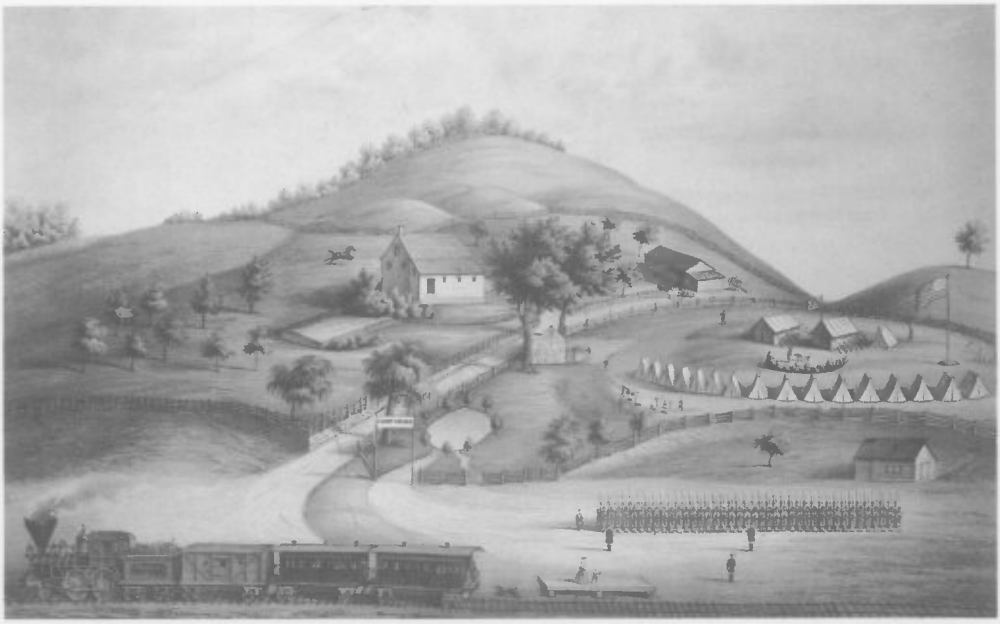
Maryland Historical Magazine



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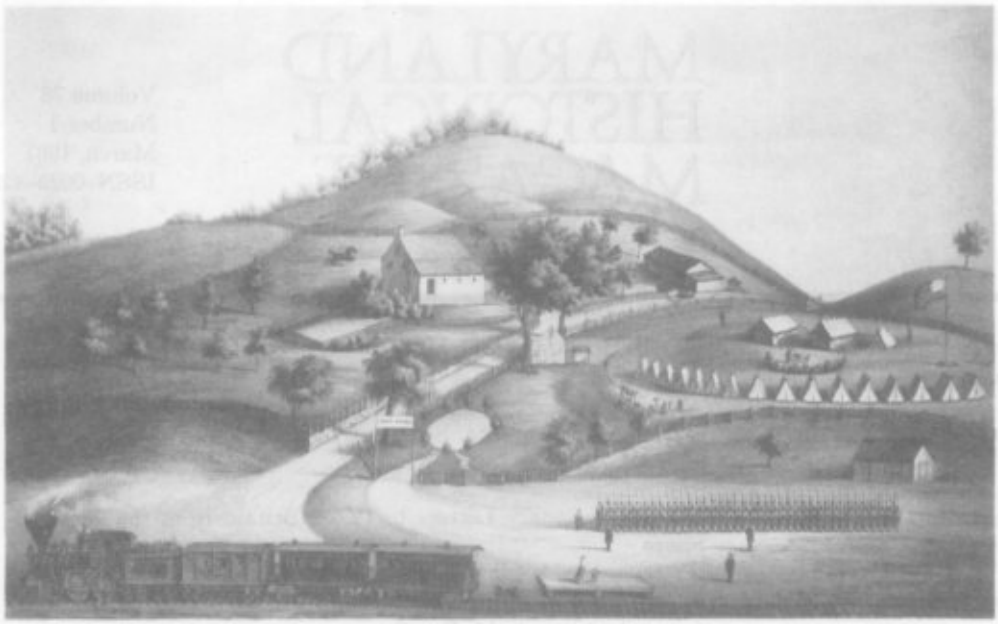
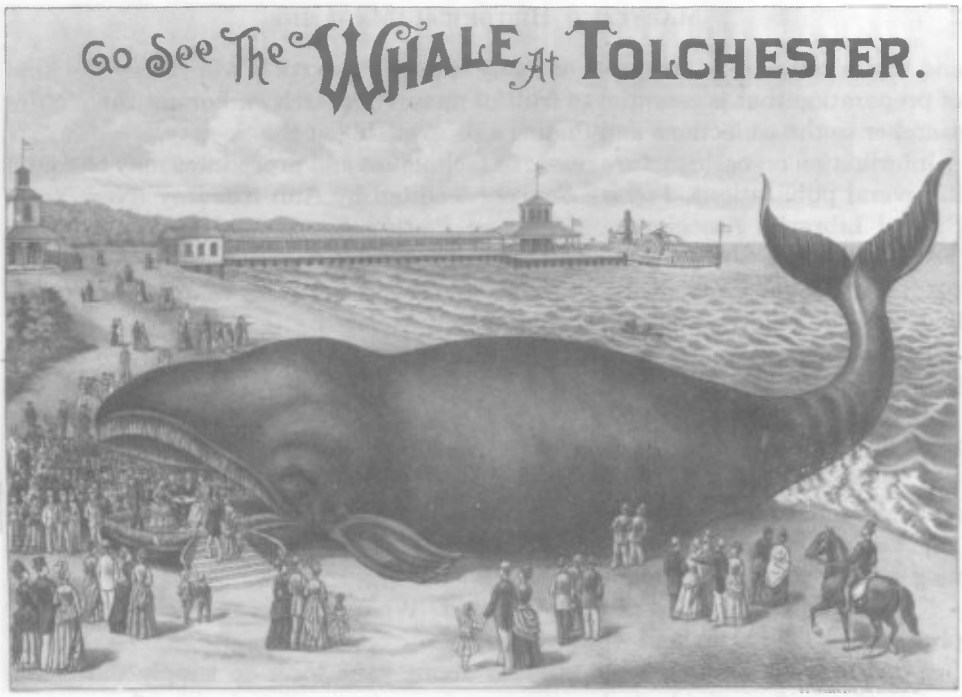
Book Reviews



E 37 CAMP AT MELVILLE MD. ELLSWORTH ZOUAVES. COMP. A 87TH RGT. PA. V. OF YORK, PA. CAPT. J. A. STAHLE, COMDG. LITH. BY E. SACHSE & CO. BALTO. Gateway lettered CAMP SMALL; locomotive tender; TAYLOR; box car, 125; and two passenger cars, N.C.R.R. ** Lithograph, printed in colors. 37.9 × 60.9 cm. MdBPM, MdHi.

The Zouaves were assigned to the area from Relay House below Lake Roland to Woodberry where the line of guards ended. They are shown here camped in the area known as Melvale (then also known as Melville) near Cold Spring Lane and the present Jones Falls Expressway, which was headquarters for the company. It is possible that "Camp Small" was located west of Jones Falls on rural property identified in a city atlas as belonging to Charles W. Small. Today, this area is the location of a Bureau of Parks leaf composting site and the Coldspring Station of the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company. In the right center, tents are pitched in a semicircle beside the spring house and below the headquarters tents. In May 1862 the company was relieved of the monotony of guard duty and was assigned to McKim's Mansion for two months. While in camp they entertained large crowds of Baltimoreans who came to watch their colorful exhibition drills and dress parades. At the end of June they left for combat duty.

Catton, *The Coming Fury*, pp. 390–91; Hopkins, *City Atlas*, 1:109; Lord, *They Fought*, pp. 39–41; Prowell, *Eighty-seventh Regiment*, pp. 3–4.



R.H. Eichner's irresistible lithographed invitation to visit a popular Maryland beach, circa 1890, exemplifies the quality and variety of the Maryland Historical Society's picture resources. (Prints & Photographs Division, P243)

Picture Research at the Maryland Historical Society: A Guide to the Sources

LYNN COX AND HELENA ZINKHAM

RESEARCHERS WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF PURPOSES CONSULT THE MARYLAND Historical Society in search of pictures. They include historians, genealogists, teachers, architects, interior designers, businessmen, and publishers. Whether they want to study pictures as historical documents or find material to illustrate a text, or complete an exhibit, the size and complexity of the Society's collections make it difficult for the professional as well as the novice researcher to know where to begin. Although the emphasis is on Maryland subjects, the Society also has many artifacts which were made or owned by Marylanders but typify objects

Lynn Cox is Curator of Prints and Photographs/Registrar at the Peale Museum, and Helena Zinkham is Curator of Prints at the New-York Historical Society. Both are former Curators of Prints & Photographs at the Maryland Historical Society. The authors wish to thank Society staff, past and present, who provided information for this guide.

and topics common to the pasts of many states. This article will review the kind of preparation that is essential to fruitful picture research and orient the picture searcher to the collections and finding aids available at the Society.

Information on basic picture research techniques and procedures may be found in several publications. *Picture Sources 3* edited by Ann Novotny (New York: Special Libraries Association, 1975) and *Picture Searching: Techniques and Tools* by Renata Shaw (New York: Special Libraries Association, 1973) are easy reading and a good introduction to the field. In beginning any search for pictures, however, the following questions should be considered:

1. How exhaustive a search do you plan to make, and how much time do you have to spend?
2. What institutions will you consult to do the research? (Appendix A lists basic directories of institutions with pictorial collections.)
3. How will you make your inquiries? Written requests are usually preferred and sometimes required; in some cases a visit is also necessary.
4. Do you need to see original materials or will reproductions in books, magazines, or newspapers be sufficient?
5. Will you want copies of what you find? What kinds of copies? Plain paper photocopy, slide, black and white glossy?
6. Do you have enough information about your topic to supply dates and names of specific individuals, locations, and events associated with it?
7. Do you have enough information about the topic to be able to evaluate and interpret the pictures you find?
8. What types of pictures do you want? Is the medium or format important? Should they be contemporary to the historical event or can they be an artist's reconstruction? If they must be contemporary, do you know the kinds of contemporary media likely to contain pictures? Do you want portraits and scenes or artifacts associated with an event?

Several departments of the Maryland Historical Society have pictorial material in many media and formats: the General Library, the Prints & Photographs Division, the Manuscripts Division, the Gallery, and the Maritime Museum. In this article the term pictorial material refers to artifacts associated with an event as well as scenes and portraits. Except for a few picture bibliographies in the Prints & Photographs Division and illustrated books in the General Library which contain the results of picture research on a given topic, the search for pictures on a new topic or fresh images for an old topic must be done department by department. A good starting place for any search, however, is the General Library. There, necessary background information and reproductions of pictures in books and newspapers can be found which will help in interpreting and evaluating original materials. Appendices B and C list the most important catalogues and other publications heavily illustrated with material from the Society's collections. All are available in the General Library.

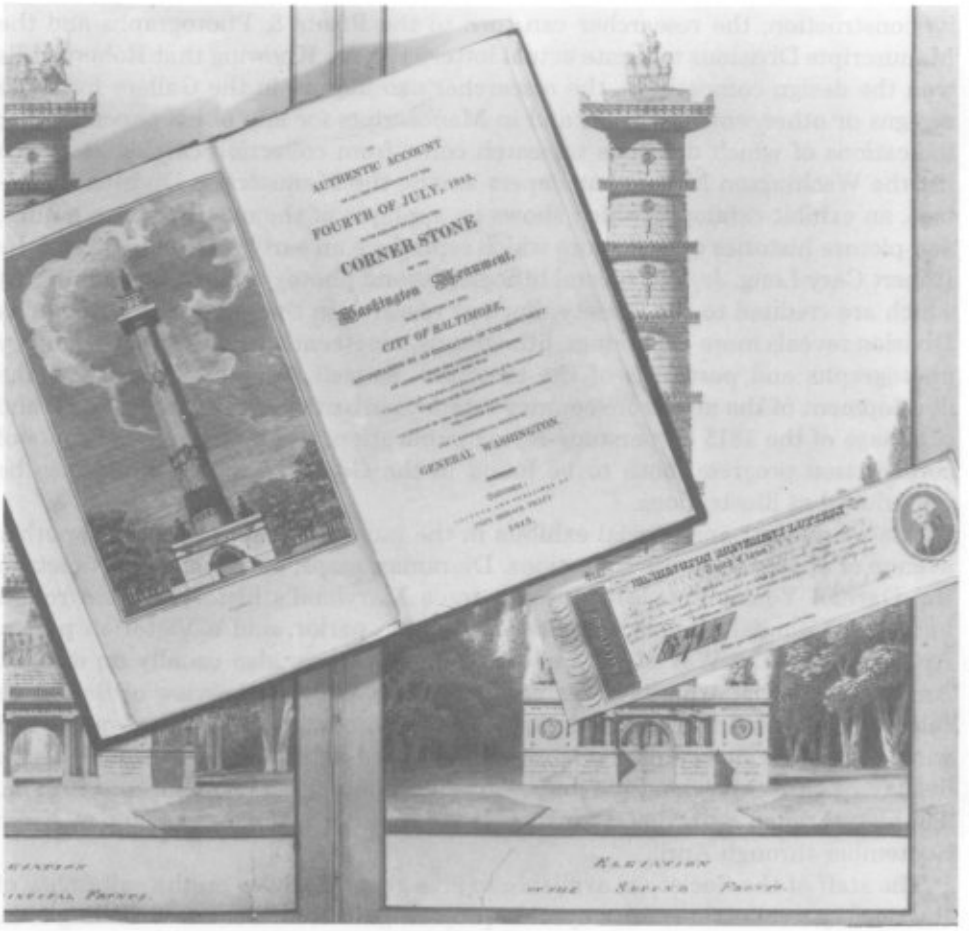
Picture research that begins in the General Library prepares the searcher to explore the rich diversity of materials available in other departments. For example, an exhaustive search for pictures to illustrate the history of Baltimore's Washington Monument begins with information gleaned from books and clipping files in the General Library. Knowing that lotteries were held to raise funds for

its construction, the researcher can turn to the Prints & Photographs and the Manuscripts Divisions to locate actual lottery tickets. Knowing that Robert Mills won the design competition, the researcher can inquire in the Gallery for these designs or other work by Mills, and in Manuscripts for any of his papers. Other indications of which divisions to search come from collection catalogues which list the Washington Monument Papers among the Manuscripts Division's holdings, an exhibit catalogue which shows an applique of the monument on a quilt, and picture histories of Baltimore which reproduce an early watercolor sketch by Robert Cary Long, Jr. and several lithographs and photographs of the monument which are credited to the Society. Further research in the Prints & Photographs Division reveals more engravings, lithographs, nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs and postcards of the structure, as well as maps which show the development of the area from country estate to urban park. The frontispiece and title page of the 1815 cornerstone-laying publication, and newspaper accounts of construction progress, both to be found in the General Library, could also be reproduced as illustrations.

The permanent and special exhibits in the museum galleries provide another avenue of approach to the collections. Dioramas, maps, pictures, and artifacts in the Darnall Young People's Museum trace Maryland's history. Period rooms include a Colonial kitchen, a Baltimore double parlor, and a Victorian parlor. Artifacts from the War of 1812 and the Civil War are also usually on display. Among the special exhibits prepared in the last year were a review of Baltimore celebrations using prints, photographs and ephemera, a selection of quilts and winter wraps, a survey of the work of Maryland artist Grace Turnbull, and a display of early Maryland playbills. Museum hours are 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., Tuesday through Saturday, year round, and Sunday 1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., from September through April.

The staff of the Society is available to give general advice on the suitability of the Society's collections for a specific project, guide researchers to finding aids, and retrieve materials upon request. Mail requests are answered for a reasonable number of items, but the staff cannot do extensive research. In the General Library and Manuscripts Divisions, indexes exist for most of the collections and staff assistance is always available. Few indexes to the collections exist in the other departments, but staff assistance is provided by appointment. A modest fee is required of researchers who are not members of the Society, and everyone must use the materials on the premises. The General Library has a photocopy machine. The Society's Photoduplication Service photographs items in the collections upon request and can provide information on the cost of obtaining photocopies, the required reproduction permission and credit line, and the fees for using reproduction in publications. Researchers may not use their own cameras to photograph material except by prior special arrangement with the Photoduplication Service. Society publications and other Maryland-related works may be purchased in the Museum Shop.

The following sections describe the scope and approximate size of each department's collections, and the organization and format of finding aids. Appendices B and C contain full bibliographic citations for works listed in the finding aids category. It should be noted that the collections increase daily and cataloguing



Pictorial material can turn up anywhere—a book from the General Library, a lottery ticket from the Prints & Photographs Division, and an architectural design from the Manuscripts Division illustrate the history of Baltimore's Washington Monument.

and indexing projects are always underway. The scope and quantity of material described here reflect the Society's holdings only as of August 1980.

General Library

Hours: Tuesday through Saturday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

No appointment is necessary. Most of the library's collections are organized for researchers to use themselves. For those unfamiliar with the library, staff will orient researchers to the various collections and catalogues. The staff will also do limited checking to answer written inquiries about a particular person, place or event or to determine whether a particular book, broadside, or other item is in the library. Written requests for plain paper photocopies of portions of books or the clipping files are filled for a fee.

The General Library is useful to picture researchers in two ways. It offers sources for gathering background information and published picture material on

a topic, and it contains objects with graphic appeal which can be copied and used as illustrations. Many of the special genealogical files and collections which are useful sources of biographical information are not listed here. However, they have been well-described in *Genealogical Research in Maryland: A Guide* by Mary K. Meyer.

Library resources are described under these headings:

1. Books and pamphlets
2. Broadsides
3. Clipping files
4. Magazines
5. Microfilm
6. Newspapers
7. Passano Historic Building File
8. Sheet music and song sheets

1. Books and pamphlets

Scope: Emphasis on Maryland state and local history, especially colonial era to 1900 and Baltimore. Many family histories, genealogical records, Maryland imprints, almanacs, atlases, nineteenth-century works on American history, slavery and Civil War pamphlets, travel in America before the 1850s. Few recent state or local government documents.

Quantity: 50,000 volumes.

Inclusive dates: 1600s to present (topics span pre-history to present).

Finding aids: Standard library card catalogue indicates presence of illustrations in a work and offers guides to heavily illustrated publications with headings like "Baltimore—Views" and "Maryland—Description & Travel".

Special card index for Maryland imprints by place, publisher and date.

Early printings are cited in the standard bibliographies of Maryland and American imprints.

2. Broadsides

Scope: Single sheets of paper, usually text printed on only one side, sometimes with illustrations or designs. Includes political announcements, runaway slave and other public notices related to Maryland and the Mid-Atlantic region.

Quantity: 17 blueprint drawers.

Inclusive dates: 1670s to early 1900s.

Finding aids: Card index by date, title, author or printer and some subjects.

Index does not indicate designs or illustrations on individual pieces.

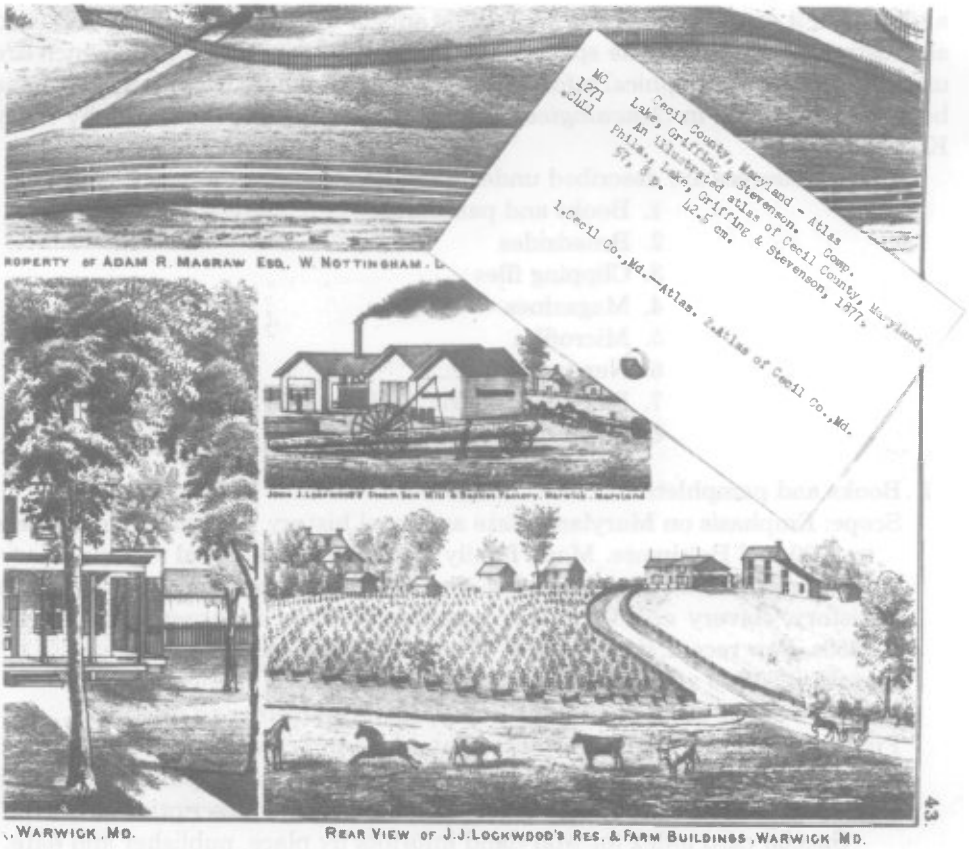
Early printings are cited in the standard bibliographies of American and Maryland imprints.

3. Clipping files

A. Subject file

Scope: Clippings are from newspapers and magazines with some whole pamphlets covering Maryland places, events, buildings, businesses, etc. Many of the articles are illustrated.

Quantity: 32 file cabinet drawers.



Illustrated atlases can be a suprisingly rich source of images. A search in the library card catalogue under "Cecil County, Maryland—Atlas" turned up these pictures of life in nineteenth-century Warwick. (General Library, *MG 1271.C4L1)

Inclusive dates: Late 1800s to present (topics covered range from prehistory to present).

Finding aids: The file is self-indexing; arranged alphabetically by subject.

B. Dielman & Hayward File

Scope: Biographical information on Marylanders. Includes obituaries, marriage and birth notices as well as longer articles taken from newspapers and references to biographies in unindexed books. Some portraits.

Quantity: About 350 card drawers; 36 file cabinet drawers.

Inclusive dates: 1700s to present (includes some people who lived before 1700).

Findings aids: The file is self-indexing; arranged alphabetically by surname.

4. Magazines

Scope: Publications related to Maryland and genealogy. Some general American history and local history of other states. Some issues of nineteenth-century periodicals like *Harper's Monthly Magazine.*

Quantity: About 300 titles.
Inclusive dates: 1800s to present.
Finding aids: *Maryland Historical Magazine* Index is a detailed card index to titles, authors and subjects of articles in the magazine; does not specify whether or not an article is illustrated although portraits are sometimes indicated.

Indexes published with the magazines themselves.

Card catalogue for books and pamphlets lists by title magazines no longer received and which issues available in library.

Periodical file lists by title magazines currently received and issues available.

5. Microfilm
Scope: Manuscripts, census records, military records, parish records, newspapers, ships' logs, bible records, publications related to Maryland history; emphasis on records useful for genealogical research. Includes copies of material owned by the Society as well as copies of records owned by other institutions.
Quantity: 1800 reels.
Inclusive dates: 1600s to 1900s.
Finding aids: Card index by title, subject, proper and geographical place names.

Manuscripts Division card catalogue describes manuscripts on microfilm.

6. Newspapers
Scope: Papers issued in Maryland; some local foreign language and out-of-state papers. Issues of current newspapers are not saved, but selected articles are cut out for the clipping files.
Quantity: More than 1400 bound volumes and microfilm reels.
Inclusive dates: 1700s and 1800s; a few early 1900s.
Finding aids: Card index by title or place of publication indicates which issues available in library.

History and Bibliography of American Newspapers: 1690–1820 by Clarence S. Brigham and *American Newspapers: 1821–1936* ed. by Winifred Gregory list library holdings.

7. Passano Historic Building File
Scope: Information about Maryland buildings as well as references to pictures and published descriptions of houses, businesses, hotels, factories, schools and colleges, and government buildings.
Quantity: 18 card drawers.
Inclusive dates: Late 1600s to 1949.
Finding aids: The file is self-indexing; arranged alphabetically by name of building or building owner.

8. Sheet music and song sheets
Scope: Maryland imprints or associations; emphasis on Star Spangled Banner and Baltimore publications. Song sheets are mostly Civil War.
Quantity: About 8,000 pieces of sheet music and 1200 song sheets.

A lithographed sheet music cover, skillfully copied from a photograph, captures the detail of the Zouave-like uniforms of an 1861 Maryland militia group. (General Library, Sheet Music plate 3366, box 41)

Inclusive dates: 1770s to 1900s.

Finding aids: Card index by title, publisher, composer. Does not indicate illustrated covers.

Separate card index to the song sheets, by title only.

General description appears in "Music in the Maryland Historical Society" by P. William Filby.

Prints & Photographs Division

Hours: Tuesday through Saturday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Appointments are recommended, and researchers should be prepared to describe their topic briefly in writing. Such topics as Baltimore city views, horse-drawn vehicles, or Maryland Quakers can only be investigated by coming to the division. The staff will do limited checking to answer written inquiries about a particular person, place, or building.

No single catalogue describes all the division's holdings. Description sheets, inventories, and subject heading lists exist for some areas of the collection. Researchers may use these guides to select specific items, or general lots in which material on their topic might be found. The staff retrieves requested material based on information supplied by the researcher, and checks the self-indexing portions of the collection for additional material.

The division maintains several picture bibliographies by names of ethnic groups, types of transportation, and occupations. They provide subject access to material in Prints & Photographs, and also to book illustrations, paintings and artifacts in other divisions of the Society, as well as pictures owned by other institutions.

Prints & Photographs resources are described under these headings:

1. Films and filmstrips
2. Lots
3. Maps
4. Photographic and printing accessories
5. Photographs
6. Postcards
7. Posters
8. Printed ephemera
9. Prints
10. Sound recordings

1. Films and filmstrips

Scope: Black and white and color; professional and amateur. Chiefly about aspects of Maryland's history.

Quantity: 22 titles.

Inclusive dates: 1930 to present.

Finding aids: Inventory lists title of each item. No subject access.

2. Lots

Scope: Groups of prints, photographs, printed ephemera and postcards cata-

logued together because of a strong association with an individual, family, or organization. Notable lots include: the work of Adalbert J. Volck, Charles B. J. Fevret de Saint-Memin, and Sunpapers photographer Robert F. Kniesche; Maryland photographs from the Historic American Building Survey; the Berkley collection of Washington portraits; old Sunpapers photographs; material from the George Radcliffe and Shriver families, Grace Turnbull, the Lyric Theatre and Hutzler's department store.

Quantity: About 145 boxes.

Inclusive date: 1750 to present; chiefly 1850 to 1950.

Finding aids: General description sheets summarize each lot; inventories are available for some lots; there is little subject indexing.

3. Maps

Scope: Printed and hand drawn. Includes many political boundary and land ownership maps, individual land tracts, and subjects like the Mason-Dixon line, the Civil War, and railroads. Early cartographers like John Smith, Herrman, Hoxton, Hauducoeur, Fry and Jefferson, Warner and Hannah, and Poppleton are well represented. Baltimore is the most heavily represented geographic area. The division is a depository for U.S. Geological Survey topographic maps of Maryland.

Note: atlases are part of the General Library collections.

Quantity: About 3,000 sheets.

Inclusive dates: Circa 1600 to present.

Finding aids: Catalogue sheets arranged by geographic area have been completed for Maryland state and Baltimore City Maps. There is a list of the headings by which the rest of the maps are filed and a partial index to them. U.S. Geological Survey maps are filed by quadrant name and can be requested by using the published U.S.G.S. map indexes.

4. Photographic and printing accessories

Scope: Lithographic tools and stones, engraving plates, cameras, and stereograph viewers.

Quantity: 20 boxes.

Inclusive dates: Circa 1840 to present.

Finding aids: List by type of accessory.

5. Photographs

A. General and portrait photo files

Scope: Cartes de visite, cabinet photographs, color prints, nineteenth-and twentieth-century black and white prints, and unprinted film negatives. Work of commercial photographers, in particular the Hughes Co. and James Schaefer of Baltimore, and of amateurs. Chiefly Maryland views and portraits; largest subject groupings are: Baltimore Harbor Views, Baltimore Street Views, Business and Industry, Churches, Historic Houses, Railroads, Schools, Theaters.

Quantity: 20 file cabinet drawers of views. 12 file cabinet drawers of portraits. 25 blueprint drawers of large views and portraits.

Inclusive dates: Circa 1850 to present.

Photographs filed under the name of a building often reveal more than the architectural record implied by the folder title. In 1931, patrons in line to see "Sinners Holiday" posed for the Hughes Company's camera. (Prints & Photographs Division, General Photo Vertical File: Theaters)

Finding aids: List of subject headings by which photographs are filed but not of individual folder titles. Plain paper photocopies of many Baltimore scenes are available for browsing.

B. Special format photo files

Scope: Photographs in a format which requires separate storage. Includes daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes (chiefly portraits); stereographs; cyanotypes; lantern slides; film and glass negatives; 35 mm color transparencies; and rolled photographs. Notable among these are a daguerreotype of the ship *Seaman's Bride*, stereo views of Baltimore street scenes, slides from the 1940s of houses on the Maryland House and Garden tours. The glass negatives, predominantly images of the Baltimore area but representing all portions of the state and the work of major commercial as well as amateur photographers, will be available in July, 1981.

Quantity: Approximately 300 daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes; 500 stereographs; 5,500 glass negatives; 3,000 lantern slides; 3,000 color transparencies; 2 boxes of rolled photographs.

Inclusive dates: 1750 to present; chiefly 1850 to 1950.

Finding aids: Inventories are available for some of the files; many are indexed in the general and portrait photo files.

6. Postcards
   Scope: Chiefly views of Maryland towns and tourist sites. Some local aviation, railroad, maritime, and humorous cards.
   Quantity: About 3,000.
   Inclusive dates: 1890s to present.
   Finding aids: List of place names and themes by which cards are filed.

7. Posters
   Scope: Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; World War I and World War II, including the work of the Maryland Arts Project.
   Quantity: 8 blueprint drawers.
   Inclusive dates: 1900 to 1945.
   Finding aids: List of specific subjects, such as "World War II—Liberty Loan Drives," states number of pieces in each category.

8. Printed ephemera
   Scope: Chiefly paper printed with words and pictures; some printed ribbons, badges, and buttons. Includes business advertisements and bill heads, calendars, currency (Maryland colonial and obsolete bank notes), greeting cards, lottery tickets, menus, marriage certificates, military citations, school diplomas, theater programs, items associated with professional, social, and patriotic organizations.
   Quantity: 165 boxes and 10 blueprint drawers.
   Inclusive dates: 1780s to present.
   Finding aids: Pieces are stored by subject categories; a card index describes many individual items with cross references to related categories and proper names.
   Detailed index for currency.

9. Prints
   Scope: Lithographs, engravings, etchings, and half tones. Chiefly Maryland views and portraits. Includes nineteenth-century newspaper illustrations and the work of commercial publishers and individual print makers. E. Weber, A. Hoen & Co., E. Sachse & Co., Gabrielle Clements, and John McGrath are heavily represented. Also some general American views and American and British portraits from the 1600s to 1900s.
   Quantity: 33 boxes; 30 blueprint drawers.
   Inclusive dates: 1650 to present.
   Finding aids: Inventory lists arranged by subject exist for about half of the collection; many other pieces are described and illustrated in Lois McCauley's *Maryland Historical Prints: 1752–1889.*

10. Sound recordings
    Scope: Discs, reel-to-reel tapes, cassettes. Speeches, radio programs, music, presentations on historical topics.
    Note: oral history tapes are part of the library's Oral History Division.

Sometimes unlikely objects can effectively illustrate topics of international reknown. This Holloway Candy Company wrapper ensured that Americans would remember that the Duchess of Windsor was still "Our Wally." (Prints & Photographs Division, Printed Ephemera: Personal)

Quantity: 25 titles.
Inclusive dates: 1900 to present.
Finding aids: Inventory lists title of each item; no subject access.

Manuscripts Division

Hours: Tuesday through Saturday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Appointments are not necessary but out-of-state visitors are urged to call or write in advance. Staff will do limited checking on the basis of a phone or written request, but exhaustive searches can only be conducted in person. Use of the manuscript collections is open to qualified scholars upon completion of an application form. Undergraduate students must also submit a letter of reference from a faculty member. Young children are not permitted in the reading room. The staff will orient researchers to finding aids, retrieve materials, and make plain paper photocopies of certain materials.

Picture researchers should expect to examine quantities of non-pictorial material in order to locate images in the Manuscripts Division. Its collections contain photographs, prints, postcards, bill heads, printed ephemera, sketches, and other material of pictorial interest. Card catalogues and description sheets make only general references to pictures by medium; illustrations on individual items are rarely noted. Armed with proper names and place names associated with a topic, and an understanding of the idiosyncracies of nineteenth-century collectors (e.g. the tendency to mount photographs or prints in an album with autographs), picture researchers can use finding aids to track down collections of potential interest, and sift through boxes of documents to locate images, paying particular attention to folders labelled "Miscellaneous."

Approximately 2.5 million manuscripts are arranged in almost 2500 different

collections and as single items in a vertical file. Finding aids include a published guide, card catalogues, registers, and collection description sheets.

1. Collections

   Scope: Groups of handwritten and printed material acquired from one donor or source and created or collected by individuals, families, or organizations; or groups of items received individually but stored together because of association with an historical event or period (e.g. MS. 1902 Mexican War Collection). Correspondence, diaries, account books and scrapbooks which may contain indentures, deeds, sketches, printed ephemera, maps, photographs, broadsides, prints. Strengths are Maryland history, colonial period to Civil War; late nineteenth-century Baltimore and surrounding counties; Calvert papers; genealogy; counties of southern Maryland.

   Quantity: Almost 2500 collections.

   Inclusive dates: 1500s to present; chiefly colonial period to late 1800s.

   Finding aids: Pedley's *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* provides an index to and general descriptions of the collections through 1967. A second volume is being prepared which will expand and update this guide: *Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society: Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral History Interviews.*

One successful nineteenth-century Baltimorean built a palatial house and a garden adorned with statuary. The house and grounds were documented in an album of sumptuous photographs which were preserved in the family papers. (Manuscripts Division, MS. 916 Winans Papers, vol. 83 "Views of Alexandrofsky and the Crimea")

Entries in the card catalogue give access by proper name and general subject to a brief description of each collection, and indicate if a more detailed description in the form of a register exists.

Collections are reported to the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (NUCMC). Descriptive work sheets prepared for NUCMC are arranged chronologically, by collection number, and by collection name, and are available for reference use.

Pictorial material is sometimes mentioned in the Pedley guide and NUCMC. Both the registers and the NUCMC worksheets describe picture media in manuscript collections and material received with manuscript collections and transferred to other divisions of the Society.

A few special subject finding aids exist and are available by consulting a member of the Manuscripts staff.

2. Vertical file

Scope: Folders of material received as single items or in groups of less than 10 items. Subject emphases and media are essentially the same as for collections.

Quantity: 14 file drawers; 3 blueprint drawers.

Inclusive dates: Circa 1750 to the present; chiefly late 1700s and 1800s.

Finding aids: Card index has entries for individual folders by proper name, place name, and subject. Card descriptions include references to subject content and date, some references to format (e.g. bond, deed, letter, certificate) and pictures (e.g. "also program describing dedication with pictures of statue").

Gallery

Hours: Tuesday through Friday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Appointments are required to use the research files, consult curators, and examine objects. They should be scheduled well in advance of a visit. Written requests for information about a specific object are answered by staff as time permits; in-depth or broad subject research should be conducted in person.

The Gallery collections are Maryland-related in the broadest sense, that is, they consist of material depicting or associated with the state, or created or originally owned by Marylanders. These objects and artifacts vary widely in quality and may have been created originally for documentary, utilitarian, or purely aesthetic purposes. A sample of the kinds of objects in the collections includes architectural and engineering designs, coins, costumes, flags, furniture, glassware, Indian artifacts, jewelry, paintings and drawings, sculpture, silver, tools, toys, and weapons.

Rather than handling quantities of objects, picture researchers will use finding aids to locate descriptions of objects which may be of interest, and make a final selection from photocopies whenever possible. Finding aids consist primarily of several separate indexes grouped together in a general card catalogue. These indexes give access by original function and object name; by surname of people associated with the object; or by artist or manufacturer. The general card catalogue also includes a few inventories by medium (e.g. watercolor on ivory),

and format (e.g. silhouettes). Portions of the collection have been photographed, and the photographs are arranged by medium and accession number for quick reference.

In addition to finding aids describing Society holdings, the Gallery has some illustrated subject files of information related to works depicting Maryland subjects, and to works by Maryland artists in the Society and other institutional and private collections. These are accessible to researchers by permission of the Gallery Curator.

The following description of the Gallery collections includes only the picture media and kinds of objects most frequently requested by picture searchers at the Society.

1. Architectural drawings
2. Ceramics and glass
3. Costumes, costume accessories and textiles
4. Drawings
5. Furniture
6. Indian artifacts
7. Paintings and portraits
8. Silver

1. Architectural drawings

Scope: Includes furniture designs and some engineering plans as well as architectural drawings of private residences, civic and commercial buildings, chiefly in Baltimore. Among the notable pieces are the 1792 U.S. Capitol competition designs, work by Benjamin H. Latrobe, Robert Cary Long, Robert Mills, George Frederick, and Lawrence Fowler, and Potthast furniture designs.

Quantity: 25 blueprint drawers.

Inclusive dates: 1790s to present.

Finding aids: General card catalogue offers access to part of the collection by name of architect, type and location of structure.

Most of the Capitol competition drawings are illustrated in Jeanne Butler's "Competition 1792. . . . "

2. Ceramics and Glass

Scope: Fine and everyday table and decorative ware made in Maryland or used by Maryland families; bottles, jugs, goblets, commemorative plates, vases, figurines, tea sets. Notable groups include many works from the Bennett and Perine potteries in Baltimore, several examples of Amelung glass, and the Patterson-Bonaparte and McKim collections.

Quantity: Over 1,000 ceramic and several hundred glass pieces.

Inclusive dates: Chiefly late 1700s and 1800s.

Finding aids: General card catalogue offers access to ceramics by medium (e.g. earthenware, lusterware), style (e.g. Canton, Staffordshire), function (e.g. dinner service, vases) and names of Maryland makers. Glass is listed by function with cross references to some makers.

Two exhibit catalogues, no longer in print: *Edwin Bennett and the*

Products of His Baltimore Pottery and *Amelung Glass: An Exhibition* both by Eugenia C. Holland.

3. Costumes, costume accessories and textiles

Scope: Men's, women's, and children's costumes, men's and women's military and civilian uniforms, quilts, coverlets, flags, banners, and samplers. Costume accessories include fans, jewelry, hats and bonnets, parasols, walking sticks. There are examples of costumes from each decade, 1730 to the 1970s. Most were worn on formal occasions, although there are also costumes worn for recreational activities, and a collection of undergarments.

Quantity: Over 5,000 pieces.

Inclusive dates: 1730 to present.

Finding aids: Card inventories with some record photographs of costumes, costume accessories, textiles; checklists of some special collections, such as fans.

Several eighteenth-century pieces are illustrated in *Maryland Heritage*, edited by John B. Boles.

Brief exhibit catalogues include: "Parade of Maryland Fashion", 1970, and "Weathervanes, Carvings and Quilts", 1978.

4. Drawings

Scope: Single drawings and sketchbooks including many documentary views of houses and European sites, still lifes and portraits by members of Maryland families. The political cartoons are chiefly twentieth-century by Yardley, Barclay and others. Among the notable items are watercolor sketches by John Omenhausser of Point Lookout prison camp during the Civil War, two sketchbooks by Alfred Jacob Miller, numerous sketches by portrait painter Thomas Corner, and muralist R. McGill Mackall, and some sketches by Adalbert J. Volck and Maximilian Godefroy.

Quantity: About 2,000.

Inclusive dates: 1700s to the present; chiefly 1800s and early 1900s.

Finding aids: An index to inventory worksheets by artist's name and subject is planned.

The Omenhausser sketches are reproduced in *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates* by Edwin Beitzell.

5. Furniture

Scope: A broad spectrum of forms and styles is represented, from elegant high chests to country ladderback chairs. Most pieces are of Maryland origin, predominantly Baltimore and Annapolis, or important pieces acquired by Maryland familes in other states and abroad. The strongest single area is Baltimore furniture of the Federal and Empire periods, 1790–1840.

Quantity: About 700 pieces.

Inclusive dates: 1730 to 1960; chiefly 1760 to 1860.

Finding aids: Card inventory with record photographs; catalogue work sheets; illustrated catalogue in preparation for publication.

Many of the finest pieces are illustrated in Somerville's "Furniture at the Maryland Historical Society".

Formal portraits reveal styles of dress and customs as well as documenting the appearance of a particular person. Mary Tilghman, shown here holding a miniature of her favorite niece, was courted by the artist Charles Willson Peale while he painted her portrait in 1790. He made the miniature of Margaret Elizabeth Tilghman in 1789. (Gallery, 73.13.3)

6. Indian artifacts
   Scope: Arrow, spear, and dart points, knives, stones, pipes, axes, pottery sherds, drills, scrapers, etc. from all areas of the state.
   Quantity: More than 14,000 pieces.
   Inclusive dates: 9000 B.C. to 1500 A.D.
   Finding aids: Complete inventory listing by accession number states type of object and when and where found.

7. Paintings and portraits
   Scope: Views, landscapes, still lifes and portraits. Among the early artists represented are John Hesselius, Joshua Johnston, Francis Guy, and members of the Peale family. There are numerous portraits by Thomas Corner and Alfred and Trafford Klots. The views are chiefly on the Baltimore area before 1850.

Quantity: About 2,500 portraits; 500 views and still lifes.
Inclusive dates: 1700s to the present; chiefly 1800s.
Finding aids: General card catalogue offers access by medium, name of artist, and name of sitter.

Many Peale portraits are illustrated in Holland's *Four Generations of Commissions* and Somerville's "A Peale Exhibition at the Maryland Historical Society"; many Klots portraits in *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son Trafford Partridge Klots* by Stiles Colwill. Four checklists of portraits compiled by Anna Rutledge and Eugenia Holland appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in the 1940s and 1950s. Portraits acquired before 1977 are recorded at the National Portrait Gallery in the Catalog of American Portraits.

8. Silver
Scope: Hollow ware, flat ware, miscellaneous personal items such as card cases, cane handles, toilet articles, etc. Major eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Maryland silver makers are represented, especially Samuel Kirk, the Warners, C.L. Boehme, L. Holland, the Canfields, S. Barry, W. Ball, and A.J. Volck. There are also examples of English and American silver owned by Maryland families.
Quantity: 2,500 pieces.
Inclusive dates: 1700s to present.
Finding aids: General card catalogue offers access by silversmith and object shape or function (e.g. teapot).

George Radcliffe Maritime Museum

Hours: Tuesday through Friday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

A portion of the collection is on display and may be seen during regular museum hours. Appointments are required to use the reference photograph and information files or to meet with the Curator.

1. Artifacts
Scope: Models of eighteenth- through twentieth-century vessels, navigational instruments, ship-building tools, and shipboard items. Significant pieces include over 50 half models used in naval architecture.
Quantity: Over 2,000 items.
Inclusive dates: 1765 to present.
Finding aids: Curator's files.

2. Charts, drawings, paintings, photographs, prints
Scope: Views of individual vessels, historic events, Baltimore harbor and Chesapeake Bay, ship plans and nautical charts. Notable holdings include original sailmakers' diagrams (1845–1861); line drawings for all the half models in the collection; Maury wind, current and whole charts; Bache engraved charts.
Quantity: Approximately 60 pieces plus two file cabinet drawers of photographs, ship plans and nautical charts.
Inclusive dates: 1765 to present; chiefly middle and late nineteenth-century.

A portion of a painted over-mantel from a Kent County, Maryland house illustrates the variety of vessels engaged in maritime traffic on the Chester River prior to the Revolution. (Gallery, 1900.5.1)

Finding aids: Reference photograph file is self-indexing by name of vessel or subject matter; access to other material is chiefly through Curator and Curator's files.

APPENDIX A

Directories of Institutions whose Collections contain Pictorial Material

American Library Directory: A Classified List of Libraries in the United States and Canada.... New York: R. R. Bowker, 1923- . Biennial.

Ash, Lee, comp. *Subject Collections: A Guide to Special Book Collections and Subject Emphases As Reported By University, College, Public and Special Libraries and Museums in the United States and Canada.* 5th ed. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1978.

Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1956- . Biennial.

Directory of Subject Collections in Maryland Libraries. Baltimore: Baltimore Chapter, Special Libraries Association and Division of Library Development and Services, Maryland State Department of Education, 1979.

Green, Shirley L., comp. *Pictorial Resources in the Washington, D.C., Area.* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976.

National Historical Publications and Records Commission. *Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories.* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1978.

Novotny, Ann, ed. *Picture Sources 3.* New York: Special Libraries Association, 1975.

Official Museum Directory: United States and Canada. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums and National Register, 1971- . Annual.

APPENDIX B

Published Catalogues which list Society Collections

Brigham, Clarence S. *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers: 1690–1820.* Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1947.

Butler, Jeanne F. "Competition 1792: Designing a Nation's Capitol." *Capitol Studies* 4 (1976).

Carter, Edward C., ed. *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Maryland Historical Society, 1977.

Colwill, Stiles. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son Trafford Partridge Klots.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1979.

Filby, P. William. "Music in the Maryland Historical Society." *Notes* 32 (March 1976): 503–517.
Filby, P. William and Howard, E.G., comps. *Star-Spangled Books: Books, Sheet Music, Newspapers, Manuscripts and Persons Associated with "The Star-Spangled Banner."* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972.
Gregory, Winifred, ed. *American Newspapers: 1821–1936.* New York: Wilson, 1937.
Holland, Eugenia C. *Amelung Glass: An Exhibition. . . . 1952.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1952.
Holland, Eugenia C. *Edwin Bennett and the Products of His Baltimore Pottery.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1977.
Holland, Eugenia C., et al. *Four Generations of Commissions. The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975.
Holland, Eugenia C. and Gary, Louisa M. "Miniatures in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 51 (December 1956): 341–354.
Holland, Eugenia C. and Gary, Louisa M. "Oil Portraits in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 50 (December 1955): 310–336.
McCauley, Lois B. *Maryland Historical Prints, 1752–1889.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975.
Meyer, Mary K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland: A Guide.* rev. and enl. ed. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976.
Pedley, Avril J. M., comp. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1968.
Rutledge, Anna Wells. "Portraits in Varied Media in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 41 (December 1946): 282–326.
Rutledge, Anna Wells. "Portraits Painted Before 1900 in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 41 (March 1946): 11–50.
Somerville, Romaine S. "Furniture at the Maryland Historical Society." *Antiques* 109 (May 1976): 970–989.
Somerville, Romaine S. "A Peale Exhibition at the Maryland Historical Society." *Antiques* 107 (March 1975): 502–515.
Volck, Adalbert Johann. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck.* Privately printed by George M. Anderson, 1970.

Appendix C

Publications heavily illustrated with Material from Society Collections

Beirne, Francis F. *Baltimore: A Picture History, 1858–1958.* New York: Hastings House, 1957.
Beirne, Francis F. *Baltimore: A Picture History, 1858–1968.* Baltimore: Bodine, 1968.
Beitzell, Edwin W. *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates.* Washington, D.C.: The Kirby Lithographic Company, 1972.
Boles, John B., ed. *Maryland Heritage, Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Revolution.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976.
Brewington, Marion V. *Chesapeake Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History.* Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1953.
Greene, Suzanne E. *Baltimore: An Illustrated History.* Woodland Hills, Ca.: Windsor Publications, 1980.
Heyl, Edgar. *I Didn't Know That! An Exhibition of First Happenings in Maryland.* Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1973.
Highlights of Maryland History as Presented in the Darnall Young People's Museum. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1973.
Kaessman, Beta; Manakee, Harold R. and Wheeler, Joseph L. *My Maryland: Her Story for Boys and Girls.* rev. ed. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1971.
Maryland: A Picture History. Commentary by Carlton Jones. Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1976.
Van Devanter, Ann C. *Anywhere So Long As There Be Freedom: Charles Carroll of Carrollton, His Family and His Maryland.* Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1975.

Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland: A Royal Placeman's Fortunes in America

DAVID W. JORDAN

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE OF CHELSEA, ENGLAND, GAINED APPOINTMENT as royal secretary of Maryland in 1692, a post he would hold for most of the period until his death in 1714. Lawrence was a controversial placeman, but like most of the contemporary imperial bureaucracy, he remains largely an unknown figure. Secretaries, customs collectors and naval officers as well as governors arrived in North American colonies in unprecedented numbers in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, as the mother country sought to extend her control over colonial affairs. Only the governors among these special immigrants, and not even all of them, or an occasional figure like Edward Randolph whose jurisdiction spanned several colonies, have received extended study. Yet individually and collectively, this burgeoning bureaucracy exerted an extraordinary influence greater than the impact of many more famous figures in England or America.[1]

Lesser placemen constitute a category of officials particularly distinct from their better known superiors, the governors. These more numerous subordinates were involved with place and patronage rather than with administration. They engaged in less of the necessary give and take which preoccupied the successful governor; armed with a commission from the crown, lesser placemen usually focused on extracting as much wealth as possible from their positions with slight regard for local sentiment or for the most effective, judicious execution of business. These men rarely intended to settle permanently in the colonies and they always looked to English officials, not local residents, for their ultimate source of identity and support. The governors often lent support and encouragement to lower ranking royal officials, but the chief executives were also likely to sacrifice their subordinates as expendable pawns in the continuing struggles between themselves and local politicians.

The following account of Sir Thomas Lawrence in the New World illuminates the career of one such placeman and suggests the critical impact these often neglected imperial bureaucrats could and did have in the colonies. Lawrence's involvement with Maryland lasted 23 years and extended through the tenures of four different royal governors and several temporary chief executives. No other

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The co-author of *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692*, Professor Jordan has also published numerous articles about Maryland's early development.

single individual, immigrant or native, had a more continuing role during the royal period of the colony's history from 1692 to 1715.

Before 1692, as a proprietary colony Maryland had relatively little experience with imperial bureaucrats. Most patronage resided in Lord Baltimore's control, except for the revenue and inspection officials appointed after passage of the Navigation Acts. Even these initial customs collectors, like Christopher Rousby, collector of Patuxent, owed their appointments to the recommendations received from Charles Calvert. Patronage went primarily to promising men who had settled in the colony. Increasingly, however, by the 1680s, these men came into conflict with the proprietary government and dispatched letters with their complaints to Whitehall officials in England. These negative reports had spurred moves to revoke Lord Baltimore's charter.[2]

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England brought in its wake a successful overthrow of the proprietary government in Maryland. The crown assumed control of the colony and thereby also acquired numerous additional positions to fill with royal appointees. One of these posts was the secretaryship of the province. Lawrence received his appointment as secretary in July of 1691, and by late September, he had also been commissioned as a councillor.[3]

Like a growing number of lesser English gentry, Lawrence hoped to increase his modest fortunes through the expanding imperial bureaucracy. The Lawrence family resided in Chelsea, Middlesex, and had proudly possessed its baronetcy since 1628. Lawrence, born about 1645, had matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford in 1661 and received his B.A. degree in February 1664/65. He may be the same Thomas Lawrence who returned to University College for a M.A. degree in 1668, but there is no doubt of his admittance to Middle Temple in 1664. There he surely made the acquaintance of William Blathwayt who became in the last quarter of the century the most influential dispenser of colonial favors and patronage. Little is known of Lawrence between his study at the Inns of Court and his Maryland appointment. He married Anne English of St. Clement's Dane in 1674 and they had at least two sons and a daughter. He probably served in some minor government post on the continent.[4]

The position which Lawrence acquired in 1691 was an extremely desirable office in the Maryland government, second only to the governorship in potential influence and profit, although a number of powers had been gradually whittled from the office during the course of the century. It was natural that the position drew the attention of non-colonists as well as Marylanders. Initially, the secretaryship had included "all functions not definitely assignable to the Governor or Chancellor." The secretary kept most of the provincial records, was the notary public, and appointed the clerks of the secretary's office, the provincial court and the county courts. He was always a councillor, and as such sat also in the upper house of the assembly. The income from the office, both substantial and complicated, arose from fees controlled by legislation and revenues bestowed as gifts from the proprietor. Most of the income accrued through the incumbent's control of official records and his position as notary, but after 1676 the secretary also received the lucrative license fees for ordinaries. He traditionally received a share of the profits of those clerks and deputies whom he appointed, and as the colony

expanded after mid-century with the creation of several new counties, this revenue became more substantial. From this varied income, the secretary was expected to pay the expenses of his office. It has been estimated that the office was worth at least £ 400 sterling annually in 1672 and probably £ 1,000 in 1725. Now at the disposal of the crown, it was certainly an office to be prized.[5]

Even before leaving England, Lawrence learned just how much this office was valued by others. He had successfully edged out any Maryland claimants for the position, but Sir Lionel Copley, the new royal governor of Maryland, was a more formidable rival. Copley shared with Lawrence a greater interest in the possible profits of Maryland officeholding than in any obligations to the colonists there; it was to be perhaps the only thing they would share in their new world ventures. Avariciously eyeing Lawrence's lucrative power to appoint county clerks, Copley learned that this power was once exercised by the governor, and he sought its return to his office. A vigilant Lawrence incurred his new superior's lasting enmity by battling successfully to retain these appointments and the revenue they generated. Whitehall officials, however, did forbid Lawrence to sell the clerkships, a controversial practice of his predecessors. His instructions entitled him to "receive yearly a fee or Gratuity of the tenth part of one year's value . . . of each place from such clerks as shall be nominated by him, the said Value to be estimated by the Governour and Council upon a vacancy." Copley, though obviously resentful of Lawrence's victory, made a public gesture of promising never to infringe "any law of Maryland to hurt Sir Thomas."[6]

Nonetheless, the ill-feeling between these two ranking royal officials of the colony was so explosive, Lawrence made a last minute change of plans in the early spring of 1692 to avoid sailing on the same vessel with Copley to Maryland.[7] The postponement cost Lawrence dearly; before the secretary arrived some months later, Copley had established an alliance with local leaders and had set in motion a vigorous campaign against Lawrence.[8]

Copley had found the elected representatives of the first royal assembly particularly anxious to strike at plural officeholding and high fees, grievances voiced during the revolution which had overthrown the proprietor three years earlier. Less anxious were the leaders of that revolt, now sitting in the upper house and enjoying many of these multiple offices and revenues. The burgesses insisted, however, on specifying each fee in an Act for Limitation of Officers' Fees. Copley, who was shrewdly seeking mutually advantageous compromises on all disputed issues, allowed the legislation to pass and took much satisfaction in the assembly's subsequently awarding him the 14 pence per ton port duty which Whitehall officials had explicitly denied him and had left in the proprietor's domain; Copley also received through the legislation half of the two shillings per hogshead export duty, an additional three pence per hogshead tax, a four pence per gallon liquor duty, and a special gift of 100,000 pounds of tobacco. He further succeeded in exacting vengeance on the absent Lawrence by approving a transfer from the secretary to the governor of revenue arising from the fees for ordinary licenses, and he cooperated in the assembly's stripping the secretary's office of other sources of income as well, some of which now went to Nehemiah Blakiston, Copley's primary confidante and co-conspirator on the council, and himself a minor royal placeman as customs collector of North Potomac River.[9]

When royal officials did not stand together, trouble inevitably ensued. The

assembly had quickly observed that the new secretary did not enjoy the support of the governor and was therefore quite vulnerable. Local leaders were rapidly learning how to discriminate between royal placemen and how to pit them against each other. At the moment, Lawrence seemed even less threatening than the arrogant Edward Randolph, surveyor general of customs, who visited Maryland in May of 1692 and initiated numerous actions against colonists for violations of the trade and navigation acts. This royal official posed a distinct problem, especially for several members of the council, and Copley further cemented his profitable alliance by staunchly supporting the local leadership in its battle against Randolph, a man whose authority the governor was sworn to uphold. In turn, the Marylanders actively defended the governor against Randolph's charges of extensive misconduct of office with respect to collection of customs duties and prosecution of alleged offenses. Most colonists came to view Copley as the best line of defense against Randolph and thus automatically took the governor's side against Lawrence as well.[10]

When Lawrence finally arrived the last week of September, the governor appeared firmly entrenched in power. Lawrence was accompanied by Lt. Governor Francis Nicholson, another royal official but one predisposed to oppose Copley and his clique and to support Randolph and Lawrence in any disputes, and many were immediately forthcoming.[11]

Lawrence was incensed to find his office stripped of many revenues and two locals—William Taylard and John Lewellin—enjoying full possession of the remaining profits in their performance of the secretary's duties. The two clerks resolutely declined to share with Sir Thomas the revenues accruing between the date of his commission and his arrival in Maryland. Acting in tandem with the governor, they made it very difficult for Lawrence to obtain full documentation of the actions taken against him in the previous six months. Copley, in preparing his own defense against the charges Randolph had dispatched to England, had of necessity relied heavily upon Lewellin and Taylard for doctoring of records. As a reward, the two men now occupied the clerkships of the council, the upper house, the secretary's office, the prerogative court, the provincial court, the land office and St. Mary's and Talbot counties. Questionable characters each, they could obligingly guarantee the governor that all of the various journals were in agreement and would contain nothing prejudicial to his position.[12]

When Lawrence appeared before the governor and council to take the oaths of his office, Copley demanded security of £ 2,000 before Lawrence could begin serving or even obtain custody of the records. Furthermore, Copley ruled that Lawrence's own bond for such security was not sufficient. The governor's mastery of the council became clear when each man in turn refused to stand security for Lawrence, who "being a meer Stranger and unacquainted in the Country" could not easily find security anywhere. The council finally agreed to allow Lawrence to execute his duties provisionally until the next meeting of the assembly, but also ruled that he would gain custody of the records only after they "can conveniently be perfected." Nor was Lawrence entitled, the council argued, to any of the profits of the office which accrued prior to his actual arrival in the colony. Copley endorsed this ruling, even though he himself was claiming gubernatorial revenues since the date of his appointment, not his arrival in Maryland.[13]

Lawrence nursed a legitimate grievance over his brusque treatment, but like

Randolph and other royal placemen, he found his reception very contingent on the governor's signals. Moreover, like most of his fellow bureaucrats, a seemingly single-minded pursuit of money—what the council called his "avaritious and greedy appetite" and "Ravenous Expectations"—and an arrogantly blind disregard of local attitudes quickly alienated the very colonists upon whom he must depend for any assistance. Extraordinary tact and diplomacy were required when interacting with these men who were seeing local positions of importance going to strangers. Lawrence demonstrated little if any sensitivity for their feelings, for their opinions about his responsibilities, or even for an impartial interpretation of the laws affecting his post. For example, while declaiming almost endlessly on the necessity of obeying the letter of the law or royal instructions when they were in his favor, Lawrence would conveniently ignore the text when it was to his detriment, as in his disregard of the clause in his commission requiring "the residence of the said Sir Thomas Lawrence in the said province." Technically, Lawrence was not entitled to the fees "from the date of his commission," as he greedily asserted.[14]

More illustrative of his avarice and contempt for local sentiment was the retaliatory course Sir Thomas quickly pursued. His most lucrative power still untouched by the assembly or council was the authority to appoint county clerks. Ignoring the special wording of the Whitehall instructions—"upon a Vacancy"—Lawrence busily proceeded in October of 1692 to dismiss the incumbents in the five most profitable county clerkships, two of the men being Taylard and Lewellin, and then to fill those vacancies with men who stood indebted to him for one-tenth of their profits, and, according to some observers, also for a considerable price for purchase of the new appointments. In some instances, Lawrence's appointees were qualified neither by age nor experience, and they had to subcontract for deputy clerks. These new officeholders included Lawrence's own dependent Thomas Briscoe, a minor; Thomas Gladman, who had come from England in Lawrence's entourage; and Charles Hynson, the son of a disaffected proprietary supporter and perhaps some distant relation of the secretary.[15]

One of the five clerks whom Lawrence continued in office, Cleborne Lomax in Charles county, swore later that a stipulation for retention had been that he pay the secretary one-tenth of the fees earned since the date of Lawrence's own commission and that the secretary would henceforth share fully one-half of the profits. It is unclear how much to believe of the testimony of Lomax and others who spoke against Lawrence; they were all men dependent on Copley, who was in a position to make such testimony profitable for them. Nonetheless, it is clear that Lawrence was indisputably driving difficult, and most likely illegal, bargains with the incumbent clerks. The justices "and other their good People of Ann Arundell County" petitioned in October against Lawrence's intention to remove a man who had faithfully served for many years in order to "impose a Stranger upon us for Clerk of this County a person altogether unacquainted with the same and in whome we dare not repose so great a trust." The council easily gathered incriminating depositions detailing the complaints of clerks and other irate county officials. Informing Lawrence of "the resentment this Board had taken at his proceeding so far," the council bundled the evidence together and dispatched it to England. They formally charged that Lawrence had ignored the provision that

offices were not to be sold and that he was supposed to receive one-tenth of the fees only upon natural vacancies, not forced ones, and the councillors reminded English officials that the value of the offices was to be set by the governor and council. They noted also that Sir Thomas was operating without security.[16]

These actions soon threw Lawrence into an unnatural alliance with other Marylanders disgruntled about the new government. Most of them had opposed the recent revolution and remained loyal at heart to the proprietor. Finding no solace in the actions of Copley, who had embraced the rebels, these displaced colonists turned to Lawrence, the next ranking official and a man clearly at odds with the governor, as someone who might lend comfort and support to their grievances. The council hastened to cite these very associations as additional evidence to discredit Lawrence for "associating caballing & advising and indeed conversing with none but the Kings open professed Enemies and Malignants to the present Government."[17]

That present government had a very loose definition for "professed Enemies and Malignants." It compassed anyone who challenged the status quo, which included some flagrant self-enrichment and disregard of the law by the governor and his intimate circle. Branded together were Lawrence, Randolph, Nicholson, Blathwayt, and Lord Baltimore in England, and locals who voiced any displeasure with the ruling clique. Two members of the council who declined to cooperate lost their positions. One, James Frisby, had openly opposed the revolution which made him suspect from the start, but Henry Jowles had been probably the most respected leader of the revolution. Finding himself edged aside in Copley's new circle, Jowles declined to accept the passive role of cipher which most of the councillors were assuming. He alone from the council extended support to Lawrence, whom he had almost certainly known as a fellow student at the Inns of Court. Lawrence now represented the only viable challenge to Copley, however weak that challenge might initially appear, and Jowles attached himself to the secretary. For unspecified reasons, Copley dismissed Jowles as chief military officer of Calvert on October 29, but the motivation was clearly Jowles' relationship with Lawrence, from whom the former now accepted appointment as clerk of Calvert. That immediately provoked Jowles' suspension from the council and from all other public offices for his "basely deserting" his commission.[18]

Lawrence himself was no less vulnerable, and a few months later came his dismissal from all offices. The charge was "several high crimes and misdemeanours," primarily dependent on testimony from Taylard and Lewellin. By the end of March, Lawrence was under the prison custody of the sheriff of Charles County with open disregard of judicial process and of the prisoner's personal rights. Once again, Taylard and Lewellin enjoyed possession of the secretary's office.[19]

Lawrence was still languishing in prison, under watchful eyes that almost precluded any visitors, when Copley died suddenly on September 9, 1693. A power struggle promptly ensued. Blakiston hastened to the capital and soon dispatched a faithful subordinate to arrest Jowles, the most serious potential rival still free in the colony. No one on the council dared to oppose Blakiston, but he carelessly misjudged the alienation of some other Marylanders, especially other former rebels in arms who had not shared so munificiently in spoils dispensed by the governor. Among these was Blakiston's brother-in-law John Coode, the

ostensible leader of the revolution, who had been completely excluded from office in the new royal government. Coode quickly gathered some neighbors and forced the release of Lawrence, no particular friend of Coode's but a royal appointee who might stop Blakiston.[20]

Lawrence and Blakiston were contending for control when delegates to the previously scheduled assembly convened in St. Mary's City in late September. The lower house addressed the dispute and ruled "nemine contradicente" that Lawrence's arrest had been illegal and the governor's actions improper, and it passed a vote of censure on Blakiston for illegal conduct as well. Just when Sir Thomas had apparently persuaded the reluctant council to recognize him as president through vitrue of his being first named in the council commission of 1691, Governor Edmund Andros of Virginia arrived to claim the post of chief executive. Andros' commission empowered him to succeed to the governorship of Maryland upon the death of Lt. Governor Nicholson and in the absence of Copley. Lawrence abruptly challenged that the wording was inappropriate, given Nicholson's absence and Copley's death. Most of the other councillors seized this opportunity to side with Andros and to avoid Lawrence's leadership; they later gratefully accepted patronage which Andros generously bestowed.[21]

Again, Lawrence in his eagerness and self-righteousness had antagonized a royal superior who might have helped him, and the secretary had given leading Marylanders further excuse to ignore his cause. Andros made Lawrence painfully conscious of his mistake. The secretary had just received the crown's ruling which disallowed the disputed legislation of 1692 denying ordinary license fees to him. The ruling had gone on to order restoration to Lawrence of those fees and of some others which had been transferred to Blakiston. Lawrence was to give only £ 1,000 as security, half the amount originally demanded. It was almost a complete vindication of Lawrence's position, but Governor Andros in council still declined to reinstate Lawrence fully. No public announcement was forthcoming of the crown's ruling, and Andros ignored both Lawrence and Jowles in the new commission for provincial court justives, nor did he allow either man salaries as councillors. The ultimate insult came October 2, when, in preparation for returning to Virginia, Andros passed over both men, the two senior councillors, to bestow the presidency of the council and responsibility as acting chief executive, on Nicholas Greenberry.[22]

The crown's order in council of September 18, 1693, completely restoring Lawrence to all offices and perquisites, reached the Chesapeake colonies by February, but Andros delayed until May the secretary's full reinstatement as secretary, president of the council, and chief justice of the provincial court. Lawrence had sufficiently learned the lesson of acquiescing quietly and accommodating a governor, at least for the moment. He did not raise immediate objection when Andros appropriated from the Maryland treasury £ 500 as reimbursement for his own very limited services as commander-in-chief over the previous seven months and £ 150 to Greenberry "upon Account as President." However, Lawrence soon registered protests in his letters to England, and he set about gathering complete and unaltered copies of council journals for mailing home. He had earlier refused to send the altered versions which Copley had ordered him to post without perusal. Now, in cooperation with Randolph who

was back in the colony, Lawrence speedily gathered documentation for their own extensive charges against the Copley regime.[23]

Lawrence entered in the summer of 1694 an unusual and brief period of cooperation with Maryland's executive authorities, a course rendered somewhat easier by the arrival of Francis Nicholson as the new governor. Still, neither a new superior nor a more accommodating tact could fully quell the distrust, suspicion and even outright opposition frequently directed at Lawrence by lesser officials, particularly justices and clerks and increasingly by members of the lower house. They could acknowledge injustices done to Sir Thomas in his arrest and imprisonment, they could even endorse some of Lawrence's claims to certain fees, and juries could decide cases in his favor against Taylard regarding allocation of revenues.[24] However, no governor or royal order could automatically rally these colonists to like the secretary and his patronage policies or to bestow on him any revenues which they wished to dispose of otherwise.

Lawrence was either unaware of this widespread hostility in 1694, or more likely, he was callously confident that he could successfully disregard it. Nicholson had wholeheartedly endorsed Lawrence's cause, sought his close counsel, and the two senior royal officers in Maryland wasted no time in demonstrating which side now had the upper hand. Patronage was always the most dramatic and visible weapon of reward or punishment; Nicholson relied heavily on Lawrence's advice and the secretary's allies soon replaced most of his enemies in new commissions, with even John Coode finally gaining preferment again for his role in securing Lawrence's release from prison. Special vengeance was reserved for nemeses Lewellin and Taylard who lost all of their posts.[25]

While Nicholson's diligence in recruiting able and honest officials and in punishing and discharging incompetent or dishonest men worked essentially to reward the secretary's friends and punish his enemies, Nicholson was more astute than Lawrence and always had higher goals of responsible government than did the secretary. Indeed during Nicholson's sojourn in Maryland, he often forsook possible revenues and contributed generously from his own pocket in his efforts to encourage the development of schools and churches. While dedicated absolutely to the royal prerogative and its defense, Nicholson was also keenly aware of local grievances and needs. Here as in Virginia, his efforts at reform often found support more among the less fortunate majority than among the rising elite which was benefitting most from the status quo.[26] Lawrence, in contrast, could usually muster support in Maryland only among those local men dedicated blindly to upholding royal appointees, from those beholden in some way to the secretary, or from men who saw an opportunity to use Lawrence for their own purposes.

The assembly which gathered in September of 1694 reflected particularly this last attitude while continuing an uneasiness about royal placemen in general and Lawrence in particular. Expressing the obligation to "doe Equall Right to all their Majesties good & faithful Subjects," the lower house again declared Copley's proceedings against the secretary to have been "both Arbitrary & illegal." The delegates described Lawrence as "a protestant, a Loyal subject to their Majestys of great & good Service to the Country & both liberall and Generous in promoteing & Contributeing to what may tend to the good & wellfare of the publick." This

overly fulsome praise arose in part from the influential role in this assembly of several of Lawrence's most ardent supporters, especially William Dent. More important, however, was the widespread awareness of the possible services Lawrence might render on his announced return to England. The secretary's influence in Whitehall had not been lost on the assembly, which desired effective representation with respect to several critical pieces of legislation before the Privy Council, particularly a new act establishing the Church of England in the colony and another founding a school in the province. The assembly also wanted Lawrence to attempt recovery of the £ 500 Andros had awarded himself, no small amount for a colony presently in debt. Lawrence had further curried their favor with contributions of 5,000 pounds of tobacco toward building a free school and 2,000 pounds of tobacco promised as an annual gift toward maintaining school masters as long as Lawrence remained as secretary. These gifts had followed Nicholson's example, as did a further pledge of 1,000 pounds of tobacco to each county toward the building of houses for the ministers whom the colony hoped to attract. The assembly, in turn, could afford to be generous in its language and partially to vindicate Lawrence by passing a bill restoring to the secretary's office fees for ordinary licenses, as the crown had instructed. Significantly, however, the assembly made this a temporary act only, to "endure for three years or to the end of the next Session of Assembly which shall first happen." Lawrence's other fees reduced by law in 1692 were not restored to their former levels, and the upper house declined to support his pleas for payment of search fees by Lord Baltimore's agents seeking access to land records. Finally, angered by Lawrence's patronage practices and the mounting intrusion of immigrant officeseekers, this assembly also passed the Act for Incouragement of Learning and Advancement of the Natives which established a three-year residence as prerequisite to holding most positions of profit not awarded directly by the crown. This act should clearly have conveyed to Lawrence the burgesses' response to his appointments of dependents and outsiders to the clerkships.[27]

For the time being, Sir Thomas was in an uneasy accommodation of sorts with Marylanders, but the truce owed much to the strong backing of the new governor in his own "honeymoon" period, to the assembly's awareness it could temporarily use the secretary for its own purposes, and to Lawrence's temporary strategy of cooperation. But Lawrence and other minor royal placemen rarely pursued conciliatory tactics for any extended period, nor could they always count on governors or local support being automatic. These placemen invariably worked more assiduously on maintaining and currying support in England, usually in hopes of obtaining an even better position with more income. They were royal officials foremost and not officers in a colonial government with which they identified. Lawrence's proposed trip to England was characteristic. He wanted to renew important contacts and through the auspices of new allies Randolph and Nicholson to establish valuable new connections.

By mid-November, Lawrence had sufficiently arranged his affairs to depart for the mother country. With his colleagues' approval, he left Councillor Thomas Brooke as his deputy secretary and notary. Less popular was Lawrence's last minute appointment of his son, Thomas, Jr., as clerk of Talbot. This youth was not of age, had not been a resident for three years, and may not have even been

in the colony at the time. The appointment flagrantly ignored the new legislation. In turn, the Talbot justices, who had never accepted Lawrence's appointment of Thomas Gladman in 1692, ignored this new commission and continued John Valiant, the clerk whom they had illegally appointed themselves two years before. The dispute over the rightful clerk continued for three years and kept Lawrence's name unfavorably before the colonists even while he was away from Maryland.[28]

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas could not escape personal difficulties simply by departing from the colony. French seamen seized the ship on which Lawrence was traveling, and they detained him in prison for some months.[29] The pirates apparently released him sometime before July, 1695, when Lawrence was in London soliciting the colony's affairs and his own interests. The first order of business was to present evidence in his behalf to the court at Whitehall which subsequently dismissed all outstanding complaints and accusations against him. Lawrence also obtained a ruling entitling him to a half-share in any fees arising from searches in the land records.[30]

Sir Thomas was to remain in England for approximately six months. His duties as colonial agent had more mixed results. To his sincere regret, he was unable to obtain royal approval for the legislation establishing the Church of England and the free school at Annapolis. An unfortunate reference to the application of English law in the province, some objectionable details of the organizations of church vestries and the school's governing board, and the active lobbying of English Quakers before the Privy Council combined to bring vetoes in early January of 1695/96 of all bills involved. Lawrence was more successful, however, in his cooperative efforts with Henry Compton, Bishop of London, and Thomas Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to raise funds for the Maryland church, to acquire parish libraries, and to recruit ministers. His efforts were also quite salutary in the appointment of Thomas Bray as commissary for the church in Maryland. Furthermore, with the assistance of Tenison and of Lord Lonsdale, Lawrence had succeeded in gaining an order in council for Edmund Andros to return £ 300 or the £ 500 he had appropriated for his services in 1693–94.[31]

Lawrence had returned to Maryland by early August of 1696. Nicholson now enjoyed much less widespread support in the colony, as his attempted reforms and general administration had begun to chafe many local political leaders.[32] This should have been a clear warning to Sir Thomas. Instead, he plowed ahead in his usual fashion and quickly squandered any good will generated by his activities as agent in England. Abandoning any strategy of compromise or humility, Lawrence presented the assembly with claims for reimbursement for the time he had served as president of the council from May 8 to July 26, 1694. Their first encounter with him upon his return, then, was to see the avaricious aspect of his tenure. The burgesses awarded him £ 50 from the £ 300 he had retrieved for them from Andros. Lawrence was not satisfied and demanded money then for his services in England. Upon his appointment as agent in 1694, the assembly had voted him £ 60 as an "Encouragement." This would have been a normal salary for two years as a councillor, but since Lawrence held a separate office of profit, he did not qualify for a regular council salary. Lawrence's careful scrutiny of past records had disclosed that Blakiston had received £ 30 per annum despite holding another office of profit, and Sir Thomas, instead of denouncing this illegality, now argued

that he was similarly entitled to double income. He complained that he had "received nothing from the Country for all the Services he had done them." The lower house, decidedly unimpressed, responded that it had already sufficiently gratified him. Lawrence snidely derided the assembly's low opinion of his services and declined a conditional £ 50 promised him if he obtained passage of three controversial bills then pending royal approval.[33]

A few weeks later, Lawrence appealed unsuccessfully to the governor and council for enlargement of his fees, and he subsequently registered his appeals in England also. Maryland looked no better now that it had on his first arrival four years previously, and he was acting no differently himself. He wrote home that "these ill bred and ungratefull people" would give him nothing for his troubles for them in England, that he could never get over half of his yearly profits from people in the colony, and that if a vacancy occurred in the agency in Portugal, he would welcome an appointment there.[34]

By June of 1697, Sir Thomas was already planning his return to England, a trip he did not receive permission to make for another year. It was an unpleasant period, during which Lawrence almost died from a distemper. The provincial court threw out his ill-considered suit against Greenberry for complicity in the 1692–92 actions against the secretary and for accepting the £ 150 salary as president of the council which Lawrence was claiming should rightfully have been his; the council denied Lawrence's subsequent appeal. Further efforts to increase his revenues also failed miserably, and the assembly even declined to reappoint him as its agent in England.[35]

Despite this unpleasant situation, the governor still sent fulsome praise of Lawrence to influential Englishmen. Both Nicholson and Sir Thomas always professed the highest regard for each other and fostered each other's career. The secretary was obliged, Nicholson wrote in numerous letters, for reasons of health to move where winters were shorter and more moderate. He characterized Lawrence as a pious and zealous son of the church, a constant asserter of monarchy and wholly devoted to His Majesty's interests. The governor failed to mention how hostile Marylanders were to the secretary or how devoted Sir Thomas was to his own enrichment, noting only that the secretary had often suffered in estate as well as in health.[36]

Lawrence clearly intended this to be a permanent departure from Maryland. He always felt more at home and encountered more favorable support in London than in Annapolis, and by early November he had even obtained a favorable order in council regarding his claims to Greenberry's £ 150. But having tendered his resignation as secretary of Maryland, he encountered less success in his efforts over the next two years to receive a more lucrative appointment where the climate would be more congenial and the locals less antagonistic to his schemes.[37] He had managed, however, to keep the Maryland secretaryship in the family, securing it for his younger son Thomas, who was commissioned by the crown September 5, 1698 and served until his death April 15, 1701.[38]

Lawrence's personal fortunes had not improved when word reached London by June 12, 1701 of his son's death. Undoubtedly with some sense of despair and necessity, Lawrence petitioned to be reappointed as secretary of Maryland to succeed his son; the commission, dated July 11, 1701, explicitly required that he

return to Maryland within four months or the appointment would be void. Furthermore, he was not reappointed to the council; Lawrence would return to the colony with less stature and power than during his previous term. Nonetheless, he met the conditions and left England September 10.[39]

Nathaniel Blakiston, the nephew of Lawrence's old nemesis Nehemiah Blakiston, was now the governor of Maryland, since Nicholson had been transferred to the more prestigous post of chief executive of Virginia. Blakiston was a more pliable individual who had reached a comfortable accommodation with the local leaders. Without completely sacrificing the royal prerogative, Blakiston interfered less in the governance of Maryland and allowed the colonists greater discretion in the conduct of local government. He understood their sensitivity regarding non-local officers. For example, when the council had considered Lawrence's appeal in July, 1699, for reimbursement of the £ 150 which Whitehall had endorsed, Blakiston had not opposed the decision to award Lawrence only £ 50 while allowing the remaining £ 100 to stay in the estate of Greenberry, now deceased. That same month, Blakiston had also approved a new act of assembly limiting officers' fees, which had slightly reduced the income of the secretary's office. Furthermore, the assembly in 1699 with Blakiston's concurrence had rescinded the "permanent" act of 1695 which Nicholson had skillfully achieved to guarantee the secretary's rights to ordinary license fees; once again, the statute became a temporary law, limited to three-years duration.[40]

No one in power in 1701 was likely to champion Sir Thomas' cause upon his arrival in November. Indeed, many were well disposed to attack him. Once again, William Taylard, now married to John Lewellin's widow, was ensconced in the powerful clerkships of the lower house, the secretary's office, the provincial court, the prerogative office and of Anne Arundel county, where Lawrence's former protege Henry Denton had died. Lawrence was reluctantly obliged to continue Taylard in all of these posts.[41] A more serious opponent was William Bladen, the clerk of the council who had made a dramatic rise in the colony since his arrival in 1691. Now, as a wealthy, permanent resident of the colony, he enjoyed the respect and support of most Marylanders; moreover, he still commanded significant influence in England through his well placed family.[42] When Lawrence, Jr., had died, Bladen had received from Blakiston an appointment as temporary secretary; Blakiston had also strongly recommended his close ally Bladen to English authorities for the permanent appointment. Lawrence's return incurred Bladen's deep-seated resentment, and the two men became formidable rivals.[43]

Circumstances clearly dictated that Lawrence assume a more cautious and less aggressive posture in Maryland, and he accordingly raised little stir over the next two years, except for his conflicts with proprietary agents Charles Carroll and Henry Darnall over a half share of land office fees.[44] It was during these years that the emerging native elite first achieved dominance in the assembly. These Marylanders evidenced a keener suspicion of outsiders and a greater jealousy over local rights and access to positions of power and profit than had their predecessors of the 1690s. New immigrants intending to settle permanently as well as placemen like Lawrence confronted a stiffening in attitude and a greater difficulty in mobility. Interactions between governors and colonists and especially battles over lesser royal officials increasingly reflected the presence of different

world views. Francis Nicholson had astutely detected the beginnings of this phenomenon during his tenure. A prophetic letter of July 1, 1699 to the Board of Trade had brought Whitehall's attention to the diverging interests of mother country and colony. Nicholson warned that the new local orientation of the assembly would lead to passage of acts which Marylanders "will imagine for the good of their Country, and made and serve an Interest with the People. But their doing one or more of these things may be very prejudicial to his Majesty's Interest and Service." Henceforth, Nicholson predicted, any royal governor must "be esteemed by the people to be a lover of them and their Country, and not that he be sent, or come, to make or retrieve a fortune."[45]

Nicholson might well have extended his observations to cover other royal appointees, for Sir Thomas Lawrence, already a major contributor to that local suspicion, became the subject of the first major clash along the lines which the retiring governor had shrewdly forecast. Lawrence had never been esteemed by Marylanders to be a lover of them or their country, as indeed he was not; furthermore, colonists had ample reason for regarding him as obsessed with making or retrieving a fortune. His two years back in Maryland, even with a lower profile, had sufficiently reacquainted the colonists with Lawrence's avarice and his disdain for them. The emerging native or country party made ready to challenge this most vulnerable officeholder.

The assault began in earnest in the fall of 1703. Blakiston, himself with sights higher than the Maryland governorship, had returned to England. Thomas Tench, president of the council, summoned a session of the assembly to lay the public levy. The Act for Regulating Ordinaries was due to expire at the end of the session, and the lower house seized this opportunity, in the absence of a governor, to draft a bill transferring the license fees from the secretary to the justices of each county court who would apply the revenue toward defraying the public charges. To the regret of the burgesses, Tench dissassented to the bill.[46]

A new governor, John Seymour, arrived the following spring and summoned the assembly to convene April 26. It was to be a brief session, since to Seymour's surprise, this assembly had been sitting for over three years and it had been elected in the name of the now deceased King William. Still, the delegates were anxious to pass a revision of the statute on ordinaries. Lawrence vigorously protested that the fees were a perquisite of his office and constituted one-third of his profits. A joint committee of the two houses argued persuasively that these revenues did not inherently belong to the crown, but could be appropriated as the assembly saw fit. The men considered their designation of the fees "to be more to the advantage and interest of the Province," than if the money went to the secretary. Seymour was uneasy about acting until he had studied the matter further, and after efforts failed to pass a bill with a suspension clause, he finally convinced the burgesses to defer the issue until a new assembly met in the fall. Meanwhile, in the absence of any legislation, Lawrence had no authority to collect the fees for 1703 or 1704.[47]

Clearly, no Maryland assembly was likely ever again to bestow the license fees on Lawrence or any outsider. Whether this realization was the stimulus or not, Lawrence again made plans to return to England where he could expect a more

sympathetic hearing. On May 22, three weeks after the close of the assembly session, he applied to Seymour for leave to depart. Lawrence stressed that "his office was of late much lessened and Impaired as likewise his health." After examining Lawrence's commission and learning that the office could be exercised temporarily by a deputy, Seymour extended approval for the leave.[48]

Before actually departing in June, Lawrence attempted to settle some of his affairs. To avoid prosecution for a debt he was unable to pay at that time, he signed over to Bladen, under pressure, claims in excess of £ 400 which the secretary held against various Marylanders, as well as signing over all anticipated profits from his office to Bladen as security for the debt. Lawrence appointed his close friend William Dent as his personal attorney and agent to supervise collection of the money and settlement of the debt. Dent died within four months, however, and Bladen, with the governor's backing, assumed management of Lawrence's affairs, a control Bladen would exercise for two years despite Lawrence's subsequent empowering of other agents. During these years, Bladen enjoyed unhampered authority to collect and dispose of the secretary's revenues. Lawrence later estimated that he suffered a loss of nearly £ 1,000 for the years 1703–1705.[49]

Lawrence's vulnerability became even clearer in September when the new assembly convened. The lower house succeeded in obtaining Seymour's consent to "An Act for regulating of Ordinarys," without a suspension clause, which vested the revenues in county justices to defray public costs. The statute was to be in effect for three years.[50] In the next session, the burgesses struck again at the secretary's revenues. They revised the table of fees allowed the primary offices of profit in the colony, with the secretary's office probably the hardest hit. This session also reenacted the lapsed Act for Advancement of Natives.[51]

Lawrence's claims to part of the land office income also came under scrutiny. According to the royal order of 1695/96, he was entitled to receive half of all fees accruing from searches of land records for warrants and patents. The ruling did not resolve the disagreement between the proprietor and the secretary about access to land records, nor did it please the colonists who blamed Lawrence, rightly or wrongly, for the recent increase in the purchase price of land from an original 50 or 100 pounds of tobacco for every 50 acres, according to the location of the land, to 480 pounds for every 100 acres. In 1704, Charles Carroll, clerk of the land office, defended the increase as necessary because of the allotment of half of the fees to the secretary. If free access to land records were restored to proprietary agents, Carroll promised, then 240 pounds of the tobacco cost of land would be dropped. The assembly, with whom the secretary was no favorite, was eager to strike a bargain and did so.[52]

While matters could scarcely have been proceeding any worse for Lawrence in Maryland, he was finding his customary solace in England. After fully hearing Sir Thomas' case, the Board of Trade endorsed his position and wrote to Seymour not to pass any act whereby the "just and usual" fees of a patent officer would be diminished and to justify promptly his earlier acquiescence in such an action. Lawrence's requests were to receive "all due encouragement" from the governor.[53] The crown extended the secretary's leave of absence from 18 months to an

indefinite period as one slight compensation for his hardships, and he continued to petition in Whitehall and to write Maryland officials in frustrated efforts to collect the money he was convinced was due him.[54]

The more adamant and shrill Lawrence became, the more entrenched became attitudes in the colony against him. The council, influenced by Seymour and Bladen, expressed resentment in September of 1706 about Lawrence's "unjust Reflections" and "very ungratefull Return" against the governor, clerk and themselves. They spoke of "a colourable pretense of some hardship done to Sir Thomas when indeede there is not any," and in carefully constructed prose they presented their own case. An even stronger defense a short time later concluded "We cannot but wonder why any Gentleman should use such base means to move Commiseration, and are Extreamly Sorry Sir Thomas Lawrence's [unworthy] Calumny on our Governor has obliged this our just Refutation."[55]

The lower house made no concessions when Seymour passed along the royal request for reinstatement of Lawrence's former revenues. Indeed, with each session the burgesses became more confident and assertive that the ordinary license fees were not historically a part of the royal revenue, but went to the secretary because the assembly had voted them so, and if the assembly decided to direct them otherwise, it could.

We have, they asserted in April, 1706, no

> "Reason to believe our most gracious Queene will deny her royal Assent to any Law Enacted here for the good of this Province upon the bare Insinuation of private or particular persons whose Interest leads them to think or say the Contrary Especially where they do not (as the Act for Ordinary Lycenses does not) lessen her Majestys Officers Just Fee they being limitted by another Act of Assembly for that purpose."[56]

Seymour himself was trapped in a delicate position. While committed to upholding the royal prerogative, the governor was not exerting the full power of his office to redress Lawrence's grievances. Seymour was not convinced of the secretary's position, and his own relations with Lawrence were strained. Furthermore, he was reluctant to alienate the assembly and to jeopardize his own ambitious program to reform the colony's judicial system, which carried for him a higher priority and was already generating enough opposition as it was. Seymour remained content to deliver to each assembly the latest petitions from Lawrence and requests from royal officials, accompanied only by perfunctory admonitions. Seymour allowed the burgesses and councillors to voice their own strong objections to Lawrence, while excusing himself, except occasionally to rally the council to endorse officially the integrity of his own endeavors in Sir Thomas' behalf. "Because I would not lye under the Imputation of any ill natured person," he wrote on March 6, 1706/07, "I begg your Lordshipps will excuse the trouble of the Inclosed Representation from the Council here, who having been upon the Spott are best Sencible how well or ill I have deserved from that Gentleman." Seymour warned his superiors that with the Act of 1704 on Ordinaries due to expire in 1707, "The Assembly will be very unwilling to anex that perquisite to Sir Thomas Lawrences, Her Majestys Secretarys Office without Some Order to oblige them So to do."[57]

Not even such an order was sufficient. By the fall of 1707, Lawrence had convinced Whitehall officials to recommend that the crown disallow the act of 1704 and that a permanent act be passed bestowing the benefit of license fees on the secretary. It had taken so long for Lawrence to obtain this decision in the byzantine colonial bureaucracy, however, that the Privy Council addressed the attorney general's recommendation only after the three-year statute had already expired. The Lords consequently decided to recommend to Seymour their dislike of that previous law and to convey the royal wish that he not approve passage of any other such law. If possible, Seymour was to push for restoration of the fees to the secretary, and meanwhile the Lords would examine Lawrence's allegations about claims of over £ 600 denied him. In the typically slow fashion of transacting colonial business, the letter to Seymour was not dispatched until January 15, 1707/08, three months after the decision to send it, and it appears that Lawrence himself was finally serving as a bearer of messages between offices in an effort to speed up the process.[58]

Even this instrument of royal pleasure and displeasure had little effect in Maryland. Seymour's relations with the assembly had deteriorated badly. Voters had returned to two successive assemblies "Stiffnecked" men, "very backward" and "Country borne," according to the governor; in any event, they resolutely opposed Seymour on all the issues he espoused, and retribution for Lawrence was not even that high on the chief executive's agenda. The burgesses insisted on passing an ordinance which continued to vest the fees in the county justices "until her Majesty's Pleasure be further known." The local leaders addressed the Queen with still another explanation of their position and noted that since "the Fees of the Secretary's Office is vastly increased of late through the Multitude of Business therein," Lawrence should not complain.[59]

Seymour filled his next letters to the Board of Trade with apologies, excuses and attacks on the "restless and pernicious Crew" who were behind the assembly's general obstinancy. He bewailed the absence of "any person of liberall Education" in the assembly and lamented "it was too difficult a Taske for me, to graft good manners on so barren a Stock." He especially lashed out at the "Specious pretence of the Encouragement of Learning," the act for advancement of natives, which barred newly settled English subjects from holding offices of trust and profit. Seymour even supplied figures on a number of talented men who had been unwilling to settle under these conditions. With such unfortunate discrimination and catering to "the Country borne (as they call 'em)," Seymour noted "no Ingenious Men capable of serving her Majesty of the Province will come here to Starve So Long a Terme."[60]

The problem was much more complicated. Lawrence, for example, was not just an "Ingenious" man and he was scarcely starving. He and others had no pretense of settling in Maryland, nor was he seeking merely a reasonable income or advantage. The income of few individuals in the colony equalled the legitimate profits of his posts. Locals knew this and were also aware that Lawrence never initiated any particular improvements in the administrative system he oversaw; to the contrary, he often introduced greater confusion by his appointments and his frequent absences. Sir Thomas was the primary example Marylanders saw of

outside office-seekers, and if he was the wave of the future, a maturing local polity wanted little part of it.

Lawrence would have joined in rare agreement with Seymour who lamented in 1708/09 that "the Natives who are ignorant and raw in business and naturally proude and obstinate, are not only the Representatives in Assembly but the Justices of the County Courts; and by the name of Country Borne distinguish themselves from the rest of her Majestys' Subjects. . . . They know little of the laws and good manners they practice less."[61] Clearly both men, in their anger and smugness, underestimated the talents of their Maryland opponents, and that miscalculation proved their mutual undoing.

Seymour eventually acknowledged that Lawrence could receive justice only through an act of Parliament or through some other legal power in Britain, for the assembly showed not the slightest inclination to heed the royal directive. Lawrence seemed the last person the burgesses were willing to oblige, Seymour reported, and the assembly was so suspicious of Lawrence's ability to obtain his way in England, it would approve of nothing which left any possibility of his attaining access to the revenues.[62]

Indeed, Lawrence was the last person the assemblymen would gratify. After Seymour's death and in the absence of another governor in residence for five years, the council's dutiful obedience to royal requests to restore the fees went nowhere, as the lower house steadfastly refused to cooperate. "It was high crime for any man to act as attorney or appear as friend to Lawrence," reported Philemon Lloyd, whom Seymour had appointed as Lawrence's deputy in the colony; Lloyd even begged to be discharged, claiming that hostility toward Lawrence and the office were leading colonists to look upon Lloyd himself with an "evil eye" and that other profits of the office would be attacked next. Anyone who spoke in behalf of Lawrence or the office was seen as an "enemy to the country." Lawrence's opponents, led by Bladen, were now even denying that Sir Thomas was legally the secretary.[63]

Lawrence, by now surely a weary man, continued to roam the corridors of Whitehall and to petition regularly to the Lords of Trade. He had sheafs of paper covered with figures which allegedly substantiated his claims to lost revenues, although the Maryland council, the governor, and according to Seymour, even Lawrence's own agents in the colony had disputed the calculations as "soe Extravagant that it [£ 600] is almost two-thirds more than what they truly amount to." Beyond the tabulations, Lawrence had letters from Seymour's own people and from the secretary's few supporters which accused the governor of laxity in Sir Thomas' behalf, charged the assembly with deviously and deliberately not forwarding its ordinance of December 1708 to England, and finally attacked Bladen for conspiring to have Lawrence's commission declared void. Robert Quarry, the royal surveyor of customs who held appointment to the Maryland council, had informed Lawrence that Maryland juries, with much encouragement to do so, were now resolved always to render verdicts against the secretary, rightly or wrongly.[64] Sir Thomas had carefully detailed the entire controversy in a four-page printed tract, "The Case of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Bart., Secretary of her Majesty's Province of Maryland." In its conclusion, he had appealed for an

investigating commission, to include either Quarry or Nicholson, to examine the case in Maryland.[65]

For the limited good it did Lawrence, he was again vindicated by colonial officials and the crown. An order of the Queen in Council, dated March 30, 1710, declared the ordinance of 1708 illegal, restated support of Lawrence's case, and directed the new governor to obtain a law restoring the fees to the secretary's office.[66] But a new governor would not go out for another four years as the Board of Trade, in exceedingly leisurely fashion, disregarded the urgent pleas of Quarry and others that a governor be sent immediately to uphold the royal prerogative. Lawrence found himself in the familiar pattern of petitioning and waiting. Earlier royal orders were not producing the money he needed, and he asked again and again for satisfaction. In October, 1712, still another letter from the Queen in his behalf was sent to Maryland.[67]

Meanwhile, the assembly in November of 1711 had fulfilled Lloyd's prophecy of 1709 in lashing out at other aspects of the secretary's office. Lloyd's brother was acting chief executive as president of the council and managed to forestall most of the attacks.[68] In 1713 after receipt of the Queen's commands of 1710 and 1712, the delegates brazenly declined to concur. They claimed that Lawrence was not meeting the terms of his commission and charged that he and his deputy were receiving over one-third, rather than just one-tenth, of the yearly profits of some of the clerkships and that Lawrence had rented out his offices against instructions. The burgesses strongly voiced their position in an address to the Queen.[69]

"When can you think there will be an End of It whilst the Secretary continues to make his Clamour," the upper house had asked the burgesses during the debate. Certainly not as long as Sir Thomas had breath to speak. He busily lobbied all the winter of 1713–14 particularly since a new governor, John Hart, would soon depart for the colony. But the end finally did come April 25, 1714 with Lawrence's death.[70]

Apparently Lawrence's personal claims were soon dropped and never officially settled. He left no known heirs and the baronetcy became extinct. Interesting developments did ensue with respect to the office. Hart, before leaving England, conferred with Lord Baltimore who confessed he had bestowed the license fees on the secretary "not as secretary but purely as his Relation and that if ever he had the Government again He would reassume those Fines." Hart therefore concluded that under the royal government, the "Right of them was in the crown." Accordingly, he asked the assembly to pass a law determining what the fees should be and positing them in the crown; he indicated his desire that during his tenure the revenues be applied toward building a house for the governor, a project long delayed for lack of funds. The burgesses sensed a partial victory over the previous claims of Lawrence and the current objections of Lloyd; the assembly accepted Hart's proposal, but for unexplained reasons, no law was passed.[71]

Within the year, Charles Lord Baltimore died, and when his Protestant son Benedict Leonard Calvert succeeded him, the colony was restored to proprietary control. The secretaryship became a proprietary rather than royal appointment. Baltimore's spokesmen and the assembly disagreed for several years on resolution

of the fees dispute. In a cleverly worded compromise in 1717, legislation passed which bestowed the fees on Lord Baltimore without affirming or denying the "undoubted right" the proprietor had claimed. Half of the revenues arising from any forfeitures under the Act for Regulating Ordinaries were to go for the use of public schools in each county. Without a clear title to the funds, by mid-century the proprietor had abandoned his claims on them as a right. The revenue was generally applied to defraying the public charges.[72]

Most historians have paid little attention to this lengthy confrontation in the colony's history, or like Donnell M. Owings, the foremost student of patronage in Maryland, have considered the struggle a "long and singularly tiresome dispute."[73] Such a view misses the importance of this conflict in the broader history of Maryland and particularly slights the significance of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Tiresome the battle may have been, but for the colonists and for upholders of the royal prerogative the conflict was most serious, immediate and far-reaching. The struggle over the ordinary license fees was but the most salient of the critical issues which this royal placeman posed for this colony from 1691 to 1714, just a few months short of encompassing the entire royal period of the colony's history.

At a time when a native elite was emerging in the colony, Sir Thomas Lawrence provided the most clearly defined symbol of what these men were not. His title, a reminder itself of the earlier unsuccessful attempt to implant a titled aristocracy in Maryland, his haughty manner, doubtless his dress, and certainly his refusal even to consider himself a Marylander or to appreciate the perspective of the "natives," all served to set him apart. Other men might also greedily seek profits from office and might neglect the general interest of the entire colony, but at least they were usually from the colony's own population. Not surprisingly the new country-born leadership first coalesced in its opposition to him and measured its increasing strength over two decades by the victories it scored over the secretary and his often impressive allies.

Lawrence's aspirations, his attitudes toward Marylanders, and his difficulties in interacting with the colonists had parallels in the experiences of lesser royal placemen in other colonies. The careers of these men demonstrate that a placeman's first concern was place, not administration, that the scramble for patronage and perquisites usually involved much less than the best interests of the colonists themselves, and that the scramble would almost certainly antagonize them. An intelligent, shrewd governor, with more powers at his disposal, like Francis Nicholson, might for a brief period manipulate local factionalism in his own or the crown's or the colony's interest, but lesser, more ordinary imperial bureaucrats were more likely to be caught in the crossfire of local disputes, to provide a focus for common opposition among otherwise disparate colonists, and often to find themselves without any viable support in the respective colony except for uncertain backing from the governor. With varying priorities and styles and personalities, odds remained high that not even the governor would remain in one's camp for long. His goals were different, and a subordinate royal appointee with independent ties to London was always a serious potential rival. A commission from the crown and continuing gestures of support from Whitehall counted for little in the face of entrenched colonial opposition, and few men enjoyed sufficient

patronage or standing at home to gain preferment to another post. Lawrence sadly learned that lesson.

In the old parish church in Chelsea, where Lawrence was buried, there remain today mementoes of the Lawrence family and especially of Sir Thomas' sojourn in Maryland. Several embroidered kneelers commemorate Maryland and Lawrence's motto *Deo Non Fortuna Fretus*, "Trust in God and Not in Fortune."[74] Had Lawrence been more mindful of that admonition or had displayed in his own lifetime less fascination with material gain, his association with Maryland might have been less frustrating and unpleasant.

References

1. The best study to date of such a figure is Michael Garibaldi Hall's *Edward Randolph and the American Colonies 1676–1703* (Chapel Hill, 1960). While scholars have mined the voluminous correspondence of these officeholders for commentary on particular events, the men themselves, like Robert Quarry, Randolph's successor, remain relatively obscure figures. They deserve prosopographical study of the calibre which Stephen Saunders Webb has recently given to the royal governors, with whom these colonial bureaucrats worked closely. See Webb's " 'Brave Men and Servants to his Royal Highness': The Household of James Stuart in the Evolution of English Imperialism," *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1974): 55–82; "Army and Empire: English Garrison Government in Britain and America, 1569 to 1763," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (1977): 1–31; and *The Governors-General: The British Army and the Definition of Empire, 1569–1681* (Chapel Hill, 1979).
2. Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 92–101, 179–180; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland As A Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), pp. 460–464.
3. Board of Trade Journal, 1691–1695, July 29, 1691, f. 40, Pennsylvania Historical Society (transcription of original in Public Record Office, London); William Hand Browne *et al.*, eds., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date: Baltimore, 1883–), 8: 283.
4. G.E. Cockayne, *Complete Baronetage 1611–1800* (5 vols., Exeter, 1900–1906), 2: 61; Chelsea Parish Register 1653–1704, P74/LUK/162, Greater London Record Office; Alfred Beaver, *Memorials of Old Chelsea* (London, 1892), p. 89; n.a., "Chelsea Old Church—Kneelers," Chelsea Old Church Library, London. Lawrence was quite familiar with Portugal and may have served there earlier in his career. Lawrence to John Ellis, March 25, 1697, Add. Mss. 28,881, British Museum. On Blathwayt, see Gertrude Jacobsen, *William Blathwayt: A Late Seventeenth Century Administrator* (New Haven, 1932) and Stephen Saunders Webb, "William Blathwayt, Imperial Fixer: From Popish Plot to Glorious Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (1968): 3–21.
5. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 6, 30–34. County clerkships were generally worth £ 80+ in the early 1690s and more by the end of the decade. Lois Green Carr, "County Government in Maryland, 1689–1709" (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968), pp. 490–495.
6. Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), pp. 173–175.
7. *Ibid.*, 175–176.
8. David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689–1715" (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1966), pp. 73–130 provides the fullest discussion of Copley's tenure as governor and especially his success in forging local alliances.
9. *Archives of Maryland*, 13: 249–561 presents the journal of this assembly. See also Copley to Wm. Blathwayt, June 30, 1692, Blathwayt Papers, Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg; Edward Randolph to Blathwayt, June 28, 1692, in Robert Noxon Toppan and Alfred T.S. Goodrick, eds., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . . 1676–1703* (7 vols.; Boston, 1898–1909), 7: 373–385 (hereafter cited as *Randolph Letters*). Blakiston had been a royal placeman since 1685. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 180.
10. Hall, *Edward Randolph*, pp. 138–140. Randolph's extensive correspondence presents his version of the Maryland scene, especially Copley's liaison with Blakiston and their misdeeds. *Randolph Letters*, 7: 347–385, 392–394, 397–398. For Copley's defense, see *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 335–337, and his letter to Blathwayt, cited in n. 9.
11. Nicholson's and Copley's paths may have crossed earlier in their military careers, but as contemporary chief executives in Maryland and Virginia they pursued quite different paths. Copley's actions since arriving had bothered Nicholson, particularly the hostile reception to

Randolph. Hall, *Edward Randolph*, pp. 138–139, 144; *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 442; and Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly* 23 (1966): 513–548.

12. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 365–366, 383–384, 494; Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 136, 140, 142, 145, 152, 169.
13. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 384–388; George Plater to Blathwayt, June 26, 1695, Blathwayt Papers.
14. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 408, 416.
15. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 145, 147, 148, 149, 152.
16. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 398–399 (quote, 398), 401–403, 410–412 (quote, 411), 414–420. Lawrence later claimed that some of the petitions against him contained forged signatures, which the council never convincingly disproved. *Ibid.*, p. 425. For one of Lawrence's many personal defenses, see his appeal to the Privy Council, *ibid.*, pp. 450–452.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 331–333, 410, 424–425; Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 148–149; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, pp. 98, 130, 266–268.
19. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 438–440, 482–486, 487–489, 493–495, 497–502, 508–511.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 544: 19: 15; 20: 127; Richard Lee to Virginia Council, Sept. 18, 1693, in H.R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (5 vols.; Richmond, 1925–1945), 1: 298; *Randolph Letters*, 7: 451–453. On Coode, see David W. Jordan, "John Coode, Perennial Rebel," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (1975–): 1–28.
21. *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 8–10, 62–63, 66; 20: 6–8.
22. *Ibid.*, 8: 456–457; 20: 11, 13, 22, 27–30; Provincial Court Judgments, DSC, ff. 323–325, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Randolph Letters*, 7: 454–455. Jeanne G. Bloom, "Sir Edmund Andros-A Study in Seventeenth Century Colonial Administration" (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1962) is a sympathetic portrayal of Andros which finds no fault with any of his actions in Maryland. My research does not support this view. For Andros' own accounts, see W. Noel Sainsbury *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1693–1696* (44 vols. to date; London, 1860–), nos. 637, 639 (hereafter cited as *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser.*).
23. *Archives of Maryland*, 8: 564–565; 20: 53–57, 58, 156–159; Lawrence to Blathwayt, May 7 and 22 and June 22, 1694, and Andros to Blathwayt, May 4, 1694, all in Blathwayt Papers; Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 1, ff. 1–9. Andros' expenses for the two trips totaled £ 100.18.6, and as later investigations showed, he had not performed his full duties nor paid for arms and ammunition out of his salary, which was required by law. See also *Randolph Letters*, 7: 461–462, and *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1693–1696*, nos. 1037, 1041.
24. See, for example, Provinicial Court Judgments, TL No. 1, ff. 486–488.
25. *Archives of Maryland*, 20: 64, 77, 99, 106–111; Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 1, f. 3; Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 140.
26. Jordan, "Royal Period," pp. 131–200; Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson"; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery-American Freedom, The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), pp. 351–358.
27. *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 23–116, especially 35–36, 55–59, 87, 89–90 (quote); 20: 157–159; 38: 13–15.
28. Thomas Lawrence, Jr. was at most 18. The justices still balked in February 1695/96, when the appointment was pressed by Robert Smith, a Nicholson-Lawrence ally who was chief justice of the Provincial Court and a Talbot resident. Nicholson instituted proceedings against the justices, had Valiant arrested, and appointed new justices to the Talbot bench. Ironically, having finally acquired the post, Lawrence, Jr., became an absentee officeholder. From 1696 to 1698 he was reportedly engaged in the crown's service "by sea" and had a deputy serve in his absence. *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 99; 20: 180, 255–256, 365; Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 152; Talbot Judgments, 1692–1698, f. 244, Hall of Records.
29. Nicholson to Blathwayt, June 15, 1695, Blathwayt Papers; *Calendar of State Papers, Col.Ser., 1693–1696*, nos. 1896, 1897, 1898. Lawrence lost to his captors the furs and other gifts he was bringing from Nicholson to influence English officials. See James Vernon to Nicholson, Jan. 10, 1695/96, Fulham Palace Papers, II, f. 50, Lambeth Palace Library, London.
30. *Archives of Maryland*, 20: 272, 434–436; on Lawrence's testimony, see Colonial Office Papers 5/713/III, no. 113, Public Record Office, London.
31. *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 309; *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1693–1696*, nos. 2190, 2230; *1696–1697*, nos. 856, 857, 858; Lawrence to Archbishop Tenison, Feb. 20, 1696/97, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 85–86; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (1970–): 149–170. During this period, Lawrence probably wrote for Thomas Bray the pamphlet entitled The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland. Joseph Wheeler, "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 34 (1939–): 250.

32. Jordan, "Royal Period," pp. 131–200.
33. *Archives of Maryland*, 19: 454, 459, 463 (quote), 466, 468.
34. *Ibid.*, 20: 586–588; *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1696–1697*, no. 747; Lawrence to Vernon, March 25, 1697, C.O.5/719/V (quote). See also, David W. Jordan, "'Maryland Hoggs and Hyde Park Dutchesses': A Brief Account of Maryland in 1697," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (1978–): 87–91.
35. *Archives of Maryland*, 22: 60; 23: 96–98, 119–120, 345, 423; Nicholson to Archbishop Tenison, May 26, 1698, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 110–111; Nicholson to Lords of Trade, May 28, 1698, *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1697–1698*, no. 517.
36. Nicholson to James Vernon, May 26, 1698, C.O.5/719/VI, to Archbishop Tenison, May 26, 1698, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 110–111, and to Blathwayt, May 28, 1698, Blathwayt Papers. See also John Locke to Nicholson, Oct. 10, 1699, Nicholson Papers, Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg.
37. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1697–1698*, nos. 863, 874, 885, 935, 968; *1699*, nos. 468, 471, 475; *1700*, nos. 87, 127, 131; *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 59.
38. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 127. Lawrence, Jr. was subsequently appointed to fill a vacancy on the council, but he died before his commission reached Maryland. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 10–11, 58.
39. W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 1680–1720* (Hereford, 1910), p. 828; James Vernon to Lords of Trade, June 10, 1701, C.O.5/715/IV; *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 106–107, 118; Lawrence to Lords of Trade, Dec. 8, 1701, C.O.5/715/V; *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1701*, nos. 529, 530, 532.
40. *Archives of Maryland*, 22: 302–307, 518–522, 570–580; 38: 44–48.
41. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 136, 138, 140, 143, 145, 148.
42. See file on William Bladen, Legislative History Project, Hall of Records.
43. Blakiston to Lords of Trade, April 15, 1701, C.O.5/713/III; Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 127.
44. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 130, 137–139, 161–162.
45. See David W. Jordan, "Political Stability and the Emergence of a Native Elite in Maryland, 1660 to 1715," in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 243–273; Nicholson to Lords of Trade, July 1, 1699, C.O. 5/1310, 2.
46. *Archives of Maryland*, 24: 379.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 341–343, 350, 378–380 (quote, 380), 403–407; Seymour to Lords of Trade, May 23, 1704, C.O.5/715/VI. The Upper House had split 3–3 on the issue. On Seymour's governorship, see Charles Branch Clark, "The Career of John Seymour, Governor of Maryland, 1704–1709," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 48 (1953–): 134–159, and Jordan, "Royal Period," pp. 201–315.
48. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 175.
49. *Ibid.*, 26: 377–378; "Case of Sir Thomas Lawrence," in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (4 vols.; Hartford, 1870–1878), 4: 68–69. Lawrence's figures are not out of line with Owings' estimate of the office's worth. *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 32–34. See also Lawrence to Thomas Bordley, Feb. 4, 1705/06, Bordley-Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
50. *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 46, 48, 62–65, 304–309 (act). In a later defense of his position, Lawrence mistakenly collapsed this and the previous assembly and had Seymour signing the act in April, 1704 in exchange for a bill which bestowed on the governor a revenue of 3 pence per hogshead of exported tobacco. See Perry, *Historical Collections*, 4: 65–66. The session of the subsequent fall did extend that traditional gubernatorial revenue to Seymour, *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 312–314, 360.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 413–423, 429–430.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144, 166–167. The assembly in December did reduce the search fees and the price of land seems to have fallen soon after. *Ibid.*, XXV, 206. The best guide to the history of land issues in John Kilty, *The Landholder's Assistant* (Baltimore, 1808).
53. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1704–1705*, nos. 758, 1030.
54. Queen's Warrant, Dec. 31, 1705, C.O.5/716/I; Lawrence to Lords of Trade, Jan. 18 and 28, 1705/06, May 5, 1707, and Aug. 5, 1707, C.O.5/716/I; Lawrence to Bordley, Feb. 4, 1705/06, Bordley-Calvert Papers; *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 204. Lawrence was seeking £ 600 in lost profits, repeal of the act of 1704 on ordinaries, and chastizement of Seymour for not fully defending the secretary's rights.
55. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 204–206; Seymour to Lords of Trade, March 6, 1706 and enclosure (quote), C.O.5/716/II.
56. *Archives of Maryland*, 26: 535–537; 27: 15–16.

57. Seymour to Lords of Trade, March 6, 1706/07, C.O.5/716/II; *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 265.
58. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1706–1708*, nos. 885, 929, 1072, 1086, 1151, 1269, 1280, 1292, 1326, 1337.
59. *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 262–267; 27: 178–374, especially 280 (quote).
60. Ibid., 25: 262–267 (quote, 263) 267–270 (quote, 269), and *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1708–1709*, no. 290. In the past 14 years, Seymour noted, "there are scarce fourteen men who have undergone that tedious disability." *Archives of Maryland*, 25: 269.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Seymour to Lords of Trade, June 23, 1708, C.O.5/716/III, and same to same, Jan. 10, 1708/09, C.O. 5/716/IV.
63. *Archives of Maryland*, 27: 378–380, 440–442, 467–468. Lloyd's comments were included in Lawrence's letter to Lords of Trade, Feb. 24, 1709/10, C.O.5/717/I.
64. Lawrence to Lords of Trade, Dec. 27, 1708 and enclosures, and Seymour to same, Sept. 7, 1708, C.O.5/716/III; Lawrence to Lords of Trade, Feb. 24, 1709/10 and enclosures, March 13, 1709/10, and Queen's Order in Council, Jan. 26, 1709/10, and enclosures, all in C.O.5/717/I.
65. C.O.5/717/I and printed in full in Perry, *Historical Collections*, 4: 64–72.
66. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1710–1711*, nos. 156, 173.
67. Lawrence to Lords of Trade, Jan. 2, 1710/11, Feb. 15, 1710/11, both in C.O.5/717/II; *Calendar of State Papers, Col. Ser., 1712–1714*, no. 112.
68. *Archives of Maryland*, 29: 24–25, 64–65; Edward Lloyd to Viscount Bolingbroke, Feb. 20, 1713/14, C.O.5/720/III.
69. For the address, dated Nov. 20, 1713, see C.O.5/717/IV. *Archives of Maryland*, 29: 203–328 covers this session but see especially 209 (quote), 236, 243–244, 249, 254, 262–263.
70. *Archives of Maryland*, 29: 249 (quote); Petition to Lords of Trade, Jan. 15, 1713/14, C.O.5/717/III; Chelsea Parish Register, 1704–1747, P74/LUK/163, Greater London Record Office.
71. *Archives of Maryland*, 30: 54–56, 68, 162, 189.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 434, 444, 448; 23: 19–20, 34–37, 70–71, 84–88; 36: 503–507 (text of act of 1717); Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, pp. 37–38, 127.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
74. "Chelsea Old Church-Kneelers," Chelsea Old Church Library, London.

Pre-Revolutionary Letters to Great Britain from the Eastern Shore

FELIX MORLEY

In August, 1770, a young Scotsman, William Mc Leod, set forth from the Highlands to try his fortune on the low-lying shores of the Chesapeake Bay. He was a youth of good family, the third son of Hugh McLeod, of Geanies, and younger brother to Donald McLeod, who in 1774 became Sheriff-Principal of Ross and Gromarty.[1]

William McLeod, it seems, came here with no purpose other than to make a living. As a younger son his prospects in the Scottish Highlands could not have been appealing and the reports of the American colonies which trickled forth from Glasgow must have been attractive. His oldest brother, Duncan, was born in 1745. Next was James and then William, whose birth could not have taken place before 1747. He was, then, certainly no older than 23, and more probably about 21 years of age, when he was indentured. That he did well at first is strongly indicated by the fact that his next oldest brother, James, followed him to America in 1773, settling at Osbornes, Virginia. Letters from James to his older brother, Duncan, are included in my cousin's collection, and are cited hereafter so far as they throw further light on William's life in Maryland, and on his rather mysterious death in Philadelphia in 1775.

It is to Donald McLeod, who stayed home in Scotland and prospered there, that we owe the preservation of these letters. After the death of the father, Hugh McLeod, in 1772, the older brother kept all of the letters written from America by both William and James. Those written by William to his father prior to 1772 are unfortunately lost, though one sent from the Clyde to Donald just before sailing remains and is as follows:

Port Glasgow 1st Septr 1770

I came here yesterday & since Mr. Speirs keeps me very busy as he was here himself I began the Letters to My Father & Mother on the 28th & coud not get them finished. The ship is to fall down tomorrow & to proceed on Monday, there is more passengers than I at first expected. There is Chas. Dalrymple a son of Orangfields & other 2 whom i dont know.

Mr Speirs & the other partners have used me very well. They have only bound me 4 years though it be mentioned five in my indenture. The reason is because this Dalrymple is Bound five years though he be older than I am Mr Speirs therefore did not Choose he shoud know it As his Father might take it ill therefore the Compy has wrote on the Back of the Indenture which they sent to the Factor that I was to be bound only four years which they agreed themselves — I have letters of recomendation to each of our Factors in

A native Marylander and resident of Gibson Island, Felix Morley's autobiography was published in 1979.

Maryland which I have got from different partners I am very much obliged to Mr Colquhoun (of whom I was speaking to you in Edin.) he has given me Letter to those whom he thought the best factors & recommended me strongly — Mr Speirs has taken much more Concern for me than I have seen him do for any other person he has been giving me his advice & letting me know how to behave I belive I shall settle in Queenstown but I cannot be certain as I have Letters to the different factors however I shall inform you by first opportunity Youll remember me to My Sister youll let Meill (?) know I have not time to write to her I remain

Youll give a reading of this to my Father as I have not as much time as to write him fully

D^r^ Brother
Your most afft. Brother
William M^c^Leod

To Donald M^c^Leod at Geanies

Dear Father

Maryland. Queens Town 16th March 1772

I received your Letter of 9th March last in May since which I have wrote you Several Times — This is the only letter I have had the satisfaction of receiving from you since I came to this Country. You may be sure it must cause a great deal of uneasiness to me not to hear oftner from my parents and more especially from you who has oldage & Infirmity on your side which occasions very disagreeable conjectures to arise in my breast. It is true you Labour under a disadvantage by not knowing of opportunities but if directed your letters under cover to Messrs Ronald Crawford or Patk Colquhoun they would always forward them by every opportunity —

I was very much troubled with the Fever & Ague while it was in Season but has not had a fit of it since the beginning of January last. I hope I will not have it so Severely next fall as I am partly seasoned to the Country — I wrote you some time ago of my being very well pleased with my Situation here & likewise with my master — how far I have given him Satisfaction you may Judge by my brothers Letter to which I refer you.

I my letter to you dated June last I acquainted you of my having received a parcell of Goods to the amount of £80.16.3 Shipt by Mr Patrick Colquhoun in Consequence of which I drew an order in his favour for your Acceptance which I hop you have done — My small Venture turned out but very Indifferently. The reasons for which youll see by my brothers letter — What grieved me most was not being able to make a Remmittance time enough to prevent your advancing any money for me —

I have got some money now in my hand with which I intend to buy a bill of Exchange (provided I can get one to buy) which I shall send home by this Ship under cover to Mr Patk Colquhoun who will Negotiate it & send you the money (if you have answered the order) which youll receive part. The rest I'll send you as soon as lays in my power — If I should not get a Bill of Exchange to buy time enough to send by this Ship I shall send one by another Ship which we look for every day —

As I am very much in want of some books here where there is none, either to be lent or bought. I would be very much obliged to you if you would send me the books mentioned in the following list. If you'll send them you'll please employ Ronald Crawford to buy them at Glasgow; who will have an opportunity of sending them if there is any more you Incline to send youll please add them to the List —

I received a Letter from my brother James the beginning of this Month, on which he complains much of being Troubled with the Rheumatism. this Letter was dated 5th November if you have heard from him since youll please let me know in your Next how he does —

I am very well pleased to see Duncan make such progress in writing which induces me to believe he makes equal progress in all other part of his Education — I was very happy

to hear of my Sister in Laws Recovery after the delivery of Twins, whom I wish may give all the Satisfaction to their parents that the best of Children are capable of giving Youll please Remmember me to Mrs Gordon & Molly & to all my other friends in the North you may rest assured I will remain uneasy untill I hear from you till then I remain

Dr Father
as in Duty bound
Your most affect Son
Willm McLeod

To
Hugh McLeod Esqr
Geanies

Dear Father Maryland Oxford 1st June 1772

I received both your favours of 13th Septr & 31st October of 22nd April & 30th March — I was very sorry to hear of your being so much Troubled with the Rheumatism & more so when I was informed by my brother Donald's Letter of 1 March of its continuance I hope by this time the warm season coming on you are getting free of your Complaint —

I return you most sincere thanks for your goodness in Accepting my draught on you in favour of Mr Colquhoun & I'm very much obliged to you for your generous present which I shall endeavour to lay out to the best advantage — A few days before I received either of your favours I remited Mr Colquhoun 2 Bills of Exchange to the Amount of £63.2.1 Stg but upon receipt of yours I drew on him for 30..being in want of money — I removed here 1st last April not altogether agreeable to my own inclination as I liked my former situation very well. since I came here I have been much Troubled with the Fever & Ague but I expect soon to get Clear of it as this place is allowed to be more healthy than that which I left — My present Master is Mr Chas Crookshanks Principle Factor for the Company here — I love him extreemly well for my master & he has used me as well as I could desire since I have been with him — I now keep the books here & assist in doing the other Counting house business — As he is obliged to be much from home he leaves the charge of the business with me in his absence which I find difficult to execute not being acquainted yet, however I expect to find it easier upon geting better acquainted —

I wrote you of 16th March informing you of my late masters intention of giving up the Charge of the Stores in Aprile 1773 & of his recommending me to the Coy. to succeed him — by the last letters from home I find that in consequence of these recommendations the company have appointed me to succeed him upon his giving the Charge of the Store — but at the same time they beg of him to stay a year longer what he has resolved since I have not understood but shall let you know so soon as I am informed

My Brother Donald advised me in his Letter to form some plans to follow when my apprenticeship was ended — For my part I think it will be necessary for my brother James (who I suppose is with you by this time) & myself to fall upon some method to provide against our wants. I have wrote James on this subject. but I leave it to him who has it in his power to consult people of experience to fix upon a particular plan — I find I am by no means able to support myself under my present circumstances as I have received no wages from the Compy since I have been in their service & I'm only to receive £5 st at the end of the second year of my apprenticeship. Youll supose that the profits arising from my small Venture will asist me a good deal but it is so very trifling that I believe I shall import no more goods —

You may expect to hear from me again in about 6 Weeks after the receipt of this as I believe there will be one of our ships that will sail at about that time It will give me great

satisfaction to hear by your next that Duncan makes good progress in his education as I suppose he is capable of writing a Letter by this time I should be very glad to receive one from him. I conclude with wishing you a speedy recovery from your complaints Belive me to be as in duty bound

Dear Father
Your most Afft Son
William McLeod

To
Hugh McLeod Esqr
of Geanies
By the Polly Capt McArthur 2 D . . . C

Maryland Oxford 2nd June 1772

Dr Donald

I receeved your favour of 1 March by the Matty Capt Peacock on 15th May — I am very sorry that the shortness of my Letters has given you so much offence — I shall endeavour to write longer Letters for the future I hope therefore you will forgive my past offence —

It gave me pain when I was informed by yours of my Fathers bad state of health — we must expect now from the course of nature that he must be declining. but I expect as the warm season is coming on he will recover — I have not heard from my mother for some time past neither did you inform me of her state of health. I therefore conclude from your silence that my Fathers indisposition is what gives her greatest pain at present —

I removed here 1st April last & has been much troubled with the Fever & Ague since. but as this place is allowed to be very healthy I expect in a little time to get the better of it — My removal here was not altogether agreeably to my own inclinations & I have reason to believe my late master would have no objection to my continuing with him. but I was obliged to obey Mr Chas Crookshanks's orders (who is my present master & principle Factor for the Compy. here) I love him extreamly well for my master & he used me as well as I could desire since I have lived with him — I find my present situation more Troublesome than my last on Acct of my master being much from home & likewise on Account of the Shipping — I now keep the books here & assists in doing the other writing business — As my master is much from home he leaves the Charge of the bussiness with me in his absence I think it more difficult to give satisfaction when a person is restricted to a few orders, which they cannot exceed, than then when a person is at liberty to exert themselves — I found this to be the case during my own short experience. having it sometimes in my power to do things, in my masters absence, which in all probability might have turned out to advantage but durst not put them in execution for fear of their failing & I should be liable to censure being Contrary to orders —

In your last Letter you advised me to propose some plan to follow when my apprenticeship is out — I have often thought that if James & myself did not fall upon some plan soon we shou'd be badly off. I find I am by no means able to support myself under my circumstances having received no wages since I have been in the Compys service & only £5 stg at the end of the second year & even If I were advanced to a higher Station my wages then which is £40 stg p annum wou'd not be sufficient to support a person equal to that station being exposed to so much more expence — Youll perhaps be surprised how the Factors at present support themselves — You must know that the Factors till now had the benefit of a Private trade which they are now altogether deprived of under the penalty of £500 stg I imagine they will fell the loss of this privilege very much — (The above circumstance you may keep to yourself as I imagine the Compy would not choose it shoud be Publickly known) I have wrote my brother James

concerning the necessity of our being engaged in some branch of business but has mentioned no particular one leaving that to you & him who have it in your power to consult people of Experience — for my part I would willingly engage in any thing which you might Judge to be most for our mutual Interests —

I received by the same ship which brought your Letter a parcell to Amount of £82 stg shipt by Mr Patk Colquhoun they are very well bought, but as goods is such a drug at present in the Country, I have no prospect of a ready sale there are many people here who sell goods by the Qty (?) at first Cost so you may Judge by that, the demand is not great — In my last of 16th March, I wrote my Father for a few books for which I hope he has given orders to be sent, I shall therefore expect them by first opportunity

The present Crop of Tobacco here is at least 73 short of what it was last year & by last account from Britain there was no prospect of the prices rising there the markets being overstocked by last years Crop — The Number of Ships in the Country at present & the scarcity of Tobacco to load them with will make the prices high here I am afraid therefore there will be little made by that branch of business this year

I want very much to carry on a Corespondence with our Cousins Messrs Frazers of London. please inform me what Trade they are engaged in & send me a direction for them & likewise for Jno. Urquhart — I was sorry to hear of his Fathers death I hope his family will not suffer by it — I expect Jno. Urquhart will not be foolish enough to leave his present situation, if it be any way advantageous on Account of his Fathers death —

I am very happy to hear that Mrs McLeod & my young Neice & nephew have no Complaints of health I am glad to hear the young Couple are in a thriving way & you may rest asured nothing would give me greater satisfaction that to have it in my power to be of service to them at any time

I am sorry to hear of Marys indisposition — I hope she will recover as the warm season is coming on. Youll please remmember me to Duncan & all my others friends with you — excuse the shortness of this scrawl & Belive me to be

Dr Donald
Your Most affect Brother
William McLeod

(On-separate cover) To Donald McLeod Esqr
by the Polly
Capt McArthur

Talbot Co.

Dear Dond Maryland Oxford13th Augt 1772

I wrote you of 2nd June but have not since had the Satisfaction of hearing from you. I then informed you of my receipt of your Letter of 1st March by which I was sorry to hear of my Fathers indesposition who I hope by this time is recovered —

I have since the middle of June enjoyed a very good state of health but I am doubtful of its Continuance as the worst Season is just approaching — There is nothing new has occured here since I wrote you last except the rise of Tobacco for 12/ to 16/ Sterling (. . . . .) which is considerably above its value as the markets are very low at home. I am very well satisfyed there will be a great deal of money lost by that Article this year The only reason that can be given for the prices being so high here is The importation of goods being considerably above the demand The importers are not able to make remittances in proportion. therefore in order to make up the Quantity of Tobacco they want they are obliged to raise the price on each other so as not only to do themselves much harm but hurt every person Concerned

I expect to write you again in about a Month when I shall write you more particularly as we look for a ship every day I hope I shall soon hear from you Youll please remmember

me to Mrs. McLeod & all my other freinds in the North. excuse the shortness of this as you may depend on my nexts being longer. I am, as in duty bound

Dr Dond
Your most afft Brother
William McLeod

To Donald McLeod Esqr

by the Crawford
Capt McLean
2:D:C

Maryland Oxford 7th Septr 1772

Dr Donald

I wrote you on 2nd June since which I have not had the satisfaction of hearing from you. It grieves me much not to hear from my freinds oftner. I have mentioned a plan to my father which if he puts in Execution we shall have more frequent opportunitys of hearing from each other —

I have enjoyed a very good state of Health since the middle of June & I expect to get well thro: the bad Season which is now come on — I received a Letter a few days ago from my freind Ronald dated 19 May who informed me that all my freinds were well likewise of James's safe arrival who I hope by this time is got strong again —

The few goods which I received last May shipt by Mr Colquhoun remains still on hand nor have I any prospect of a Quick Sale for them. I am afraid my small adventure will turn out but very indeferently, the Quantity of goods imported here this year being so considerable that are a meere drug. I have therefore determined to import no more till I have a better prospect — I still continue well satisfyed with my present master & so long as he behaves to me as he has done I shall never complain of him — The purchase of Tobacco for this year is now almost over. the price that has been given so far exceeds the value that I am convinced there will be a great deal of money lost by it, if the markett does not raise much higher than is expected with you —

I wait with impatience for the arrival of a ship which we look for every day in hopes of hearing from you. I will write you again in about 2 Months I hope your Children enjoys good health I make no doubt but they will be now very entertaining —youll please Remmember me to Mrs. McLeod Mrs. Gordon & her family. Matty (?) & Duncan & all my other friends I remain —

Dr Dond
Your most afft Brother
Wm McLeod

To Donald McLeod Esqr

by the Matty
Capt Peacock
2:D:C

Maryland Oxford 22nd Decemr 1772

Dear Dond.

I wrote you 7th Septemr since which I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you —

I have enjoyed a very good State of health since June last & hope for the further continuance of it as the danger of this Season is Chiefly over —

I am very much suprized at not having heard from my Father or Mother since October

1771 which is now 14 months, nor have I heard any thing of them since except by your Letter of March last —

It woud be exceedingly Satisfactory were you to write me oftner & direct your Letters to the care of Mr Crawford or Mr Colquhous who cou'd always forward them to me — I still continue satisfyed with my present Master & wou'd find my situation agreeable enough did I but hear oftner from my friends —

The small parcell of goods I received in May last are Still on hand nor have I any prospect of selling them till the demand for goods increases which I expect will be towards the spring — I find the advance on so small a parcell is so triffling that it is not worth my while importing them. I have therefore determined to import no more till I have a prospect of selling to better advantage —

There has been a fine Crop of Tobacco made this year & it is generally thougt the price will be low which will be very requisite in order to make up the Loss sutained last year by that Article —

I had just wrote thus far yesterday when I received your Letter containing the maloncoly accounts of My valuable Fathers Death I will leave it to yourself to figure out my distress as it is too deeply impressed in my mind at present to write you further of it. shall therefore delay it till return of the Ship —

I by the same opportunity reced a Letter from Mr Colquhoun by which he wrote me that on Acct of the late Bankruptcies & great Scarcity of money he was a little destressed for some, and wou'd be obliged to me if I could supply him with some tho not due yet. It is at present out of my power to supply as I have not sold the goods I have therefore drawn an order on you payle in 60 days which if youll honor you may depend on my remitting you as soon as it is in my power — I wish you great joy from the increas of your family — I beg to be particularly remmembred to Mrs McLeod & woud be glad she woud write me by first opportunity I shall write you more fully by return of this Ship when I hope I shall be more composed & till then remain

Dr Donald
Your very Afft brother
William McLeod

To Donald McLeod Esqr of Geanies
by the Polly
Capt McArthur
2 D C

Maryland Oxford 30th Januy 1773

Dear Donald

Your favor of 26th May together with my Mothers of 1 July came to hand 23rd December. These were the first that brought me the melancholy Accts of my valuable Fathers Death — the Loss we have sustained in him no person can be sencible of except those who have such parents to Lose which I believe are very few. tho: I am sencible of the advantage arising to him from the Change, yet I cannott help giving way to my grief. I therefore will decline dwelling longer on a Subject which from its freshness in my memory discovers a weakness in me you woud be apt to condemn —

I have enjoyed a very good State of health since June last & hopes for a further continuance of it the rigour of this Season being Altogether over — The Company has by this opportunity signifyed their Intentions to Mr. Chas Crookshanks (who is their principle Factor here) of giving me the charge of their Store at Queens Town in Consequence of which I am to go there next March. this mark of their confidence is a great incouragement for me to double my Diligence in their Service — & you may rest assured it will have this

Effect — By the Sad letter I had from my valuable Father he informed me of his having answered my drt in favor Mr Colquhoun & likewise that he woud make me a present of £50 of it. in consequence of which I ordered Mr Colquhoun to pay him a Ballance then in his hands of £33.2.1. whether he altered his Sentiments or not afterwards is unknown to me — nor coud I harbour so ungenerous a thought of you, as to imagine you woud have appropriated that Ballce: to your own use, knowing he had altered his Sentiments — I return you my most Sincere thanks for the offer you have made me, & when a proper opportunity offers I will make use of it — In my last of 23rd December I drew an order on you in favor of Mr Colquhoun which I hope youll honor. my reasons for doing it I assigned to you then — I expect soon to be able to remitt you for it as I have disposed of the chief part of my goods & if the people here were as punctuall in making their payments as the shoud be, I woud have remitted you by this opportunity —

It gives me very great Satisfaction to hear that Duncan makes so great progress in his Education & is so likely to do well — My Mother informed me in her Letter that he had an inclination to follow the Maratime way of Life. She will communicate to you my Sentiments on that head — I am happy to find that James is so well recovered & am a good deal surprized he did not write me by this opportunity

I was this day informed by one of my acquaintances who had some time ago been at Annapolis the Capital of this province that he had been in Company there with one Mr Frazer a Merchant from London who was so far on his way, making a Tour of this Continent, & that he enquired for me & said I was his Cousin — from this Account I was certain it was one of Provost Frazers sons, but I coud not learn his first name, cannot inform you which of them — tho. he was scarcely one days Journey from this, he neither came to see me nor woud take the trouble of writing me. this is a piece of bad treatment, or rather contempt which cou'd not have expected from that Quarter — If you can Learn which of them it was I beg you woud inform me. as I am resolved to take him to task for it if ever he & I shou'd meet — I wish you great Joy of your young Daughter & am happy your wife is well recover'd. I beg to be particularly remmembred to her & if Family affairs does not take up too much of her time woud be glad to hear from her —

I earnestly beg you woud write me more frequently as you must be sencible, hearing from my friends is the Greatest happiness I enjoy in this remote part of the world — by lodging your Letters with Mr Colquhoun I may expect to receive them, as he will always find opportunitys of forwarding them — I shall continue writing you by every opportunity & at present remain

Dr Donald
Your Most Afft Brother
Willm McLeod

Maryland, Queens Town, 3rd August 1773

Dear Donald

I have your letter of 22nd March now before me. I find by it that you did not then receive my last which was of 30th Janry. I am sorry to find that there are so many of my freinds letters which never come to hand nor can I account for it except they be sent by ships to Virginia in which case I need not expect to see them — I find that James intends for Virginia instead of this province. I am sorry that the badness of the present times oblige him to try this part of the World a second time. I sincerely wish it may agree with him now better than it did formerly — I am very much obliged to you for answering my order in favor of Mr Colquhoun. I send you inclosed a Receipt agreeable to your directions — I came to this place the first of last April to Succeed Mr John Crawford in the charge of the Coy Store here. I am a little unlucky in coming here at this time as there cannot be a tolerable Collection made. I am limited to a certain price for the Country

produce which I cannot exceed. this price is so low that the people are fully determined to keep their Crops on hand to another year, in expectation of getting a better. I am afraid therefore I shall be able to make no Collection at all, but shoud I do as well as their other factors I expect it will give my employers satisfaction — I have enjoyed a very good State of health upwards of this Twelve month past. I hope I will not be much more troubled with the fever and Ague as I am now pretty well season'd against the effects of the Climate. I desire to be remmembered in the kindest manner to Mrs. McLeod and all my freinds with you. shoud be glad you woud make Duncan write me by first opportunity. I shall continue to write you by every opportunity that occurs.

I am Dr. Donald
Your most afft Brother
Willm McLeod

Donald McLeod Esqr
of Geanies
to the care of Mr Patk. Colquhoun
Merchant
Glasgow

Maryland Queens Town 8th Decemr 1773

Dear Donald

I have not had the Satisfaction of hearing from you for some considerable time past. I should be sorry If I coud charge myself with having done any thing that deserved such neglect. I cannot think that your farming can take up your time so much that you cannot spare a little to let a freind hear from you —

I have enjoyed this fall a very bad state of Health. tho: I thank God I am now getting pretty stout again — Trade is now in a very melancholy situation here. the Coy I believe are loosing money daily and if there is not a change soon in affairs here, they will find it their Interest to give up bussiness. for my own part I find it disagreeable to carry on bussiness as I cannot give my employers satisfaction — soud I enjoy as bad a state of health next fall as I have done this, I will be for shifting my Quarters. this place is the most remarkable in the province for being unhealthy — I lately had a letter from my brother James, by which he informed me that he had been Troubled with the Fever & Ague but had then got over it — I was informed that my freend Ronald had lately arrived in Virginia, but have not heard from him as yet — I was informed by Mr. Colquhoun that the scarcity of money which prevails with you made in inconvenient for you to pay the order I drew on you — I believe I shall be able to remitt it to him by next opportunity — tho I am much obliged to you for your good intentions. I have nothing new to advise you of please remmember me to Mrs McLeod & all my other acquaintances with you I shall continue to write you by every opportunity I am with sincerity

Dr Donald
Your affect Brother
William McLeod

Donald McLeod Esqr
of
Geanies

Maryland Oxford 1st October 1774

Dear Dond.

The last I received of you was of the 13 March, since which I have not had an opportunity of writing you. The Company's ships were chiefly employed in the exportation of Wheat to the Mediteranean owing to our not being able to procure Tobacco to load

them, which put it out of my power to write you so often as I wished to have done — I removed from Queenstown to this place about 10 days ago where I am to succeed Mr. Chas Crookshanks (who is going home) in the charge of the Compys store here, I am succeeded at Queens Town by Mr. Colin Campbell who was to have come to this place, but Mr. Crookshanks supposing met to be better acquainted with the business here as I had lived a year with him, thought proper to fix on me, I shall have more then double the trouble I formerly had as all ships load and unload here, shoud Mr. Crookshanks return again as he expects to do in the character of a superintendant over the other stores I shall be eased of a good deal of trouble, as he will take charge of the shipping on himself, but should he be disapointed in his expectations, I must rest satisfyed with this only consolation, that I have removed from an unhealthy place to a healthy one.

The situation of this place is very agreeable. it is situated on Choptank River which surrounds it so as to make it a penunsola. a ditch of 3 feet deep and not 20 yards long woud make it an Island. The place is open and airy and the prospects are tolerable good for such a woody Country as this is. we have a view for 16 miles down the river which is terminated by an island in Cheaspake bay called sharps Island, the river here in near 4 miles broad & towards the mouth it is 6 miles. upon the whole I am comfortably situated with respect to the place & in a good neighbourhood with respect to the people.

The present situation of this country is very alarming to people in trade, for my own part I am much afraid the property of foreigners is on a very precarious footing. There is now a Congress in Philadelphia (in which all the provinces on the Continent except Quebeck the 2 Floridas & Georgia, are represented by their delegates), who are taking into consideration the State of America, & are to fall on some method to FORCE Britain to repeal the late Acts of Parliament relating to Boston and to give up their right to tax America — they have not yet finished their business, nor has any thing they have done transpired, but from the inflamed state of the peoples minds, and their general conversation, it is easy to conjecture what the result of their deliberations will be. it is supposed they will enter into a tottal nonimportation & exportation agreement. I mean that they will import nothing from Great Britain or export none of their commodities to Britain, by which means they expect to deprive Britain of the means of vending so much of their manufactures that the tradesmen will not be able to subsist; this agreement is to continue till the Acts they complain of are repealed — As to their nonexportation agreement they have a double view in it, in the first place they will deprive the Goverment of the Revenue arising from Tobacco (which does not exceed £35000 & in the second place they know the they cannot export their wheat, because Britain will not grant them Mediterranean passes without which they cannot export it. by this means they disable themselves to pay the debts they owe to Britain as they have no way of getting Money & of course they think the Merchants and Manufacturers must brake, & the publick Credit be entirely ruined — It is to be hoped that this will not have the desired effect as it founded on the greatest Injustice & the breach of the most sacred Faith which can subsist between two Countries. In my oppionion their association will turn out to their disgrace as it is impossible they can comply with it — It is certain they have a sufficiency of eatables within themselves, but they cannot subsist without some coarse goods from Britain, as the have no Manufactures of their own & it will be a considerable time before they come to any sort of maturity, even when they are erected — I shall mention a few things which they will feell the want of severely in less than 6 Months Viz Nails without which they cannot build or repair their houses, which in generall are all of wood, Hoes without which they cannot cultivate either Tobacco or Indian Corn the last of which the common sort of people and Negroes entirely subsist upon. Coarse Cloths which they want in a Month & of which there will be a scarcity, without this article they must peerish as the Winter is exceeding cold here for the Months Decemr Janry & Febry. these & many others which is absolutely necessary for

their existence, they pretend to say they can do without, but time will show they are mistaken. Youl observe that all the people have entered into a firm resolution to comply with whatever they determine upon at the present Congress — shoud they breake through the resolutions that are entered into, the consequence will be that Britain will carry her Point & the Americans who are at present the most free People upon earth must submit to being taxed —

As to myself I have enjoyed a tolerable good state of Health these 10 Months past. about a Twelve Month ago, I was a good deal subject to Bilious complaints but I soon got the better of them. I hope now to enjoy my health with less intermission — I am very much obliged to you for honoring my dft in favor Mr. Colquhoun. I wish it may ever be in my power to requite the obligations I lay under to you —

I am at present a little at a loss respecting my last years wages, as I acted as a Factor and of course was put to additional expence. I think I should have Factors wages, but my apprenticeship not being expired they my pay me with what was due me by my Indenture, shoud they do this is would be acting reather meanly. however I intend to write them about it by this opportunity —

I have for some time past been considering how to employ my Patrimony (when I get it) to the best advantage. I had some thought of purchasing so many shares in the Compys stock (a share being from £100 to £150) provided they woud give me Credit for as many more shares as I woud advance mony for, this I know has been given to some of the present partners. I imagine it woud require some Interest for me to get this done, however I woud not choose to lay my money out in this way till Trade is on a better footing — I have another scheme in view shoud the Congress not enter into a nonexportation agreement, that is to employ it in the West India Trade. this place is very well situated for that purpose, and it coud be carried on to very good advantage. I shall write you more fully respecting this at another time — I am glad to hear of no complaints in your family. I desire to be remmembered to Mrs McLeod — I shall be glad to hear from you by every opportunity. Believe me to be with the utmost sincere affection

Dr Brother
Yours &c
Willm McLeod

Maryland, Oxford
22nd February 1775

It is some considerable time since I have had the satisfaction of hearing from you.

In the beginning of Decemr I went by water to Virginia to see James. the distance from here is about 300 miles, I landed at Osborns (where he lives) in the night, I imediatly sent for him and as he did not know me I told him who I was, but he was so little convinced that I was his Brother, that he threatend to treat me as an Imposter. I was so much vex'd that I had very near returned without endeavouring to convince him any further, but at our meeting next morning he began to recollect some resemblance between me and his brother, he is to be here next July when he talks of going to the West Indies, this plan may do very well provided the affairs on the Continent are settled — Mr. Chas. Crookshanks (who is principle Factor for the company here and who I am to succeed in the charge of their Store here) and myself have some thoughts of building a Vessell to be engaged in the West India Trade some time next fall (should the disputes between Britain and the Colonies be settled). He has already been concerned in this business and tho: he laboured under many disadvantages yet he made money by it. He has it now in his power to carry it on to more advantage than ever, as he is to give up the Companys business and has acquired a considerable fortune by marriage. As I am debarred doing any business for

myself while I am employed by Speirs and French and Coy. it would be a considerable benefite to me to have my money employed by him in the West India Trade, because in all probability I woud be receiving good profits while I paid him at most but a triffling commission. I can put my money to much better use in this manner than if the Compy. woud admit me as a partner for the sum. If it will be convenient for you to let me have some money youl please advise me which way I shall draw for it — if James chooses to be engaged in this way I dare say Mr. Crookshanks would have no objection — It woud enable him to settle to more advantage in the West Indies and perhaps assist us in carrying on the business — I have enjoyd but an indifferent state of Health since my return from Virginia I am at present much better than I have been for some time past. As our Trade with Britain will be stopt next Septemr. shoud the Acts of Parliament complain'd of be not repealed, we will have but opportunitys of Coresponding, the only way left will be, by the New York Packett which sails from Falmouth once every Month. I shoud be glad that you woud write me for the future through this Channell as it is much more to be depended on then Merchants ships, especially as you live at so great a distance from them. You may direct to me in the same as you formerly did — Youl please remember me to all my Relations and Freinds I am

Dr. Donald
Your most affect Brother
Willm. McLeod

This comes by the way of Bristol there being no opportunity directly for Scotland.

Maryland Oxford 21st April 1775

Dear Brother

It is a considerable time since I have had the satisfaction of hearing from you or any of my relations. I am done with complaining, because it is to no effect. I have often advised you, that you might write me by the New York Packet, which sails from Falmouth once a Month, but I have never heard from you by that opportunity — I wrote you about 2 Months ago by way of Bristol. I then informed you that I woud probably have occasion to draw on you, and wanted to know if you had any particular corespondent on whom you woud choose I shoud draw — I have since been engaged in loading a Vessel for the West Indies, and has immediate occasion for money, which I must borrow, as I woud not choose to draw on you till I heard from you. I shoud be glad to hear from you respecting this by the earliest opportunity, which will be that of the Packett —

The present situation of affairs is truely alarming, we have received intelligence that both houses of Parliament have petitioned his Majesty to have the late Acts relative to Boston put in force, this has alarmed the people very much, in consequence of which it is probable they will put an immediate stop to all exportation. shoud this be the case it will give a shock to the British Merchants Trading here. The people of Boston seem resolved to make a stand, I am satisfyed that a Civil war must take place there, the thoughts of which must be disagreeable to every person of reflection. We are safe here from the consequences attending war, shoud Boston be reduced to obedience all the other Colonies will submit immediately —

I wrote the Compy some time ago to see if they would allow me Factors wages for 1½ years I served as a Factor when an apprentice, they seem to hesitate about it but have not given me a positive answer. I have wrote them by this opportunity in order to have a decisive answer, shoud they not allow me Factors wages I think they will treat me badly —

I have enjoyed but an indifferent state of health for some time past. I expect as the

warm season comes on that I will get Hearty. Youll please remmember me to Mrs McLeod and all my other relations.
Believe me to be

Dr. Donald
Your most afft Brother
Willm McLeod

Mrs. . . . . McLeod
Seafield

Maryland Oxford 6 June 1775

Dear Donald

I wrote you the 22nd April since which I received your agreeable favor of the 13th January, inclosing a letter from my mother & one from my sister Mary. You complaine of my long silence, the reason of it was my not having the usual opportunities, our ships having been employed the greatest part of last summer & fall in the Mediterranean Trade — It gives me great pleasure to hear of your preferement to the Office of Sherriff of Ross & Cromarty. The pleasure which the Just execution of so important an Office must give you, will be more gratefull then receiving the Sallary annexed to it, tho: that will be very acceptable to a man of so growing a family as your's. You may believe that nothing on earth gives me greater satisfaction then to hear of your happiness and prosperity, and that any inteligence respecting either, which you will comunicate to me, will be very agreeable. I am very glad to hear that your Farming rewards your Industry equal to your expectations. I wish it may always continue to do so — I observe what you say respecting the conversation with Mr. Geo. Crawford about James & myself. The present situation of affairs must detere every person from having any connection with America, if they can possibly avoid it. If times were to improve I woud not choose to advance money for any shares they might let me have, because I coud employ it to more advantage here. The Company has given their Factors Credit for several shares (to my knowledge) on their paying Interest for the purchase money. I shoud be satisfyed if they woud allow us 6 shares each, to advance money for one half of them, (a share is about £150). In the situation affairs are in at the moment I woud avoid having any connection in this way —

I wrote you some time ago by way of Bristol, that I woud probably have occasion to draw on you for some Money, and at the same time requesting to be informed who you woud choose I shoud draw upon. I expect to hear from you soon respecting this — As Tobacco is very likely to bear a great price at home next year, and can be procured here on reasonable terms, I have some thoughts of purchasing a quantity, & consinging it to my employers to be sold for my account. If I purchase, it will be on these terms, that the Bill will not be drawn till November, to be made payable from 30 to 60 days after sight, which will make some time in January before the money becomes due. I will probably go as far as £400 so soon as I receive the Acct of Sales. I will reimburse you the sum if necessary. There is all the probability imagineable that a great deal of money will be made by Tobacco this year. As the exportation will stopt in September next, it will make that Article very scarce. If exportation shoud be open, it must command a great price.

I suppose before this comes to hand youl hear of a skirmish between the Bostonians and the King's Troops. I cannot pretend to say any thing respecting it. the accounts we have of it here, are not to be in the least depended on. a Printer durst as soon commit a Forgery, as to publish an impartial acct of it, or to publish any thing against the American side of the question, if it be ever so true. we expect no true state of the matter till we have it from your part of the world. The Bostonians in their state of the matter (which is the only one

published) have exagerated facts so much beyond Credibility, that the neighbouring Colonies (who are too ready to give Credit to any thing that makes against Britain) cannot rely on them. The other Colonies seem to equally culpable with the Bostonians as they approve of their conduct, and are taking up arms to join them. nothing but party matters & discord reign amongst us, and even them that choose to stand neuter, are not free from Scurility and personal abuse. I wish the affair may end well, but at present it wears a very bad aspect.

I hope my sister is safely recovered from the approaching danger she was in at the time you wrote me. I beg to be particularly remembered to her. I shall be glad to hear from you by every opportunity. Believe me to be with the greatest sincerity

Dear Donald
Your most Afft Brother
Willm McLeod

Maryland Oxford 8th Septr 1775

Dear Brother

It is a considerable time now since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you

This is the last letter youl receive from me till American affairs are settled, which at present we have but a very distant prospect of. I intended coming home in one of the CompYs ships, but the situation of their affairs will not admitt of it. I expect to have their business settled about the beginning of January, should I have any opportunity then, either by a King's ship or otherwise I will come home. If not I must stand it out where I am —

From the different letters I have seen from Britain, they seem to be in a great measure ignorant of our situation here. The Civil Power in this Province is entirely at an end. In place of that we have substituted Congresses, Conventions, Committees & Mobbs, who put their Laws in Execution with a high hand. If a man's sentiments differs from the general sentiments of the people he must keep them to himself with the most inviolable secrecy. if they should chance to discover them he is likely to be punished. A mans being a Scotchman is sufficient to condemn him upon the slightest information, they being looked upon as the greatest enemys to America. for my part I have as yet avoided all censure, and expect to remain so. There has been several skirmishes between the kings Troops & the Provincials, the circumstances of which you have heard of ere now. we have had no accounts here that could be depended on, the Printers here not daring to write except on the American side of the Question, and then only what is dictated to them by them by the most violent factions. The Americans do not deny but the British Troops with their Navey, can drive them from the sea Coast, but they think that all the Powers in Europe cannot overcome them in the woods. Britain seems so inactive on this occasion that I'm afraid it will be a considerable time before affairs are settled here — I wrote you some time ago that I intended making a purchase of Tobacco and that I should draw on you for £400. The scheme would not answer, as a great deal of Cash was given for that Article which the people prefere to Bills. The difference between Britain and the Colonies make of little value.

My Brother came up here about the middle of July & stay'd with me a Month. I had a letter from him last week wherein he inform'd me he was to set out directly for the West Indies.

I have been unwell for some time with the Fever and Ague. We are at present exceedingly busy here, we have 3 ships to load before the 10th Inst (when all connection with Britain ceases) one of the ships has been here 10 days only, so that we were put to a great deal of trouble to load her. I hope we shall get them all loaded by the time, which will be doing great things.

Youl please remember to my Mother & sisters & all my relations. it is not in my powers at time to write them — wishing you and your Family all health & happiness I remain as usual

Dear Donald
Your most afft Brother
Willm McLeod

James McLeod, second son of Hugh McLeod of Geanies and next in age to William, went to Osbornes, Virginia, in 1773. He also wrote home to his eldest brother, Donald. His first mention of William in letters still extant is as follows (written February 13, 1774):

I hear from my Brother William frequently, by which I find he does not much like his situation and indeed it is no wonder as he is obliged to keep up the place of a Factor upon Storekeepers wages which I think is a hardship as the Company might very well afford him the wages which other Factos get while he carrys on their business as well, he seems to have some thoughts of leaving their Employ as soon as his Prenticeship is expired and wants to goe to a new country to seek out a fortune for himself. I shall give his sentiments in his own words in his last letter to me, he says, 'I have been meditating on some plan of business into which we should strike out and will give you the fruits of my meditations as follows: I must beging with informing you I have got two particular acquaintances in this sml. town both Doctors & from Aberdeen. The one Doctor James Davidson with whom I wish you were acquainted, he is exceedingly sensible of an agreeable disposition & allowed by all to be a great proficient in his business which may be supposed from his having made upwards of £2000 CY (?) within these three years he has been in the Country. The other Doctor John Pirie tho not possessed of the first qualitys yet he is sensible & clever. In the course of our conversation they informed me that tho they coud make a Genteel livelihood in this place yet its being so unhealthy and the manners of the people not being agreable to them they intended to look out for fortunes in another manner. Their intentions provided you whom I have often mentioned to them & myself woud join them in it were as follows Viz that we should lay in £500 each as a Common Stock that early next spring one of us if possible shoud go to the new ceded lands on the *Ohio* where if he should find the country healthy and agreable as represented he shoud purchase good lands in a pleasant situation, which it is said may be got on very reasonable terms to the amount of £1000 that upon securing these lands the following spring the Doctors & myself shoud go home where we woud collect a parcell of poor labouring people & return with them & a Cargoe of £500 to our new acquired lands, that I shoud keep store & that you shoud remain where you are till such time as you shoud find it convenient for you to join us in personally.' These with many less material circumstances were the plan upon we were to set out. He goes on, 'I have considered this very deliberately & give you this as my opinion that in Countrys such as these which are well peopled & where they know the value of their Commodity money is to be made if at at all, on the other hand I believe there are few instances of those who have settled in a new Country having failed in their designs. The scheme of purchasing lands I think is to be approved of as it must increase in value in proportion as the country is peopled. We can be no losers by it even if we shoud incline to sell it again, but probably might be great gainers. The scheme of storekeeping must certainly answer as it never fails in new settled Countrys. Furrs & skins which are the principal commodity of that Country is certainly a profitable branch of Trade.

I have thought seriously myself on the above plan and I believe it might do very well for the several reasons above mentioned & besides I know (I may now say from

Experience) that there is very little to be made in this part of the world, as to my knowledge our Co.py. have balanced their books last year with loss what must new beginners such as we expect who are so weak in comparison to them. I shall be glad to hear your sentiments or any of our friends upon the above subject as I have myself no bad opinion of it.

By September 1774 James seems to have given up the idea of settling in Ohio with William and writes to tell Donald that he is going to St. Vincent, leaving Virginia partly because of continued ill-health and:

besides which as there is no Law now in force in this Colony by which Merchants may recover their debts I am much afraid that if the affair betwixt Brittain & the Colony of Massachusetts Bay is not soon made up the Scots Merchts. will be quite broke up in this Colony also, as they people have entered into an Association not to allow any British goods whatever to be imported after the 1st of Novr next, so that I am sure at all events there is but little prospect here of a young mans doing any thing for himself.

On January 28, 1775 he writes

In my last I acquainted you with my resolution of going to the West Indies which is now I think more confirmed as I believe after next summer there will be very little use for any storekeepers here without the Boston bills should be repealed as they all seem firmly determined there shall be no goods imported here now and are trying their utmost to supply themselves by manufactoring those things which were formerly principally brought from Brittain. Since I last wrote you my Brother William has been over here but made onely a stay of 2 days he seems by his account to me to be now rather in a precarious way of business as he was called from the store he formerly had the management of to take charge of another where Mr. Crookshanks lived & now after he has gone up there Mr. Crookshanks seems undetermined whether to give up the charge or not, if he shoud not William will be out of business quite till he can find some other employment, which if the times are no better than they are here will be very hard to do at present.

Like William, James is very concerned about the political situation. On April 17, 1775 he writes:

I am very firmly of opinion that trade will never flourish again in this country to the same extent it formerly has done. As all the head men in this Colony are very busy in contriving & setting up different kinds of Manufactorys which I make no doubt they will this very short time bring to such perfection that it will be a very great loss to the different branches of Trade in Great Brittain, I sincerely wish there may be an accomodation of all differences bextwixt Brittain & her Colonys before the 10th of Septr. next as they are resolved in this Colony neither to export or import any Commodity whatever after that date & you may easily guess what a loss it will be to many merchants in Glasgow in particular who have an immense property here.

James visited Maryland in July 1775 and then sailed for St. Vincent, where at first he helped his cousin James Fraser manage his sugar plantation. The last of his letters still extant gives the last news of William:

Dear Brother, Yours of the 14th May I onely received the 27th Ult. & you may easier conceive than I can express what my feelings must have been on Reading it, as I am

but too much affraid that the accounts from Philadelphia may be true with respect of my Dr Brother William, as when I saw him in Maryland about this time twelve-month he told me it was more than probable his business would oblige him to go there before Christmas & I have had no opportunity of hearing from him since I left Virginia. I cannot help however accusing myself very much for my neglect in not writeing you immediately on my arrival here, as it woud have put you out of doubt on my account a good deal sooner than it otherwise has happened. I am surprised you did not mention any thing of the source from which you had your intelligence, as upon that must depend principally the Credit that ought to be given it, I hope however before you receive this I will hear again from you with certain accounts of my Brother William, which wou'd fain hope will be more favourable than either you or I at present expect — I think it was very right not to acquaint my mother with your doubts, as shoud they even be true (which God forbid) concerning William, she will hear of them too soon I am affraid.

References

1. This Donald McLeod was the great-great-great grandfather of my sister-in-law, Mrs, Christina McLeod Morley, of Jordans, England, to whom the original letters written by William McLeod during his stay in pre-revolutionary Maryland have descended. Mrs. Morley is my cousin, as well as my sister-in-law, but since we are related on the maternal side I cannot myself claim any even collateral kinship with much-tried William McLeod. But as one who was brought by his father to the Chesapeake, 130 years later, I was much interested in reading in his own handwriting of the tribulation experienced by a youth who certainly did not find it a "land of pleasant living." Through the courtesy of my cousin, who has provided me with exact and authenticated copies of his correspondence, I am able to furnish readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* with the following excerpts from William McLeod's letters home from the pre-revolutionary Eastern Shore, during the period from September 1770 to September 1775.

A Captured Confederate Officer: Nine Letters from Captain James Anderson to his Family

GEORGE M. ANDERSON, S.J.

CAPTAIN JAMES ANDERSON (1831–1920) WAS BORN AND RAISED ON A farm in Montgomery County called Vallombrosa,[1] about two miles northeast of the center of Rockville. He was the son of an attorney, James Wallace Anderson,[2] and the grandson of Dr. James Anderson, a physician active in the Rockville area from 1791 until 1835. His great grandfather, Richard, was a planter who moved from Charles County to Montgomery in the second half of the nineteenth century.[3]

James received his education at the Rockville Academy, and for a time taught there. He had hoped to attend the University of Virginia. (His mother, Mary Minor,[4] was a Virginian from Fairfax County.) However, the family was large—there were eight children, of whom James was the eldest—and money for his university education was never available.[5] But he did learn surveying, and for four year during the 1850s held the position of county surveyor.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861 James, then thirty-one, enlisted in the Thirty-fifth Battalion of Virginia Cavalry. In the first letter after his capture, dated October 23, 1862, he speaks of having been elected "1st lieutenant of a cavalry company in Major White's Battalion, General White's Brigade." By October he was already acting as captain of his company, with his own captain acting as major. Two years later he was signing his letters home "Captain James Anderson, C.S.A.," suggesting that his official commission had by then been received.

The October 23rd letter is among the most interesting, because of the nine that have survived, it is here that James describes his capture by Union forces during a skirmish at Harpers Ferry. He remained a prisoner for the rest of the war. The other letters were written from federal prison camps at Johnson's Island in Lake Erie, three miles off Sandusky, Ohio; Point Lookout, Maryland, near the tip of St. Mary's County; and Fort Delaware on Peapatch Island in the Delaware River.

As an officer he was well treated, particularly during the period immediately after his capture at Harpers Ferry. Indeed, he speaks of being invited to dine with Union officers, sharing in their oyster and champagne suppers. Life at the actual prison camps, on the other hand, seems to have been much harsher. From Johnson's Island, for example, he writes home for basic items like blankets, an overcoat, trousers, shoes, tin plates, and eating utensils.[6] And after being trans-

Father Anderson is currently serving at St. Aloysius Church in Washington, D.C.

ferred to Point Lookout in February, 1864, he makes reference to thefts of personal property by Yankee officers.

There must undoubtedly have been illnesses, too, during the long period of his incarceration, although he refers to only one. In his letter of August 24, 1864, from Fort Delaware, he speaks of recuperating from "a spell of sickness that lasted nearly two months." He adds that he was still suffering from occasional recurrences of fever.

The danger of fevers of various kinds, especially yellow fever, must have been great during the summer months, since all three prison camps were in mosquito-infested locations near bodies of water. This circumstance, together with the primitive state of hygiene that prevailed in prison camps of the time, makes it all the more remarkable that James returned home after the war not only with his health unimpaired, but lived on to the age of ninety.

The three brief letters to his schoolgirl sister, Lily (1850–1868) are little more than notes of older-brotherly advice regarding her studies and conduct. For present-day readers, though, they are lent a certain poignance by the knowledge that in only a few years Lily would be dead at the age of eighteen, victim of one of the fevers to which James himself did not succumb.

The letters to his mother and his grown sister, Mary,[7] are more significant. They give a clear picture not only of his needs, but also of some of his attitudes as a Southerner. He had the usual southern antipathy toward northern views on slavery.[8] Thus in the longest, albeit fragmentary letter, he interprets the assigning of a "negro guard" to his group at Johnson's Island as a deliberate attempt at humiliation. However, he notes with satisfaction that "our boys . . . pretended to be delighted, saying they infinitely preferred negroes to Yankees," and that this pretended delight "is probably the reason for [their] discontinuing our *sable guard.*"[9]

The letters follow in chronological order.

Harpers Ferry, Oct. 23rd, 1862

Dear Ma,

You will be surprised to receive a letter from me dated at this place, but the fact is I am a prisoner in the hands of the Federals. I, with several members of our Brigade, was captured on the 21st inst. in a cavalry skirmish. I could have escaped, had it not been for the fall of my horse, which was also captured. My right side was considerably bruised, which is today quite sore, rendering walking without help very painful.

In the engagement we lost, as far as I have been able to ascertain, one man killed, three wounded, and twenty-two prisoners, besides quite a number of horses. The Federals lost one man killed and three wounded. I have been very kindly treated since my capture, faring just as the officers here do, eating at table with them, having oysters every day, and occasionally champagne to wash them down. Our noncommissioned officers fare as the Federal soldiers of those grades.

On the 23rd of August I was elected 1st Lieutenant of a cavalry company in Major White's Batallion, General Mumford's Brigade. At the time of my capture, I was acting as Captain, and our Captain as as Major. Tell Rose Anderson[10] that Mr. Cameron was raising a cavalry company when I heard from him a few weeks ago. He probably has a full company by this time. Say to Miss Jane Harding I saw the Doctor a short time since, and more recently Robert Carter; both were well. Robert is in the cavalry service, under Captain Brown of our county. In our company are 21 Marylanders, among them R. S.

Patterson, Samuel Matlack, Hezekiah Veirs, George Dove, Frank Taylor, and James Lydane. Of these Patterson only was captured.

We were paroled today and have been promised to be sent off at 2 o'clock tomorrow. We shall go to Richmond by way of Baltimore and Fortress Monroe.[11] Remember me to all, particularly to Mary, Minor,[12] and *all the rest.* I should like very much to hear from you.

Yours affectionately,
James Anderson

P.S. Oct. 24th

My thigh feels much better today, and I can walk with far less difficulty. I was not so badly bruised as I at first thought.

J.A.

Dear Mary, Johnson's Island, Dec. 2nd, 1863

Your letter of the 25th ult. has been received, as also Lil's of the 14th. I received the blankets and money sent by Francis Rozer.[13] I am sorry that you have so long delayed to send the overcoat and pantaloons. You *ought* to know that I would not write for articles not permitted to come. Send them as soon as you receive this, and a pair of shoes no. 7 to come high up the ankle.

Lt. Beatty saw Henry and Edward Wootton[14] on the 11th of October. They were then well, as was also Charley [Rozer]. Henry and Charley are in the same company. A letter directed to them, Co. A., 1st Maryland Cavalry, will reach them. Direct to Edward, Surgeon 35th Battalion, Va. Cav. Perhaps it would be as well to direct to them at Richmond, as the letter will be forwarded to them, wherever they may be.

Why did you not send the postage stamps and answer my questions? When you send the box, send in it half a dozen tin plates and as many knives and forks, and one teaspoon. To reach me by the 25th, the box should be sent about the 18th.

Yours affectionately,
James Anderson

Point Lookout, St. Mary's County, Md. Feb. 16th, 1864

Dear Mary,

Between three and four hundred of us reached this place from Johnson's Island on the evening of the 13th inst. We are pleased to be once more on the soil of *my Maryland*, the high northern latitude in which we have been sojourning of late being gladly exchanged for the comparatively mild climate of this state.

Maj. Mulford, Assistant Agent for Exchange of Prisoners, came down for us on the boat from Baltimore. He said he had an appointment to meet Mr. Ould[15] tomorrow. As arrangements for this interview were made at Mr. Ould's solicitation, he argues that something favorable may result from it. *Nous verrons.* Meanwhile, I hope you will not neglect to send me a box of edibles occasionally. I am at present very much in need of something good to eat. Cooked ham, butter, eggs, coffee, tea, sugar, preserves, etc. would be very acceptable. Remember me to all, write soon, and believe me to be

Yours truly,
James Anderson
Capt. 35th Battalion Va. Cav.

[Point Lookout, ca. late February or early March 1864]

[Dear Mary]

. . . refused to approve the transfer.[16] When the facts of the case became known to me, quite a tart correspondance ensued between Col. Brown and myself. This occurred a short

time before I was captured. I intended to make the case known to the Secretary of War, thinking that, as Bond had given Charley [Rozer] permission to leave his company and to join mine, I could force Brown to approve it. My capture, as I have just said, occurred shortly afterwards, and prevented me from doing anything more in the matter.

If I had succeeded I think I could have given Charley a lieutenancy, which was my only reason for wishing to have him in my company. He seemed to think that I evinced an unwillingness or lukewarmness in complying with his wishes in this particular, and hence his coolness which, after all, may have been imaginary. He was much mistaken if he thought me indifferent, for I would do anything in the world for him except consent for him to become *my brother-in-law.*[17] I have written to Francis [Rozer] several times without receiving an answer. I suppose my letters did not reach him.

Since we have been here, we had a *negro guard* over us for two days, the first I ever saw on duty. I was not a little amused by a bow-legged one who paraded on the beach in the rear of my quarters. He was a genuine African, and looked (and, I have no doubt, felt) as if he would have been more contented following the plough. One of them came up to our boys some days ago to inquire if his young master was here. Giving the name of the young man, he said, "He was my master once, and he mought be agin, 'case I don't know what turn dis thing mought take."

Being asked how he liked soldiering, he replied, "I'd rather make corn and wheat all de time dan to do dis thing one time." They all say they have been forced into the service, and they seem very anxious to get home. I hope none of ours will ever be *forced to volunteer.*

I suppose the Yankees thought they would treat us with greater indignity by putting a negro guard over us, but our boys very wisely dissembled everything like mortification at it, and pretended to be delighted, saying they infinitely preferred negroes to Yankees. This is probably the reason for discontinuing our *sable guard.*

A few days after we came hither, our money and watches were taken from us, the reason given being that we might use them for bribing the sentinels. The next day they were returned to us, the authorities here being satisfied that they would not be used for any such purpose. I got my watch and chain *minus the key,* which a Yankee officer had purloined. I prized it chiefly on account of the set, the only memento I had of Johnson's Island.

A great many articles were stolen from the trunks and carpet bags of the prisoners on the way from Sandusky to this place, chiefly clothing and jewelry, including several gold watches. The officials here made a show of recovering the missing property or paying the value of it, but it has so far amounted to nothing. They probably shared the plunder. If they are not a gallant people, it cannot be denied that they are light-fingered. However, if I get away from them whole and sound, I shall consider myself fortunate.

I hope my likeness may reach you, and serve to remind you of the photograph which you *never intended to send me.* Take good care of it, have it framed as soon as you can, and give me your opinion of it. See if Minor will recognize it without being told who it is. I suppose Dudee[18] does not recollect me. I should be very much pleased to see you all, but as that cannot be, I should like to have your photographs to carry with me to Dixie.[19]

There is an officer here who was captured a few days since. He represents our affairs as being prosperous. If you were to believe the Yankee accounts, you would think that our armies had all deserted, and that Dixie had grown "small by degrees and beautifully less," until there is very little of it left. Poor Maryland is sadly changed from what it was when I left it last August a year ago, and she seems doomed to feel the despot's heel indefinitely. I am grateful that there is yet territory accessible to us where the "peculiar institution" [slavery] still exists, and I hope you may *all* be able to move to it in case this state be forever lost to the Confederacy.

I have been uneasy about the conscription, fearing that it may take Edward.[20] In the

event it should, and there be no better way to escape from it, send him to Virginia,[21] where I will take good care of him. Tell him to write to me, giving an account of his farming operations, and how the colts are getting on. The last letter I received from Lil was about a week before Christmas, in which she said she was going home with one of her schoolmates to spend the holidays. Tell her to write to me all about her visit, and whatever else she may think will interest me.

Persons writing to this prison are not restricted as to the quantity but prisoners are limited to one page. Tell her, also, to get a song called "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," and learn to sing it and play it *for my sake.* It is one of my favorite songs. Why has not Ma written to me? I should like very much to receive a letter from her. Remember me affectionately to all, both white and colored, and believe me to be

Your brother,
James Anderson

Point Lookout, Md. March 11th, 1864

Dear Mary,

A few days ago I received a letter from Tom[22] asking what article I needed, and by what conveyance they would reach me. Prisoners from this place are being forwarded to City Point,[23] so that I think it advisable that nothing be sent by express to me until I can learn something definite as to the length of time I am likely to remain here. I should probably be on my way south before a box could be prepared and despatched to this place.

A lady friend wrote to Capt. Patterson, Provost Marshal of the Point, inquiring if I was here, and saying she wished to send me money. This lady's name is Emma Bisco, of Georgetown. May her shadow never grow less! Speaking of shadows, I have a pencil likeness of myself taken by a young artist of considerable promise, a fellow prisoner and roommate of mine, which I will try to make arrangements for sending to you by mail in a day or two. I think it faithfully executed *in every particular*, and not inferior to the photographs which you *never intended* to send me. Please have it framed as soon as you can, and see if Minor will recognize it without being told who it is.

Why has not Lil written to me? Remember me affectionately to all, and write soon to

Your captive knight,
James Anderson
Capt. C.S.A.

Point Lookout, St. Mary's County, Md. April 25th 1864

My dear Lil,

Your very acceptable letter of the 16th instant was received yesterday, but, I regret to say, the flowers were by some means lost [sic] out. I am pleased to hear of your studious habits, and of your proficiency in music. I should like very much to hear you sing and play "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," and "The Rock beside the Sea." I have not heard the latter.

You must use every effort to merit the premiums, particularly the gold medal. A prize obtained for good behavior I should esteem more than any other. I was pained at the harsh manner in which you write about Virginia.[24] Poor thing, I feel sorry for her, and I hope you will try to mend her manner and disposition.

Why does your mother not come to see me? I received a letter from Miss Emma Biscoe acknowledging the receipt of mine to her, and offering to befriend me in any way she could. I am entirely without money and postage stamps. I beg that some of you will write to me *at least* twice a week. Kiss Minor and *Dudee* for me, and remember me to all.

Yours affectionately,
James Anderson

Fort Delaware, August 24th, 1864

Dear Ma,

I have written home repeatedly within the last three weeks, but a letter from any of you is an exceedingly rara avis. This is inexplicable to me, as you must know my anxiety to be informed concerning Mary's and Minor's health. The last letter that I received from Rockville was mailed on the 9th inst. In your letter of July 2 you said you were about to send me a box of clothing. I did not receive it, and I suppose it was not sent. I fear it is now too late to send it. I understand there is an order prohibiting articles being sent to prisoners from within the Federal lines. I regret very much that I did not get the clothes; I am in need of them. You are all too slow in your movements.

I have about recovered from a spell of sickness that lasted nearly two months. I am still weak, and I occasionally have slight fever. I wish I could hear of Mary's and Minor's recovery. I have been uneasy about them. Tell Lil I have been disappointed in not getting an answer to my letter to her. Having all the time at her own disposal, I thought she would write frequently. Remember me kindly to all, and believe me to be

Yours most affectionately,
James Anderson

Fort Delaware Sept. 7, 1864

My dear Lil,

Just one month has elapsed since the last letter that I received from home was mailed. Why is it I cannot hear from you oftener? I have written frequently during this long interval and I have suffered great uneasiness on account of getting no answers.[25]

Have Mary and Minor entirely recovered their health? I wrote to you about three weeks ago, and to Mary, Ma, and Edward about the same time. Tell Ma to write and send me some money. I have not a cent to buy tobacco or to pay for my washing. Write about everything you think will interest me.

Your affectionate brother,
James Anderson

Three years after James returned home, he married a cousin from Virginia, Sally Thrift of Madison Court House, daughter of Dr. George Thrift and Eliza Early.[26] He moved from the Vallombrosa homestead into Rockville and lived in a house (now demolished) at the corner of West Montgomery Avenue and South Van Buren Street. He and his wife had six children. There are still direct descendants in Texas of two of their sons who moved to the Houston area early in this century, as well as a nephew and two great nephews who continue to live in Rockville.

Following the war, James held two county positions. He served eleven years as treasurer and examiner for the Montgomery County schools. Then in 1885 he was elected clerk of the circuit court; he worked in this capacity until 1897, the year of his retirement.

Appendix

(The following is a letter from Charles Rozer to James' sister—Charles' future wife—Mary, written early in the war before Charles either volunteered or was conscripted into the Confederate army. It is of interest for the references it makes to Union depredations in Fairfax County, where the Rozers had a plantation near Gunston Hall.

Washington October 8th, 1861

To Miss Mary Anderson

I hope you received my last letter, though it was written in haste and contained not much news. I have just returned from Frank's [Frank Rozer]; found Jinnie and the baby remarkably well. Saw the Miss McPhersons on Sunday, and Ben also. They were well, asked after you. They give an awful account of the conduct of the Lincolnites down there. They have in some instances driven off the cattle and horses belonging to the people, and I have heard it said that they shipped Mr. Henry Ferguson's furniture to town, to sell, I suppose.

They have taken a very fine horse of Capt. Cox on which he used to drill his company; and I have since heard that he has killed two of them who attempted to ride him. I hope he may kill a good many more before he is done with them. I have heard it said that they were going to erect a fort on Notly Hall; I hope it may not be true.

They had a grand review today of five thousand horse and one hundred field pieces. I cannot hear of any move that they intend to make and there is no excitement in the city, but it seems to be full of troops.

When in town last, I went to see Mr. Smith Minor;[27] but he had gone to Virginia. I called at the seed department this morning and saw him. I am sorry to have to inform you that he says they took your grandfather[28] prisoner yesterday, together with his two servants. I shall try and find out where he is kept and see him if I can. I think the report of the house being burnt, as far as I can ascertain, is without foundation.

Mr. Minor tells me Fayette Sommers is a lieutenant in an engineer company. He also says they have destroyed a great deal of land over there, burnt several houses, and all his servants are gone, his farm destroyed. He gets $30 per month in his seed department. I find great difficulty in getting wood cutters, as government has employed all of them that they can lay hands on to cut down the timber in Virginia which is confiscated. I send today's papers; hope they will come to hand. Give my regards to all enquiring friends. I remain yours etc.

Charles B. Rozer

P.S. I put a letter from Jinnie to Mrs. Anderson in the post today. They are going up, Frank says, Thursday week to Rockville.

REFERENCES

1. Vallombrosa—literally, shady valley—is the name of a still-picturesque wooded area near Florence, mentioned by Milton in *Paradise Lost.*
2. James Wallace Anderson (1797–1881) practiced law in Montgomery County. He was Register of Wills for Montgomery County in 1840 and in 1848 served two years as chief judge of the Orphans Court. In 1850 he was elected delegate from Montgomery County to the Maryland Constitutional Convention held in Annapolis in 1850–51. From 1854 until 1861, he worked in Washington at the Auditor's Office of the U.S. Post Office (Sixth District). During this period he lived at boarding houses but made frequent trips home. As a Southern sympathizer, he was dismissed from his job in 1861 for refusing to sign the loyalty oath required of all federal employees at the beginning of the Civil War. For a full account of his life in the city and on the farm, see George M. Anderson "An Early Commuter: The Letters of James and Mary Anderson," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 75 (Fall 1980).
3. The original tract of land owned by Richard Anderson was over 1200 acres; but through the apportionments to the heirs of his son, Dr. James Anderson, the share that came to Captain James' father was only about 250 acres.
4. Mary Minor (ca. 1810–1865), daughter of Colonel George Minor of Mount Pleasant, Fairfax County, Virginia, married James W. Anderson in 1830.
5. Captain James' more fortunate father attended Princeton for two years (1814–1815), but according to college records, was expelled for frequenting taverns.
6. For a much longer description of how another captured Confederate captain fared while at Johnson's Island, see *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier: His War Journal,* ed. Joseph T. Durkin

S.J. (Georgetown University Press, 1945), pp. 136–170. Captain Dooley arrived at Johnson's Island in August, 1863. His time there overlapped with Captain Anderson's by six months, so the two may have come to know each other before the latter's transfer to Point Lookout in February, 1864. Dooley remained on Johnson's Island until February, 1865. By then—near the end of the war—living conditions had sharply deteriorated. Already by September, 1864, Dooley speaks of fellow prisoners killing rats for food.

7. Mary Edith Anderson (ca. 1833–1910). After the Civil War she married Charles Rozer, a Virginian who with his brother Francis (Frank) owned a tobacco plantation near Gunston Hall in Fairfax County. The Rozers became impoverished in the postwar years; Mary and Charles consequently moved back to Vallombrosa.
8. Anderson family letters dating from the 1850s make reference to approximately five slaves on the farm.
9. This letter was written to Mary early in 1864 after James' transfer from Johnson's Island to Point Lookout.
10. Rose Anderson was James' first cousin, the daughter of Dr. John Anderson who owned a farm adjacent to Vallombrosa. She would have been in her early twenties at this time. The "Mr. Cameron" mentioned in conjunction with her name was a beau, but Rose eventually married Richard Williams, a Rockville lawyer.
11. Fortress Monroe was located on the Chesapeake near the mouth of the James River.
12. George Minor Anderson (1857–1927). He was the youngest child of Captain James' parents, only five at the time of the letter. He later became a lawyer and, though living in Rockville, worked as an attorney for the Department of Justice in Washington. He married Julia Prout Vinson, daughter of Montgomery County Circuit Court Judge John T. Vinson. Their son and grandson still live in Rockville.
13. Francis Rozer, like his brother Charles, married one of Captain James' sisters, Virginia (ca. 1834–1913). She was known in the family as Jinny. Their marriage took place in 1860.
14. The Woottons lived near Rockville and were frequent visitors at Vallombrosa.
15. Robert Ould was Agent of Exchange for the Confederate States.
16. The first part of this, the longest of the nine letters, is missing. Since it was signed "Your brother," it must have been written to Mary. Jinny was already married to Frank Rozer and living in Fairfax County. "The transfer" seems to refer to an official request by James to have Charles Rozer transferred to his own company with a view toward obtaining a lieutenancy for him.
17. It is evident that James had no great liking for Charles Rozer, who nevertheless was to become his brother-in-law after the war. In earlier family letters, there are frequent references to Charles' heavy drinking.
18. Dudee was the nickname of James' little niece, the daughter of Frank and Jinny Rozer.
19. James, it seems, expected to be transferred to a prison camp much farther south. There is no indication that this happened.
20. Edward Anderson (1841–1917), another of James' younger brothers. He studied medicine at the University of Maryland in Baltimore after the war, and became a physician in Rockville.
21. Jinny is meant.
22. Thomas Anderson (1835–1900), the brother closest to James in age. He studied law and practiced in Rockville in partnership with William Veirs Bouic. Though both Edward and Thomas were old enough for military service, James was the only son involved in the war.
23. City Point was a large Union supply base located on the James River at the mouth of the Appomattox. It was also a point of exchange for prisoners.
24. Again, Jinny is meant. In a letter from James' mother to his father, written in the summer of 1862, Jinny's "flighty manner" is spoken of. She appears to have been regarded by the family as having a rather volatile disposition.
25. James' concern at having written numerous letters home and having received few replies, is probably an indication that many of the family's letters to him never reached their destination. The family was close-knit and would have been very sensitive to James' desire for frequent news from home.
26. The marriage took place on November 12, 1868.
27. A relative of James: his mother's half-brother.
28. Colonel George Minor.

The Hiss-Chambers Libel Suit

WILLIAM L. MARBURY

ON THE 3RD DAY OF AUGUST, 1948, THE BALTIMORE EVENING papers carried under scare headlines the news that at a hearing before the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives, Alger Hiss, then President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and his brother, Donald, then a partner in the Washington law firm of Covington and Burling, along with Harold Ware, Lee Pressman and a number of others had been identified by a man named Whittaker Chambers as members of an "apparatus" of the Communist Party which operated in Washington, D.C. during the years 1934 to 1938. The next morning I wrote to Donald Hiss as follows:

> "Dear Donie:
> "If you and Alger are Party members, then you can send me an application."

I sent a copy of this letter to Alger Hiss, saying:

> "I know that you will have received offers from hundreds of friends who can do much more for you than I. However, if there is any service that I can render, just let me know."

I suppose that my acquaintance with Alger Hiss must have begun when he was a very small boy. His mother, Mrs. Charles Hiss, a widow who lived in our neighborhood in Baltimore, used to shepherd her flock to Memorial Episcopal Church every Sunday, where they occupied the pew right in front of the Marbury family. My sisters remember that the two youngest Hiss boys used to wriggle and occasionally scuffle with one another, to their older sisters' great annoyance.

One of my sisters graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1921 and went to work in the library of the Johns Hopkins University. About a year later Alger Hiss entered the freshman class along with my first cousin, Jesse Slingluff, Jr., and both joined the Alpha Delta Phi Fraternity. From time to time I heard from my sister and from Jesse of Alger Hiss's shining career as an undergraduate student. My brother-in-law, who was also a classmate and fraternity brother, has recently told me that Hiss was by all odds the most admired member of the class, not only for his intellectual accomplishments but even more for his good manners and personal charm. I was myself then a student at the Harvard Law School, so that I did not see very much of him until after my graduation in 1924, but I did run into him occasionally during holiday seasons.

I first came to know Alger Hiss really well during the summer of 1926, when

Mr. Marbury has practiced law in the City of Baltimore since 1925. This article was delivered as an address to the Fourth Circuit Judicial Conference held at Hot Springs, Virginia, on June 24, 1977.

both of us spent a week at an old-fashioned house party in upstate New York. He had then just graduated from Johns Hopkins, having won many honors—indeed, one of his classmates told me that the undergraduates all claimed that the college administration treated Alger as if "he had a mortgage on Gilman Hall," where the offices of the University were located. Before the house party was over, I understood why he was so highly regarded by his classmates.

During Alger's law school years we always met during holidays when he returned to Baltimore, and by the time he had graduated in 1929 we had become close friends. At his request I was invited by his cousins, who owned a farm on the Miles River in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to join him in a visit to their farm in midsummer. I have never forgotten the spell which the relaxed life of that household cast over me. We spent our days on the water, crabbing, swimming and sailing, and in the evening we visited the neighbors and went to dances at the local club. Before the week was out I stopped reading the newspapers and forgot so completely about time that I no longer remembered the day of the week. On another occasion we drove down together from New England to Baltimore. During that all-day drive I think we discussed almost every conceivable topic, disagreeing only on the merits and demerits of Victor Hugo as novelist.

Every year Professor Frankfurter selected two students from the graduating class to serve as law clerks, one to Justice Holmes and the other to Justice Brandeis. In 1929 the Holmes appointment fell to Alger Hiss. Sometime in October or November of that year I saw him in Baltimore at his mother's home, and he confided that he was planning to marry. It turned out that the girl was Priscilla Fansler, who had been at Bryn Mawr College with my sister. She had been married to Thayer Hobson, a New York publisher, had borne a son and had recently been divorced.

A digression is in order at this point. Priscilla was only one of Alger Hiss's feminine interests. There was a great deal of the knight-errant in his make-up, and the girls to whom he attached himself from time to time were almost always in some sort of difficulty. His friends were at times quite concerned for fear that he would involve himself with someone who was unstable in order to rescue her from her troubles. Priscilla Hobson was clearly in trouble, although apparently not unstable. I have heard that when she told him that she was planning to marry Thayer Hobson, he went to Philadelphia, rode up on the old B&O train with her to Jersey City and rode backward and forward on the ferry for two hours during a driving rain, trying to persuade her not to go through with the ceremony. All to no avail; he came down with pneumonia, and she went ahead with the wedding. According to reports which I have since heard, her marriage to Hobson was brief and stormy, ending with his abandoning her and her child in order to get a Mexican divorce. She was, therefore, clearly a damsel in distress, and that Alger Hiss should come to her rescue was strictly in character.

On December 11, 1929, Alger Hiss and Priscilla Hobson were married in the Washington apartment that he was sharing with Charles Willard, who was then working on the staff of the Wickersham Committee. Jesse Slingluff and I were among the few invited guests. Somewhat to my astonishment, Priscilla, who

during her college years had professed to be a Quaker, consented to be married by a Presbyterian minister.

The next summer, when I was recovering from a surgical operation, Alger and Priscilla invited me to spend a week at their cottage at Montserrat, north of Boston. Alger was obliged to be away during most of the day, attending to Justice Holmes, who was spending the summer at Beverly, nearby. The old man's eyesight was not very strong, and Alger's principal job seemed to be to read aloud to him. Because of Alger's absence I saw a good deal of Priscilla, and I carried away an impression of a rather self-assertive woman, who had no intention of letting Alger "steal the show." It almost seemed as if she resented the attention which his friends paid to him. Like Anthony Trollope's Mrs. Proudie, she would interrupt him when he was asked for his opinion and answer for him. By the time the week was over, I began to feel rather sorry for Alger.

As soon as his term as law clerk ended, Alger went to work with the firm of Choate, Hall & Stewart in Boston. I had hoped to persuade him to come to Baltimore, but I got the impression that he felt it wiser that his mother and Priscilla should not be too near one another. Mrs. Charles Hiss was a rather masterful character in her own right, and Priscilla was not exactly the type of a submissive daughter-in-law. I had two classmates who were practicing law with that firm, and both gave enthusiastic accounts of Alger. Neither of them, however, seemed to find Priscilla easy to get along with. She later told me that she was very unhappy in Boston, that her only real friend was Marian Frankfurter, and that both of them felt completely overshadowed by their husbands in the society of Cambridge.

After they had lived in Cambridge for about a year, Priscilla determined that she could stand it no longer and abruptly moved down to New York. She and Roberta Fansler had together gotten a grant from the Carnegie Fund to write a report on the history of the teaching of art, and she insisted that she could not do the necessary research in Cambridge. Alger was heavily involved in preparing for the trial of an important case for the Gillette Company and felt obliged to continue where he was for the time being. For several months he commuted to New York on weekends but finally gave this up and resigned his position at Choate, Hall & Stewart in order to move to New York.

After Alger moved to New York, he became associated with the firm of Cotton & Franklin. It was during this period that I sent him briefs which I had written in two cases, and we corresponded about them. One of the cases had to do with labor questions. At that time Alger was much interested in labor law and told me that he had joined a group of young lawyers who were getting out some sort of periodical on that subject. At about this time Alger sent me a letter introducing one of the group, Lee Pressman, who planned to file a stockholders' suit in Maryland against a large holding corporation. Pressman came to see me and explained what he had in mind. He wanted me to act as local counsel, but before I would undertake it, I insisted on getting information on a number of points. I never heard anything further from him, and it is my recollection that the suit was never filed in Maryland.

In 1933 Jerome Frank, later a Judge of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, was appointed counsel for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration,

which was then being organized pursuant to one of the early New Deal laws. He asked Alger Hiss and Lee Pressman to be his assistants, and they both accepted. Their first job was to assist in the recruiting of a staff of lawyers, and Alger Hiss suggested John Lewin and John Yost of the Baltimore bar. Both of these men had been in his fraternity at Johns Hopkins, and both were very able lawyers. Both agreed to leave their practice and go to work for the AAA.

During my visits to Washington, I saw Alger from time to time. I gathered that there was bitter feuding in the AAA, with Chester Davis acting as a bridge between two factions. Secretary Wallace seemed to lean first toward one side and then toward the other. I was told that Alger was the only lawyer whom everyone trusted and that as a result he was overworking himself and had again contracted a case of pneumonia. I remember that I shocked him deeply by saying that in my opinion his health was more important than any work that he was doing. He thought this very cynical.

In 1934 Senator Nye was conducting an investigation of the munitions industry—what nowadays would be called the military–industrial complex. The investigation was designed to prove that wars are the product of weapons—an idea which seems to have as many lives as the proverbial cat. At the request of Senator Nye, Alger Hiss was temporarily lent to the Committee and served as its counsel. In that capacity he attracted a good deal of notoriety by his cross-examination of some national figures, notably Mr. Bernard Baruch.

Toward the end of July, 1935, I saw Alger and Priscilla at the home of my sister, Mrs. Wethered Barroll, on the Eastern shore of Maryland. I was spending the weekend there, and Alger and Priscilla came up from Chestertown in order to see me. At that time the constitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act was before the Supreme Court. The Solicitor General, Mr. Stanley Reed, was overwhelmed by the flood of litigation which the New Deal legislation had provoked, and when Alger Hiss offered his services to prepare the brief in support of the Act, he accepted eagerly. However, in order to make the appointment, it was apparently necessary for Alger to get endorsements from his Senators. He was at that time still a registered voter in Maryland, and he asked me if I could get the endorsements of Millard Tydings and George Radcliffe. This I was able to do. In the course of my letter to Senator Radcliffe, I said: "I should like to add that this is not a perfunctory letter. I have known Mr. Hiss intimately for many years, and there is no one who stands higher in my esteem and affection."

In the autumn of 1935 I became engaged to be married. A few weeks before the wedding was scheduled to take place, I received a call from Miss Perkins, who was then the Secretary of Labor. She told me that her General Counsel, Charles Wyzanski, was leaving and that Professor Frankfurter had suggested my name. I reminded Miss Perkins of the Biblical ruling that a newly-married man was always excused from military service for a year so that he might "comfort his wife" and told her that I hardly felt it would be an auspicious time to try to succeed Charlie Wyzanski, who had worked at his job for at least 18 hours a day. Subsequently, Charlie told me that Lee Pressman had been a leading candidate for the job but that Alger Hiss had suggested my name in preference to his. It should be noted that it has since been established that Lee Pressman was at that time a member of the Communist Party.

I was married to Mrs. Natalie Jewett Wheeler on December 3, 1935. As my father had recently died, there was no wedding reception. However, Alger and a few of my other close friends were invited to the church ceremony, and I remember that both he and Priscilla were there.

During the years immediately following our wedding, our friendship with the Hisses continued to be close. My wife had known Alger for many years before our marriage. Her brother had been his classmate and fraternity brother, and she had always been very fond of him. I am sure that we dined with the Hisses in Washington on at least one occasion, and I remember that they came to dinner with us in Baltimore. When our second child, a daughter, was baptized, I asked Alger to be her godfather, and he came to Baltimore for that purpose and spent the night in our home.

By that time Alger had transferred to the State Department. While he was still in the Solicitor General's office, he was assigned to work on a case involving the constitutionality of the Trade Agreements Act under which reciprocal trade treaties were to be negotiated with foreign nations. Francis B. Sayre, who as Assistant Secretary of State was then responsible for the implementation of the Act, had worked with Alger on the brief in that case, and after the Supreme Court had upheld the Act asked Alger to come to the State Department as his assistant. I was again asked to obtain the written recommendations of the Maryland Senators, which I was glad to be able to do.

I had a number of talks and correspondence with Alger about neutrality matters during 1938 and 1939. My position was quite isolationist and his was the opposite. I remember his saying that he did not think that war would be the end of our civilization and that we must stand for collective security even at the risk of another war. At the time of the repeal of the Neutrality Act I had some correspondence with him. This was shortly after the war in Europe had begun, and a letter from him shows that he was not following the Communist Party line at that time.

During the summer of 1940 I began to work part time for Judge Robert P. Patterson, who had just been appointed Assistant Secretary of War. This was the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, when followers of the Party line were accusing Great Britain and France of an imperialist attack on Germany. Alger Hiss was a strong advocate of aid to Great Britain and France.

In March, 1942, I began to work at the War Department full time. I managed to stop in to see Alger from time to time, although we were both so busy that when we were not at work we could hardly find time for enough sleep, much less social contacts. However, during the summers of 1943 and 1944 I lived at the home of Judge Patterson in Georgetown. Alger was living right around the corner, and I used to drop in quite frequently and chat with him and with Priscilla. We often talked about Russia. I remember that on one occasion I expressed strong views as to the ruthless and tyrannical character of the Soviet government, which provoked some mild protest from Priscilla. Alger expressed his entire agreement with what I had said.

During this time I dropped in to see Alger at the State Department occasionally, and we went to lunch together. He was, for the greater part of the time, with the Far Eastern Division, where he came into contact with General Lucius D. Clay,

with whom I was working in the War Department. I remember hearing him express admiration for General Clay's ability in discussion. He said that he talked like a trained lawyer. Apparently they were having some controversy on the subject of Chinese currency. I also remember discussing with Alger his move in 1944 to the Office of Special Political Affairs in the State Department. At that time the war was far from over, and I expressed some surprise that he should be interested in working on post-war problems at such a time. He said that collective security had always been his principal interest.

At the Office of Special Political Affairs, Alger was working with Leo Pasvolsky on the preparatory work for the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, where the foundations of the United Nations Organization were laid. Alger took a prominent part as Secretary of the Conference. Thereafter, he accompanied Ed Stettinius, who was Secretary of State, to the Yalta Conference and was given the responsibility of representing the United States delegation in the discussions relating to the organization of the United Nations.

Shortly after the death of President Roosevelt, Alger told me that he expected to resign from the State Department. I expressed surprise at this, and he said that he looked forward to a change in political climate around the State Department which would be so drastic that he would probably not want to stay. At that time I was on a committee appointed by President Conant of Harvard to help find new members for the faculty of the Harvard Law School, and I asked Alger whether he would be interested. He said that he had no interest in teaching but would like to go into the private practice of international law.

Somewhere around this time Dean Acheson asked me if I would be interested in coming to the State Department to help him deal with congressional committees. I spoke to Alger about this, and he urged me to make sure that I was not being put in a position of crossing wires with the established bureaus of the Department. As it turned out, Judge Patterson vetoed the whole idea.

In June of 1945 the conference was held at San Francisco, where the organization of the United Nations was finally agreed upon. Alger acted as Secretary of the conference, and his performance in that capacity was outstanding. Dr. Isaiah Bowman, the President of Johns Hopkins University, was one of the delegates at the conference. He had been an adviser to the State Department throughout the war period and had come to know and admire Alger. I served with Dr. Bowman for many years on the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, and he told me that Alger had made a tremendous impression at San Francisco, that he was respected and liked by all the delegates, "including the Russians," and was prominently mentioned for the post of Secretary General of the United Nations Organization.

After he got back from San Francisco, Alger showed me an entire book of photographs of Hiss in action taken by Time-Life photographers, one of which appeared on the cover of *Life Magazine*. The result was that his name was on everyone's tongue in Washington. I was especially impressed by the fact that he did not attempt the social circuit but kept steadily at work. When we met he would direct the conversation to my activities rather than his own.

In September, 1945, I resigned from the War Department and returned to the practice of law in Baltimore. About a year later Alger Hiss told me that he

planned to resign from the State Department. He gave as his reason the changed atmosphere in the Department under Mr. Justice Byrnes, who had been appointed by President Truman to succeed Ed Stettinius as Secretary of State. What he did not tell me was that Justice Byrnes had sent for him and informed him that some members of Congress were saying that he was a Communist. Justice Byrnes told him that the Congressmen gave the FBI as their source, and at his suggestion Alger went voluntarily to the FBI and was interviewed by J. Edgar Hoover's deputy.

On February 22, 1947, the Johns Hopkins University conferred an honorary degree on Alger Hiss in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the organization of the United Nations. He was also invited to speak at the annual meeting of the Johns Hopkins Alumni Association. While he was in Baltimore I had lunch with him, and he told me that he had been offered and had accepted the presidency of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. John Foster Dulles was then Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Endowment, which included among its members John W. Davis and Arthur Ballantine. Alger spoke of his plans for the Endowment and his hope to concentrate its resources in support of the work of the United Nations.

At the time of that conversation I had just been asked by Dean Acheson, who had returned to the State Department to serve as Under Secretary under General Marshall, whether I would accept appointment as a deputy to Senator Warren Austin, who was the United States representative at the United Nations. The principal function of the deputy was to represent the United States on a committee of the United Nations which was discussing the control of atomic energy. Mr. Bernard Baruch, who had been serving as deputy, had gotten tired of butting his head against a stone wall and had announced his intention to resign. Dean Acheson said that Judge Patterson, who was then Secretary of War, Jim Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, and General Marshall, who was then Secretary of State, had all agreed on my selection to succeed him. While naturally flattered by this offer, I was worried about the fact that it would take me away from the practice of law, which I had only recently resumed. I discussed this with Alger, and he expressed doubt whether it would ever be possible to reach any agreement with the Russians. He said that Baruch and John Hancock, who was working with him, had been too stiff-necked with them and that they were thoroughly suspicious of our motives. At the same time he would like to see me try it and suggested that I ask for an assistant so that I would not have to be full time at the job. I told him that I did not think that this would work, and I subsequently declined the appointment, which was given to Major General Frederick Osborne of New York, who got nowhere with this assignment.

Shortly thereafter Judge Patterson told me that he was resigning as Secretary of War to return to the practice of law in New York. During the course of the conversation I mentioned Alger Hiss's name, and the Judge thereupon said, "There has been a terrific uproar in the State Department about that fellow. Jimmy Byrnes says that some Congressmen have been charging that he is a Communist. Byrnes looked into it and found that it is all based on a story told by one man, and it all comes down to a question of veracity as between this man and Hiss." I asked him if he knew who the informant was, and he said that Jimmy

Byrnes had not mentioned his name. I then said that if it were a question of veracity, I would have implicit faith in Alger Hiss. Judge Patterson replied that the Assistant Secretary of War, Howard Petersen, later the President and Chief Executive Officer of the Fidelity Philadelphia Trust Company, had said exactly the same thing. About a year later Judge Patterson came to Baltimore to address the Baltimore City Bar Association. At that time he told me that Alger Hiss had been working with him on a committee organized by Clark Eichelberger in support of the European recovery program (the Marshall Plan), to which the Soviet Union was bitterly opposed. Judge Patterson said, "Hiss is a good man."

Which brings us back to August 3, 1948, when Whittaker Chambers appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee and charged that Alger Hiss and his brother, Donald, had been members of a Communist apparatus during the years of 1935 to 1937. The day after I wrote the two letters which I quoted in full at the beginning of this paper, I got a telephone call from Alger Hiss. He said that he had asked and been granted the privilege of appearing before the Committee to reply to the charges made by Whittaker Chambers and would like to have me accompany him as counsel.

I said I would be glad to go with him, and we arranged to meet at the offices of Covington & Burling on the following morning. There I found Joe Johnston from Birmingham, Alabama, who had been a classmate of Alger's at the Harvard Law School and who had been one of my principal assistants in the War Department. Alger told us that to the best of his knowledge, he had never seen Whittaker Chambers. Together we prepared a brief statement for him to make and then rode up to the Capitol. Alger read his statement and then submitted to questions from the Committee.

Chambers in his testimony before the Committee had claimed to have known Alger and Priscilla Hiss as friends. Alger flatly denied that he had ever heard of Whittaker Chambers except that sometime in 1947 he was asked by two FBI interviewers whether he knew him. He said to the Committee, "So far as I know, I have never laid eyes on him." When shown a photograph, he said, "I would not want to take oath that I have never seen that man. I would like to see him and then I think I would be better able to tell whether I have ever seen him."

On the whole, Alger handled himself very well before the Committee, and at the end of the hearing Mr. Rankin of Mississippi, who had the reputation of being its most bigoted member, came down and shook his hand. Richard Nixon, then a delegate from California and a member of the Committee, later claimed that at the end of the hearing the rest of the Committee was prepared to drop the Hiss investigation altogether and that he persuaded them not to be so precipitate.

The day after the hearing I left for upper New York State, where I expected to spend the rest of August on vacation. Forty-eight hours after my arrival I received a telephone call from William H. Draper, Jr., then the Under Secretary of War, asking me to come to Washington. On the following day I met Draper and several representatives of the State Department, who explained that they were organizing the United States delegation to the Second Session of the Signatories of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, commonly called "the GATT," which was to be held at Geneva from August 15th to the middle of September. The State Department had agreed that the War Department could have a represent-

ative on the delegation to press for most favored nation treatment for the occupied areas of Germany and Japan, and that was the job which they were asking me to undertake. I left the country on August 11th with a clear conscience as far as the Hiss case was concerned because I was thoroughly convinced that we had heard the last of the House Un-American Activities Committee. I was wrong; I should not have gone, especially as I did not have time to let Alger know about it.

While I was in Geneva I was in contact with people from the State Department, most of whom had known and admired Alger Hiss. We were all stunned when a late arrival from Washington reported that the Thomas Committee had reopened public hearings, that Hiss had been confronted by Chambers, and that the general impression was that Hiss had equivocated as to their past relationship. As time passed, more and more ominous reports began to come in about the progress of the investigation, and even the Swiss newspapers carried articles on the subject. I remember sitting up all one night in my hotel room drafting and redrafting a letter to Alger expressing my dismay at having deserted him in his time of trouble, but explaining that I did not see how I could return until I had finished the job which I had undertaken for the War Department.

A few weeks later I went to Berlin to consult with General Clay. During the course of dinner at his residence, the Hiss case was mentioned, and I was astonished to hear him say that he had not been surprised by Chambers' charges since in his contacts with Hiss over Chinese matters, Hiss had consistently taken a position which would have been helpful to the Chinese Communists.

I returned from Geneva on September 12th and went immediately to Cambridge for a meeting of the Harvard Corporation. Together with Mr. Grenville Clark, who was a senior member of the Corporation, I spent the night at the residence of President Conant. Most of the talk was about the Hiss case. I learned that Alger in his last appearance before the Committee had challenged Chambers to make his accusation under circumstances where he could not claim the privilege of a witness under subpoena from a Congressional committee. Chambers had responded by stating in a radio interview that to his knowledge Hiss was once a member of the Communist Party and might still be one. Both Mr. Conant and Mr. Clark felt that this left Hiss no alternative except to bring a libel suit against Chambers. They said that his failure to do so had already been taken as an admission of the truth of Chambers' charges and they feared that a flood of similar charges against political and academic figures would soon follow, which would have a very serious impact on our foreign policy and on academic freedom generally. Mr. Clark was especially emphatic in urging me to get in touch with Alger immediately and urge upon him the importance of bringing suit promptly.

While I was in Cambridge I had a talk with Judge Wyzanski, who told me that Alger had been advised not to sue Chambers. When I got back to my office I found a letter from Alger saying that in my absence he had employed Edward McLean of the firm of Debevoise, Plimpton & McLean of New York City to represent him and that he was planning to bring a libel suit against Chambers if he could get "enough unprivileged material" to justify such a suit. He asked me to let him know as soon as I got back to Baltimore.

I called him on the telephone and in the course of the conversation asked about the libel suit. He said that he wanted to bring it immediately but that Mr. Davis and Mr. Ballantine had advised him to go slow and that Ed McLean agreed. I said that in spite of the eminence of those gentlemen I felt differently, and he asked me to come to New York and discuss the matter with them. He said that Mr. Dulles was also opposed to his bringing the suit, but that he was out of the country and could not be reached. I told him that I wanted time to read over the record of the hearings before the Thomas Committee and after doing so would be glad to come to New York.

In the meantime Alger sent me more than sixty letters and copies of public statements for publication which friends of his had sent to him during my absence. These letters were from an extraordinary variety of people, all expressing complete confidence in his integrity, among them Judge Robert P. Patterson, who had been Secretary of War; Will Clayton, who had been Under-Secretary of State; and Devereux Josephs, who was President of the New York Life Insurance Company and who had been president of one of the Carnegie Funds. I noted that Eleanor Roosevelt, who had worked with Alger as a delegate to the first conference of the United Nations, had given a very thoughtful and perceptive interview in his behalf to the Christian Science Monitor. I was especially interested in letters from Francis B. Sayre, Leo Pasvolsky and Stanley Hornbeck, who had been Alger's immediate superiors in the State Department. Alger had been working for Hornbeck during the time when he had been meeting with General Clay on problems relating to China, and I was, therefore, especially interested in what Hornbeck had to say. I quote the entire letter, which was dated September 2, 1948:

"Dear Alger:

In pursuance of what I volunteered to you when we talked last week, I want you to know that, having known you well for ten years and having had very close association with you in the Department of State during the years from 1939 to 1944—when you were my assistant and one of my 'sparring partners'—I should be glad to testify in any form that I have never known or thought of your having been engaged in any doubtful or questionable activities, or of your having given indication of radical leanings or sympathies; that I at no time have suspected you of being a Communist or a 'fellow traveler'; that, short of conclusive proof, I would not now believe that you ever were either of these or that you ever have been knowingly a member of any 'corp' chosen, favored or used by Communists in service of Communist, subversive or disloyal purposes; that I have never in any connection found you to have been other than truthful; and that I consider you a gifted, high-principled, devoted and loyal citizen.

With cordial regards and all best wishes,

I am,

Yours ever,

(signed) STANLEY K. HORNBECK"

As Hornbeck was known throughout the Department for his anti-Communist views, I found this very reassuring.

However, I found that my associate, Franklin Allen, who had been following

the Thomas Committee proceedings, was very much disturbed by the developments that had taken place in my absence. He presented me with a summary of the proceedings before the Committee and suggested that I take the time to read the transcript of the hearings, which I did. There was no doubt that in his appearances before the Committee in my absence Alger had handled himself very badly. He had adopted a rather arrogant attitude and had repeatedly fenced with the members of the Committee. He had written a letter to the Chairman which reeked with hurt pride and indignation, and had grudgingly admitted association with Chambers under the name of George Crosley, but only after examining his teeth and asking him to read aloud some passages from a document.

Richard Nixon had shown himself to be a skillful prosecutor. At a secret session he had examined Chambers and had developed a number of details which indicated that there had indeed been a close relationship between the Chambers and Hiss families. When Alger was called back to the stand, Nixon examined him in turn on all these points and demonstrated that Chambers had been generally pretty accurate in a number of his assertions with regard to the Hiss household and the habits of the Hiss family. For example, Chambers had said that he and Alger were both bird watchers and that Alger was very proud of the fact that he had once seen a prothonotary warbler along the old C&O Canal in Georgetown. Without knowing of Chambers' testimony, Alger, in response to a question from a member of the Committee, testified that he was a bird watcher and that he had seen a prothonotary warbler in that vicinity. Chambers also mentioned an Oriental rug which he had purchased with funds supplied by his superiors in the Communist underground, at whose instruction he claimed to have given the rug to Alger in recognition of his services.

Chambers said that the Hisses had never known him under any name except that of "Karl," which he said was his party name. When finally confronted with Chambers, Alger had admitted knowing him under the name of George Crosley as a free-lance journalist who was down on his luck. He acknowledged that he had sublet his apartment in Washington to Chambers in 1935 and said that Chambers had never paid the rent but had at one time produced an Oriental rug, which Alger assumed to be in part payment of Chambers' indebtedness. Alger said that at the time he rented his apartment to Crosley he had also "thrown in" an old Ford automobile for which the Hiss family no longer had any use. Chambers had testified that in 1936 Alger had delivered an old Ford to a dealer who was a party member and who had agreed to turn it over to another member of the party. The certificate of title was produced and showed that Alger had signed a transfer in 1936, not in 1935.

While there thus seemed some very disquieting evidence in the record, it was, nevertheless, apparent that the issue was still primarily one of veracity between Chambers and Hiss. Bear in mind the fact that Chambers did not accuse Hiss of espionage. On the contrary, when asked that specific question at his first appearance before the Thomas Committee, he replied that the objective of the apparatus to which Hiss belonged was not espionage but rather infiltration of the government, although espionage was certainly one of its eventual objectives. In 1935 membership in the Communist Party was not illegal, and it was well known that a number of people, particularly in academic circles, were party members. For

this reason alone, Chambers' lurid story of conspiratorial secrecy seemed incredible on its face. While I was reluctant to advise an action which would be opposed by Alger's Board of Trustees, it seemed to me inevitable that if he failed to sue Chambers, his reputation would be so irretrievably destroyed that the Endowment would have to dispense with his services anyhow.

Accordingly, I went to New York and spent an entire day in interviews, the first with Alger and Priscilla Hiss at their apartment, where I spent the night, then with Mr. Davis and with Mr. Ballantine, and finally with Judge Patterson. I warned both Alger and Priscilla that if there were any skeletons in the closet of either one of them, they would certainly be discovered if suit were filed, and they both assured me there was no cause for worry on that count. However, I found my interview with Priscilla somewhat mystifying. I had asked to see her alone after Alger had left for the office, and we talked for nearly an hour. I got the impression that she felt that in some way she was responsible for the troubles which had come to Alger. However, she stoutly supported Alger's story of his association with "George Crosley" and flatly denied that either she or Alger had ever been connected with a Communist Party apparatus.

I am afraid that in my meeting with Mr. Davis and Mr. Ballantine I spent most of my time trying to persuade them to withdraw their objections to the filing of the suit. I did secure from them what I took to be a commitment that if the suit were filed, no action would be taken to remove Alger as President of the Endowment until the case had been tried. In my interview with Judge Patterson I tried to state the issue as neutrally as possible and was much comforted to find that he was in agreement with my position.

Alger Hiss then had to make the decision as to whether to be guided by my advice or by that of Ed McLean. One of McLean's worries arose out of the fact that the New York courts appeared to draw a distinction between an accusation that a man had once been a member of the Communist Party and a charge that he still was a member. Chambers in his broadcast had been careful not to assert that Alger was still a Communist. It seemed to me, however, that coming immediately after the congressional hearings, Chambers' broadcast amounted to a charge of perjury and was therefore clearly libelous.

McLean also was troubled by the fear that a libel suit would not come on for hearing until too late to do any good. However, I pointed out that since Chambers was then living with his family on a farm in Carroll County, Maryland, we could probably make venue stick in Maryland and also establish diversity of citizenship, which would confer jurisdiction on the federal court here in Baltimore. At that time our federal district court would try any case that was at issue within 60 days if the parties did not seek delay.

A meeting was scheduled to be held in my office on Monday, September 22nd, to reach a final decision as to whether to bring suit. Alger arrived accompanied by a lawyer named Harold Rosenwald, who had known him at the Harvard Law School and who had volunteered his services during the congressional hearings. No sooner had the meeting begun than Alger announced that he had made up his mind and that he wanted suit brought immediately. I again warned about skeletons in the closet and mentioned the case of Oscar Wilde, but Alger brushed this aside, saying that he had nothing to hide. After discussion it was agreed that

suit should be brought in Baltimore and that my partner, Charles Evans and I should appear as counsel and have primary responsibility for the trial of the case. Charlie had been Deputy State's Attorney for Baltimore City for a number of years and had a wide trial experience, primarily in criminal cases. Ed McLean agreed to continue as counsel and offered to prepare a draft of the complaint.

A general discussion followed as to what should be included in the complaint, and all agreed that it should be kept as brief and simple as possible. We believed that Chambers could not afford to raise any technical defenses and would be bound to defend on the ground that the statements which he had made before the Thomas Committee and in the broadcast were true. The question of the amount of damages gave us much concern. Alger was not looking to profit by his lawsuit but wanted public vindication. I thought that a jury might well hesitate to inflict heavy damages on Chambers and if we claimed a large sum and got a relatively small verdict, we would fail in our primary purpose, so we agreed to claim only $50,000, which would be substantial enough to hurt but would not bankrupt Chambers. Such were the times that we believed that $50,000 would be enough to cover the costs of the trial.

On September 27, 1948, suit was filed in the United States District Court for the District of Maryland. Immediately after the suit was filed, Chambers handed a statement to the Associated Press in which he said, "I welcome Mr. Hiss's daring suit. I do not minimize the audacity or the ferocity of the forces which work through him." This language seemed to us to be clearly libelous, and we promptly filed a supplementary complaint seeking an additional $25,000 damages.

There followed a period of frenzied activity. Grenville Clark wrote long letters making recommendations as to strategy and tactics. Thomas Eliot wrote from Boston to say that he had once been panhandled by a man who looked like Chambers and used a name something like Crosley. A publisher named Roth (who later became famous when the Supreme Court undertook to define obscenity), volunteered that Chambers had offered for publication a number of pornographic poems under the pseudonym George Crosley. At least three different people stated that they knew that Chambers had been under treatment for mental disorders. One of them named as his psychiatrist the famous Dr. Kubie. All of these reports had to be run down. All proved to be unfounded.

At the same time we were conducting an investigation of Chambers to develop any facts which might bear upon his credibility. Because of the impact of the Thomas Committee hearings on the public mind, the burden was really on Alger Hiss to prove that the charges made by Chambers were false. True, the Maryland law of libel as it then stood did not impose that burden on plaintiffs, but nevertheless it seemed quite clear to all of us that Alger Hiss would never get a verdict in his favor unless he was able to convince the jury that he was not and never had been a member of the Communist underground. So that we were up against the lawyers' bête noir—proving a negative.

We hoped to accomplish this in two ways: First, by proving that Alger's character and conduct throughout his life had been totally inconsistent with Chambers' story and, second, by establishing that Chambers was unworthy of belief. In that connection we proposed to show first that throughout his career Alger had earned and won the trust of men and women whose integrity and

judgment commanded respect and that he had frequently and effectively opposed the Communist Party line during his career as a public servant. On the second point, we hoped to be able to prove that a number of the statements made by Chambers to the Thomas Committee were untrue and that his character and conduct throughout his life made his testimony unreliable. In the end, we hoped that the jury would see the issue as one of veracity between a valuable public servant of spotless reputation and a renegade Communist who, on his record, could not be believed under oath.

Thus, the case called for a thorough examination of Chambers' entire life history, including a study of everything that he had ever written, as well as a check on the details of the story which he had told to the Thomas Committee. On the Hiss end, it involved the interviewing of a large number of people. I myself interviewed 25 different individuals, including Dean Acheson, Chester Davis, Stanley Hornbeck, Leo Pasvolsky, Charles Wyzanski, Ed Stettinius and others with whom Alger had worked over the years. I even wrote to Jim Bruce, then Ambassador to the Argentine, to ask his help in getting information from a colleague who was then the Ambassador to Paraguay. At the same time I was meeting constantly with Alger, Ed McLean, Harold Rosenwald (on whose judgment Alger seemed to rely greatly), Hugh Cox, who was representing Donald Hiss, and Spencer Gordon of the office of Covington & Burling, who was an expert on the law of libel. I was also in frequent communication with John F. Davis, a young lawyer who was later Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States and who, in my absence, had represented Alger before the Thomas Committee. At my request, Davis conducted a number of inquiries in the District of Columbia in an effort to develop facts which would corroborate some of the statements made to me by Alger and Priscilla. None of these inquiries produced anything of particular value.

In the meantime, I was preparing to examine Whittaker Chambers on oral deposition, and to that end conferences were held to discuss strategy, and I was inundated with advice as to how the examination should be conducted. In the end, I decided to go on the theory that everything Chambers had ever said or done might be of interest, beginning with his boyhood and moving on from there.

One subject, however, I definitely did not intend to get into, and that was Chambers' homosexual activities, which it now appears that he confessed to the government before he took the witness stand at the criminal trials in New York. Early in October, Charlie Wyzanski had written to report that, according to John Cowles, the gossip among newspapermen was that Chambers was a homosexual. Harold Rosenwald called my attention to the fact that Chambers had translated a novel called *Class Reunion*, in which a character with a history much like that of Chambers succeeds in destroying the shining career of a former classmate of the same sex because of unrequited love, of which the injured party is quite unaware.

In the course of one of our discussions, I brought up this subject with Alger. At that time he told me, in strict confidence, what has now been proclaimed to the whole world, that his stepson, Timothy Hobson, had been discharged from the Navy because of a homosexual episode. He said that he had reason to think that the Thomas Committee knew of this and would not hesitate to bring it out if the

subject of Chambers' abnormality were ever brought up. He added that there had been rumors of a homosexual relationship between Timmy and Chambers, which were outrageous, but because of Timmy's vulnerable record, neither he nor Priscilla would allow Timmy to testify, as he was eager to do.

On November 4, 1948, I began the examination of Whittaker Chambers at my office in Baltimore. Chambers was represented by Richard F. Cleveland and William D. Macmillan of the firm of Semmes, Bowen and Semmes. For two days we reviewed his life's history, and an extraordinary story it was. Much of it you will find outlined in a book which Chambers later published under the title of *Witness*. Among the interesting facts brought out in his testimony were the following: that he had at different times used a variety of aliases; that he had been forced to withdraw from Columbia University for publishing in the college newspaper an article which, by the standards of that age of innocence, was considered to be both pornographic and blasphemous; that he had written and published a lesbian poem; that he had taken books from the Columbia Library and not returned them until it was discovered that he had accumulated nearly a roomful; that he had lived in a house in New Orleans that was also occupied by a prostitute known as "One-eyed Annie"; that he had made false affidavits in order to obtain a job with the Railroad Retirement Board; and that he had written a letter to Mark Van Doren in which he boasted that he had gained readmission to Columbia by lying to the Dean about his intentions.

Speaking generally, Chambers confirmed everything of a derogatory nature which our investigation had turned up, with the exception of a neighborhood report that he and his brother had entered into a suicide pact. The brother actually did commit suicide, but Chambers testified that he had done everything in his power to persuade him not to do so. He said that when this occurred, he had been so grief stricken that he was physically unable to move for several weeks. When I indicated some surprise at the violence of this reaction, he looked at me sternly and said, "Have you never felt grief?" He specifically reiterated the testimony which he had given before the Thomas Committee that he had no evidence that Hiss had committed any act of espionage.

At the end of the second day of testimony, it was apparent that in the absence of some written evidence which would corroborate Chambers' story, no jury would ever believe it. Chambers himself stated in *Witness*, at page 734, that he "had realized from the tone and the maneuvers at the pretrial examination how successfully the Hiss forces had turned the tables with the libel suit."

Accordingly, I made demand on him to produce anything whatsoever which he had in his possession in the way of written evidence which would substantiate his story, and particularly any communications from Alger or Priscilla Hiss. Chambers says, at page 735 of *Witness*, "This time Cleveland warned me that if I did have anything of Hiss's I had better get it."

According to the story which he later told on the witness stand in New York, and embellished in his book, he had a vague recollection that he had at one time turned some papers over to his wife's nephew in New York for safekeeping. He, accordingly, went to New York and asked for the papers and was delivered a dusty envelope. To his utter amazement, he discovered that the envelope contained what appeared to be copies of documents, which he claimed that Hiss had

delivered to him from time to time during the year 1938. There were also two rolls of developed microfilm, three cylinders of microfilm which had never been developed and four memoranda in Alger Hiss's handwriting.

In *Witness* he says that he extracted the films and then delivered the rest of the papers to Cleveland for safekeeping. He felt that he needed time to make up his mind whether to destroy the papers and the films and commit suicide or whether to allow Cleveland to produce them at the deposition. (Incidentally, according to the story which he tells in *Witness*, he did, at a later stage of the proceedings, attempt suicide but bungled the attempt.) For this reason he says that he decided not to come back to my office for further oral examination on November 16th but sent his wife instead to give her testimony, while he sought divine counsel as to where his duty lay. He then made up his mind to retain all his films for the time being, without telling Cleveland that he had done so, and to tell Cleveland to introduce in evidence the typewritten papers and the handwritten notes which he had entrusted to him.

In the afternoon of November 17th Chambers appeared in my office and, with a flourish, produced a package of papers. Four of the papers were handwritten memoranda. The balance appeared to be typewritten copies of communications received by the State Department in Washington from various foreign service officers overseas during the first three months of 1938.

I immediately objected to these papers being introduced until I could examine them. Macmillan then agreed to mark them for identification only. He said that he had already made photostatic copies of all the papers, which he was prepared to hand over to me after they had been marked to correspond with the markings placed on the originals. He then proceeded to mark for identification 47 exhibits and the corresponding photostatic copy of each. While this was going on, I examined the handwritten memoranda and found that they appeared to be in Alger's handwriting and purported to summarize documents, some of which might well have had a secret or restricted classification.

Chambers then launched into an explanation of how the papers had come into his possession. He said that either in August or the early fall of 1937 Alger had attended a meeting in New York which Chambers had arranged with a Russian Colonel Bykov, who went by the pseudonym of Peter and who spoke no English. Through Chambers as interpreter, Peter asked Alger whether he would be willing to turn over to Chambers for transmission to him copies of documents which came across Alger's desk at the State Department. Alger agreed to do this, and thereafter there was a fairly constant flow of such material, which Alger would bring home in his briefcase and which Priscilla Hiss would copy on her typewriter. In some cases where it was not feasible to bring home documents which appeared to be of special interest, Alger would make notes of their contents in his own handwriting.

In a book just published called *Alger Hiss: The True Story*, the author says, at pages 243 and 244:

> "... When Marbury saw Hiss's handwriting on the little scraps of notepaper he recognized it at once and was so shocked he frankly didn't know what to do next. ..."

While this effort on the part of the author to read my mind after thirty years is to a large extent an essay in fantasy, it is certainly true that I was shocked when I recognized what seemed to be Alger's handwriting. There was of course, always the possibility of forgery, but barring that it was obvious that the handwritten memoranda really meant the end of the libel suit. I had spent most of my professional life as a litigator and had participated actively in the defense of some fairly important libel cases, and I was fully aware of the devastating effect that these memoranda would be certain to have on Alger's suit.

I was also conscious of the need for careful handling of a situation which might well result in a criminal prosecution of Alger.

It seemed clear to me that it would be unwise to attempt to proceed further with the examination of these papers until I had a chance to consult with Alger. For all I knew, the documents might have been sheer fabrications, which Alger could immediately identify as such by examining the photostatic copies. I, accordingly, said that I would need time to examine the original papers, and it was agreed that in the meantime they should be kept in the safe deposit box at Semmes, Bowen & Semmes, subject to our right of inspection. Cleveland then turned over to me the photostatic copies, which I handed to Harold Rosenwald and told him to take them to Alger at once. In the meantime I proceeded for the rest of the afternoon to examine Chambers on other points.

As soon as the examination was ended, I called Alger on the telephone and told him what had happened. I had an engagement the following day to meet Ed Stettinius in his office in New York, and I made an appointment to see Alger at the Carnegie Endowment immediately thereafter. In the meantime Charlie Evans and I discussed what we ought to do. The documents together with Chambers' explanation of them were certainly proof that Chambers had engaged in espionage. They also proved that he had lied to the Thomas Committee when he had denied any participation in such activities. If Chambers were indicted for perjury, then the libel suit would become academic. Clearly the Department of Justice had far greater resources than we to find out whether these typewritten papers were copies of genuine documents of a classified nature. They were also in a far better position to investigate and determine how Chambers had gotten possession of them. Moreover, Charlie Evans felt strongly that we were under an obligation to tell the Department of Justice what had happened.

When I talked to Alger on the following day, he had already been shown the photostats by Harold Rosenwald. He confirmed that at least three of the handwritten memoranda appeared to be in his own handwriting. He said that he had probably made them for his own use in reporting to Mr. Sayre and that anyone could have pilfered them from his desk. He denied ever having seen the typewritten papers before, although he acknowledged that the contents appeared to be similar to that of papers which had passed over his desk. He said he could not imagine how Chambers could have gotten hold of them. I said that in view of that statement it seemed to me that he could have nothing to lose by turning the papers over to the Department of Justice, and he agreed entirely. While I sat at his desk, he tried to call the Attorney General in Washington but found that he was out of town. He then agreed that I should call him on the following day.

I returned to Baltimore that night and the following morning tried to reach the

Attorney General by telephone but found that he had left his office and was not expected to return. I then spoke to Phil Perlman, who was the Acting Attorney General, and asked him whether he could arrange to see McLean and me on the following day. Perlman said that he would get in touch with the head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice and tell him to call me.

I then called Cleveland and told him that I had been instructed by Hiss to bring the papers to the attention of the Attorney General. Cleveland suggested that we meet to discuss the matter and shortly thereafter arrived at my office with Macmillan and with Harold R. Medina, Jr., of the Cravath firm in New York City, who said that he was representing Time, Inc. Cleveland suggested that we should take the matter up with Judge Chesnut, who agreed to see us at one o'clock. At the conference Cleveland said to Judge Chesnut: "Your Honor, this is more Mr. Marbury's idea than it is ours but we have no objection to it, provided that there is no unreasonable delay in the trial of the libel suit." Judge Chesnut then gave his approval.

While waiting to see Judge Chesnut, I had received a call from a Mr. Campbell, who indicated that he was head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice and that he had been instructed by the Attorney General to come to Baltimore immediately. I suggested that he wait until after the conference with Judge Chesnut was over. Immediately upon returning from Judge Chesnut's office, I called Campbell and made arrangements for him to come to my office on that same afternoon. He arrived, accompanied by two associates. Cleveland, Macmillan and Medina arrived shortly thereafter.

I explained the circumstances to Campbell and gave him the photostatic copies of the original papers which had been produced at the deposition on the afternoon of November 17. Cleveland told Campbell that the originals were in his possession and had been placed in a safe deposit box. Campbell then asked that the taking of further depositions be suspended for a period of two weeks and that the utmost secrecy be preserved in the meantime so as to enable the Government to make as complete an investigation as possible. He agreed that at the end of two weeks he would get in touch with me and let me know what the Government intended to do. At his request, the reporter was called into the conference and asked not to write up his notes until further notice.

During the following week I heard nothing from Campbell, and I began to have a great deal of concern about what might happen if, in fact, the papers turned out to be copies of genuine State Department documents. In that event, it seemed to me that it would be quite likely that Alger and not Chambers would be indicted. After thinking the matter over, I called Alger and said that I wanted to see him and Priscilla together. They were planning to visit the Eastern Shore of Maryland and agreed to come over to Baltimore to my house for lunch on Sunday, November 28. Their little son, Tony, came with them.

After lunch I talked to Alger and Priscilla and said that I feared that Alger would be indicted and might be convicted. Priscilla looked stunned. Alger said that he knew that he was innocent and had confidence that the truth would prevail. I told him that even so, they had better prepare for the worst. I suggested that he should think about what lawyer he would like to have defend him in case he were indicted, and he asked me to discuss it with Ed McLean and Judge

Patterson. I suggested that he and Priscilla make every effort to locate papers written on her typewriter so that they could be compared with the papers which Chambers had produced, since this would be the best possible way of establishing that Chambers was lying.

On Wednesday, December 1, I went to New York and had a talk with Ed McLean and Harold Rosenwald. Ed and I then went to see Judge Patterson. He was very much shocked by the developments and advised us to try to line up Lloyd Stryker, who was then New York's best known criminal lawyer. On December 3, I wrote Alger a letter in which I reported on my visit to New York, in the course of which I said:

> "As you no doubt know, I spent several hours with Harold and Ed McLean on Wednesday. We had a full discussion of all phases of this matter and arrived at a tentative program of action. We also had a brief conference with Judge Patterson and got his advice on what to do in case there should be any action by the New York grand jury. Incidentally, I may say that his reaction to the new developments in the case confirmed my feeling that I did not over-draw the picture when I talked to you and Prossie on Sunday.
>
> "I am troubled by the fact that your inability to explain what became of the typewriter which Prossie had in 1938 might be construed as an attempt to cover up something. This inference could be rebutted by the voluntary production on your part of papers which were typed by her on that particular machine. I think that she should make every effort to locate some such papers. Perhaps the manuscript of the book which she was writing on the history of the teaching of art could be located."

In the meantime, articles had begun to appear in the press. Bert Andrews talked to me on the telephone and asked whether there had been any developments in the libel suit, to which I replied that I could not comment on the subject. Apparently, he got similar replies from Cleveland and an ambivalent statement from Chambers that his counsel had advised him that he was under a court order not to say anything. All this was reported in an article which he wrote for the *Herald Tribune*.

On December 1st a columnist writing in the *Washington Post* reported that there had been developments in the libel suit which had shown who was lying. He compared the developments to the dropping of a bombshell. On the same day a report appeared that someone in the Department of Justice had issued a statement saying that the grand jury proceedings in New York were at a stalemate and that the Hiss-Chambers inquiry was about to be dropped. I promptly called Mr. Campbell, who told me to pay no attention to that statement and assured me that there would be an announcement very shortly.

On December 3rd, on the very day that I wrote the letter to Alger Hiss describing my visit to Judge Patterson, the Department of Justice announced that new evidence had been produced which would be laid before the New York grand jury. That same evening, I got a call from Mr. Frank Johnstone at the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Baltimore, who said that he wanted to interview Mr. Hiss in Baltimore on the following day. I reached Alger at midnight, and he agreed to come to Baltimore immediately. The following morning he arrived, and we went to the FBI office and remained nearly all day,

during the course of which he was served with a subpoena to appear before the grand jury in New York.

During the long interview with Mr. Johnstone, a number of questions were asked about the typewriter. Some of those questions related directly to whether any copies of State Department documents had ever been made by Priscilla Hiss. Alger denied that there was any possibility of this. When asked whether he had owned a typewriter, he said that his wife had owned an old office machine which was given to her by her father, and which had been disposed of some time in 1938. At the end of the interview, Alger signed in my presence a statement, from which I quote the following:

> "During the period from 1936 to some time after 1938, we had a typewriter in our home in Washington. This was an old-fashioned machine, possibly an Underwood, but I am not at all certain of the make. Mrs. Hiss, who was not a typist, used this machine somewhat as an amateur typist, but I never recall having used it. Possibly samples of Mrs. Hiss' typing on this machine are in existence, but I have not located any to date, but will endeavor to do so. Mrs. Hiss disposed of this typewriter to either a secondhand typewriter concern, or a secondhand dealer in Washington, D.C., some time subsequent to 1938, exact date or place unknown. The whereabouts of this typewriter is presently unknown to me."

I remember that while we were talking about the typewriter I said that we were extremely anxious to locate it, since we were confident that we could then demonstrate that the papers which Chambers had produced in my office had not been written by Priscilla Hiss. Of course, if it turned out that they had been written on that typewriter, then Alger would indeed be in serious trouble, and my recollection is that I said so and that Alger did not demur to this.

After signing the statement, Alger left for New York. The following morning I ran into Mr. William Curran, then Baltimore's leading criminal lawyer, who said, "I thought there was something in the Hiss case, but this business about the pumpkin has reduced the whole thing to a farce." I had no idea what he was talking about, so I immediately bought a newspaper and learned, to my astonishment, that Chambers, in the presence of members of the staff of the Thomas Committee, had opened a pumpkin on his farm, from which he had produced microfilm which contained photographs of secret State Department documents, which he said Alger Hiss had handed over to him.

The circumstances which led up to this deliberately sensational scenario have been the subject of a number of accounts. After reading them all, I think it is reasonably clear that Chambers had become convinced that the Department of Justice intended to suppress the papers which had been turned over to Mr. Campbell in my office. Through a lawyer named Vazzano, he dropped a hint to the chief investigator for the Thomas Committee that he had some valuable information. On December 1st the investigator came to the Chambers' farm. Chambers told him that he had produced some documentary evidence at the Baltimore deposition but wasn't allowed to talk about it. That same night, after a meeting of the Thomas Committee, Nixon signed a subpoena and the investigator was instructed to serve it on the following day.

In the meantime, Chambers went out into the garden on his farm, opened a

pumpkin which was lying there, and inserted the microfilms which he had withheld when he delivered the typewritten papers to Cleveland on November 16th. When the Thomas Committee, accompanied by a cameraman, arrived at 10 o'clock at night on December 2nd, with the subpoena, Chambers took them into the garden and solemnly went through the farce of opening the pumpkin in their presence and extracting the films. At the same time he turned over to them a set of photostatic copies of the typewritten papers which had been produced at the deposition, completely disregarding Judge Chesnut's instructions. The next day the Committee investigators prepared press releases, accompanied by photographs of the pumpkin, which were made available to the media for publication on December 4th. The resulting nationwide publicity must have exceeded even Chambers' wildest hopes.

A day or two later, a telephone call came in from McLean in New York. He said that among some papers which had been handed to him by Priscilla Hiss back in October he had found two documents which had been typed by her in 1933. Our experts, who had been employed to look at the papers which had been produced at the deposition, had announced that the newly-discovered papers were undoubtedly written on the same typewriter—a Woodstock—and had probably been written by the same typist. When I heard this, I felt certain that Alger Hiss would be indicted.

However, the FBI knew nothing about this and were still searching for the typewriter. Apparently they had interviewed every secondhand dealer in the District of Columbia without success. Finally, they located some other papers which Priscilla Hiss had typed on her Woodstock and compared them with the typewritten papers which Chambers had produced at the deposition on November 17th. Independently they reached the same conclusion that our experts had reached, and on December 14th reported this to the Department of Justice. Mr. Campbell, who up until that moment had planned to ask the New York grand jury to indict Chambers for perjury, turned completely around and asked for an indictment of Alger.

On December 15, 1948, the last day of the term of the New York grand jury, Alger Hiss was indicted on two counts, first, that he had lied on December 15th, when he denied under oath that either he or Priscilla in his presence had ever turned over to Chambers any State Department documents, and, second, when he denied having seen Chambers after January 1, 1937, until the Thomas Committee hearing in 1948.

Thereafter my role became a very subsidiary one in the unfolding Hiss-Chambers drama. While the indictment did not technically abort the libel suit, it was perfectly clear that it would be impossible to try the libel suit until the criminal trial had been disposed of. That was now the responsibility of Ed McLean and Lloyd Stryker, who had both agreed to represent Alger at the New York trial. I turned over all the records which I had to them and awaited their instructions.

The first request was that I serve notice that the plaintiff intended to resume the oral examination of Chambers. This seemed to me to be of doubtful propriety, since the federal rules of criminal procedure at that time made no provisions for pre-trial examination of a prospective witness. However, I agreed to file the notice

and took the matter up with Cleveland and Macmillan. They stated that they had no objection but that the Department of Justice might object and, therefore, suggested that the matter be presented to Judge Chesnut. This was done and, to my surprise, he filed an opinion on December 31, overruling the objections of the Department of Justice and holding that the plaintiff could proceed with his examination. Judge Chesnut's opinion made it clear that the suspension of the taking of the deposition on November 17th should be regarded as temporary and that the plaintiff was free to proceed under the civil rules as if no criminal indictment were pending.

Under the circumstances, it seemed to me that the counsel who were going to try the criminal case should take charge of the further examination of Chambers. Accordingly, on February 17th McLean proceeded with the examination of Chambers. By that time the original documents had been turned over to the Department of Justice by Cleveland, so that they were no longer available for examination in Baltimore. Furthermore, the Department of Justice refused to make the originals available to McLean on the ground that our right to examine them, which had been agreed to at the time that the taking of the depositions was suspended, had been lost. McLean had asked the New York court to require the government to make these papers available but the court refused to do so. This ruling was, of course, inconsistent with that of Judge Chesnut, but McLean and Stryker decided not to attempt an appeal at that time.

The taking of Chambers' deposition was not completed until March 25th. In the meantime, our office investigated a number of matters at McLean's request, and reports were sent in by us from time to time. The case came on for trial in New York, and the prosecutor, Mr. Thomas Murphy, made the cardinal error of saying that the central question in the case was whether Chambers or Hiss was telling the truth. Stryker seized upon this and devoted his entire case to showing that Chambers had repeatedly lied throughout his life, whereas, Hiss had a spotless reputation for integrity and reliability. Stryker played down the importance of the typewritten papers, which he conceded had been written on the Hiss Woodstock. These tactics were successful in persuading four jurors that there was a reasonable doubt as to Algers' guilt, and the jury hung.

At the second trial a Boston lawyer named Claude Cross succeeded Stryker as the leading counsel. Our office continued to run various errands at his request, and I agreed to appear as a witness for Alger. My testimony related primarily to my past associations with Alger and was essentially that of a character witness. This time Murphy pitched his case primarily on the typewritten documents which had been introduced at the Baltimore deposition. The jury voted unanimously for conviction. There followed an appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which affirmed the conviction (185 F.2d 822), and a petition for certiorari was denied. Judges Augustus Hand, Swan and Chase sat on the panel of the Second Circuit which affirmed the Hiss conviction. A more respected group could not have been found in the federal judicial system, and it was, accordingly, with some astonishment that I read the remarkable statement which appeared in the first volume of Justice Douglas' autobiography that "In my view no court at any time could possibly have sustained this conviction."

On March 22, 1951, Alger Hiss went to prison. At that time he was represented

by Chester T. Lane, who wrote to me suggesting that I request that the libel suit be dismissed without prejudice, and Cleveland responded by moving that the case be dismissed with prejudice for want of prosecution. Judge Chesnut heard the matter in chambers and, after consideration, entered an order on April 6, 1951, dismissing the case with prejudice. That was the end of the Hiss–Chambers libel suit.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sherry H. Olson. *Baltimore: The Building of an American City.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980). Photographs, maps, illustrations, index. Pp. ix, 432. $22.95.

We have waited a long time for a modern scholarly history of Baltitimore. Now Ms. Olson's *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* takes its place in front of the C. C. Hall's *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (1912) and J. T. Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County* (1881). Comparing Olson's work with these two older histories provides some measure of how far modern scholarship has advanced in the twentieth century. It also illustrates the new problems faced by academic historians like Ms. Olson in attempting to write the history of a large complex city like Baltimore. First, Scharf and Hall produced histories that were almost purely narrative. One gains almost no understanding of why any of the city's events or long term trends occurred. Both older works are a combination of chronicle and panegyric. They tell the story of Baltimore's rise from humble beginnings to a position among the "great" cities of the nation (at least from the perspective of 1881 or 1912). The less attractive aspects of the city's history—its class antagonism, its poverty, its ethnic and racial discrimination, the corruption of many of its politicians, the shortsighted and stupid decisions its leaders more than occasionally made—are either ignored or glossed over by Scharf and Hall. Finally, the older works lack a conceptual framework. Both Scharf and Hall attempt a chronological overview of the city, followed by a series of specialized essays on specific subjects—transportation, charities, medicine, the fire department, etc. There is no attempt to relate these specific areas of urban life to the general history of the city, therefore, one gets a very disjointed view of Baltimore's development over the past 250 years.

Ms. Olson's *Baltimore* is a vastly superior book in almost every way. It is sparkling with ideas, delightfully written, profusely illustrated and beautifully designed. The price of $22.95 seems very modest for such a large and beautiful book. Ms. Olson's training as a geographer has served her rather well in her first major attempt to write a historical monograph. The book places the development of Baltimore within the framework of modern social science methodology and the ideological framework of twentieth century liberal progressivism. In other words, Ms. Olson knew precisely the kinds of questions she wanted to ask about Baltimore's history and she also determined to judge the city, with justifiable harshness at times, according to her strongly held commitment to democratic egalitarianism. Through all this, however, shines her obvious fondness for Baltimore and its people. The result is a highly selective and rather intensely personal account of the city that many will want to argue with on specific points, but which every reader should enjoy immediately. It is a rare pleasure to find an academic scholar whose mind is so alive with ideas, whose eye is so sensitive to the telling quotation, and whose pen is so light and smooth.

As the title implies, and the introduction makes explicit, Olson's *Baltimore* is not a comphrehensive history of the city. "This book is about city building, an internal dynamic of the city-state, and how Baltimoreans see themselves and their situation." (p. ix). The author focuses upon three major aspects of the city: 1) the evolution of the city as a physical plant—its streets, houses, factories, railroads, streetcars, utility systems, wharves, and superhighways; 2) the urban economy, especially the manner in which it distributed wealth to the elite and the middle classes, while giving only modest crumbs to the working classes (all of which had an enormous impact on the patterns of the city's physical

environment); 3) Baltimore's long disgraceful history of racial discrimination from which it is still reaping a bitter harvest. Weaving these three important themes together into a single study is a singular achievement.

The achievement is more impressive when one considers the materials available to those attempting to write even a partially comprehensive work covering the whole 250 years of Baltimore history. When Ms. Olson was at Johns Hopkins University doing the research for this book (she moved to McGill University in Canada in the mid-1970s the city archives were a disorganized mess, materials at the Maryland Historical Society, especially for the period after 1865, were quite meager, and, perhaps most important, there were relatively few good scholarly books, articles or doctoral dissertations dealing with Baltimore history. Consequently, Ms. Olson was forced to dig out most of the basic data herself from newspapers, published reports and other primary sources. She had to rely on many secondary works that were often inadequate. Out of these largely undigested sources she has put together a lucid and fascinating interpretation of the city's history.

It is really unfortunate that Ms. Olson apparently completed her work on this book in 1973 or 1974. Her job would have been made so much easier and her book would have been better if she had been able to use the substantial outpouring of solid scholarly works on Baltimore that have been produced since 1973. I am assuming this is the reason for the almost total absence of works appearing since 1974 in her footnotes. Nevertheless, it is a shame that she did not make use of such important doctoral dissertations as Gary Browne's "Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861" (1973), Whitman Ridgway's "A Social Analysis of Maryland Community Elites . . . in Baltimore City, Frederick County and Talbot County" (1973), Joseph Garonzik's "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore" (1974), Dennis Clark's "Baltimore, 1729–1829: The Genesis of a Community" (1976), Patricia McDonald's "Baltimore Women, 1870–1900" (1976), D. Randall Beirne's "Steadfast Americans: Residential Stability Among Workers in Baltimore, 1880–1930" (1976), and Martha J. Vill's "Land Tenure, Property Ownership, and Home Mortgages in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of Baltimore's Germans" (1976). A number of important articles about Baltimore have appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* since 1974, including the special issue in the Fall of 1976 which was entirely devoted to Baltimore history. More disturbing are the omissions of important works which became available before 1974 and were also overlooked by the author. With the special focus on Baltimore's black residents, it seems a shame that Ms. Olson did not use William G. Paul's excellent 1972 dissertation "The Shadow of Equality: The Negro in Baltimore, 1864–1911." Her discussion of Baltimore schools would have been greatly augmented by the use of Vernon S. Vavrina's 1958 dissertation "The History of Public Education in the City of Baltimore." The same problem emerges to some degree with published works also, but here it is a matter of using older works when newer and better ones were sometimes available. For example, Olson's discussion (p. 154) of the operations of the Standard Oil Company in Baltimore in the 1870s cites one manuscript source at the Yale University Library and Ida Tarbell's muckraking classic *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (1925), but makes no reference to either the work of Allen Nevins on Rockefeller (done in the 1930s and 1940s) or Harold Williamson and Arnold Daum *The American Petroleum Industry . . . 1859–1899* (1959), the standard scholarly work on this topic.

One could go on at some length with similar omissions of relevant and at times important works; but perhaps this is not a fair criticism. To have dug as deeply into the sources and to have read as widely as Baltimore scholars such as Gary Browne, Whitman Ridgway, Randall Beirne or Martha Vill; but to have done so over the entire 250 year period even in the three areas Ms. Olson selected to investigate, would most likely have taken another five years. Unless one has, like old Mr. Scharf, substantial amounts of money and leisure to devote to research and writing, the alternative is to spend one's time rushing to libraries and archives during the summer teaching break for eight or ten summers and then devoting

the next four or five years to writing, rewriting, checking sources, tracking down elusive facts and digesting the ever increasing flow of new (but highly specialized) works other scholars turn out each year. The standards of scholarship have become so high and the expected level of research so deep and so wide that it would be almost impossible for anyone to write a history of Baltimore today that would satisfy professional historians. Unfortunately, the nature of academic life today is such that one is expected to produce a continuous flow of publications—a man or woman who embarks upon a ten or a fifteen-year research project with no resulting book until the end of that period would likely never gain tenure or be promoted. The pressure to turn out a book before it has been thoroughly researched is a continual problem in current academic life.

In this case, the result is a book of great value and insight flawed by important omissions and misunderstandings. Many of the conclusions about the evolution of Baltimore's economy in the period between 1800 and 1860 are dubious and ill-documented. Olson's assertion that "the shape it took in the '20s defined [the city's] structure till the Civil War" (p. 83) is contradicted by the author's own evidence presented in the following chapter dealing with the period of industrialization from 1838 to 1865. Anyone who reads Ms. Olson's sections on Baltimore's ante-bellum economy and then compares them with Gary L. Browne's work (based on far wider manuscript research and a more certain grasp of 19th century American economic history), will quickly see the weaknesses and misinterpretations in Olson's account.

The almost total absence of Baltimore's political and financial history from this book makes it far more difficult for its author to explain why the city grew in the particular pattern it assumed each generation. For example, the city's three major annexations in 1816, 1888 and 1918 are inextricably linked to the financial and political development of the city and the county, but they appear in this work as the inevitable consequence of physical expansion. The 1948 amendment to the Maryland State Constitution (sponsored by Baltimore County) that ended the possibility of further annexations, was obviously a major turning point in the financial and political history of the city with vast implications for the city's physical plant. It is not even mentioned. The evolution of Baltimore's housing stock from the 18th century to the present is an important part of Ms. Olson's book. The subject is quite well presented from the architectural and geographic perspectives, but one learns very little about the economics of housing in the city or the nature of the home building industry and its allied financial institutions.

In pointing out the shortcomings of this book, I do not want to ignore its many solid contributions to our understanding of the city. Ms. Olson's analysis of the evolution of the city's street plans, from her excellent discussion of the early city plans (illustrated with many beautifully reproduced maps and rare plats) to her insightful comments on the road planning of the twentieth century, is uniformly excellent. Her explanation of the impact of railroads on the city expands substantially our understanding of this very important subject. The attempt to present the history of Baltimore's working classes, its poor people and its black residents over the whole 250 year period, while far from complete, goes a very long way towards balancing the works of Scharf and Hall who condescendingly ignored such people. Lastly, Ms. Olson and the Johns Hopkins Press deserve to be commended for the inclusion of over one hundred excellent maps, plans, drawings and photographs (many never before published) which are of great historical value and a delight to see. On page 211, for example, is an extraordinary cutaway view of a huge old church on Gilmore Street (the Epworth Independent Methodist Church, I think) showing the 1891 plan of the Baltimore Traction Company for installing a cable car power plant in its empty sanctuary. Henry Adams would have taken an ironic pleasure in seeing this house of God, with its cross and rose window still in place, shaking under the vibrations of the great steam-driven power wheels installed where once good Christians bowed their heads in silent prayer. Like this illustration, Ms. Olson's entire book presents a vivid

portrait of a city constantly pouring new wines into old bottles—gutting the old physical plant and the old economic and social institution to make them fit the needs or whims of a new generation—a process full of triumph and tragedy. In spite of shortcomings, Ms. Olson's *Baltimore* captures the essence of this great drama. Those who read her book will greatly deepen their appreciation of Baltimore and its history.

UMBC JOSEPH L. ARNOLD

Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861. By Gary Lawson Browne. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. Pp. xii, 349. $20.00.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: John B. Boles, the former editor of this *Magazine*, selected Professor Curry to review my book, and I agreed to print his review verbatim.

Baltimore on the eve of the Civil War, Gary L. Browne argues, was the product of three successive (but, in part, overlapping) economic realignments. The first of these, which was largely completed before the outbreak of the War of 1812, was the "Business Revolution." It embraced two major changes in the way business (especially commercial) enterprises were organized and financed—more specifically, alterations in the scale and structure of entrepreneurship and in the nature and availability of credit. The first involved the replacement of individual entrepreneurs by chartered companies and was much less extensive in commercial operations than in those activities which were supportive of mercantile enterprise (e. g., insurance). The second—the "monetization of credit," in which anticipated wealth became more important than current wealth—had evolved over a considerable period of time. But the intervention of the new banking corporations institutionalized and "ritualized" access to credit.

The second economic shift followed the War of 1812 and extended into the 1840s, and was actually, as Browne points out, more transitional than revolutionary. It was marked by wide fluctuations in Baltimore's foreign trade and, more importantly, by increasing concentration on the development of its domestic commerce and the city's subsidization of transportation works. This was, Browne suggests, a period of economic uncertainty, the nature of which was imperfectly comprehended by the economic leadership of the city, as the economy was buffeted and bruised by the major panics of 1819 and 1837, as well as a number of lesser financial tremors.

The third transformation in the economy—which Browne advances less firmly, argues for less persuasively, and establishes less solidly—occurred in the decade and a half before the outbreak of the Civil War and resulted in the emergence of "industrialization and triumphant commercialism." It really amounted to little more than the return of prosperity to the city and the nation. But during this era the city's proportional share of the nation's foreign and domestic commerce declined, causing the manufacturing component to assume a position of greater relative importance in the city's economy.

Browne's emphasis on the importance of these economic factors reminds us of two important realities that have sometimes been overshadowed by the recent tendency to concentrate our attention on other aspects (primarily social and institutional) of urban life and development. First, without viable economic bases cities cannot thrive, or even survive. Second, throughout the antebellum era and beyond urbanites tended to perceive their cities as partially independent economic entities with whose prosperity their own was inextricably linked.

But *Baltimore in the Nation* is far more than an examination of an urban economy. These economic shifts fostered modifications of the city's social and political structures. Browne particularly stresses the growing institutionalization and social fragmentation that accompanied the increasing diversification of the whole society and the specialization of

its members. These developments resulted first in the enlargement of the old elite and then in its displacement by a new elite. Many of the old elite not only surrendered their roles as political leaders but withdrew as well from active participation in mercantile pursuits, as the increase in banking operations, the proliferation of corporate stock issues, and the issuance of federal treasury notes and municipal stocks made it possible and profitable for possessors of capital to confine their activities to purely financial operations. Perhaps even more important was the shift in the view of what sorts of tasks should be undertaken by the city government. Increasingly it assumed—and institutionalized—more and more of the responsibilities that had heretofore been discharged by residents, individually or in voluntary association.

In the governmental and political area, Browne not only deftly details governmental activities, but also explores such important, but too often neglected, matters as the emergence of party politics in urban elections, the changing party leadership, divisions on public policy, and shifts in governmental financing. He also outlines and analyzes the emergence of geographic divisions on these matters in the city. While pointing out that differences of opinion within the city councils on matters of urban policy did not conform to party alignments, Browne does suggest that the concentration of attention on the ideology of the American Party and the violence that accompanied its control of the city government in the 1850s has obscured the contributions of the Know-Nothings (especially of mayors Samuel Hicks and Thomas Swann) to the completion of the transformation and institutionalization of urban government and the strengthening of the mayoral office.

Though Browne is by no means an economic determinist, he does stress economic changes as major causative factors in Baltimore's development—indeed, almost to the exclusion of other elements. This emphasis is not always defensible. The development of a diversified occupational pattern based on increasing individual specialization, for example, has long been perceived as a universal concomitant of urban development in all ages, and one suspects that both social fragmentation and institutionalization were primarily responses to the size of the urban population, and accompanied, rather than resulted from, changes in economic structures.

There are some minor flaws in this ambitious and, on the whole, admirable work. The writing is distressingly uneven. While there are many examples of clear, precise, and graceful presentation, there are also too many sentences that are so complex and convoluted as to require re-reading to determine their meaning. There are, moreover, a number of gratingly awkward sentences, which probably result from incomplete or uncoordinated revisions of the original text. Additionally, many of the figures presented would be more meaningful if placed in a broader context of national or other urban data, or, occasionally, in the context of fuller data on Baltimore itself. Two examples (both relatively insignificant) will serve to illustrate this latter point. First, while it is true that in 1850 "over 51 percent of the foreign-born lived in" wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, 17, and 19 (p. 191), it is also true that these heavily populated wards contained 46 percent of the city's native-born residents. This hardly amounts to a "foreign-born concentration." Second, though Browne correctly reports that "the city's expenditures for water service rose from $18,136.89 in 1850, to $78,920.93 in 1855, and to an enormous $704,094.66 in 1860" (p. 210), the cost to the city government can hardly be accurately assessed without the additional information that the city's revenues from the water department rose from nothing in 1850, to $86,326.73 in 1855, and to an enormous $668,795.14 in 1860. These are, however, only minor caveats, not major criticisms.

Baltimore in the Nation is an important book not only for what it tells us about Baltimore, but also because of all it suggests about the urbanization process. For it is the process that interests Browne, and the Baltimore that he exhibits to us is never static—always in the process of change. This is, moreover, an analytical study—not narrative or descriptive—in which Browne attempts to isolate, trace, and determine the force and

influence of each of the myriad rivulets that made up the stream of Baltimore's development during the antebellum era. Because it is analytical in nature and focused on process, all the parts of *Baltimore in the Nation* are tightly interlocked—each at once supported by and supporting the other elements of Browne's richly complex structure. Deeply researched and meticulously documented, it is certainly one of the most comprehensive and rigorous attempts yet made to capture the whole of the urban process in a single city. One can only hope that other cities will be equally well served. *Baltimore in the Nation* should be read with care and respect by professional historians, with appreciation by laymen, and with gratitude by both.

University of Louisville LEONARD P. CURRY

Baltimore; An Illustrated History. By Suzanne Ellery Greene. Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, 1980. ix, 325p. $19.95

This is a corking good book. It belongs in every library, personal and public, that values its Maryland collection.

It is a picture book in the very best sense of the term. The text is not tacked on, as is too often the case, but is an integral part of the volume. It is difficult to say, on reflection, whether illustrations or text came first. If the text did, the initial impact is of the former.

Noticed almost immediately is the balance in Dr. Greene's book. She has not yielded to the temptation of developing the earlier years so thoroughly that recent decades are compressed rather like an afterthought in a final few pages. The balance extends beyond equal emphasis on pictures and text. Each of the historical eras of Baltimore is presented. Politics, military events, social life, sports, business, transportation—virtually every aspect of the life of the city on the Chesapeake is developed, though not under topical headings. Balance was once satisfied with equal presentations of the Blue and the Gray. This volume shows a greater sophistication on the part of reader and author.

The seven sections of the book are these: Beginnings, 1608–1773; War, Peace & War Again, 1773–1814; A City Divided, 1814–1865; Reconciliation & Growth, 1865–1917; National Crises and Urban Renaissance, 1917–1980; The Surviving Past; and Partners in Progress.

In kaleidoscopic fashion we read and picture the Baltimore of the Know Nothings in the 1850s and of the quick acceptance of the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision; the Baltimore of urban decay and the splendid renewal of the past decade; the port of Baltimore, Friendship Airport, and the traffic management of the late Henry Barnes; the ugliness of the 1950 Senatorial campaign and the campaigns of reformers such as Charles J. Bonaparte; the city as a point of arrival of immigrants who left almost immediately by train for the West and the city as home of citizens of German, Polish, Italian, and other descent; the city of colleges and universities and the home of modern major league sports teams. All this and more.

To choose a single example of the value of a good illustration, the photograph of a train at the dock, seen to take immigrants to the West, states the fact better than dozens of lines of type could.

Two themes of special current interest demonstrate Dr. Greene's excellent handling of the city's history.

The role of women in Baltimore's history is gracefully presented, a part of the whole in the volume as it was in reality. Her text discusses not only prominent and well-known women from Mary Katherine Goddard to Mary Garrett and M. Carey Thomas but the plight of immigrant women in East Baltimore sweatshops and others who lived "ordinary"

lives. Illustrations include not only those or Henrietta Szold and the well-placed women who helped found Bryn Mawr College and the medical college of Johns Hopkins University (which was open to women) but also girls at the public baths, a young woman in ethnic garb, and seamstresses in a crowded garment factory.

The place of blacks in the city on the Chesapeake is fairly stated, and this is a healthy, normal note. The treatment is even-handed. Frederick Douglass and Thurgood Marshall are there, and so are Billie Holiday, Cab Calloway, and Clarence Mitchell. Influential ministers and prominent politicans are included, but chorus line entertainers and factory workers are too.

Those who follow sports in Baltimore may feel a twinge of regret that there is no photograph of the Colts' overtime victory in 1958. That was, after all, Baltimore's first major league championship in any sport. But the Orioles' 1966 victory is happily illustrated. Mercifully, no word is printed of the results in three championship contests in 1969.

Not as a complaint either but just as a regret is the lack of a reference to fishing boats from the Eastern Shore in the summer with watermelon and canteloupe for sale on their sterns and of the "Arabs" that used to be special in the city.

The illustrations in The Surviving Past are stunning. They are worthy of a city that knew Bodine. Most are familiar scenes, but whether prints brilliantly reproduced or color photographs of superb quality, the essence of a great new-old city has been caught. If one wishes for more, it is obvious that limited space has been filled with taste and aplomb. The author laments the material that had to be excluded, and we sympathize with her plight.

Dr. Greene's volume keeps an old-fashioned, quite acceptable feature. Many local histories published in the past century concluded with accounts of businesses and industries of the community or state. The 69 entries here include not only well-known commercial establishments but the Greater Baltimore Committee, the Legal Profession of Baltimore, the Maryland Port Administration, and the University of Maryland at Baltimore. Most of the accounts are well developed and make for good reading in themselves. Many, though not all, of the illustrations add to the total effect in presenting the city's history.

The volume as a whole concentrates on main themes and does not attempt to catch the spirit of the city in the way Frank Beirne's *Amiable Baltimoreans* did. The Greene volume does not supplant but takes its place beside its predecessors, prominent among which are Scharf's *Chronicles* and his history of the city and county, Mrs. Sioussat's *Old Baltimore*, and Beirne's amiable volume.

No perfect book has yet been published. This one is no exception. The term "head-quartered" slipped through on page 202. Though acceptable in some contexts, it seems unacceptable here. It is not correct to say that John Quincy Adams defeated Andrew Jackson in 1824 (page 78), and it is to be wondered if the fire companies of the mid-Nineteenth century deserve more than a passing reference to them as political clubs (page 108), though illustrations appear on page 77. Raphael Semmes published his *Captains and Mariners* in 1937, not 1931. Recent, careful studies now challenge the correctness of the long held view that Mt. Clare was the B & O's first passenger station.

The index is of the same level of quality as so many in books published these days. I found Grace Turnbull and "Naiad" not on page 223 but 226. Crabs, terrapin, and the Rennert Hotel are in the text (page 128) but not in the index. Embargo, Congress, South Charles Street, Cheltenham, Liberia, & the University of Zurich and other entries are in the text but not in the index. There are other examples, but it would be tedious to list more. Let the user beware!

For its faults, which are few, and for its merits, which are many, *Baltimore, An Illustrated History* is heartily recommended.

Kensington, Maryland FRED SHELLEY

The Encyclopedia of Southern History. Edited by David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. Pp. ix, 1421. $75.00.)

Fads come and go; history enrollments rise and, alas, fall; popular reading tastes swing widely from trend to trend. But the southern history industry marches on, seemingly immune to fluctuations of interest. At different times different aspects of southern history attract more attention than others—Reconstruction studies in the early 1960s, slavery studies in the '70s—yet the general topic continues to fascinate. There is no more active regional historical association than the Southern Historical, no more prestigious regional scholarly magazine than the *Journal of Southern History*. No other field in American history—with the possible exception of Puritan New England—has attracted more first-rate historical minds, nor produced more profound historical studies. There are of course reasons for the perennial popularity of southern history. In the land of the free it was the land of slavery; among the people of plenty it contained great poverty; it has been the most different section of the nation, and that differentness lingers on today. It has been a region of paradox, irony, and myth. Because of the immense fascination this nation has had with the South, its people, its problems, and its historical experience, LSU Press has felt bold enough to launch a 1421-page, 1.3 million-word, 6.5-pound desk encyclopedia expecting sales sufficient to justify the enormous expense. The resulting tome (and here the word fits) will be of interest to every southern historian, amateur and professional alike, and should be in every school, college, and public library.

Spanning the subject from Abbeville, South Carolina, to Zwaaendael, the short-lived Dutch colony in Delaware, the *ESH* contains 2,900 entries on southern places, people, events, movements, institutions, and so on. It covers sixteen states—those that had slaves in 1860—and thus includes Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri along with the eleven seceding states, West Virginia, and Washington, D. C. The longest articles are the individual state histories, which include maps, lists of governors, and generous bibliographies. Biographical sketches are supplied for hundreds of Southerners, with those for well-known figures proportionally briefer than those for obscure persons. Even so, one wonders why Roger B. Taney rates double the space of Thomas Jefferson. There is ample treatment of southern agriculture, industry, politics; much weaker coverage of culture, religion, and science. There are no articles, for example, on Samuel Davies, Barton W. Stone, Benjamin M. Palmer, and James Henley Thornwell, influential religious figures; neither are there sketches of J. Marion Sims or Henry William Ravenal, respectively prominent medical and botantical scientists. A Louisianian might wonder at the absence of Creole, as a Marylander might look in vain for articles on Fort McHenry, or Samuel Smith, or Henry Mencken.

Yet looking for omissions can become a needlessly negative game. More important is what the *ESH* contains. Its coverage is remarkably broad; it contains numerous unexpected topics, is endlessly fascinating, and includes succinct summaries of information on hundreds of topics. Its usefulness is instantly apparent, and this reviewer has already gotten addicted to turning to it to answer a question. Most of the contributors seem very competent, the bibliograpies are helpful if occasionally out-of-date (the *ESH* was more than a decade in the making), the writing is usually lucid. (The article on slave codes being a notable exception.) The more than seventy tables, on everything from nondairy cattle in the South, 1850–1969, to southern urbanization, 1790–1970, are indispensable. All major southern historical agencies are discussed, with their holdings, publications, and address provided to aid the researcher. The whole body of information is made more accessible by a 49-page, 3-column index. I would heartly recommend it to every serious student of the South. The

price being what it is, those who want the book should perhaps begin now dropping hints about upcoming birthdays or Christmas. But however you can manage to acquire it, it's well worth having.

Tulane University JOHN B. BOLES

Testing the Roosevelt Coalition: Connecticut Society and Politics in the Era of World War II. By John W. Jeffries (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979. Pp. xiv, 301. Indexed. $16.50.)

UMBC historian John Jeffries charts out a course on recent history which can rouse the interest of many readers of this journal. Connecticut, of course, is not Maryland and these pages expose the differences: many urban centers but no big, dominating metropolis, a "Northern" Democratic Party and a strong state Republican Party, different kinds of industries, Yankees with a New England Dissenter tradition. Yet there are similarities: both states were molded by the catastrope of the Great Depression and by Wartime prosperity; both have been influenced by ethnic Americans, indeed with large numbers of the same groups (Italians, Jews, Poles). Even Maryland agriculture has its counterpart with the tobacco farmers of the Connecticut River Valley. More importantly, the historiographical tradition of the two sister states is identical—a concern for the Colonial part and a neglect of the recent part dominates the historical writing of both. (A scant *three* per cent of the items in *Maryland Historical Magazine's* bibliography for 1977 were on subjects devoted largely to the last fifty years!) Jeffries thus is a pioneer in recent local history and his path-blazing is both suggestive and instructive.

The social and cultural bases to politics come under purview, the record of what the author calls "identifiably and reasonably coherent groups." Ethnic groups especially receive great attention. We see Connecticut Italian-Americans active in both political parties, responding to the embarrassment of Mussolini and Fascism abroad with ambivalent defensiveness, applying pressure and being pressured by national and state political leaders. Intergroup tensions are touched upon: Yankees resented ethnics whom they thought were monopolizing Depression-era jobs and Roman Catholic ethnics harbored anti-Semitic resentments. The War itself defined new groups with new troubles or expectations; housing shortages brought with them the " 'trailer trash' " resented by many, and women came to expect representatives on statewide tickets years before the Women's Movement. The reader sees clearly how issues (for example, proposed fair employment practices legislation) and institutions (such as the post War Inter-racial Commission) affected groups with a growing self-identity. A great strength here is a quantification methodology, but expressed in terms and graphs, easily understood by laypeople, enabling readers to make some important distinctions. Ethnic, blue-collar, urban voters wielded power election after election, but we see how some factors were more decisive than others. On the other hand, social classes are ambiguously defined, the power of political leaders is exaggerated (for this reviewer), and the question of what a ruling strata was and how it exercised its power goes unexplored.

Maryland has a similar terrain to be covered even more thoroughly. In a state with larger rural and urban block communities, were black-white relationships among Jews, among East Europeans or among native whites all the same? Or the matter of Civil Rights agitation before the Civil Rights era (as yet unexplored), was it black communities, not commissions and institutions, which took the initiative? Was it the War which began to make suburbs of Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties, and how have the suburbs of Baltimore and Washington developed differently? How did the War, which placed thou-

sands of the job rosters of Bethlehem Steel and Baltimore port industries, change city life? In a state with an unequaled number of female representatives in Washington, was there a political significance to its World War II "Rosie, the Riveters", the thousands of female industrial workers?

The story of politics itself in Connecticut is not a narrow account of factionalism, political bosses, and campaigns. Interpretations are offered about changing levels of voter registration and about non-voters. Not all Depression-era issues were bread-and-butter questions, and cultural factors (ethnic sensitivities, shifting individual patterns, etc.) receive attention. Jeffries makes an effort to distinguish between loyalty to Roosevelt and loyalty to the New Deal. Third parties also had a role, a Socialist mayor of Bridgeport playing a decisive role in the struggles between Democrats and Republicans, sometimes enhancing the fortunes of conservatives like Clare Booth Luce.

Maryland politics too is more than the Pollacks and Sassers. Black power in politics and a shift by blacks to the Democratic Party needs to be documented, and rural-urban, ethnic-wasp conflicts should be explored. Nowhere has the story of political radicalism in the Free State been narrated. In the thirties, Johns Hopkins intellectuals played a leading role in the respectable Socialist Party whose nominees were endorsed by influential newspapers like the *Afro-American*. Local Communists numbered fewer Silk-Stocking radicals, but a study of their politics would show important, pioneering efforts for racial integration among working class people. The popularity of Dixiecrats in 1948 is well-known, but the Wallaceite movement of the post War years could also be researched.

After accepting at face value the rhetoric of the two major parties, Jeffries sees major differences between the two major parties. The New Deal is a package, a unified whole, perhaps because voters so perceived it. In Maryland there are big questions, no answers: Was FDR's welfare-for-the-rich (FDIC, FHA, etc.) received as WPA, PWA, CCC, etc.? The New Deal was less the product of organized labor and more an agent for union organizers in Western Maryland and Baltimore. Among the rural (or "Southern") Democrats in the states, was there a real ideology distinguishing them from ardent New and Fair Dealers?

Local history of recent years should never be isolated history and Jeffries is always mindful of how Connecticut was molded by national and international events. It was Palestine, Stalin, and U.S. presence in the Globe's Four Corners which affected the happenings of the Hartfords and New Londoners. Maryland's last fifty years also cannot be shown in a vacuum. The Federal Government as an employer of hundreds of thousands (in *both* metropolitan areas), nationwide recessions and inflation, a media that is national not local, comes to mind. Good local history, perhaps on the model of Sherry Olson's *Baltimore* (Cambridge, 1976), will also show the power of institutions—institutional racism, bureaucracies, economic structures. There can be, for example, no history of urban revitalization which discounts Federal legislation or the role of outside investors.

Finally, Jeffries reminds us of how recent history is enriched by many sources, including professional polling data, government surveys, and specialized newspapers. At home we have his sources but also some rich and invaluable collections of oral histories at the Maryland Historical Society, the McKeldin-Jackson Collection as well as hundreds of interviews conducted by the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (with transcripts to be deposited at MHS), will be the very meat of many, many studies to come. In sum, what has been done for Connecticut can be done for Maryland, making our history not just a tale of our forebears, but exciting epics of our parents and ourselves.

Towson State University RODERICK N. RYON

Military Money: A Fiscal History of the U.S. Army Overseas in World War II. By Walter Rundell, Jr. (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1980. Pp. xvii, 271. $19.50).

Both the promise and perils of writing institutional military history are illustrated in this well-written and thoroughly researched study of the overseas activities of the Army Finance Department. Professor Rundell, who as an historian in the Office of the Chief of Finance began this study in 1953, has provided those interested in World War II with a large though not unmanageable amount of detail about the often overlooked activities of one of the Army's support agencies. He describes the enormous difficulties encountered by members of the Finance Corps in their efforts to handle the Army's troop payments and disbursements. Finance personnel had to cope with the incredibly rapid (by pre-World War II standards) troop movements which made the orderly paydays characteristic of the peacetime Army a thing of the past. Payments to the troops, although initially calculated in dollars, were made in a bewildering number of national and fiat currencies. Finance men often worked under wretched conditions and frequently lacked the basic equipment necessary to perform their tasks. The worst handicap under which the Finance Department labored was, however, self-imposed. Rundell argues that the Office of the Chief of Finance failed to plan adequately before or during the war and was forced to try to adapt peacetime procedures and organizational structures to wartime situations. In the field finance officers, ever mindful that they would be held legally accountable for their mistakes, were reluctant to experiment or innovate.

The advantages of Rundell's methodology and approach are numerous. We see how things actually worked—or how, all too often, they did not. We learn something about the institutional adaptability of the United States Army and, by extension, of all large bureaucratic organizations. Rundell traces the effect that policies formulated around War Department conference tables in Washington had on ordinary soldiers thousands of miles away. Finally, the author makes specific recommendations in order to prevent future blunders.

There are, unfortunately, drawbacks to this kind of history. One of the most frequent errors made by an institutional historian is the limitation of archival research to the records of one institution. To a certain extent the author has avoided this pitfall, for many of his citations are to the records of a number of World War II overseas theaters. Unfortunately, Rundell has focused so heavily on the memoranda, reports, correspondence and unit histories of the overseas finance sections that he has adopted the Finance Department's institutional viewpoint. He argues, for example, that greater administrative efficiency should have been achieved by limiting the soldiers' right to receive their full pay overseas. He also resents the time and effort spent by Army finance offices in performing such services for the troops as currency conversion. Finally, by using records generated almost exclusively by Army finance personnel he does not have an opportunity to examine the contemporary evaluations of the Army Finance Corps by other organizations. The records of the Chief of Staff, the Secretary of War, the Army Service Forces, the Inspector General, and the field commanders themselves might have revealed more information on which to base an overall assessment of the Army's overseas fiscal activities.

On balance, however, this book is a useful contribution to the historical literature of World War II. Rundell has given both soldiers and scholars concrete illustrations of the problems the American Army had to overcome in order to fight a global war of rapid movement. *Military Money* provides an administrative and logical perspective to the usual strategic and tactical accounts of that great conflict.

The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower DAUN VAN EE

Learning Vacations. By Gerson G. Eisenberg. (3rd ed.; Baltimore: Eisenberg Educational Enterprises, Inc., 1980. Pp. xiii, 310. $6.95, paper.)

Since its first edition in 1977, this unique and reasonably priced paperback has become an indispensable reference guide for educational travel. Anyone who enjoys broadening

their horizons through learning while traveling must consult this volume. The diversity of such experiences is amazing. One may pursue various art programs in exotic foreign settings under the auspices of Goucher College or Essex Community College, or follow the mountain trails of Maryland and Virginia.

This third edition is remarkably easy to use. The first nine chapters are organized thematically: vacations on college and university campuses; travel programs; outdoor vacations; arts and crafts; cultural vacations; music, dance and folk festivals; food and wine courses; writer's conferences; and elderhostels. A tenth chapter lists previously mentioned institutions. And no less than four indexes guide the reader to institutions, locations, subjects, and elderhostels.

Marylanders may be both proud and grateful for this volume. Twenty five local programs are included here. Nearly half (12) offer a wide variety of overseas travel programs; six offer wide-ranging elderhostel subjects; two campus learning vacations; and the remainder are scattered from arts and crafts through outdoor programs. All of us should be grateful to Mr. Eisenberg for calling our attention to Maryland's rich resources for learning vacations.

UMBC GARY L. BROWNE

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Caldwell, Erskine. *Deep South: Memory and Observation.* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1980. Pp. xiv, 257. $5.95, paper.)

Ferguson, Eugene S. *Oliver Evans, Inventive Genius of the American Industrial Revolution.* (Wilmington, DE: Hagley Museum, 1980. 72 pp. Illustrations, index. $4.95, paper.)

Genovese, Eugene D. *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World.* (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University. New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 1981. Pp. xxvi, 175. Indexed. $3.95, paper.)

Hays, Samuel P. *American Political History as Social Analysis.* (Twentieth-Century America Series. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980. 459 pp. Indexed. $. , cloth.)

Hill, Samuel S., Jr. *The South and the North in American Religion.* (Mercer University, Lamar Memorial Lectures, No. 23. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1980. Pp. xvi, 152. Indexed. $12.50, cloth.)

Hofmeister, Lillian H. *The Union Memorial Hospital; Its Story . . . Its People; 125 Years of Caring.* (Baltimore, Md.: Union Memorial Hospital, 1980. Pp. xii, 234. Illustrated. $. , cloth. Obtainable from the Office of Community Relations & Public Information, Union Memorial Hospital.)

Jones, Alice Hanson. *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. Pp. xxxviii, 494. Tables, appendices, bibliography, index. $25.00, cloth.)

Perkins, Edwin J. *The Economy of Colonial America.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. Pp. xii, 177. Indexed. $17.50, cloth; $6.00, paper.)

Price, Jacob M. *Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: The View from the Chesapeake, 1700–1776.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980. Pp. xii, 233. Indexed. $18.50, cloth.)

Smith, F. B. *The People's Health, 1830–1910.* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979. 436 pp. Indexed. $36.00, cloth.)

Wilson, Charles Reagan. *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920.* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1980. Pp. viii, 256. Indexed. $19.95, cloth.)

NEWS AND NOTICES

MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF MARYLAND HISTORY HOSTS NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES SEMINAR

On May 16, 1981, the Museum and Library of Maryland History, the Maryland Historical Society will host a one-day seminar/workshop, funded by the Maryland Committee for the Humanities through a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, entitled "Native American Studies in Maryland: Needs and Opportunities." Using a format of paper presentations and related workshops, the symposium will allow for an open and direct exchange of ideas between scholars, Native Americans in Maryland and interested individuals from the general public. First, three papers will be presented by scholars who have done extensive fieldwork and research with Native Americans in Maryland. Topics include "Archaeology in Maryland," "Integration of Indians into White Society" and "Urban Indians in Maryland." Each author will summarize the current state of the arts in their respective subject matter and provide some indication of needs and opportunities for future research. Following these papers, there will be three successive workshops chaired by representatives from the Lumbee and Piscataway Indian communities and keyed to an open discussion of the presentations. The ultimate goal of the seminar/workshop is to strengthen and clarify the relationship which should exist between the groups. It will be open to the public free of charge.

The Museum and Library of Maryland History is located at 201 W. Monument Street in Baltimore. For further information contact the project director, Dr. Frank W. Porter, III, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Maryland, 2525 Riva Road, Annapolis, Maryland. Phone (301) 269-3381.

ARCHIVES CONFERENCE

The Spring meeting of MARAC (Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference) will be held at the University of Pittsburgh, May 8–9, 1981. Ten sessions will cover all phases of archival techniques from starting an archive to archives of the future; from helping genealogists to writing grants.

For further information, write to Frank A. Zabrosky, 363 Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION CONFERENCE

On April 25, 1981, Goucher College will sponsor a conference on Historic Preservation entitled, "The Past Today for Tomorrow: Preservation and the Baltimore Community." The conference is designed to enlighten the community on the major preservation issues as well as to demonstrate the individual's role in achieving successful preservation policies. A slide show on Baltimore's architectural heritage is scheduled as are lectures representing the perspectives of government agencies, neighborhood organizations, and the commercial sector. For more information, call Goucher College at 825–3300, Ext. 234.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HIGHLIGHTS

FREDERICK COUNTY

This beautiful eighteenth-century grandfather clock is one of the most treasured items in the Etchison collection at the Historical Society of Frederick County. Thomas Lidell of Fredericktown crafted the piece in 1760, just fifteen years after Frederick was founded. According to Josephine Etchison, the clock was purchased by her brother Marshall Lingan Etchison, sometime around 1940 in New Market, Maryland. Mr. Etchison paid five dollars for the antique, a reasonable price considering he found it disassembled in an attic.

The clock is exemplary of early tall clocks crafted in America between 1680 and 1770. The case is made of crotch mahogany, which became a popular wood after 1750. The scroll top hood and molded finials on top of the hood are typical of the Chippendale style. Another feature of the hood's cabinet is the full fluted Corinthian style columns at each of the four corners of the hood. These columns are typical of the mid-eighteenth century. Two frets or small windows, found on two sides of the hood, reveal the brass works behind the face and allow sound to escape.

The face of the Lidell clock includes a main brass dial with silvered chapter rings on which time tracks and Roman numerals are engraved. The bottom of these numerals point toward the center of the dial. Typical of the time is the use of a Roman numeral IIII, instead of IV.

At the top of this brass dial is an additional small dial which indicates seconds. The ornamental hour and minute hands, which are attached below this dial, are similar. This is another indication that the clock is from the mid-eighteenth century. Below where the hands are attached to the main dial is an arched silver plate on which the maker's name and town are engraved. Surrounding this plate are three holes. The two winding holes above the plate indicate it is a striking clock. The third hole found below the plate is called the date aperture, where the date of each day is shown.

Triangular molded or cast pieces are found in the four corners of the face of the clock around the edges of the main dial. These gilded corner pieces, called spandrels, are done in free scroll style instead of the earlier cupid design which disappeared in 1750. These gilded pieces are also found on the clock's tympanum.

This clock is fully encased as its trunk door indicates. The absence of a glass window on the trunk's door makes the clock different from many earlier clocks, which had a window that revealed the weights and chains. Encased clocks appeared during the reign of William and Mary in Old England. Running lengthwise along the full length of the trunk are half fluted Corinthian columns, which are found at the two front corners. These same columns are found at the two front corners of the clock's base. The repeated use of columns is a hallmark of American made clocks.

The clock has some characteristics which distinguish it from other clocks of its period. One outstanding feature is the clock's height. The clock stands eight feet, seven inches tall, which is above the normal height of most clocks. A special feature of the clock, however, is its man's face with moving eyes. This man's face replaces the moon phase indicator, which is found in the tympanum of most clocks of this period. The tympanum, the arched areas above the face of the clock, included this indicator to tell the phases of the moon. On the Lidell clock, the stationary man's face, whose eyes move left to right with the pendelum's movement, is used instead. This feature has not been traced to any other clocks of this period.

FIGURE 1.
This close-up of the clock's hood shows the scroll work and molded finials on top of the hood, which are typical of the Chippendale style. The fluted Corinthian-style columns in the two front corners of the clock are one indication that it is American-made. The face of the Lidell clock clearly reveals the brass dial and silvered chapter rings, the ornamental spandrels, as well as the unique man's face with moving eyes.

Information about Thomas Lidell, the clock's maker, is limited. It is documented in *The Book of American Clocks*, however, that Lidell did make clocks in Fredericktown, Maryland. Julia Ann Hammond, a resident of Frederick County tells of seeing this clock as early as 1905 in her cousin Frank Hammond's home in New Market. Mr. Hammond later sold the clock to Mr. Etchison. No information has been located as to where the clock was previous to 1905. Two other grandfather clocks made by Lidell are in existence, according to William Landis, a clock repairman in Frederick, whose family has made and repaired clocks for five generations. The whereabouts of these two Lidell clocks, however, are unknown. The Historical Society of Frederick County would appreciate any information on them or on their maker, Thomas Lidell.

The Historical Society of Frederick County is located at 2A E. Church Street and is open Monday, Tuesday, Friday and Saturday from 10 to 5 p.m. and on Sunday from 1 to 5 p.m.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

On the grounds of the Beall-Dawson house, headquarters for the Montgomery County Historical Society, is a small gray building which once housed the medical office of Dr. Edward Elisha Stonestreet. Dr. Stonestreet was born in Rockville in 1830 at the home of his parents, Samuel T. and Adelaide Ambler Hall Stonestreet. After receiving his degree

in medicine from the University of Maryland in Baltimore, Maryland in 1852, Dr. Stonestreet returned to the home of his father in Rockville. That same year he was married to Rebecca Barry and began to serve the physical needs of the people of the area. He practiced in the little office his father had built for him in 1850. The Stonestreet property was located at the corner of East Montgomery Avenue and Monroe Street.

After Dr. Stonestreet's death in 1903, the building became Rockville's first public library with Mrs. Sadie Mason serving as librarian. In the 1940s, the building was moved to the right side of the road leading to the present Richard Montgomery High School and served as a meeting place for a local Boy Scout Troop. It was moved again to the carnival grounds belonging to the Rockville Volunteer Fire Department. It may be remembered covered with stucco with red trim.

The Rockville Volunteer Fire Department donated the building to the Montgomery County Historical Society in October, 1971. The following year was spent in restoration and furnishing the building. With the help of an old photograph, the original architectural details were preserved or in some cases copied.

The building in its present reincarnation is intended to serve as a reminder of Dr. Stonestreet and his work, but more than that, to suggest a typical country doctor's office in the last half of the nineteenth century and to act as a miniature medical museum with medical, surgical and pharmaceutical items of that period. Originally the building had a central chimney and partitions dividing the waiting area from the examining area, but these are only suggested in the present restoration.

Many of the furnishings were collected or donated by Dr. William A. Linthicum, a

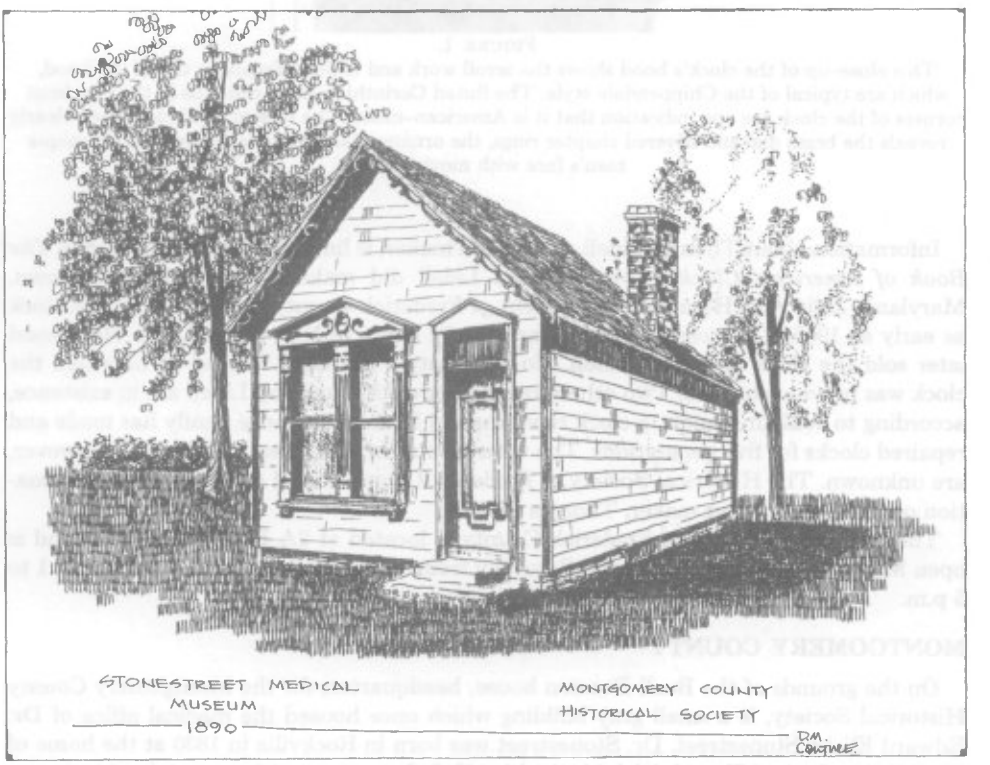

FIGURE 2.

physician of Rockville, and a grandson of Dr. Stonestreet and a member of the Montgomery County Historical Society.

The Stonestreet Medical Museum and the Beall-Dawson House, located on W. Montgomery Avenue in Rockville, are open Tuesdays through Saturdays from 12 to 4 p.m. and the first Sunday of each month from 2 to 5 p.m. Admission is $1.00 for adults and .50 for students and senior citizens. Children aged 13 and under are free.

QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY

The Queen Anne's County Historical Society acquired through a gift from the late Mrs. Clarence A. Tucker of Baltimore a house that may well be the oldest original house in Centreville. It stands on lot No. 4 on Commerce Street purchased from Elizabeth Nicholson of "Chesterfield" by James Kennard in 1792, the second lot sold for the town. This house is being used by the Society now as a working museum.

During its long life it has undergone many changes and additions. The original building was approximately 18′ × 26′, two stories and a basement, six rooms. At sometime an 18′ & 8′ hall was added to the south side with stairway to the second floor. The original stairs had been boxed in one corner of the living room as was common at that time. The floors in this room and the bedroom above have matching patches, indicating that this must have been the place of the stairs.

Current rehabilitation revealed interesting details of construction. Removal of shingles from the side walls showed that the house was brick noggined, a method of insulation brought by the colonists from their homeland. Bricks and mortar were put between the studs, the outside covered with beaded clapboard, nailed with hand-made nails. The inside

FIGURE 3.
Tucker House

was lathed and plastered. A single chimney with six flues served the whole house. Old fashioned flowers and a small herb bed carry out the 18th century theme. Restoration of this old house is being done gradually.

The house provides much needed storage space for collections of material relating to the early history of the county and to exhibit memorabilia. At present the most important exhibit to be seen is a collection of photographs and pictures of eighteenth-century Queen Anne's County houses and buildings with an accompanying map which shows their location, a project of the Maryland Historical Trust. A collection of genealogies and early documents pertaining to the county are likewise housed in this building.

Tucker House is open to the public each Friday from May to November from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M., but may be visited by appointment at other times. Call 758-1347.

ST. MARY'S COUNTY

On the Courthouse green, in Leonardtown, Maryland, in front of the "Old Jail", now headquarters of the St. Mary's County Historical Society, stands an ancient and venerable cannon. It is the property of the St. Mary's County Historical Society and a gift from the Jesuit Fathers, who have owned St. Inigoes Manor here since the first manors were patented.

The gun was purchased by Lord Baltimore from an English dealer in used ordnance, and with several other cannons it was transported aboard the "Ark" to Maryland. It was used at Fort St. Inigoes to protect the approaches to the first Maryland Capitol at St. Mary's City. It is believed that this cannon had another and more ancient use and perhaps a history only surmised by us. It and its sister guns were found to be of Spanish make and are similar to those used on ships of the Spanish Armada which were wrecked off the British Coast. If the old gun could speak what tales it could tell!

FIGURE 4.

In 1588, it well may have been aboard a Spanish galleon when wrecked on the English Coast. In 1633, it was purchased and carried to America by Leonard Calvert on the "Ark." Father Andrew White, S. J., the historian of the pilgrims, wrote about a visit of some Indian chiefs to St. Mary's City, shortly after the landing: "our cannon filled them (the Indians) with wonder—the Ark's great guns, to honor the day, spoke aloud and the King of the Patuxent counseled his guests (the other Indians) to be careful that they break not the peace".

Pirates and "free booters" were driven from the settlement by the great guns, but later in the 1700's, the Fort washed into the water. In 1820, Captain Carberry and students from Georgetown College, were able to salvage the guns by fastening ropes around them and to large barrels at low tide. When the tide rose, they were dislodged from the bottom and then were hauled on shore and stored about the St. Inigoes Manor House.

During the "War Between the States" some Yankee soldiers of Gen. Sickle's Brigade, while wandering about stealing the local farmers' poultry, caught sight of the guns and rushed back to their officer, declaring they had discovered a masked battery. A company of troops was dispatched. How mortified they were to discover the ordnance was loaded only with a nest of mocking bird eggs and was about 300 years old.

In 1960, the last of these guns was located by members of the St. Mary's County Historical Society. It was submerged in a marsh and was being used as a boundary marker for St. Inigoes Manor. The Society, with the help of the local company of the National Guard Engineers, was able to reclaim it and obtained permission from the Jesuit Provincial to have it removed. It was then treated and mounted at the entrance to the Society's Headquarters in Leonardtown.

The St. Mary's County Historical Society is open Tuesday through Saturdays from 10 to 4 p.m.

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GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH OFFERED

For some time now, the Maryland Historical Society has offered genealogical research on a limited basis. For $15.00 per hour, a staff member, well-versed in research methods and familiar with the Library's extensive genealogical holdings, will attempt to locate information on individuals and families from the recent as well as the distant past. The research, however, is confined to the Society's Library.

This service is by no means available only to Marylanders. Many of our requests come from out-of-staters with Maryland roots; and since the Library's collections include source records and published family histories from other states, we are able to accommodate clients whose families originated elsewhere.

One bit of advice to potential customers: please be as specific as possible in your request. A more successful research is done for the person who asks for the names, say, of the parents of John Smith, born circa 1750 in Harford County, than for the one who simply wants information on a family named Smith living in Maryland in the 18th century.

We cannot, of course, guarantee 100% success, and we do not often find "that famous ancestor," but we have received many, many letters of thanks from clients who have been able to fill in blank spaces on their family charts as a result of our work. And there are those who are so happy with what we have found that they have written back asking us to continue for another hour, sometimes two or three.

Your check for $15.00 authorizes us to begin the search. Since this has become an extremely popular feature, we hope you will wait patiently for the results.

For more information, contact Gary Parks at the Maryland Historical Society.

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Information on the above gift opportunities may be received by calling the Office of Annual Giving.

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The Museum Shop and Book Store will be delighted to receive your mail orders. Please make checks payable to the Maryland Historical Society. Maryland Historical Society members may deduct 10%. All Maryland residents must add 5% sales tax. Please include $2.00 postage and handling for each book ordered.

THE GREEN SPRING VALLEY

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Discover the rich social and architectural history of the Green Spring Valley in this comprehensive two-volume edition on the Valley, its homes and inhabitants. Carefully researched and generously illustrated, the history and genealogy captures the charm and character of the Valley as it was in the 17th century and as it developed through the years.

The Green Spring Valley: Its History and Heritage, made possible through the generosity of the Middendorf Foundation, Inc., is on sale now at the Maryland Historical Society for $35.00 and can be ordered by mail. All mail orders must be prepaid. Add $2.00 for postage and handling. Maryland residents include $1.75 for sales tax.

As this is a limited edition, early ordering is advised.

DON'T LEAVE US— **UP IN THE AIR**

We hope we can count on your continued interest and ANNUAL GIVING support in the year ahead.

The Radcliffe Maritime Museum of the Maryland Historical Society

presents

SEA LORE SATURDAYS

A new series of family programs which will delight visitors of all ages with the special spirit of the sea as expressed through song, storytelling and craftsmanship.

April 18 — **The Working Tugs of the Port of Baltimore**

10:00 am to 12:30 pm

Bill Eggert, a distinguished photographer of Port Life, will give an illustrated talk on tugs and their crews. Later, visitors may go to Fells Point to go aboard a tug and talk with the crew, through the courtesy of The Baker-Whiteley Towing Co. and Curtis Bay Towing Co.

Admission (includes admission to the Museum): Adults, $2.50; Children (under 16), $1.00; Society Members, half price.

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Call the Campaign Office for more details on the above gift opportunities at (301) 685-3750, Ext. 64.