chalmers was by no means ready to put down his pen.

Intended to solidify the arguments of the hastily written original pamphlet, *Additions to Plain Truth* reveals Chalmers as just as angry a month later. He quickly reminded his readers of the "Antichristian tenets" which Paine expressed in *Common Sense.* Ironically, Chalmers's fellow citizens eventually reached the same conclusion and declared Paine an atheist. Unfortunately for Chalmers, that wouldn't happen for another twenty-five years.

After restating old arguments, he reminded his readers of the terrible price of war and attempted to take them through the stages of what the war would be like. "Should this war prove unsuccessful on the part of Great Britain, we

cannot imagine that it will terminate, e'er many bloody fields are lost and won; I say, it probably will not end in less than 10 years."[16]

Having presented his thoughts on how long a war would last, he asked his readers if they were ready to drench the colonies in blood. Even more to the point, he wanted to know if the colonists were prepared to die for the "restless ambition" of Thomas Paine. Chalmers viewed such a war to be totally in vain. He believed his fellow citizens were impelled "by their turbulent ambition to anticipate an event which the fullness of time would probably produce without bloodshed."[17]

This one statement does much to dispel the notion that loyalists were simply "yes-men" to the king and Parliament. The loyalists' philosophy and their intentions were not those of England, to which they professed allegiance. In truth, their concerns, in many respects, weren't really much different from those of their revolutionary counterparts. Both sides wanted the colonies to be prosperous. Both sides saw Great Britain making sudden and heavy-handed attempts to display its authority over its offspring.

At Liberty to Speak

Despite his earlier glowing review of English authority, even Chalmers came to admit that the colonies were a separate entity. Whig and Tory could see that England was the problem; they just couldn't agree on the solution. Like most loyalists, Chalmers saw reconciliation as the answer—the only answer.

> In short, let us remember, that by our connection with Great Britain, we have been the happiest people on earth, and by a just agreement with her we may long continue so. Let us dispassionately consider, that in a connection with Great Britain, we may possess all the ROSES of independence, without being cursed with its innumerable THORNS.[18]

Once again, he was certain that for all the complaining about how the British operated, the colonies could not and would not come up with a better system of government. Recalling his earlier pamphlet, Chalmers insisted that a democratic government would eventually give way to a "military system" imposed on the colonies. Although he admitted this would not happen under General Washington (whom he called a "virtuous citizen"), he was certain that it was only a matter of time. Perhaps, he mused, it would be instigated by some junior officer whose talents for tyranny were, as yet, unknown.[19]

Although *Plain Truth* apparently sold without incident in Philadelphia, Chalmers told his readers that Whig officials in New York had a great aversion to *Plain Truth* and, consequently, a number of copies sent to New York City were seized. He was struck by the sheer irony of the situation. The pamphlet was selling literally under the "immediate eye" of the Continental Congress

without trouble, yet his work was confiscated elsewhere. Here he encountered the dark underbelly of the American Revolution. The rebels' actions showed a double standard that was offensive to Chalmers.

> If such doings are the first fruits of REPUBLICAN LIBERTY? Grant me Heaven, our former mild and limited Government, where the prerogative is ascertained by law, and where every man is at liberty to speak and print his sentiments.[20]

The question was quite justified. More than any war in history, this was a struggle of competing ideologies. For the rebels to win their war for independence and the liberty that they deemed so vital, it was necessary to suppress any and all dissent in the colonies. Their message was essentially, "We're fighting against tyranny and you will agree completely with us or else!" This was a bitter pill for loyalists to swallow.

Chalmers concludes *Additions to Plain Truth* with a final appeal to reason:

> Let us remember that reconciliation on generous principles with Great Britain, is our true and only road to permanent happiness. Above all, let us seriously consider, that this [when the Commissioners arrive to treat with the Congress] is the juncture, this the moment, when we may receive everything we can reasonably desire.
>
> I conclude these remarks, by observing, that if they are founded in truth, they will instruct you to keep a good look out, that ye may not be surprized into AMERICAN INDEPENDENCY; without a thorough examination of it, and its consequences.

Plain Truth would prove a failed document, doomed from the very start. Its first appearance on Robert Bell's bookshelf occurred within days of one of the rebels' greatest accomplishments. In Boston, the British had pulled out their occupying forces when they woke up one morning to find a battery of rebel artillery, "borrowed" from Fort Ticonderoga, bearing down on them. Winning a war against the redcoats suddenly seemed possible. Chalmers's pleas for making peace with Great Britain couldn't have been more ill-timed.

Nevertheless, though it may not have turned the tide, *Plain Truth* was widely read. Just a few weeks after its appearance, a writer calling himself "Cato" spoke favorably of Chalmers in a letter to the people of Pennsylvania published in the *Pennsylvania Ledger*. Mentioning the recent pamphlet, the writer recommended it "as containing many judicious remarks upon the mischievous tenets and palpable absurdities held forth in the pamphlet so falsely called *Common Sense*."[21]

An edition of *Plain Truth* appeared in England as well. In his journal on Monday, June 10, 1776, exiled New England loyalist Samuel Curwen noted

that he spent all day reading *Common Sense* and *Plain Truth* at his London home.[22] Unfortunately, he never gave his opinion of either work.

Throughout the years, though, others have been more than happy to pass judgment on *Plain Truth.* Historians have usually been unforgiving, calling it everything from "ponderous" to "atrociously written." Yes, Chalmers does meander quite a bit in his writing, at times reluctant to come to the point. It should be remembered, though, that this isn't unusual in eighteenth-century writing. Even John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, possibly the two most articulate men in the colonies, would put many modern readers to sleep with their lengthy discourses on philosophy and religion.

In later years *Plain Truth* faded into utter obscurity. In 1776, however, Chalmers was an influential loyalist. A little more than a year after the publication of *Plain Truth,* General Sir William Howe, commander of British Forces in America, impressed with Chalmers's abilities, commissioned him to raise a regiment of Maryland loyalists. Chalmers must have thought his star was on the rise. What followed, however, were six years of bitter disappointment.

NOTES

1. *Report of Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario,* 1904, 1164.
2. *The Gentleman's Magazine,* October 1806, 986.
3. John W. Jackson, *With The British Army in Philadelphia* (San Rafael, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1979), 104.
4. James Chalmers, *Plain Truth* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), 5–6.
5. Ibid., 11.
6. Bernard Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 288–289.
7. John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, June 22, 1819, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 542.
8. Chalmers, *Plain Truth,* 16–17.
9. Ibid., 22.
10. *Report of Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario, 1904,* 1165.
11. James Chalmers, *Additions to Plain Truth* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), 110–112.
12. Selwyn H. H. Carrington, "The American Revolution and the sugar colonies," *Blackwell Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Great Britain: Blckwell, 1991), 508–517.
13. Chalmers, *Plain Truth,* 27.
14. Ibid., 29–30.
15. Ibid., 36.
16. Chalmers, *Additions to Plain Truth,* 103–104.
17. Ibid., 105.
18. Ibid., 130.

19. Ibid., 126.
20. Ibid., 122.
21. "Cato," "To the People of Pennsylvania, Letter III," *Pennsylvania Ledger,* March 23, 1776, 1.
22. *The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1:167.

Portfolio

Emily Spencer Hayden earned many awards as a pictorial photographer in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Born in Baltimore County in 1869, she married attorney Charles S. Hayden and began taking photographs of family and friends when her husband gave her a camera in 1893. Her extraordinary talent with composition, focus, and light soon gained her recognition with the Photography Guild of Baltimore, the American Salon Club, and the London Salon as a leading pictorialist. Several of the photographs in this collection are of Emily Hayden's daughter Anna (Nan) Bradford Agle, who has donated more than three hundred of her mother's pictures to the Maryland Historical Society.

P.D.A.

Emily S. Hayden and daughter "Nan"

Nan and Eliza Benson

Anna Bradford Hayden, "Nan"

Billy Yardley

Mary Hoffman

Harriet Stewman, daughter of Catherine Hayden

Harold Cecil

Anna Hayden, "Nan"

Lizette Woodworth Reese

Anna Mullikin and Dorothy Hewitt

Captions have been supplied wherever possible. Many of the subjects in the photographs in this collection are not yet identified.

Meshach Browning: Bear Hunter of Allegany County, 1781–1859

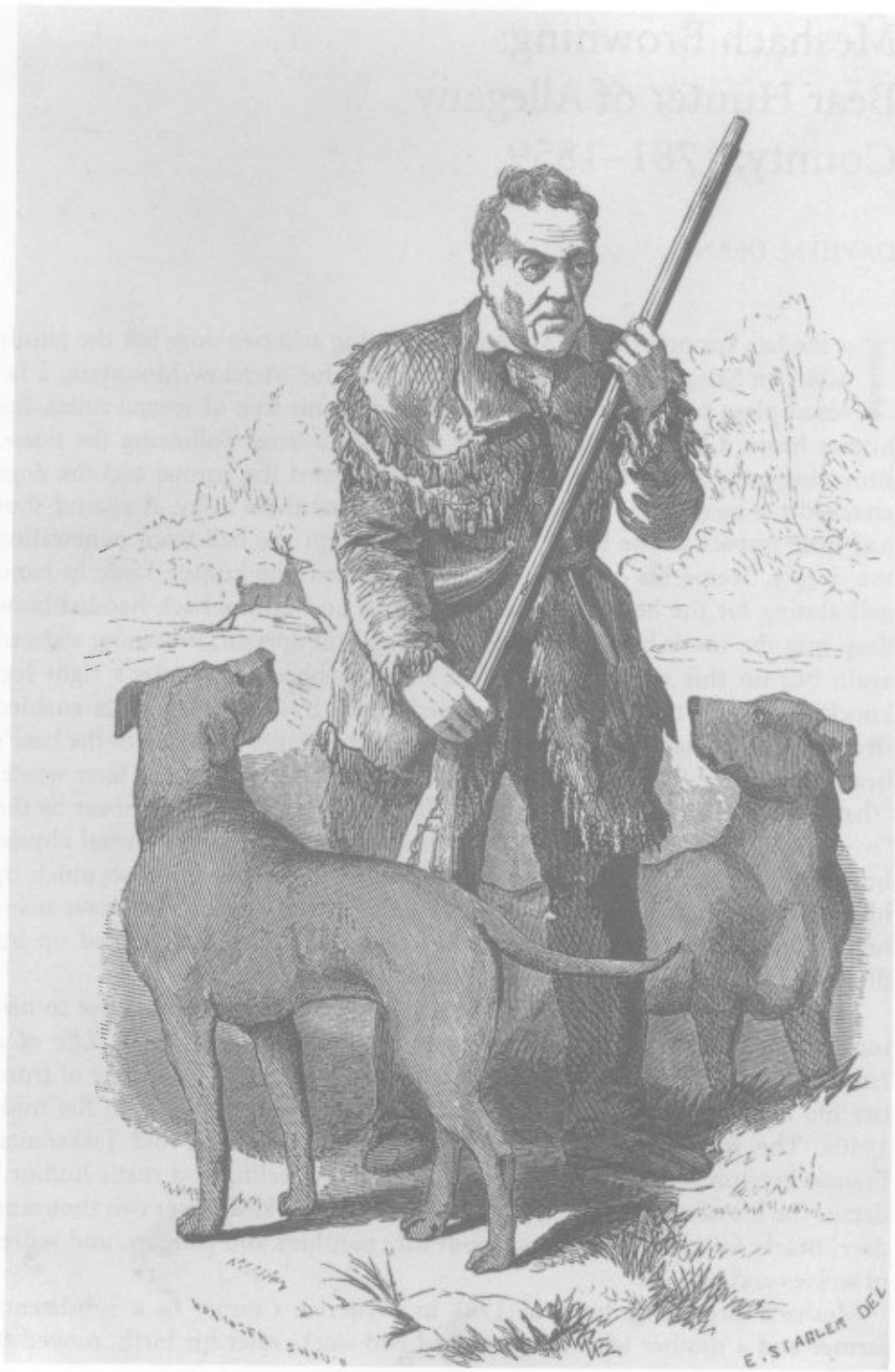
DAVID M. DEAN

In the late spring of 1829, Meshach Browning and two dogs left the family cabin on Sang Run in far western Maryland for Meadow Mountain, a favored place to find bears. While resting after his trek of several miles, the hunter heard a bear pawing leaves in search of acorns. Following the noise, Browning met "a very large bear." His shot downed the animal and the dogs attacked the beast who, regaining his feet, swatted them away. A second shot had little impact as the bear's bone structure kept the ball from penetrating too deeply. Seeing his dogs being severely mauled, the hunter, knife in hand and aiming for the heart, ran past the animal and sank a back-handed blow deep into the bear's body. With his opponent still upright, Browning stabbed again but on this second attempt the beast grabbed the hunter's right leg, knocking him to the ground. A renewed attack by one of the dogs enabled Browning to get back on his feet. He pushed seven knife thrusts into the bear's heart and lungs, yet the beast still refused to fall. Believing, as he later wrote, "that I could effect nothing with the knife," the hunter jerked the bear by the "wool of his hips" and threw him to the ground where, after several almost human-like groans, death finally came. Temporarily shaken, not so much by his own close brush with mortality but the knowledge of his foe's "brave manner . . . against unequal numbers," he "dressed" the animal, picked up his flintlock rifle, walked a short distance, and shot another bear.[1]

That day's hunt, and hundreds of others, would have remained lost to history but for Browning's autobiography, *Forty-Four Years of the Life of a Hunter.* First published in 1859, the narrative presents a vivid picture of frontier life in Maryland's westernmost region from the early 1790s to the mid-1840s. The memoir, described by Browning's friend, the old Jacksonian Francis Preston Blair, as one of "good sense, good feeling and rustic humor," details the life of a man who by conservative estimate killed over two thousand deer, nearly four hundred bears, about fifty panthers and cougars, and scores of wolves and bobcats.[2]

Meshach Browning, born in 1781 in Frederick County to a subsistence farmer and a mother who was widowed two weeks after his birth, moved to

Dr. Dean is professor and chair of history at Frostburg State University.



Meshach Browning hunted bear in western Maryland for more than forty years.

western Maryland at age five with his mother and an older sister and brother. En route a wheel buckled on Sideling Hill and the wagon, with Meshach aboard, plummeted down the mountain. Although "stunned, breathless and mangled," he survived the crash and settled with his family on a small farm at the headwaters of Flintstone Creek in eastern Allegany County.[3]

When barely ten the boy was befriended by a childless aunt and uncle and left home to travel with the couple to Maryland's westernmost region, passing through Cumberland, a struggling settlement of twenty cabins. Another two days' journey found them at Blooming Rose (near present-day Friendsville) where they eventually settled and where the boy received his only schooling, three months of reading and writing, and met his future wife, Mary McMullen.[4]

Evidently the aunt turned abusive. Increasingly Meshach spent long periods away from home in order to avoid her verbal and physical assaults and to hunt raccoons and bobcats whose fur he traded for a heavier rifle, one used to claim his first deer in 1795. Like many a frontier youth, he improved his marksmanship and earned a dollar a day from local farmers by shooting hundreds of squirrels, acknowledged common nuisances as ravagers of cornfields.[5]

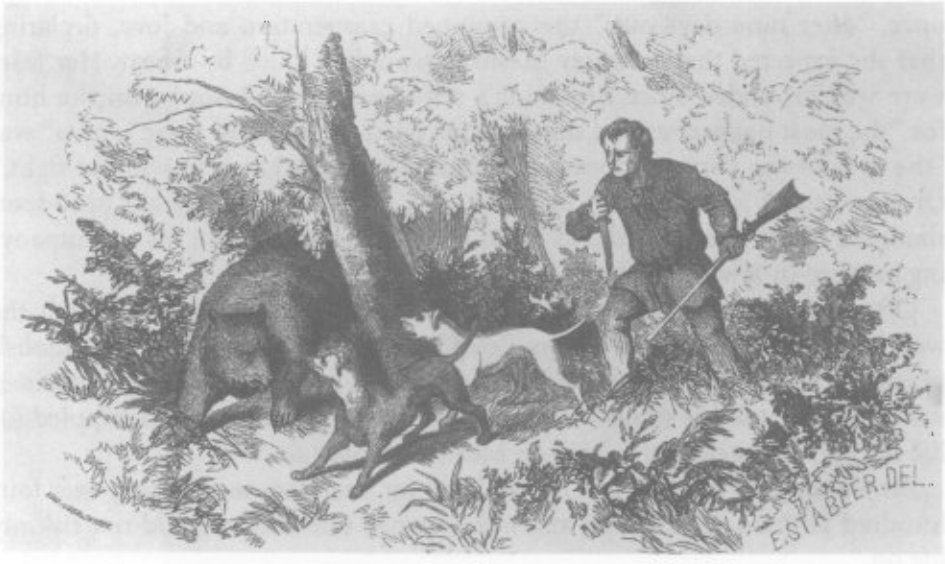
With no meaningful family ties in Blooming Rose, and frustrated in his love for Mary McMullen and eager to prove himself, Browning, barely fourteen, left for the Ohio country but a happy circumstance reunited Meshach with his mother and stepfather, who now lived in Pennsylvania. There the youth killed his first bear by crushing the wounded beast's skull. Returning to Blooming Rose to court Mary whenever he could, Browning lived with his mother and stepfather, worked their ground, and hunted. On one eventful day he shot a panther which measured over eleven feet in length.[6]

After a four-year courtship and now eighteen, Meshach married the fifteen-year-old Mary and settled on a nearby squatter's farm. But the demands of an absentee claimant for possession sent the couple and their infant daughter to the Bear Creek Glades at the head of Bear Creek, a tributary of the Youghiogheny River. The glades, a large level valley of tall grass and wild flowers with ridges of heavy timber, abounded with deer, bears, panthers, wolves, cougars, wild turkeys, foxes, rabbits, squirrel, pheasant, grouse, wild bees, and in the streams, fat trout. Of his early years there, Meshach later wrote: "We had nothing to do but 'Rise . . . slay and eat.'" Actually the "we" should have been "I." While her husband was away, often on the hunt for days, Mary tended to their expanding household, which eventually reached eleven offspring, all of whom Meshach would describe as "her children." Mary's lot was typical of most married women on the frontier. She washed clothes, baked, milked and churned, strained wild honey, tapped trees and boiled the liquid into maple sugar, carded, spun and knit wool, produced soap from the tallow and lye and candles from panther and turkey fat, grubbed and hoed fields, tended a garden and livestock, chopped firewood, salted and dried meats, picked berries, and boiled herbs into medicine.[7]

No Time to Sit and Fret

Although devoted to Mary, so much so that he penned poems about her late in his life, Browning's other great love, one might say his greatest, was the hunt. Mary understood this and supported him in countless ways. One disastrous summer saw their crops wither and their livestock succumb to disease. With Meshach so dejected that he could only "sit and fret," it was Mary who sought out a "pedlar" to buy enough powder and shot on credit to put her husband back in the hunt—a hunt that uplifted his feelings and brought much needed cash into the household in the form of the county's bounty on panthers and wolves. And it was Mary and the children who frequently handled the bear meat sent home by a long-absent Meshach. If the load was too heavy to lift, they would lead the horse into their cabin, cut the ropes that tied the meat together and let it fall in the middle of the room. So hungry for the hunt was Meshach that, even with Mary on the verge of giving birth, he would go after deer or bear. Rarely did Mary bridle but once, when her husband asked her to take a colt to the woods to bring in a bear's carcass, she remarked: "Is it not enough for you to hunt and kill bears, without making a squaw of me?"[8]

More objective observers might also have wondered about Browning's gradual metamorphosis toward the attributes of his principal prey. In a passage written late in life, he unwittingly described himself in a tribute to the bear: "a bold, undaunted beast, though not apt to pick quarrels with other animals; but if any others trespass on its right, it then becomes furious and vindictive. I love and admire the bear because it desires to insult neither man no beast, nor will it suffer any insult to it." A man of powerful physique who enjoyed many friends and acquaintances, Browning was quite ready "to resent an injury."



When his temper flared he found himself as "mad as a bear shot through the belly." He was not averse, especially when younger and involved in political discussions, to settle debates with his fists. He most admired a bear who "sold his life dearly." In writing about the bear hunt, he declared that "the harder the fight the better I liked it."[9]

Conscious of his stature as a bear hunter, Browning worked hard to keep it. But in a poor hunting season he resorted to building a bear trap, although he kept that fact to himself. Yet he even used a trapped beast to enhance his reputation. While hunting, he and a friend discovered a bear in one of Browning's wolf traps. As a lark, Browning decided to release the bear's foot and then box the creature. While his friend held the dog, Browning spared off with what was initially a reluctant partner but increasingly a truculent one. Years later, he described the encounter:

> I struck him in the ear as hard as I could, and turned his head round. He then became mad, and rose on his hind-feet to rake my face or neck, but I struck him in the pit of the stomach which seemed to double him up. . . . He was now in earnest . . . and came again up to the attack. I gave him another fair stroke under the butt of his ear, which made him stagger, but he still aimed at my legs, and I jumped over him a second time.

At this point the friend released the dog to replace Browning and the fight continued. Then, with the dog tiring under the bear's attack, Browning ended the contest "with one stab."[10]

Although Mary worried about her husband, she rarely voiced her fears. But

once, "after nine days out," she combined exasperation and love, declaring that she expected that someday Meshach would be killed by a bear. Her fears were well grounded since Browning's self-described philosophy on the hunt for "the most dangerous and mischievous beast common to these forests" was "the greater the danger appeared, the more anxious I was to win the fight." Once, when he jumped from behind a tree, grabbed a bear by her hind foot, slammed her to the ground and killed her with a knife thrust, his accompanying brother-in-law accused him of "being crazy."

Often Browning climbed trees after wounded bears or raced through the woods to catch a potential victim. Friends implored him to "quit that foolish practice of fighting with a knife," but in decades of bear hunting he remained unscathed. Not so his second son, John Lynn, whose left hand was crippled for life during a struggle with a bear on Meadow Mountain.[11]

Browning gave much credit on the hunt for bears, some weighing over four hundred pounds, to his dogs, and never owned one "that I could not risk my life on."

> I always kept two good dogs, one of which walked before me, and the other behind. The one in front would wind the bear, and lead me up to him on that side which he could not smell me and I would come on him unexpectedly. If by chance he found us coming on him and ran . . . I would send the dogs after him, and as I could run about as fast as any bear could, when the fight began I was close up.

Browning's keen marksmanship, the ability to kill with a knife, and an "accurate knowledge of the disposition, habits and feeding grounds of bears" made them his favored target.[12] So intense was his love for the hunt that he was not always content to seek bears only between May and late autumn. In early winter he looked for bears who had "retired to their holes." He endeavored to "rout them out" by poking a long pole into a den, giving the bear "a hard punch" to make him angry enough to charge out of the hole. But only twice did he venture deep into a bear's den, beyond the reach of sunlight. On the second attempt, while working in tight confinement, the flash of his rifle set his hair ablaze. As he told friends, "I shuffled out of the hole with my head on fire." He managed to put out the fire with handfuls of snow.[13]

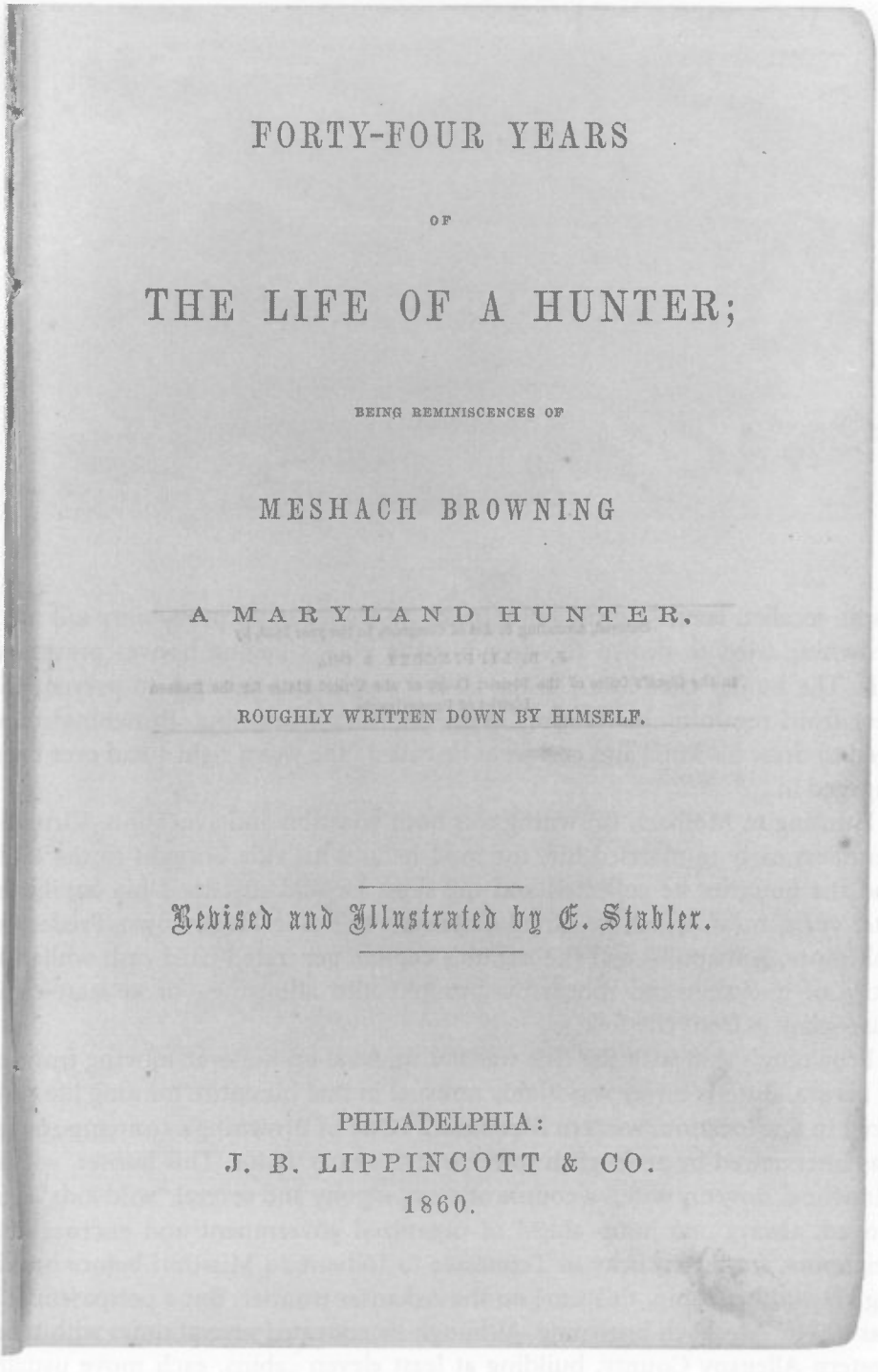
The Narrowest Escape

Surprisingly, considering all of Browning's bear and panther kills, his fiercest fight (and the closest he came to losing his life) occurred on a deer hunt. His dog had chased a large buck into the Youghiogheny River and the two animals, unable to maintain footholds in the fast-moving water, were locked in a desperate fight. Browning, leaving his rifle on shore, waded in and seized the deer by his antlers. He dared not let go or the buck's horns would smash him.

As he recalled later, "I must kill him, or he would in all probability kill me." Browning tried to drown the deer but the buck's flailing hooves prevented this. The hunter tried again, using all his weight and strength to prevent the deer from regaining his footing. With the buck weakening, Browning managed to draw his knife and end what he called "the worst fight I had ever been engaged in."[14]

Hunting to Meshach Browning was both vocation and avocation. Virtually penniless early in married life, the food he and his rifle brought to the table and the bounties he collected and the skins he sold sustained his family. In later years, meat, which he carted downstate to sell in Hagerstown, Frederick, Baltimore, Annapolis, and the nation's capital, generated hard cash while his attire of buckskin and moccasins brought him admiring—or at least curious—glances from city folk.

Browning's skill with the rifle was not unusual on the ever-moving frontier of his era. But his career was highly unusual in that his entire hunting life centered in one location, western Maryland.[15] One of Browning's contemporaries was interviewed by an English traveler in the early 1840s. This hunter, with a "drawling, slovenly wife," a couple of cows, a pony and several "wild kids" had moved, always one jump ahead of organized government and encroaching neighbors, from Kentucky to Tennessee to Indiana to Missouri before building yet another cabin, this time on the Arkansas frontier. But a peripatetic life was not for Meshach Browning. Although he relocated several times within far western Allegany County, building at least eleven cabins, each move usually saw him with added acreage for his family to cultivate. He also established a grist mill, which, as often as not, he left in charge of his wife. So with Mary and



FORTY-FOUR YEARS

OF

THE LIFE OF A HUNTER;

BEING REMINISCENCES OF

MESHACH BROWNING

A MARYLAND HUNTER,

ROUGHLY WRITTEN DOWN BY HIMSELF.

Revised and Illustrated by E. Stabler.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1860.

Meshach Browning's autobiography first appeared in 1859 and has been reprinted regularly, most recently in 1994.

his daughters tending to the garden and the grinding, and his sons in the fields plowing, Browning shouldered his rifle and disappeared for a week at a time to enjoy the hunt. In his later years whatever he brought home was more a bonus than a necessity. Still, as he liked to tell Mary, "a deer killed is a sheep saved."[16]

His sorrow over Mary Browning's death in January 1839 hastened the close of his hunting days. Now fifty-eight years of age, he killed his last bear that fall when coaxed by a son to accompany a hunt to Meadow Mountain. Two years later he shot his last deer. Although by then happily remarried, his interest in the shoot declined. The scarcity of game had made hunting "laborious"to Browning, so he gave it up, along with farming and his grist mill, and constructed a new "comfortable" cabin on part of his property at Sang Run. After an unsuccessful run as a Democratic candidate for the state legislature in 1847, Browning settled into retirement. Although increasingly infirm with the rheumatism that had bothered him since he was twenty-five, he entertained prominent visitors from downstate. Among them was the politician Francis Preston Blair, Sr., and Edward Stabler, a prominent businessman and a talented engraver of seals, including one which appeared on United States currency. These men, after hours of listening to Browning's anecdotes and stories, insisted that the hunter commit his memories to paper. Browning, despite his limited formal education, produced his autobiography and sent it to Stabler. The engraver left the prose untouched except for corrections of grammar and spelling. After adding illustrations, Stabler secured publication of the memoir by the prominent Philadelphia publisher, J. B. Lippincott Company, in 1859.[17]

By the end of Browning's life, few hunters in western Maryland could live off the bounty of the woods and meadows. In the seventeenth century thousands of buffalo grazed on the blue-tipped grass of the marsh mountainous glades of today's Garrett County. At the end of the 1700s one of Browning's contemporaries shot two of the last four buffalo seen in the area. Elk had vanished before Browning reached adulthood. In 1834, when Browning's friend William Campbell entertained Frederick Skinner, the son of a well-known eastern publisher for a month of fall hunting, the visitor found a "paradise" of grouse, woodcock, squirrels, mountain hare, wild turkey, and deer. But, in his reminiscences, published over fifty years later, Skinner does not mention bears. Indeed, his host had only seen two in the previous five years. And by mid-century panther, cougar, wolf, and bear, all so plentiful in the early 1800s, had virtually vanished from the highland hills. Hunters such as Browning, with their hundreds of kills, were largely responsible for the depletion of game, though in the 1850s Browning attempted to shift the blame to "all other hunters who were not governed by the kind and fair feelings which used to regulate their actions in bygone years." But Browning surely was never a Teddy Roosevelt. (The president, while on a hunting trip in Mississippi, refused to shoot a bear cub, hence the birth of the "Teddy Bear.") Neither Browning nor

his sons and neighbors in western Maryland discriminated when killing bears—fathers, mothers, and cubs.[18]

Browning's autobiography, penned during the last years of his full life, allowed him to relive thousands of hunts, and especially his chase of the bear, the animal that dominated his memory. Stricken with pneumonia in November 1859, in his seventy-ninth year, and in and out of consciousness in the ten days before his death, he overheard a son at his bedside remarking about the abundance of chestnuts that autumn. At that the old hunter roused himself and cried out "the bears will be there."[19]

NOTES

All illustrations are from Meshach Browning, *Forty-Four Years of the Life of a Hunter* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860).

1. Meshach Browning, *Forty-four Years of the Life of a Hunter* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1859), 224–229, 311. (This autobiography has been reprinted often in the twentieth century, most recently in 1994 by Appalachian Background, Inc., of Oakland, Maryland.) If one stabbed and hit bone the knife blade could be bent like an S. The animals Browning pursued were eastern black bears, not the larger, even more ferocious grizzlies encountered by fur trappers in the West. See Paul Shullery *The Bear Hunter's Century* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1989).
2. Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* vii.
3. Ibid., 13–19.
4. Ibid., 20, 23.
5. Ibid., 26, 42–44, 67–68. Squirrel extermination was commonplace on the Appalachian frontier. On May 17, 1796, hunters rendezvoused at Irvine's Lick in Kentucky and killed 7,941 squirrels in a single day. Thomas D. Clark, *Frontier America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1969), 221.
6. Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 55, 68–72, 77, 79.
7. Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 20, 79, 81, 83, 97, 158, 310; Clark, *Frontier America,* 210–211. Bear Creek Glades is today covered by Deep Creek Lake in Garrett County.
8. Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 97, 146–47, 178.
9. Ibid., 165–66, 180–86, 192, 240, 266, 369; James W. Thomas and T. J. C. Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co. 1969), 1:160–162. Initially a Federalist, Browning in later life actively supported the Democratic Party.
10. Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 161–163, 233–237.
11. Ibid., 92, 98, 121, 126, 130–33, 139, 180.
12. Ibid., 152–153, 234.
13. Ibid., 154–156, 175–179.
14. Ibid., 251–253.

15. Ibid., 200–201, 213–214.
16. Quotation from G. W. Featherstonhaupt in Thomas D. Clark, *The Rampaging Frontier* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1939), 21–22; Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 301.
17. Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County,* 160; Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 345–346, iii–ix; *The Glades Star* (Garrett County Historical Society), December 1964, 327.
18. Stephen Schlosnagle, *Garrett County* (Parsons, W. Va.: McClain Publishing, 1978), 100–101. Quotation from "Frederick Skinner Reminiscences" in William T. Hunt, "Across the Desk," *Cumberland* (Maryland) *Times,* July 8, 15, 22, 1945; Browning, *Forty-Four Years,* 133, 135, 165, 166, 300, 359. Browning, although occasionally remorseful after wiping out a mother with her cubs, justified this action as payment "for every trespass they made on me"—a payback for the handful of his hogs taken by bear. Not until 125 years after Browning's death did black bears, thanks to the protection of state laws, return in any numbers to Garrett County. See Cindy Stacy, "The Black Bears Return," *Maryland Magazine* (Spring 1987): 41–43.
19. *Browning History,* a family memoir now apparently lost, quoted in *The Glades Star,* December, 1964, 328.

Rosalie Stier Calvert with her daughter Caroline Maria. Painting by Gilbert Stuart, 1804. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Between Two Cultures: The Worlds of Rosalie Stier Calvert

LORRI M. GLOVER

Recent scholars from a variety of fields have begun to explore the nature and effects of cultural exchange between groups of people. The most notable such studies of early America are Richard White's *The Middle Ground* and Mechal Sobel's *The World They Made Together.* White's study of the Great Lakes region explored how Indians and Euro-Americans reconciled their two worlds and defined their perceptions of themselves and each other. Similarly, Sobel investigated the ways in which black and white Virginians influenced each other and constructed an interrelated culture and society. Yet while we know an increasing amount about cultural exchanges between peoples, we know little about how these exchanges played out in the lives of individuals or about how individuals constructed their identities in the crucibles of competing cultures.[1]

Rosalie Stier Calvert provides an opportunity to explore the interplay between two different cultural identities. Born in Belgium in 1778, but living in America from the age of sixteen until her death in 1821, she struggled throughout her life to balance her European past with her life in America. Throughout her life she remained part of two families—one American, with her husband and children, and another European, with her parents and siblings. She also attempted to balance friendships, religion, language, clothing, politics, work, and home. Rosalie could neither abandon her European identity nor escape the realities of life in early America. Her letters to and about her family between 1794 and 1820 reveal her attempts to balance two families and two cultures while constructing a public and private identity.

In August 1794, Rosalie Stier, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Belgium aristocrats, sailed to America with her parents, Henri and Marie Louise, sister Isabelle and brother-in-law Jean Michael van Harve, and brother Charles and sister-in-law Mimi. They arrived in Philadelphia in October and shortly thereafter moved to Maryland. The Stier family brought to America their servants, money, most treasured possessions, and even their social status. They quickly developed personal and financial ties to many of the most important

Lorri M. Glover is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Kentucky in Lexington.

Portrait of George Calvert by Gilbert Stuart, 1804. (Maryland Historical Society.)

families in early America. But social acceptance and financial success were not enough. They missed their friends, families, and their home, which in both a physical and an emotional sense remained in Belgium. By 1803 the Stier family had determined to return to Belgium. But they would return without Rosalie.

Initially, Rosalie found life in America disappointing and disorienting. In 1795 she wrote, "It is going to be very difficult to become accustomed to the way of life here." In 1796 she explained to Isabelle, "I cannot stand the idea of staying here forever, not even for two more years. When I think about it, I detest America and it depresses me."[2]

Despite her initial disdain, Rosalie eventually became more accepting of her new environment. After all, she came of age in America. She attended balls in and around Annapolis and Baltimore and was tutored in America, courted by American men, and seen by many as unique, fascinating, and "European." Although conscious (and desirous) of being an outsider, Rosalie was nonetheless flattered by the attention she received. Since she perceived life in America to be a temporary stage it was doubtless easier to accept.

At first Rosalie's parents encouraged her involvement in American society. But when a casual courtship grew into a love affair, her parents became less cordial to the match. They were reluctant about Rosalie's suitor, George Calvert, and about their daughter becoming too attached to an American. George, the son of Benedict and Elizabeth Calvert, was by all outward indications a likely match for Rosalie. George's father was the illegitimate but accepted son of Charles Calvert. George was a member of one of the wealthiest, most influ-

ential, and oldest families in the early Republic, an established planter, and a respected member of Maryland society.

But the Stiers were far from pleased with Rosalie and George's relationship. They distrusted George Calvert, possibly because of the illegitimacy in his background, but probably because George was not Catholic, not as wealthy as the Stiers, and not likely to emigrate to Belgium if the Stiers decided to return there. Their attempts to curb George and Rosalie's courtship were unsuccessful. As Marie Louise explained, "C[alvert] has come calling again with gifts. He gains ground every day. We try to defer his visits as much as possible, but these lovers always find a thousand pretexts for coming together."[3] When George proposed marriage, the Stiers initially refused consent. But George and Rosalie persisted, and her parents ultimately realized there was little they could do but agree. So Rosalie and George married in June 1799.

In the early years of her marriage, Rosalie was able to move between two familial worlds, altering both but abandoning neither. Rosalie and George lived in close proximity to the Stier family, Rosalie spent vast amounts of time with her mother, sister, and sister-in-law, and the extended family remained closely connected—emotionally, socially, and financially. Moreover, to ease family tensions with his new in-laws, George promised to move with Rosalie to Belgium if her family determined to go there.

A "Temporary" Separation

Between 1799 and 1803, as the Stiers thought more and more of returning to their homeland, Rosalie started a second family with George. By the time the Stiers arranged to return to Belgium in 1803, George and Rosalie had two small children, were financially tied to Maryland, and were unwilling and unable to uproot their new life. But the ensuing separation was, in Rosalie's mind, merely temporary. In her early letters to her family abroad, Rosalie wrote often of her plans to move to Belgium—plans that never came to pass.

When her parents and siblings returned to Belgium, Rosalie lost not only her family and closest friends, but the most constant part of her cultural identity as well. Rosalie certainly had deep emotional connections to her parents and siblings that could not have been easily replicated. But these ties to her family were all the more important because Rosalie relied on them to maintain her European identity and preserve her sense of self. If she lost her connection to her European family, she risked losing the most important part of her European identity as well. To compensate for the physical separation, she built strong emotional and financial ties to her family abroad, attempted to construct connections between her parents and her children, exaggerated her disdain for American life, and avoided any conflicting familial connections or friendships in America.

Throughout her life, Rosalie maintained close emotional ties to her family

abroad and tried to convince them (and perhaps herself as well) of her unfailing devotion. It was vital to Rosalie that her European family believe they were her first priority and that her social life in America was at best a diversion. In September 1803, after the Stiers left, Rosalie wrote her mother, explaining her recent social activities. "[S]taying at home all the time I was always looking on the dark side and being melancholy. Getting out in the world lifts my spirits and . . . makes me more content and better able to bear our separation. Don't think that I think of you any less often for that." Eight years later the tone remained the same. In 1811 she wrote, "My position here is so isolated that I would willingly sacrifice half of my allotted years in this world to be able to pass the other half with my family." ("My family" here meant her family in Europe.)[4]

Rosalie also maintained close financial ties to her family in Belgium. She and George were Henri Stier's agents and managed all his property and investments in America. After 1808 Rosalie acted as the agent for her brother, Charles, as well. In almost every letter to her father and brother Rosalie explained what properties and/or stocks she had bought for them, how the crops were faring, and how the political climate influenced family finances.

Rosalie also encouraged her parents' involvement in her children's lives. Rosalie tried to build financial and emotional ties between her children and her parents, talked frequently with her children about her family in Europe, urged her children to write their kin abroad, and frequently sought advice on raising children from her relatives in Belgium. She continually sought to perpetuate the connections to her family abroad, and to convince them of her unfailing devotion and reliance on them.

Rosalie's relationship with her sister, Isabelle van Harve, was by far the most important of her familial ties. For almost twenty years Rosalie carried on a regular correspondence with Isabelle, her sister, counselor, and best friend. Not once in all those years did the sisters see each other. And yet the last letter, posted just weeks before Rosalie's death, was every bit as personal, involved, and devoted as the first.

Rosalie constantly worried about her separation from her sister. Shortly after Isabelle returned to Belgium Rosalie wrote, "I feel like I'm in prison here since your departure . . . I don't enjoy anything. My friends, my husband, all try to distract me and in company I try to be cheerful, but it's forced. Mentally I am constantly in Europe, and I cannot forgive myself for having left you." In 1815 Rosalie wrote, "Not a day passes that I don't recall the time we were together and regret that it is no longer so." Throughout their separation, Rosalie longed to be a part of her sister's daily life. Rosalie wrote often about her routines and daily activities and urged Isabelle to do the same. "Please, dear Sister, give me all the details about what you do, how you spend your day."[5]

While Rosalie's connection to Isabelle advanced her European identity it also kept her from forming close female relationships in America. Rosalie

longed for the companionship and advice given by Isabelle and the other women in her family, but she was unwilling or unable to form similar relationships in America. In 1804 she wrote, "I can find pleasant acquaintances here, but I have not yet found anyone who could be my friend—either man or woman." "I find a major flaw in [American] women is that they are extremely cold and incapable of deep feeling." In fact, Rosalie had very few friends because she shut herself off from close relationships. Further, she exaggerated the extent of her isolation and unhappiness to her family abroad in order to emphasize her commitment to them and to reinforce her sense of identity.[6]

Rosalie also avoided forming potentially conflicting familial ties to the Calvert family. She cared little for George's family despite, and probably because of, her over-zealous attachment to her own. The Calverts appear infrequently in her letters, and only in cursory ways. As Rosalie explained, "All of the members of his family are well-off and respectable. They have high regard for me and are attentive, but these are superficial bonds without any heartfelt or real interest." She considered Charles's wife Mimi a true sister and mourned her early death in 1803, but did not have similar feelings for her sisters-in-law in America. When one of George's sisters died, Rosalie wrote, "I don't know if I wrote you that my sister-in-law, Mrs. Stuart is dead. She left two boys and four unmarried daughters who are neither pretty nor likable, so they will probably all become old maids."[7]

And yet as much as Rosalie wanted to protect and preserve her connections to her family of origin, the desire to build a family of her own was at least equally compelling. When the Stiers moved she wrote how desperately she missed them, but she also said, "Fortunately, my family [in Maryland] is all that I could wish for . . . my husband's affections for me increase instead of diminishing"; and: "I have been fortunate in my choice—there could never be another man in the universe more suited to me than my husband. He is as attentive as can be and fully appreciates the sacrifices I have made."[8]

Rosalie never wanted or planned to leave her American family for her European one. Rather she hoped she would be able to integrate her two families. For the first ten years of her marriage Rosalie constantly made plans to return to Belgium. She believed her two families could be merged again if only she, George, and their children would emigrate to Belgium.

While Rosalie was willing to remain in America, temporarily in her perception, she realized that her growing family in America diminished her chances of being reunited with her family in Belgium. She tried, with little success, to limit the number of children she bore. In March 1804 she wrote her mother, "I had hoped we would be content with these two [children], but it seems not, and I am afraid that next November will not be the most pleasant month of the year." Early in her marriage she wrote her parents that she had a miscarriage and "am feeling better than I have in three years."[9]

Despite her reluctance, Rosalie ultimately gave birth to nine children. Obli-

gations to her growing American family eventually forced her to give up her plans to return to her family of origin. In 1811 she admitted for the first time, "I no longer have any hopes of coming to you. Our family is now so large it would be impossible."[10]

A Balance of Styles

Rosalie's recognition that she could not remain, physically, part of two familial worlds did not, however, mark the end of her struggle over cultural identity. While family remained the most important aspect of her bicultural identity, many other facets of her life reflected this pattern of cultural exchange. Long after she gave up plans to integrate her American and European families, she continued to exhibit her two cultural identities. Rosalie's attempts to balance her two worlds shaped the way she dressed, ate, spoke, worked, and worshipped.

Throughout her life, Rosalie imported most of her clothing from Europe, especially those clothes she wore to important social functions. Isabelle was her chief agent in Europe, and since she insisted that her clothes and house furnishings come from Europe, Isabelle did much of Rosalie's shopping. Rosalie told Isabelle generally what items she needed, but the styles were left entirely up to Isabelle. This enabled Rosalie to maintain close ties to Isabelle and simultaneously to project a public image as a European. But often Rosalie altered the clothes to resemble American styles as well. "Since [the lilac hat] was too dressy for morning, I took the brim off and made a toque out of it, or what we call here a 'turban' and now it is charming." Concerning a dress that was full length Rosalie wrote: "I don't think anyone is wearing them like that here, so I will shorten it all around."[11]

In the early period of her life in America, when Rosalie entertained she served meals in the traditional European manner. "I prefer it greatly to the American mode of serving all the meats and vegetables together." By 1806 the effects of the intermingling of European and American cultures was obvious. Rosalie announced that she had decided to integrate the two dining methods. "I am going to introduce a quite new mode. I shall take the best fashions from the different countries."[12]

Other, less public, areas of her life proved far more difficult to integrate. Language, an extremely important part of Rosalie's European cultural identity, illustrated the nature and difficulty of cultural exchange in her life. Rosalie initially appeared quite pleased that her native tongue garnered so much attention in America. (People frequently sought her out to converse in French.) But language, like other facets of Rosalie's past, eventually reflected the influences of her American experiences. As time passed, she worried about losing her ability to write and speak French. "I have completely forgotten French and cannot spell two words out of a dozen, and I don't have time to do it correctly.

Besides, my children speak English all around me as I write." Again in 1815 she expressed concern about this most obvious and important cultural change. "Don't you think, Dear Sister, that I write French worse every day? I have completely forgotten it—truly, I will soon have to write you in English."[13]

Rosalie's experiences with religion similarly illustrated her evolving cultural identity. Rosalie's family of strict Catholics insisted her children with George be raised Catholic as well. George and Rosalie even signed a marriage contract to that effect. But Rosalie found it increasingly difficult to practice her religion in America, "especially in my situation [with] a husband of another persuasion." Counter to her family's wishes, and without their knowledge, Rosalie eventually joined George as a member of the Episcopal Church.[14]

Rosalie's experiences with American culture were also shaded by her European background. Although she eventually resigned herself to life in America, she did not easily accept American institutions. For example, she possessed very little enthusiasm for republican government. In 1808 she wrote, "For my part I do not believe the government will long continue as it is now. The eastern and northern states will detach themselves and we will have a king in the South." Later that year she reiterated her skepticism of the stability of the young nation. "Our political horizon becomes darker each day. People talk openly of dissolving the union of states and if, as we fear, they continue with the present political system, that time is not far away." Overall, she believed that "Republics are hell for people of wealth."[15]

Rosalie seemed equally ill-prepared to deal with American slavery. Indeed, her biggest complaint about America was the institution of slavery. "I rarely have time to rest and am nearly always behind in everything that needs to be done. But this is partly due to having poor servants whom I must supervise constantly." "That is what takes all my time here, because the servants are so bad." She wrote her family abroad explaining the subtle (and not so subtle) patterns of rebellion of slaves—breaking dishes, losing tools, misunderstanding directions. The net effect of all this seemed to Rosalie to be more work. "I have a lot of work now, but it is because I don't have a single good servant. Were it not for that, I wouldn't have anything to do." At one point Rosalie suggested to George that it would be far simpler to hire servants than keep slaves, but he refused. Her views certainly were not reflective of any latent abolitionism or humanitarianism. She did not think slavery was immoral or unethical—merely an unnecessary bother that could be easily avoided by hiring servants. Rosalie attributed their differing opinions of slavery to their varied backgrounds. "My husband doesn't feel this inconvenience as I do, since he is used to it."[16]

The most intriguing and obvious example of the cultural exchange that occurred in Rosalie's life was her home, Riversdale. Riversdale was originally purchased by Henri Stier in 1801. When the Stier family returned to Belgium in 1803 the Calverts took over the plantation and moved into the main house.

Riversdale, home of George and Rosalie Stier Calvert. Lithograph by B. King from an 1827 watercolor by Anthony St. John Baker. (Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

Living at Riversdale served as a daily reminder of Rosalie's physical and financial connection to her family in Belgium. On the outside Riversdale looked very much like any other plantation. Over the years it was struck by the same droughts and floods as its neighbors; there were similar problems with slaves and overseers, with falling crop prices and soil erosion. But the interior of Riversdale was unique. And it was the inside of her home that most concerned Rosalie. All of the paintings, furniture, dishes, glassware, mantles, fabrics, and decorations were from Europe. For almost twenty years she worked to construct and decorate a home that reflected her European identity.

Rosalie often wrote her sister, brother, and father to request furnishings for the house. Since they chose the pieces, their ideas and preferences shaped the home as much as those of George and Rosalie. When Charles questioned Rosalie's near-obsession with decorating Riversdale in a "European" manner she replied, "You write, dear Brother, that you don't understand how anyone could attach so much importance to . . . a piece of furniture. But you are fortunate to be able to pass your time with friends at will, while I am far removed from all those dear to me in whose society I could freely give way to my impulses." As Rosalie explained to Isabelle, the goods mattered less than who had selected them and where they came from. "You can't conceive, my dear Friend, how much more precious and meaningful these things are to me for having been chosen by you." She insisted, "[O]ur place is only an American farm, and I fear very much it will continue such if you do not aid us with your advice to beautify it."[17]

Rosalie proudly report to her European family that Riversdale received a tremendous amount of attention from Americans. "People talk about the house a lot, and with great exaggeration, which amuses us immensely." "The reason people talk about our house is because of its distinctive style, and people always much admire anything done by Europeans."[18]

Riversdale is a perfect metaphor of Rosalie's life. She tried desperately to maintain a European identity, but certain facets of her life necessarily conformed to the reality of life in America. Like her house, she was American on the outside, in virtually all the circumstances she encountered. But inside she remained highly influenced by her past and by her desire to maintain a European identity. Yet that (like decorating her house) took considerable effort and could only be attained with the help of her family abroad.

Rosalie Calvert lived between two worlds, never entirely belonging to either. She recognized both the strength and the weakness of her bicultural experience. In 1806 she wrote, "Every day I discover what a singular advantage it is to be a European in this country!" And yet when it came to sending her daughter abroad to be educated, Rosalie wondered, "don't you think a girl should always be raised where she is going to establish herself? I feel that from my own experience. One always retains the impressions received in childhood and an attachment to the country where one's first years were spent which prevents being happy in another." When Henri Stier reflected on the level of cultural exchange that Rosalie had experienced, he wrote, "I think your husband would have trouble adapting to our country where the customs, language, and occupations are so different. I don't know if you yourself, having left at so young an age and having become used to other ways, would find life here more pleasant than there."[19]

Rosalie Calvert's life provides a window through which historians may observe the processes of cultural exchange and self-fashioning in early America. Throughout her life, Rosalie worked hard to construct and preserve a distinct, and distinctly European, cultural identity. Yet much of the foundation of her identity rested in America. Although she was greatly influenced by her life in Maryland and by American cultural norms, Rosalie could not and would not abandon her past. Throughout her life she remained on an emotional and cultural frontier, playing a balancing act with her identity.

NOTES

1. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

2. Margaret Law Callcott, ed., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 2, 8.
3. Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale,* 18.
4. Rosalie Stier Calvert to Henri J. Stier and Marie Louise Stier, 16 September 1803; Rosalie Stier Calvert to Charles J. Stier, [n.d.] April 1811. Hereafter the names of family members will be denoted by initials only. Letters cited hereafter are found in Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale.*
5. RSC to Isabelle Stier Van Harve [hereafter ISVH], September 28, 1804; RSC to ISVH, May 6, 1815; RSC to ISVH, January 20, 1809.
6. RSC to MLS, [n.d.] March 1804; RSC TO ISVH, July 30, 1804. For more on the nature of female networks of friendship and kinship see Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs,* 1 (Autumn 1979): 1–29; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (Random House, 1990).
7. RSC to HJS, August 28, 1804; RSC to ISVH, December 10, 1807; RSC to ISVH, December 12, 1811.
8. RSC to HJS, [n.d.] March 1804; RSC to HJS, August 28, 1804.
9. RSC to MLS, [n.d.] March 1804; RSC to HJS and MLS, August 12, 1803.
10. RSC to CJS, [n.d.] April 1811.
11. RSC to ISVH, 30 December 1817; RSC to ISVH, November 27, 1817.
12. RSC to CJS, December 1, 1806.
13. RSC to ISVH, August 8, 1805; RSC to ISVH, February 2, 1811; RSC to ISVH, May 6, 1815.
14. RSC to HJS, July 8, 1804; RSC to HJS, September 15, 1804; Caroline Calvert to CJS, July 27, 1821.
15. RSC to HJS, May 5, 1808; RSC to HJS, December 12, 1808; RSC to ISVH, February 2, 1811.
16. RSC to ISVH, March 5, 1816; RSC to HJS, January 25, 1805; RSC to ISVH, October 25, 1816; RSC to MLS May 12, 1804. For more on the gendered experience with slavery see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).
17. RSC to CJS, December 10, 1808; RSC to ISVH, November 27, 1817; RSC to CJS, September 19, 1819.
18. RSC to HJS, September 6, 1806; RSC to ISVH, July 20, 1806.
19. RSC to ISVH, July 20, 1806; RSC to ISVH, October 30, 1809; HJS to RSC, December 25, 1803.

Book Reviews

The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Series II, Volume 2, Part 1 and Part 2. Jeffrey A. Cohen and Charles E. Brownell. (Published for the Maryland Historical Society and the American Philosophical Society. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. 792 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $135.00.)

The publication of these two volumes is the culmination of a research and editorial project that stretches back to 1970 and has been a consuming labor of love for a roomful of notable historians. Indeed, the origins of the project really extend to 1961, when the Maryland Historical Society acquired the first major component of what has become one of its most precious holdings.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe was prolific in both writing and illustration, and his collected papers are voluminous. The editorial project to produce a letterpress collection of his writings was launched in 1970 and has produced a stunning collection of Latrobe's work. Before proceeding to the volumes at hand, it is useful to briefly summarize the previously completed elements of the collection. Series I, published in three volumes, comprises the collected journals of Latrobe, the first two volumes (published in 1977) covering Latrobe's early career in Virginia, and the third volume (1981) extending to his years in Philadelphia, Washington, and New Orleans.

Series II comprises the engineering and architectural drawings of Latrobe, subdivided in a somewhat confusing choice of nomenclature. Volume 1 covers his engineering work, published in 1980. Volume 2, to be reviewed here, provides an in-depth examination of Latrobe's architectural drawings and actually consists of two folio volumes, designated Parts 1 and 2. Series III, published in 1985, is a single volume titled *Latrobe's View of America.* This handsome volume provides the best overview of Latrobe's artistic work, and is a useful companion to the architectural volumes.

The final collection, Series IV, is a three-volume compendium of correspondence and papers. This collection is indispensable for any scholarly examination of Latrobe's professional career and should be considered an essential companion to the architectural and engineering volumes.

Confronted with hundreds of architectural drawings and thousands of pages of supporting documentation, the authors of *The Architectural Drawings* have rightfully placed their emphasis on the core needs of professional scholarship. Rather than attempt a comprehensive analysis of Latrobe as an architect and myriad related issues of architectural history, Cohen and Brownell have focused on producing an exhaustively researched catalog of the architect's surviving drawings. These number approximately 380, covering an array of more than forty individual projects.

The collection opens with a pair of essays on Latrobe's architectural work. The first and longer of these explores the aesthetic and philosophical underpinnings of Latrobe's practice, which was solidly grounded in neoclassicism but also incorporated elements of the picturesque and the sublime. In the second essay, Latrobe's architectural draftsmanship is examined. With the context for the architect's work in place, the authors proceed to a chronological examination of Latrobe's surviving record of work.

This catalog is organized into six sections, each devoted to a distinct stage of his career, and each prefaced with a thoughtful summary of the work that follows. Within each section, the authors provide detailed histories of each project and analytical descriptions of the individual drawings. Given the breadth of this collection and the limitations of a review format, I will briefly note some of the highlights of the collection and provide a summary of Latrobe's Maryland projects.

The opening section covers Latrobe's early career in England, spanning the years 1783 to 1795. During this period Latrobe worked for the English engineer John Smeaton and noted architect S. P. Cockerell; he also struck out on his own, designing at least two minor country houses and serving as architect for the London Police Offices in the early 1790s. Few drawings are known to survive for Latrobe's best work during this period, but his designs for Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House are analyzed and well illustrated with photographs. Representative examples are included of Latrobe's early work for two Moravian communities in northern England; these are primarily of interest as a measure of his earliest known work, but are also useful for the study of communal living in the late eighteenth century.

The second section, titled "New Beginnings in Virginia, 1796–1798," covers a particularly interesting period of Latrobe's career. Newly arrived in America, Latrobe scrambled to secure work in a place where architecture was not yet established as a true profession. He produced designs for at least a dozen buildings during this span, but only three are known to have been built and those have all been destroyed.

Four of these merit special mention. Two are public works projects, one for a theater in Richmond (never executed); the other his design for the Virginia State Penitentiary (demolished). Both of these projects are important benchmarks in the study of specific building types. His designs for the Harvie-Gamble House in Richmond (demolished), and for John Tayloe (not built) are notable in the history of neoclassicism. The Tayloe design is particularly appealing. This was among Latrobe's most sophisticated residential designs, incorporating a circular rotunda or tribune at the core of the house, with the principal public rooms radiating from it. Both designs reflect innovation in American residential design and, if they stood today, would be national landmarks.

The Virginia years are followed by a section dedicated to Latrobe's work in

Philadelphia, 1798–1807. This was an especially important period in Latrobe's career. When he left Virginia, he was still lacking a sound foundation for professional practice, though the penitentiary was an important step forward into the public eye. He was drawn to Philadelphia by the opportunity to design the new Bank of Pennsylvania and was soon at work on the Philadelphia Waterworks as well. The bank established Latrobe as a designer of the first rank; the waterworks brought recognition of his unique combination of engineering and architectural skills.

During this same period Latrobe prepared designs for Riversdale, the Maryland home of Henri Joseph Stier. Located in Prince George's County and now open to the public, Riversdale as built is not strictly a result of Latrobe's design. Elements of his design are certainly evident, however, overlaid by modifications probably developed by Stier and Washington architect and master builder William Lovering. Three drawings have survived—a pair of elevations and the plan of the second story. The design incorporates a circular two-story gallery much like the Tayloe proposal and closely resembles Latrobe's contemporary design for Clifton, a country house in Virginia.

The fourth section of the collection chronicles Latrobe's work in Washington during the years 1802 to 1813, beginning with his appointment as second architect of the Capitol. This was the first of two building campaigns Latrobe was to undertake on the Capitol, and the two essays provided here on that project could stand alone as a separate book. Indeed, this chapter establishes Latrobe as a major figure in public building for the federal government. In addition to the Capitol, Latrobe also worked on the President's House and executed designs for a naval arsenal, the Naval Hospital and Asylum, and powder magazines in Washington, Norfolk, and Baltimore.

Concurrently with this work, Latrobe was commissioned to produce designs for the Basilica of the Assumption in Baltimore. Latrobe offered two alternatives. The first of these was in the Gothic style, a fashion that remained largely unexplored in America at the time. Latrobe preferred this plan, and grounded his argument in its favor on European precedents. As an alternative, he offered the more conservative neoclassical design that Bishop John Carroll eventually selected and built. The text for this one building project is representative of the detail to be found—sixty pages of text, nine illustrations, and twenty plates of drawings, two repeated in a stunning collection of color plates. The analysis ranges from an evaluation of the source for the Gothic design, to excerpts from Latrobe's explanation of the modular system that he used to calculate the basic components of the plan.

The final two sections of the collection review projects in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New Orleans. Prominent among these are Latrobe's second tenure on the Capitol and his designs for St. John's Church and the Stephen Decatur House in Washington, and the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. Of interest to Maryland readers will be

sections on the Baltimore Exchange, designed in conjunction with Maximilian Godefroy, brief comments and a pair of 1820s illustrations of Latrobe's Washington County Courthouse in Hagerstown, and designs for the Library Company of Baltimore and the Unitarian Church, also in Baltimore. Regrettably, the Exchange and the Hagerstown courthouse are long gone, and his designs for the church and library in Baltimore never came to fruition.

The net result is a handsomely produced, exhaustively researched survey of Latrobe's work as illustrated by his surviving drawings. Scholars need not be concerned with Latrobe to find value here. Latrobe was a central figure in the effort to build the physical manifestations of a federal government, and his papers may be used for a myriad of issues. Latrobe's work provides important insights into the rise of architecture as a distinct profession, for example, and his drawings range from design development and presentation drawings to some of the earliest examples of detailed working drawings known to survive in America. Scholars will find much in the minutia of the drawings as well, which offer insights into such diverse matters as changing room use in gentry houses, the structural challenges of building domes, and the earliest glimmerings of Greek Revival detail in domestic interiors. Authors Jeffrey Cohen and Charles Brownell have dedicated substantial portions of their careers to this project, and the result will be a standard reference for generations to come.

Orlando V. Ridout
Maryland Historical Trust

A Necessary Evil? Slavery and the Debate Over the Constitution. Edited by John P. Kaminski. (Constitutional Heritage Series, vol. 2. Madison, Wisconsin: Madison House Publishers, Inc., 1995. 304 pages, bibliography, index. $32.95.)

Collected in *A Necessary Evil? Slavery and the Debate Over the Constitution* are over 150 original documents offering a unique insight into the attitudes toward slavery around the time of the founding of the U.S. Constitution. John P. Kaminski, director of the Center for the Study of the American Constitution at the University of Wisconsin, has assembled a superb documents volume that will be of interest both to students and the general reader.

"This book," Kaminski begins, ". . . asks the question of how Americans could enter their Revolutionary struggle for independence with an empathy toward black slaves deprived of their liberties, only to have many Americans change that empathy into an institutionalized justification of slavery and a blatant racism that stigmatized freed blacks" (x). Several possible answers are revealed along the way. As I worked my way through the documents, I began to understand more fully the dilemma in the founding generation's mind between slavery and freedom.

How could a people, whose leaders during the American Revolution dedi-

cated their "lives, fortunes and sacred honor" to the principles of liberty and human dignity, allow the institution of slavery to continue in the new nation? The words of the founding generation, extracted from public debates and private papers, are deployed to suggest a number of reasons. The one favored by the editor, and the one suggested in the title "A Necessary Evil?", is that slavery, though believed by many to be morally reprehensible, could not be abolished at this critical stage of nation-building.

A Necessary Evil? is important for the light it sheds on the founding generation's attitude toward the moral, political and economic issues they had to confront both as men of conscience and as nation-builders. For example, in a letter (May 10, 1786) to the Marquis de Lafayette on his plan of emancipating the slaves, George Washington revealed his doubts and at the same time expressed his hopes for the project when he wrote: "Would to God a like spirit would diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country; but I despair of seeing it. . . . To set them afloat at once would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but by degrees it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected; . . ." (26).

Although slavery was nowhere explicitly mentioned in the Constitution, our nation's fundamental law, prior to the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, had condoned its existence. Slaves appeared in the document only by implication, as the "such Persons" with whose importation Congress was barred from interfering before 1808, as the "other Persons" counted as three-fifths of "free Persons" in the apportionment of representatives and taxes, and as those "held to Service or Labour" who, if they managed to flee to "free" states, had to be returned to their owners. Nevertheless, Kaminski reminds us in chapter 2, "The Constitutional Convention and Slavery," that these four provisions, which made the Constitution a pro-slavery document, were the first of many compromises by which the conflict between north and south, freedom and slavery, was postponed.

The documents make both the general point that failure to resolve the dilemma shaped our nation's heritage, and the more specific and debatable point that Jefferson, Madison, and Washington's failure to take the lead on this issue deprived the early emancipation movement of the support it so desperately needed. This second point is the subject of chapter 7, "Slavery and the Founders: Three Perspectives." Kaminski begins this final chapter by asking the following question: "Why would highly principled men such as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison refuse to act on their convictions?" (243). One explanation is that it may be a matter of timing both reform and changes in public opinion. Jefferson, in a letter (May 20, 1826) to James Heaton, warned that "[a] good cause is often injured more by ill-timed efforts of its friends than by the arguments of its enemies. . . . The revolution in public opinion which this cause requires, is not to be expected in a day, or perhaps in an age; but time, which outlives all things, will outlive this evil also" (267).

Readers will admire the editor's care in choosing the documents for this volume. The variety, for the most part, is quite impressive. However, I was disappointed to discover that, apart from the reference to the famous Massachusetts case outlawing slavery (Commonwealth of Massachusetts *v.* Nathaniel Jennison [17–18]), "judicial" documents relevant to the debate were not selected. For example, excerpts from state cases on so-called "freedom suits" would have fit with the editor's objective in documenting the dramatic change in the character of the American people and their attitude toward freedom and slavery in the decade or so after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Many African-Americans won their freedom in these cases, in the South as well as in the North, and the judges often referred to the natural law principles of the Revolution in justifying their decisions. In Maryland alone there were 138 of these cases (Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* [1988], 169). However, during the early nineteenth century this tendency waned as courts adopted stricter rules in weighing evidence, reputation, and ancestry, and paid greater deference to legislative policy concerning manumission.

This engaging book succeeds in bringing to light the moral and political debate over slavery at the beginning of the American nation. In doing so, Kaminski reminds us that the debate is not just for students and professors of American history. The format of his book should make the debate over this central paradox of American history far more accessible and far more understood.

MICHAEL C. TOLLEY
Northeastern University

Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women. By Margaret Ripley Wolfe. (New Perspectives on the South. Ed. Charles P. Roland. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. 293 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $37.50.)

In the life cycle of a sub-field in history, if the measure of maturity is a cacophony of both conflicting and complimentary interpretations, a veritable explosion of studies crying out for synthesis, then the study of southern women's history has come of age. In recent years, fascinating and compelling works in southern women's history have enriched our understanding of the effect of regional social and economic differences on the development of gender and family in the South. Margaret Ripley Wolfe's new book, *Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women,* is an important step toward sorting out all the issues and nuances of this exciting and blossoming sub-field. At long last we now have a synthesis of southern women's history.

Wolfe's concise yet comprehensive work, grounded in the Old Testament themes of promise and fulfillment, aims to sort out myth from reality, a prob-

lem that has plagued the study of southern women for some time now and has contributed to considerable misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Moreover, Wolfe seeks to rescue the study of southern women from the larger domain of "American" women's history in which southern women are so often factored out or neatly qualified. For some, the existence of slavery has meant an "exceptional" South that was necessarily inhabited by "exceptional" women.

The framework of the book, naturally, is largely chronological. The story proceeds at a brisk clip, beginning with the earliest contacts between southern Indians and European visitors, proceeding to the eras of American Revolution and the Civil War and Reconstruction, then settling on the postbellum and modern South. Along the way Wolfe alludes to some of the key historiographical debates among those who study southern women, debates that frequently mirror those fought out in the larger arena of southern history. To what extent were southern women different from their Northern counterparts? Did slavery and patriarchy in fact forge an exceptional people distinct from other Americans? Or did these women of the South share a bond with their Yankee sisters that has been eclipsed by an emphasis on racial divisions? And did the Civil War mark an important "watershed" in the lives of southern women, or did the currents of continuity carry them into modernity?

Unfortunately, we do not get definitive answers to these questions. The most serious flaw of the book is one typical of the synthetic genres; that is, in broaching such an expansive time period Wolfe glosses over important debates and provides little in the way of critical analysis. Wolfe's voice is all but lost in her presentation of the interpretations of so many other historians. But in the author's defense, that was not the stated purpose of the project. That remains the task for another project. Rather, her job was to put forth the myriad views of others. Still, a more authoritative tone may have helped the reader plow through some contentious scholarly waters. Most notably, was the experience of southern women fundamentally different from that of Northern women? What made these women unique, if indeed they were unique at all? Wolfe ruminates on the effect of numerous factors on the lives of southern women: the enduring frontier, rural culture, the persistence of household economies, slavery, a chivalric code, the prominence of Evangelicalism, a strong sense of place, and other constraints that kept them from the public sector. But in the end, what about the common ground they share with Northern women? Wolfe's insight into these questions would have been most instructive.

Wolfe skillfully dodges the land mines of caricaturing southern women as victims yet she is mindful of the danger of imbuing these women with too much agency. For example, she notes that although "there was no southern counterpart to the women's-rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, southern women made contributions not only within the privacy of

their families and households but also to the larger world of the communities in which they lived. Their influence, albeit limited, was no less real" (62). This delicate balance is more apparent still in her treatment of black women. Wolfe acknowledges the dehumanizing effect the "peculiar institution" had on African-American women, but includes individual accounts of great courage and agency, like the Louisiana freedwoman whose small child was purportedly killed by the pair's master as they fled. The woman carried the dead child with her so it could be buried "free" (77, 117).

A few other minor criticisms warrant attention. Occasionally, the book is a bit too celebratory and not as critical as it could have been. For example, where are the accounts of jealous mistresses mistreating house servants of which Harriet Jacobs and others have written? In addition, the author could have bolstered her work had she included some of the most recent work by younger scholars who have made some important contributions to the field of southern women's history, for example, the dissertations of Kathleen Brown, Glenda Gilmore and Martha Hodes, which mark the next generation of important works on gender in the South. (Kathleen Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630–1750," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1990; Glenda E. Gilmore, "Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1992; and, Martha Hodes, "Sex Across the Color Line: White Women and Black Men in the Nineteenth-Century American South," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991). Lastly, the book lacks a bibliography. This is a curious omission since many who use this book will want a quick reference to the numerous citations.

These few points should not detract from Wolfe's crafting of a masterly synthesis, a much harder project than it would appear. There is much about this book to be lauded: for one, the author's concerted effort to be all-inclusive. Native Americans, African Americans, slaveholding and non-slaveholding whites, rich and poor, highbrow and lowbrow, the famous and the dispossessed, Christian and nonbelievers, all receive attention. Most importantly, the work fills a gap. *Daughters of Canaan* will serve as an excellent textbook for anyone teaching a course on gender and family in the American South.

Diane Miller Sommerville
Princeton University

The President Is at Camp David. By W. Dale Nelson. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995. 216 pages, 41 illustrations, index. $24.95.)

Modern presidents need retreats where they can mull over strategies of war and peace, or where they can go just to relax. In time of war the getaway place requires security, secrecy, and close proximity to Washington. These demands

led Franklin Roosevelt to create a rustic refuge sixty miles north of the White House in Maryland's Catoctin Mountains in the summer of 1942. The nation was at total war and its leader needed occasional seclusion to deliberate on its successful conclusion. Toward the end of his life, Roosevelt also required more rest. Ten presidents later, the small cluster of cabins has become a modern resort with a two-million-dollar discretionary fund for updating and luxuriating. Yet its overriding purposes have remained unchanged for most of our leaders and for others from around the world. Initially dubbed Shangri-La (from a James Hilton novel) to denote an imaginary repose from barbarism, the refuge was renamed by the third tenant, Dwight Eisenhower, in honor of his grandson, who wrote the foreword for this informative book. In the years since that change, Camp David has become synonymous with the search for alternatives to war.

How eleven presidents have used Maryland's most famous, yet most secretive site is the subject of W. Dale Nelson's revealing and well-written monograph. The leaders who have used it best, beginning with its founder, have brought their world counterparts to the mountain retreat to help bring a variety of wars to an end. Some have used it more simply, yet wisely, as a place to unwind and enjoy the wooded outdoors. Ronald Reagan spent 547 days at Camp David, far more than the other president (Eisenhower) who served two full terms. More than anyone else, Reagan used the "camp" for purely personal and family pleasures. Still, he broadcast 150 of his popular weekly radio talks there in his comfortable flannel shirt. Nixon, on the other hand, gazed in starched collar into an indoor fire in August, which is perhaps symptomatic of his ultimate failure as a national leader. For Nixon, Camp David became a place to brood over the trauma of Watergate rather than to regroup or to expunge his dark side. He disappeared into what became a wooden fortress for days, sometimes weeks, emerging more paralyzed than emotionally restored. The contrast with the founder of the retreat could not have been greater. The physically disabled, war-weary Roosevelt relished the rustic simplicity, fished the nearby stream with Winston Churchill, and worked on his stamp collection for relaxation. The physically complete Nixon made little use of the camp's recreational facilities yet overspent its budget and sought special tax breaks.

The fate of the nation, and parts or much of the world, sometimes hinged on what happened or failed to transpire in the northern Maryland mountains. In the late 1950s an arms race breakthrough inched forward at Camp David between two gregarious Cold War warriors, Nikita Khrushchev and Ike, until word of the U-2 fiasco arrived at the wooded area near Gettysburg. In the next decade a tormented warrior, Lyndon Johnson, brought his major advisors to Camp David to deliberate on expansion or reduction of the war in Vietnam. Some presidents, notably Jimmy Carter, successfully used the secluded retreat to advance Middle Eastern peace. Perhaps Reagan's therapeutic use of the

mountains produced a mysterious transformation of his beliefs about the Soviet Union, which would be consistent with the parable of Shangri-La.

These are speculations that Nelson avoids in his straightforward and interesting narrative of fifty-three years of important historical decisions and presidential recreation at the world's most important getaway location. Nelson, a former, long-time reporter for the Associated Press, learned to use his language well in his trade, and research skills, too. He mined presidential libraries, memoirs, and news reports and mastered the art of oral history in the interviews he conducted with important first-hand sources of life at Camp David. He has also sprinkled revealing photographs of presidents in action and inaction throughout the text. Some of them are worth a thousand words. Nixon, in formal dress, standing alone near a spotless dining room window, looking downward rather than at the pristine snow outdoors; Carter, studying a briefing book; Reagan regaling congressmen and enjoying his family, all riding horses. These photographs capture the essences of all the presidents and the site they have used in different ways.

Our current president has made little use of the retreat in the woods. He chose an air force base in Ohio to bring the Balkan war to a close. What that signifies might bring Nelson, an able reporter/historian, back to the subject in a shorter piece for another publication.

JOHN B. WISEMAN
Frostburg State University

The Naval Institute Historical Atlas of the U.S. Navy. By Craig L. Symonds. Maps by William J. Clipson (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 241 pages, 94 maps, illustrations, index, $39.95.)

There are quite a number of overall histories of the U.S. Navy, both in and out of print, but none of them can be described as being simultaneously compact, accessible, readable, and suitable both for the younger or uninitiated reader interested in the navy, and for the more advanced reader as a convenient graphic reference and supplement to other books.

The author, a professor of history and former department chair at the U.S. Naval Academy, has taken an approach to the subject which, to the knowledge of this reviewer, is unique. Professor Symonds has followed the general scheme of *The West Point Atlas of American Wars* and similar works, of several of which he is the author. He has divided the history of the navy from 1775 to 1994 into ten periods. Each period of major warfare, and the intervals between, is covered in a separate section. Each section is opened by a historical summary of the period in a few pages to place the more detailed material which follows in context and provide continuity. Thereafter, each campaign, significant action, or major point of policy is discussed in a single page, facing

an annotated map illustrating the operations or graphically describing the point. As the author states in his introduction, such a format puts the emphasis on operations, yet a surprising amount of background detail is presented in the concise but highly readable text. Operations of other navies are included where they are important. For example, the major naval aspects of World War I prior to the U.S. involvement, including the battle of Jutland, are discussed in Map 49.

The level of detail varies considerably, depending on the period under discussion. For example, covering World War II in forty-eight pages and twenty-five maps means that details are limited, while the Battle of Lake Champlain in 1814, because of its strategic importance, has page 52 and Map 20 to itself. Some of the details are fascinating, and useful to any student. For example, Map 20 includes a sketch showing how springs on anchor cables were used when fighting at anchor in the days of sail. It is common to see this referred to, but it is the only illustration of how it works that this reviewer has ever seen outside specialized works on seamanship of the period. Other examples of unique and useful graphic presentations are the distribution of the "Gunboat Navy" of Thomas Jefferson in Map 14, the illustration showing the geographic problems of the Union blockade during the Civil War in Map 30, and the illustration of the worldwide effects of the Washington Treaty of 1922 in Map 52. The evolution from the Orange Plan to the Rainbow Plans for war in the Pacific is interestingly covered in Map 53. Map 84 is an excellent diagram of the Cuban Missile Crisis operations, while maps 85 through 89 cover Viet Nam comprehensively. The Chesapeake Bay operations of 1814 are well covered in Map 19.

The division of more than two centuries into ten periods leads to occasional problems of continuity. For example, part VII covers 1901 to 1939. One reads text on pages 119 to 121 that carries the story up to 1917, turns the page to Map 47, and is snatched back to the voyage of the Great White Fleet around the world in 1907–09. In fairness, this is an inevitable problem of the format.

There are some minor production problems which do not detract from the usefulness of the book but which are unfortunate in a scholarly work likely to be used for study or reference. First, unlike most Naval Institute publications, there are signs that the book could have used tighter editing. To cite two examples, on page 120 there is mention of the "Queen Mary" class of oil-burning British battleships, when clearly the reference should be to the Queen Elizabeth class; on page 196 there is a reference to LSTs drawing twenty-nine feet, of water, which is about twice the correct figure. A second minor problem is common to many books since the advent of word processors and spell-checking, which will not pick up an error that produces a different but correctly spelled word. For example, on page 132 the word "interred" appears, but evidently "interned" was meant. Lastly, some of the photographic illustra-

tions are very dark and nearly illegible, such as the photo on page 205 of a Soviet missile site in Cuba.

The author and cartographer are to be congratulated. The minor production problems cannot obscure the fact that they have turned out a unique and first-class addition to a large body of literature, and one which can be recommended to any interested reader.

HENRY S. MORGAN, REAR ADMIRAL, USN (RETIRED)
Gibson Island

The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past. By Jim Cullen. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. 264 pages. Notes, index, illustrations. $29.95.)

Published dissertations tend to have much in common with second lieutenants newly arrived at the front. Both usually carry excessive equipage, display too much certainty at improper moments, and have entirely too much faith in what was learned in school. This work is a case in point.

In a short, confusing introduction, but one that is valuable as a window into current scholarly trends, author Jim Cullen shows off drill as he has learned it. Academic theories and disclaimers flap everywhere. Cullen, a lecturer in history, literature, and expository writing at Harvard, describes himself not as a professional historian but as a student of Popular Culture, more specifically, an excited participant in "the emerging subdiscipline of history of memory" (3). With a ritual nod toward the new populism—it *was* new, perhaps thirty years ago—he explains his work as "an attempt to affirm" recent scholarship's "focus on the minds and lives of those who have been traditionally overlooked" and praises his colleagues in the new academe for seeking "to liberate readers from epistemological domination" (6). With a drum roll he reminds readers of the dangers inherent in what used to be called intellectual history but is now a variety of wrangling but job-creating subdisciplines: "No one can be altogether sure of how any given person or group understands a particular document" (7). (One could argue here that lots of documents are perfectly clear to everyone, for example, the orders read to a firing squad, but why quibble with something so silly?) Assuring us with an obfuscatory flourish that "findings take on significance only when they are interpreted; when larger meanings are at least implied; *when we move beyond the realm of quantified certainty into one of imaginative speculation* [italics mine]" (7), Cullen plunges into the No Man's Land of popular culture, promising nothing conclusive, only that he will try to make "revealing juxtapositions and suggestive observations" along the way. The subject is, of course, the immensely complex and interesting American Civil War and how it has been "used" by various artists and groups in the twentieth century. This sounds like it is going to be fun, and it is.

As befits someone who has written for *Rolling Stone,* the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer,* and *Newsday,* Cullen reveals himself to be a sharp observer and an engaging stylist. An early chapter on Lincoln biographers Carl Sandburg and James G. Randall and novelists Gore Vidal (*Lincoln*) and William Safire (*Freedom*) is intriguing historiography. Sandburg's work assuaged the fears of a Depression-stricken nation by showing that in times of crisis America produced leaders equipped with fundamental decency and common sense (Lincoln, FDR). Randall, representing historians who despised irresponsible political leadership and distrusted the capacity of the people for wisdom, created a conservative Lincoln who brokered between fire-eating secessionist and Radical Republican extremes. So far, so good. Soon, though, we hear the clanking of that extra baggage. "To greater or lesser degrees, race looms over the whole book" (4) Cullen warns in his introduction. The statement "Vidal's Lincoln is racist" (62) nevertheless seems deliberately clangorous, a willful attempt to combine in one breath the beloved idol and the new favorite word. It also ignores the obvious reality that most of the American white population in 1860 did not share the perfection some have so recently attained.

More "suggestive observations" follow. "The key issue looming over the novel *Gone with the Wind* . . . was the women's movement" (4) will doubtless enlighten many of the heretofore benighted. Cullen's description of how Margaret Mitchell's treatments of race, class, and gender were altered for the film will entertain the generalist while pleasing departments of women's studies. A rambling analysis of rock 'n' roll groups who sang about being southern as their way of opposing Civil Rights gains is at least one way of looking at behavior that was also at once calculated, rebellious, and lucrative. The Civil War connection is here most tenuous, except for Lynyrd Skynyrd, who sometimes played before a huge Confederate battleflag. A chapter on the 1989 film *Glory* contends that its creators' purpose was to counter the dismal, immoral legacy of Vietnam by showing that wars are sometimes nobly fought for noble purposes. The equally popular *Gettysburg* (1993), based on Michael Shaara's *The Killer Angels,* wherein men simply fought nobly, is dismissed as an example of "willed forgetfulness" for the reason that slavery was barely mentioned. A final chapter argues that "in a multicultural society where minorities are showing a new awareness of their own pasts and the elements that distinguish their histories from that of the European American majority" (5), modern reenactors embrace the Civil War as their own cultural preserve. Fittingly, to illustrate this phenomenon Cullen bypasses tens of thousands of white male reenactors to interview a female infantryperson of the latter-day 2nd Rhode Island Volunteers.

There are some troubling suppositions in this occasionally provocative but more often irritating book. One is that since "all history is an act of manipulation" (166) it is permissible to "use" history for one purpose or another so long as those purposes are "democratic," meaning, one supposes, agreeable.

The ideal long held by professional historians of keeping one's philosophy in check while adhering to the evidence has failed so often, Cullen concludes, it is no longer worth attempting. For those who disagree, and apropos this book, David Herbert Donald's recently published biography of Lincoln should provide temporary solace.

Another problem is that this critique of popular culture comes from a narrow academic "culture" of the hothouse variety, wherein terms like "racist" and "racism" are bandied freely with the assurance that all approve, and where this or that is "affirmed" (e.g., "the struggle for black enlistment was not altogether affirming" [146]) with catechistic regularity. This kind of language, and the thinking that produced it, is unfortunately constrictive. The subject is huge and exceedingly worthy, the author imaginative and talented, but time after time opportunities for insight wilt under the hard glare of rigorous academic discipline. For an instructive comparison, and to see how this subject could have been treated, one should read Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford University Press, 1975). Next to it, *The Civil War in Popular Culture* is but another report from the academic front, a predictable and gloomy one at that.

Robert I. Cottom, Jr.
Baltimore

Artisans in the North Carolina Backcountry. By Johanna Miller Lewis. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. 212 pages. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95.)

This account of artisan practice in North Carolina during the late colonial period summarizes in a brief but tightly woven narrative the experiences of skilled workers in Rowan County as found in numerous documentary sources; primarily wills, tax lists, and court documents. To her narrative Johanna Miller Lewis adds seven appendices which provide samples of some of the more intriguing records, a glossary of archaic terms, lists of all the known artisans who worked in Rowan County from 1753 to 1770, and the account of a hat maker named Robert Johnston who was brought before the district superior court for the "abominable crime of Buggery." Lewis provides a broad overview of her subject, spiced here and there with the intriguing minutia of everyday life.

The book opens with a discussion of previous historical examinations of artisan life in the backcountry which points out that most historical studies of colonial artisans have concentrated on urban settings and consequently have tended to overlook or dismiss the numerous rural communities that were, in many ways, more typical and thus more representative. The next three chapters then delve into the specific sequences of commercial growth for Rowan

County artisans beginning with pioneer enterprises and concluding with a discussion of the influences of the Moravians who created a thriving utopian settlement in the Wachovia tract. Indeed, the excellent work of Moravian artisans, particularly of their potters, metal smiths, and furniture makers, marked Rowan County as one of the outstanding sites in the early history of American crafts. Two additional chapters direct attention to the often overlooked roles played by women in the production of textiles and consider, as well, the actions of various artisans in North Carolina's "Regulator Crisis" of 1766. While there is no explicit summary or conclusion, what Lewis makes very apparent is that the backcountry, at least as far as Rowan County is concerned, was no cultural backwater. The artisan class, as revealed in its skillful handwork and political savvy, was more engaged with the ideological concerns arising from the leading metropolitan centers than has previously been allowed. This insight should alter our view of the backcountry, which has heretofore been cast as nothing more than a place where the lowest social order eked out a primitive hunter-gatherer type of existence.

Readers should be cautioned that if they are looking for analysis of the material culture aspects of artisan work, they will be disappointed. The matters of technology, design, aesthetics, the social functions of objects, and other issues tied directly to the fashioning of artifacts in Rowan County have simply not been considered. That potential insights might lurk within such topics is clear from a bundle of fourteen illustrations found between pages 76 and 77. The beauty and elegance of Moravian stoves, corner cupboards, and slip-decorated platters is beyond dispute. These items, when situated in a narrative of social affairs, have much to tell us since they too were "witnesses" of their times. Authentic artifacts need to be understood as documents, and they should be "read" for their information in much the same way that we read wills and tax lists. Lewis, like too many historians, uses pictures merely to illustrate her text when, in fact, the things in the pictures *are* texts—texts that encode key themes at both the intellectual and experiential levels. While she does not promise to examine the things made by artisans, her account would only have been more convincing, and compelling, if she had done so.

John Michael Vlach
George Washington University

A Southern Star for Maryland: Maryland and the Secession Crisis, 1860–1861. By Lawrence M. Denton (Baltimore: Publishing Concepts, 1995. 256 pages. Notes, illustrations, index. $23.95.)

Lawrence M. Denton sets forth to prove definitively the widely held notion that Maryland would have seceded from the Union in 1861 if it had not been coerced militarily by the U.S. government. Denton, an energetic researcher, in

the end provides a plausible platform for this perception. In the eight chapters of this well-designed and attractive book, Denton examines events from the presidential election of 1860 through the close of 1861. Additional analysis and commentary concerning enlistment figures and postwar politics provide evidence to buttress his conclusion, which is that the heavy hands of the U.S. military and Union political leaders did, indeed, prevent Maryland from joining its southern brethren. He argues that by April 28, 1861, all hope that Maryland's star might be added to the flag of the Confederacy had been dispelled.

While Denton admits that his effort may be seen as "partisan," he hopes "the reader will not find it an overly biased work" (xi). Actually, his work is merely reflective of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historiography on which it is based. Earlier histories generally celebrate the quixotic heroism of Maryland's secessionist leaders, stressing their utter powerlessness to deliver their state to the Confederacy. But is this a valid assessment?

Could it possibly have been these educated "gentlemen" themselves, waiting and waiting for Virginia's lead, who ultimately doomed Maryland's best chance for secession? The arrest and imprisonment in September 1861 of Severn Teackle Wallis, T. Parkin Scott, and others by the U.S. military ensured their martyrdom to the "Lost Cause" in Maryland. But to what degree had their timidity and adherence to strict legal measures prevented Maryland from seceding? This issue is not raised in this book.

The "revolution" (as one contemporary Baltimore newspaper termed it) unleashed by the riot of April 19 failed to sustain itself for even a week. Surely fear of retribution from General Benjamin Butler's small force in Annapolis, when allegedly thousands of Baltimoreans stood ready to defend their city from northern aggressors, cannot be the only reason for the inertia of secessionism. Lacking external military support from the South, the Maryland "revolution" simply withered and died. On April 26 citizens planted a large U.S. flag on top of Federal Hill. Before General Butler's May 13 arrival some four hundred Union volunteers had been recruited at the *Patriot* newspaper offices. These actions suggest that secession never truly garnered the wide popular appeal promoted by earlier histories and by this book.

Denton's assessment of what constituted a Marylander (172–174, 181) is problematic, as is his general conclusion that if only native-born Marylanders could have decided their fate, then Maryland would have seceded—a nineteenth-century viewpoint expressed by Bradley T. Johnson, a former Confederate general. Despite what can only be called wishful thinking, the truth remains that Maryland in 1861 contained sizable populations of European and northern immigrants. It also hosted the largest free black population in the South (the majority being native-born Marylanders for generations). Many of these individuals held no sympathy for the concepts of states' rights, secession, and human bondage. The author is probably right when he asserts that "they were

different people . . . different in their outlook and expectations, and certainly out of step, politically, with other Marylanders (174). Nevertheless, they cannot be excluded from—nor their roles marginalized in—Maryland history.

There is danger in holding up, as the author does, postwar actions as wholly indicative of Maryland's wartime political sentiments. For example, Denton cites the lopsided 1868 gubernatorial election defeat of notable radical Unionist Hugh Lennox Bond as evidence of Maryland's true predilections (207–208). He fails to note, however, that Bond had been a strong advocate for the civil rights of Maryland's black population. Did Bond's defeat signify the state's political sympathies or merely underscore the racism at the core of Maryland society? Racism marked both Unionist and secessionist factions.

Without doubt, the U.S. military interference in Maryland—the searches, arrests, and restricted elections—did much to quell the secessionist fire in many Marylanders of 1861. Yet it appears that the blame cannot be ascribed wholly to the men in blue, despite Denton's assertion. During Maryland's narrow window for secession in April 1861 the people needed true revolutionaries instead of "gentlemen" who dallied in the hope of legislative measures. Further, Maryland lacked a population united in philosophical sentiment. Clearly, a mixture of both external and internal factors, plus the coercive presence of the U.S. military, impeded Maryland's move for secession.

The historian who wishes to provide the "final word" on a subject steps onto a slippery slope. Nevertheless, Denton's effort is to be applauded heartily. This readable book will entertain you and make you think, if you are of a mind to consider the issues it raises, but historical interpretation is forever open to new analysis as fresh primary sources and scholarship are given light.

Robert W. Schoeberlein
Maryland Historical Society

Books in Brief

Paris: Birthplace of the U.S.A., Walking Guide for the American Patriot offers readers a tour of Paris with an American twist. Authors Daniel and Alice Jouve and Alvin Grossman take readers to twenty-three locations made prominent by Americans in their struggles for an independent United States. This guide tells the stories of people like Benjamin Franklin, John Paul Jones, and Thomas Paine and clearly illustrates the mutual respect that has always been a part of France's relations with the United States. This publication is distributed in the U.S. by the Librairie de France, Rockefeller Center Promenade, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10020.

Grund, $24.95

Fred Hobson's *Mencken: A Life* is now available in a softcover edition as part of the Maryland Paperback Bookshelf series. This substantial biography makes use of H. L. Mencken's letters, volumes of diaries, and innumerable other writings to produce a thorough and engaging study of the personal life of the Sage of Baltimore.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $17.95

Easton, Pennsylvania, was a prominent pre-Revolutionary German settlement as well as an important site for trading and treaty negotiations. *Some of the First Settlers of "The Forks of the Delaware" and Their Descendants. Being a translation from the German of the Record Books of the First Reformed Church of Easton, Pennsylvania, from 1760 to 1852* is again available as a reprint, providing easy access to vital records and the history of this settlement. This translation by the Reverend Henry Martyn Kieffer, D.D., includes a history of the building of the church and the organization of the congregation.

Heritage Books, Inc., $30.00

The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America offers readers a thoroughly illustrated account of the development of the structure also known as the forebay bank barn. Author Robert F. Ensminger traces its architectural history from medieval Europe to Pennsylvania's German settlements, and even examines today's uses of Pennsylvania barns as offices or shops. This work, now available in paperback, was published in cooperation with the Center for American Places, Harrison, Virginia.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $22.95

Although many historians view the Age of Jackson as a time of growing fear and foreboding, Daniel Feller takes a new approach to this era in his book, *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815–1840.* Looking to this time as one of optimism and dynamic growth, the author examines an innovative spirit that led to railroads, unions, factories, utopias, and even religious revivals. Although rival visions would eventually result in discord, this early period in America's growth can be viewed as one of opportunity.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $13.95

In *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865,* author Mark Grimsley examines the evolving Union policy of destructive attacks on southern property during the Civil War. Although first ordered to protect and preserve the property of southerners, Union soldiers gradually turned to actions intended to ruin the economy of the South and demoralize its citizens. Using comparisons with earlier European wars as well as the testimonies of both Union soldiers and southern civilians, Grimsley argues that this program of directed severity was far from being the wrath perpetuated in American legends.

Cambridge University Press, $29.95

Stephen Saunders Webb examines the seventeenth-century British Empire through a revisionist lens in *Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered.* At the focal point of this study is John Churchill, who rose from his role as page boy to become a major military figure in England's struggle with France for imperial supremacy. Webb asserts that Churchill's fears of a Catholic monarch led to his instrumental role in the successful military coup that is known as the Glorious Revolution. The role that America played in these struggles was central to Churchill's agenda for domination of Catholic France.

Alfred A. Knopf, $30.00

J.M.P.

In the Mail

Editor:

Bill Moore has a better memory, I believe, than Admiral Halsey. I am referring to Donald Fritz's article in your Winter 1995 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* about Bill Moore and the last enemy plane.

Moore recalls Halsey's order to shoot down enemy planes "in a friendly fashion." A footnote quotes Halsey in his book, "Admiral Halsey's Story," as recalling that he ordered enemy planes to be shot down "in a friendly sort of way."

I am certain that Moore quotes Halsey accurately because I also received the same message and remember very well after all these years because it seemed to be something that Halsey, always a colorful person, would have said—very direct and humorous. The quote from Halsey's book is less in keeping with Halsey's personality than the remembrance of Bill Moore.

I was an officer aboard a U.S. Navy tanker in the Western Pacific preparing for the invasion of the Japanese homelands, and messages received on my ship about the coming end of the war were welcome indeed. I think my memory is still clear about the message in question.

A few days before, Halsey sent another message advising the Fleet that we were still at war even though the Japanese were suing for peace. That message pointed out the Japanese were realizing that their military forces were beaten back to their own shores and that "they did not have a spot to hiss in—repeat—a spot to hiss in." I wonder if Bill Moore remembers that message?

Sincerely yours,
Jere O. Hamill
Baltimore

Editor:

In the Fall 1995 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* the article "Oystermen in Antebellum St. Mary's County" by Bayly Ellen Marks, Dr. Marks states that Ennals Rozell was from Virginia. In fact, Ennals Rozell was from Easton, Maryland and Tilghman's Island, where he owned a sawmill. Rather than classify him as a farmer, because of his past activities as owner of a hotel and hat factory in Easton plus the twenty-some land purchases in Talbot County, I have thought of him as a businessman.

When he died in 1867 in Washington, D.C., where he lived on "G" street, he owned a number of properties in Southwest Washington. He was buried with his third wife on St. Georges Island in the cemetery on land he donated to the citizens of the island. There is a marker at the cemetery dedicating this gift but unfortunately there is no marker for his grave.

When I started to research my family, I was amazed at the number of activities that my Great, gr, gr grandfather had been associated with during his lifetime. According to records, he helped finance and establish M.E. churches in Easton, Tilghman's Island, St. Georges Island and Washington, D.C.

I hope that you understand that my respect for him leads me to write this letter. I think that he was a great man and respected citizen of Maryland.

Sincerely,
Charles H. Gibson
Glyndon

Editor:

Robert W. Schoeberlein's "A Fair to Remember" (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Winter 1995) amply illustrates how many Baltimore women of the nineteenth century were engaged in vigorous and continuing "good works." One hesitates, therefore, to suggest that they may have been under a legal disability not shared by their sisters outside of the city.

In the conclusion to her excellent book *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (1986), Marylynn Salmon declares that "The tremendous variation evident in early American rules on married women's property rights teaches us to be wary of easy generalizations." There is, however, a situation in Baltimore that may lead to a valid generalization regarding a matter peculiar to Baltimore.

From the 1740s on, according to Thomas W. Griffith's *Annals of Baltimore*, 1824, "it became the practice to dispose of lots by leases for long terms, mostly ninety-nine years renewable forever."

My brief piece, "Peter Goodright vs. William Nought" (National Genealogical Society *Newsletter*, 17 [1991]: 107), points out that the transfer of land in England was so difficult under common law that the English invented a "legal fiction" to make it possible to move a case from a common law to a chancery court. Since leases were considered personal rather than real property, and therefore subject to chancery rules, fictitious leases were invented to justify trying the case in chancery (William Allen Jowett, *Dictionary of English Law*, 2nd ed., [London, [1977], under "Ejectment").

It is apparent from Baltimore land deeds of about 1800 that Baltimore followed the English system. Women were not asked to approve their husbands' sale of leased land, as Maryland law would have required them to do if land held in fee simple were being transferred. Presumably in many cases married women in Baltimore lived in houses that were held under leases.

I do not detect a groundswell of objection, either by women or by lawyers, to Baltimore's system for transferring property. Perhaps no one noticed that husbands could dispose of Personalty before they died (Blackstone, quoted by Salmon, 230), whereas they could not do so with Realty. In addition, Salmon points out, Personalty was liable for a man's debts as soon as probate began;

but in the disposition of real property a widow's dower (one-third of her husband's property to be used during her lifetime) had to be set off before land could be attached for debts.

Maybe most husbands simply willed their houses and leases to their wives—until such time as these possessions became common property.

Betty Bandel
Burlington, Vermont

Editor:

I enjoyed reading the article "Lost in the Lost Cause: The 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.)" by Kevin Conley Ruffner in the Winter 1995 edition. His article was both well written and interesting.

However, his reference to Captain William F. Dement of the 1st Maryland Artillery (first paragraph, page 440) might be misleading. Captain Dement supported his men when they petitioned for discharge on July 12, 1864, the end of their three-year enlistment. The act of February 7, 1864, held all troops in Confederate service beyond their terms of enlistment, though Confederate Marylanders did not believe acts of the Confederate Congress applied to them. Dement's petition went up through channels until it reached the office of the Adjutant and Inspector General, whose assistant, Samuel W. Melton, tersely replied that the Secretary of War had declared Marylanders in the Confederate army would be considered as residents, staying in the Confederacy "for an indefinite period." "They have cast their lots with us," his response continued, "and are liable to like duties in resisting a common enemy with our own citizens."

Dissatisfied, Dement wrote directly to Jefferson Davis, who referred the matter to the Attorney-General for a ruling which has not been located. Whatever it was, eighteen members of Dement's battery deserted, and thirty-eight more were discharged by writs of habeas corpus issued by a sympathetic judge who evidently agreed with the Marylanders' position. General Robert E. Lee disagreed, and informed the Confederate Secretary of War that the men had deserted as the result of "discomfort in the trenches." These matters are discussed more fully in a history I have prepared of the 1st and 2nd Maryland Artillery (C.S.), currently in publication.

George L. Sherwood, Jr.
Frederick

Editor:

Dr. Ruffner's article (Winter 1995 issue, page 425) leads off with the statement that "the number of Union Marylanders [in the armed forces], . . . even excluding conscripts, foreigners, and black soldiers," "was easily double" the estimated 25,000 Marylanders who served in the Confederate forces. The footnote appended to this sentence cites only Hartzler's *Marylanders in the Con-*

federacy, which says nothing of the kind. Dr. Ruffner gives no support or explanation whatever for his allegation about the number of Unionists.

In your Winter 1987 issue, you published a book review by me which, on the basis of detailed citations and reasoning, concluded that the number of Maryland Unionists was a maximum of 23,345 in the army and 5,020 in the navy and marines—with the same exclusions identified by Dr. Ruffner, except that I know of no easy way in which all the "foreigners" can be counted and excluded, only those who were substitutes. These figures total 28,365, or more than 21,000 fewer than Dr. Ruffner asserts. The total would be even smaller if all "foreigners" were excluded (which would require detailed analysis of individual service records, census entries, etc.), and if all the frauds could be detected who enlisted (and deserted) under different names several times to win the generous bounties that were offered.

You published some of the basic calculations as long ago as 1968 (volume 63, pages 442–443), in a "Notes and Queries" item by Jack T.Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson demonstrated that grossly inflated versions of the Maryland Unionist strength are based in major part on a simple mathematical error. A detailed study of Toomey's *Index to the Roster of the Maryland Volunteers 1861–1865* (1986) permitted further refinements. It is surprising that you would publish an unsupported and undocumented assertion that is clearly wrong, and which contradicts what the magazine found fit to publish at least twice in the past.

Brice M. Claggett
Friendship

Editor:

Notwithstanding the usual high quality of articles appearing in your journal, I feel I must point out some errors and omissions in the article "Lost in the Lost Cause: The 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.)" by Kevin Conley Ruffner in the Winter 1995 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

First, in the second paragraph Mr. Ruffner claims that "there are far more Confederate monuments and statues in Maryland today than Union memorials." Overlooking the lumping together by the author of three different types of commemorations (monuments, statues, and memorials), he obviously did not consult my book on the topic: *Lest We Forget: A Guide to Civil War Monwnents in Maryland* (White Mane Publishing Company, 1995), which reveals that there are twenty-nine monuments to those who fought for the South, twenty-five monuments to those who fought for the North, and four monuments dedicated to both sides. Of the monuments honoring Confederates seven were financed by the State of Maryland and three by the federal government.

Also in error is the statement that "Southern veterans groups in Maryland far outnumbered their Union counterparts." In a report of Confederate veterans groups in Maryland in the *Confederate Veteran* (vol. 1, March 1893, 71)

there were nine such groups with a total of 2,390 members at the end of 1892. In the same year there were 3,578 members of the Grand Army of the Republic (Michael Siedenhans, "Their Deeds are Written on the Temple of Fame: Veterans Organizations in Baltimore, 1866–1914," thesis, the Johns Hopkins University, 1988).

In the caption for the photograph of General Bradley T. Johnson Mr. Ruffner states that Johnson with his veterans organizations was "perpetuating the ideals of the "Lost Cause." Whatever those ideals were (they are not defined in the article), it is obvious from reading his speeches that General Johnson was not about to perpetuate them. In one speech he says, "I have no sympathy with any attempt to revive the issues or rekindle the passions of civil war." By his own words his founding of the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy in the State of Maryland was to preserve the honor and integrity of the Maryland men who fought for the Confederacy so they would be considered worthy to assume their places in the new union beside the men who fought for the North . . . since they had no state to defend them they would more likely be considered traitors. His founding of the Maryland Line was to provide for needy and elderly Maryland Confederate veterans because, again, they had no state to support them (Bradley T. Johnson, address before the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland, Baltimore, November 16, 1886).

Near the end of the article Mr. Ruffner says that Colonel Bradley T. Johnson did not receive another formal command until after the Battle of Gettysburg. Actually Colonel Johnson received an assignment under General Jackson's command immediately after the disbanding of the 1st Maryland. He commanded the 2nd Virginia Brigade in place of General J. R. Jones, who was sick, and was commended for his action with this brigade in the Second Battle of Manassas (obituary of Bradley T. Johnson, *Baltimore Sun,* October 6, 1903).

Mr. Ruffner fails to mention the number of companies from the 1st Maryland that remained together for the duration of the war even though the name of the company, and sometimes the commanding officer, changed.

A more blatant omission is any reference to the wife of Bradley Johnson, Jane Claudia Saunders Johnson, known as "the Mother of the 1st Maryland Regiment," who single-handedly armed, clothed, and equipped the first organization of five hundred men in the space of ten days. A view into the political and social connections as well as the nature of this woman would also lead one to believe that she had a considerable hand in the acceptance of the 1st Maryland into the Confederate army. She also happens to be the first woman in Maryland to have had a monument erected to her.

Susan C. Soderberg
Germantown, Maryland

Notices

Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces its sixth annual undergraduate essay contest. The winner will receive a cash prize of $250. Papers must be on a Maryland subject and make use of primary sources. Please send entries to the Education Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Deadline for submissions is June 15, 1996.

Montgomery County Preservation Awards

Montgomery Preservation, Inc. invites nominations for its 1996 awards. Awards honor individuals and groups who, through community action and restoration efforts, have made a significant contribution to the preservation of Montgomery County's historic architectural and landscape resources. Selection is made by a panel of judges, and awards will be presented at the organization's Tenth Anniversary Gala on May 15, 1996. Deadline for nominations is at hand: April 1, 1996. For more information about different nomination categories or to obtain nomination forms, please contact Judy Christensen at (301) 926-2650.

African-American History Forums

Under the rubric "This Little Light of Mine, I'm Gonna Let It Shine," the Maryland Humanities Council is sponsoring a series of community forums to examine and encourage the preservation, interpretation, and inclusion of African-American history in the archives, museums, and historical records of Maryland. The forums include addresses by African-American scholars; locally focused commentary by community representatives; presentations by a coalition of archival and historical organizations, including the Maryland Historical Society, of resources for helping communities learn about their history; and workshops on oral history, genealogy, and preservation of family and community artifacts. The first forum was held at Howard County Community College on March 23. Future forums will be held at Bowie State University (April), University of Maryland, Eastern Shore (June), Hagerstown Junior College (June), Baltimore Community College, Park Heights Avenue (August), and Charles County Community College (September). For more information call Judy Dobbs of the Maryland Humanities Council at (410) 625-4830.

Marine Corps Essay Contest

The U.S. Naval Institute invites submissions to its Eighth Annual U.S. Marine Corps Essay Contest. Authors of the three winning essays will receive cash prizes of $1000, $750, and $500, and *Proceedings* will publish their work. Anyone may enter this contest, and essays should explore any current issues or new directions for the Marine Corps today. The work must be original, no longer than 3,000 words, and typewritten, double-spaced, on 8.5" x 11" paper. Entries should include address, phone number, biographical sketch, and social security number, and must be postmarked by May 1, 1996. Mail submissions to Editor-in-Chief, *Proceedings* (USMC Contest), Naval Institute, 118 Maryland Avenue, Annapolis, Maryland 24102-5035.

Naval Institute Seminar

On April 24–25 the Naval Institute's 122nd Annual Meeting and Sixth Annapolis Seminar will include addresses by Admiral J. M. Boorda, Chief of Naval Operations, and *Nightingale's Song* author Robert Timberg. Captain Scott O'Grady, the pilot rescued in Bosnia and General Martin Berndt, who planned the rescue, will conduct a session on April 25. For information on sessions and scheduling call 410-224-3378.

Maryland Sheep and Wool Festival

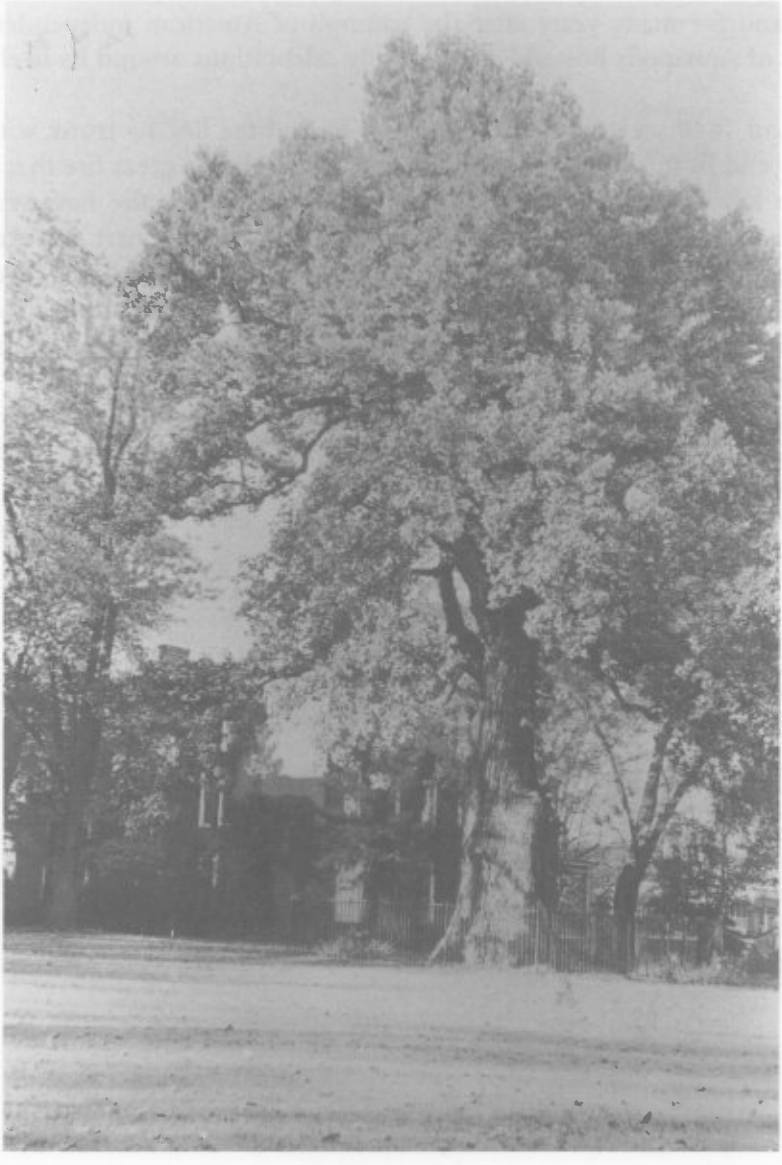
With a "Sheep to Shawl" contest, Parade of Breeds, and lamb tastings, this year's Sheep and Wool Festival promises to be a lively and entertaining event. Other highlights include sheep dog demonstrations, live music, crafts sales, and a competitive sheep show. The event, sponsored by the Maryland Sheep Breeders Association, will be held May 4–5, 1996, at the Howard County Fairgrounds in West Friendship. Admission and parking are free. For more information, call Leslie Bauer at (410) 531-3647.

Annual Crafts Festivals

Sugarloaf Mountain Works will host Maryland Spring Crafts Festivals in Gaithersburg and Timonium. Each event will include five hundred artists and craftspeople, as well as live music and marionette shows. Demonstrations of wheel-thrown pottery, iron-forging, and glass blowing are scheduled as well. The festivals will be at the Montgomery County Fairgrounds in Gaithersburg April 12–14, and at the Maryland State Fairgrounds in Timonium April 26–28. For more information, call 1-800-210-9900.

J.M.P.

Historic Trees of Maryland: A Series



The tree for this issue was chosen in recognition of the 300th anniversary of the founding of St. John's College in Annapolis.

The Liberty Tree, standing on the St. John's College campus in Annapolis, is a magnificent tulip poplar (liriodendron tulipfera) that predates the founding of the Maryland colony. This four-hundred-year-old tree is supposedly the site where a treaty between the colonists and the Susquehannock Indians was

signed in 1652. In the next century Samuel Chase and the Sons of Liberty gathered beneath its boughs to protest British tax laws in a prelude to revolution. Legend holds that Generals Washington and Lafayette lunched in its shade, and for many years after the triumph of American independence the citizens of Annapolis hosted Fourth of July celebrations around its twelve-foot trunk.

Around 1840 several mischievous boys loaded the hollow trunk with gunpowder and lit it, setting off an explosion and starting a great fire that threatened to kill the tree. It bloomed even more luxuriantly the next year, and naturalists noted that the explosion had in fact destroyed a nest of worms that had been gnawing at the heart of the ancient tree. There have been several extensive repairs and treatments over the years, and today the tree is held together in many places with wood screws and wires. Despite these problems, the tree continues to bloom each spring.

In this tricentennial year the stately Liberty Tree will once again serve as a canopy, shading students and their families on graduation day as it has for centuries.

P.D.A.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Challenge your knowledge of Maryland sports history by identifying this event, the teams, and the date.

The Winter 1995 Picture Puzzle depicts (presciently, it turns out) Main Street in Port Deposit, Maryland, during the "Great Ice Gorge" of 1910. The Susquehanna River had overflowed its banks and had crossed the street. The first building shown in the photograph no longer stands and the second building has had an addition.

Our congratulations to Mrs. Nelson Mott Bolton and Ms. Elizabeth Fletcher Hartley, who correctly identified the Fall 1995 Picture Puzzle.

Please send your answers to:

Picture Puzzle
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, MD 21201

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

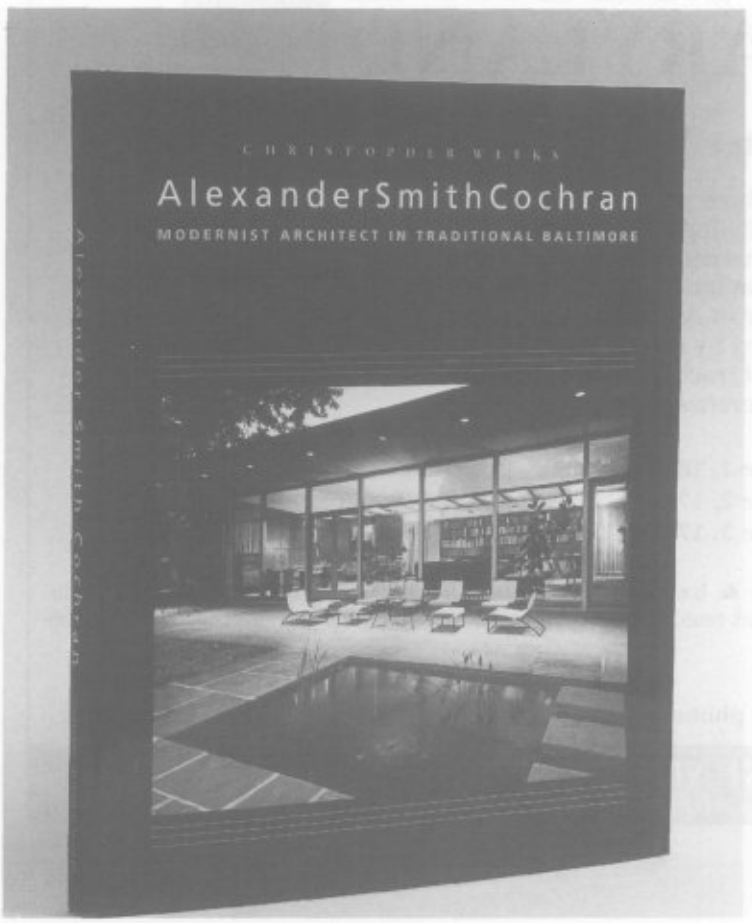
Selected Publications List

* CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. $7.95 ($7.15)
* *Chesapeake Wildfowl Hunting: Maryland's Finest Decoys.* 108pp. Color illus. 1991. (soft cover) $14.95 ($13.45)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. $12.95 ($11.65)
* COTTOM, ROBERT I. and HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN, *Maryland in the Civil War: A House Divided.* 128pp. Illus. 1994 $24.95 paper
* ELLIS, DONNA, and STUART, KAREN. *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* 202pp. Illus. 1989 $17.95 ($16.15)
* FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. $6.95 ($6.25)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Lavish Legacies: Baltimore Album Quilts in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 140pp. Color illus. 1994. (soft cover) $37.50 ($33.75) (limited, signed hard cover) $60 ($54)
* HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum.* 31pp. Illus. 1984 $5.00 ($4.50)
* KAHN, PHILLIP JR. *A Stitch in Time The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades.* 242 pp. Illus. 1989 $15.00 ($13.50)
* KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning.* 352pp. 1984. $12.00 ($10.80)
* KEY, BETTY McKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979 $5.00 ($4.50)
* KEY, BETTY McKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $5.00 ($4.50)
* MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . . (Reister and allied families).* 251pp. 1975. $15.00 ($13.50)
* *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINES.* $6.00 per issue.
* MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland—A Guide.* 4th Ed. 1992. $12.00 ($10.80)
* *(Peale Family) Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 187pp. Illus. 1975. $9.95 ($8.95)
* PEDLEY, AVRIL J. M. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Supplemented by #13 390pp. 1968. $20.00 ($18.00)
* POWER, GARRETT. *Parceling Out Land in Baltimore, 1632–1796.* 56pp. 1994. $5.00 ($4.50).
* RUSSO, JEAN B., *Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage.* 110 pp. 1991. $8.95 ($8.05).
* SPALDING, THOMAS W. and KURANDA, KATHRYN M. *St. Vincent de Paul of Baltimore: The Story of a People and Their Home.* 312pp. Illus. 1995. $24.95 ($22.45)
* STIVERSON, GREGORY A. and JACOBSEN, PHEBE R. *William Paca: A Biography.* 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $8.95 ($8.05)
* WEEKS, CHRISTOPHER. *Alexander Smith Cochran: Modernist Architect in Traditional Baltimore.* 184pp. Illus. 1995. $29.95 ($26.95)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740–1940 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 344pp. 1984. $37.50 ($33.75)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. and GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F., *Classical Maryland 1815–1845: Fine and Decorative Arts from the Golden Age.* 185pp. Color illus. $37.50 ($33.80).

Members of the Maryland Historical Society may take the discounted price (10 percent) in parentheses above. Prices subject to change. All orders must be prepaid. Maryland residents add 5 percent state sales tax. Include postage and handling charge of $2.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item. *Address orders to:* Publications Marketing, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. An annotated catalog of Maryland Historical Society publications is available on request.

New . . . from the

Maryland Historical Society



Alexander Cochran was influenced by Walter Gropius, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Cobusier, and other modernists at Yale and Harvard. He returned to his native Baltimore determined to make a difference in both private and public design. In time, the power of his ideas helped change the face of his city and pointed the way to the famed renaissance of Baltimore's downtown in the 1960s.

Architectural historian Christopher Weeks combines a lively biography of this multifaceted man with a splendid photo gallery of Cochran's most interesting and important work.

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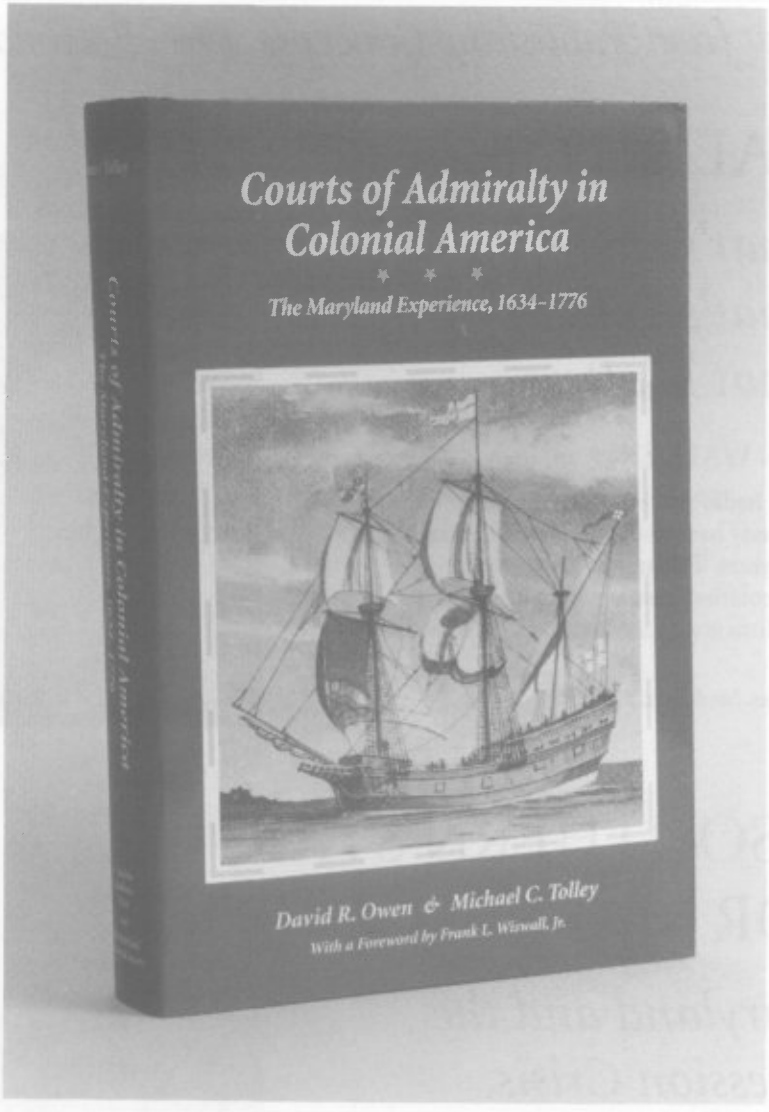

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