



"And can you think my faith will alter, By tarring, whipping, or the halter?" From Canto III, John Trumbull, *M'Fingal, or, A Tory's Day of Judgement: A Modern Epic Poem in Four Cantos.* (Baltimore: J. Peters, 1816.)

“The Horrors of Civil War”: The Tilghman Family in the American Revolution

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On April 28, 1775, James Tilghman wrote to a correspondent in England about the current state of American affairs. A little more than a week earlier, colonial militia and British regulars had clashed at Lexington and Concord. James mentioned the upcoming meeting of the Second Continental Congress, expressing his hope that “the horrors of civil War now more clearly seen” would induce the delegates to pursue conciliatory measures. In another letter, he lamented the unwillingness of either Britain or America to make concessions, exclaiming, “Strange Perverseness! That a Point of honour should stand in competition with the horrible Effects of Civil War!”¹

Like many families caught up in that turbulent era, the Tilghmans of Maryland found themselves divided over what course to take in the struggle with Britain. Historian Paul Smith has posited that approximately 500,000 Americans, almost twenty per cent of the white population, remained loyal to George III. Of those 500,000, an estimated 80,000 persons emigrated during the course of the war to other parts of the British empire, a figure greater than the number of French emigrés during the French Revolution. About 19,000 colonists took up arms against their countrymen, serving in such units as the Pennsylvania Loyalists, the Queen’s Rangers, and the Loyal American Regiment.² Whatever the exact number of “Tories,” there were enough loyal colonists to turn the rebellion into a civil war.

In her history of the American Revolution, published in 1805, Mercy Otis Warren wrote, “so intermixed and blended were persons, families, and parties of different political opinions, that it was not easy to distinguish . . . the royalists from the whigs.”³ James Tilghman would neither actively support the revolutionaries nor oppose them. His brother Matthew served as a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses and chaired seven of Maryland’s nine Provincial Conventions. Edward Tilghman, another brother, embraced independence. His son Edward Tilghman Jr. fought against the British at the Battle of Long Island in 1776, but attempted to avoid swearing allegiance to the Patriot cause. His cousin and James’s eldest son Tench was one of George Washington’s aides-de-camp. Washington chose Tench to deliver the news of the victory at Yorktown to Con-

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James Tilghman (1716–1793), John Hesselius painted this portrait in the 1760s, at the pinnacle of James's career. (Maryland Historical Society.)

gress. Philemon, Tench's brother, joined the British navy in 1777. Other Tilghmans actively worked in Patriot politics.⁴

James Tilghman's correspondence with his sons, relatives, friends, acquaintances, and other connections provides a rare opportunity to study the range of allegiances within one family during the Revolutionary War. James never disowned his sons Tench or Philemon for taking active roles in the conflict, telling them that he would support them as long as they behaved honorably. As he wrote to Philemon, "I hope and believe you acted upon Principle and therefore I cannot abandon you or withdraw my affection unless I should have the misfortune to hear that you have departed from the principles of virtue and honor."⁵ Like their father, James's other sons chose to remain neutral. Richard left America for good in 1776 and found employment with the East India Company, James Jr. gave up his mercantile career to manage his father's farms, and William quietly pursued his legal studies. James's youngest son Thomas Ringgold was just eleven years old in 1776, too young to be actively involved in the war. James's daughters—Anna Maria, Elizabeth, Mary, and Henrietta Maria—worried about their brothers and father, but refrained from expressing any political opinions. "I shall ever regret his [Tench] differing in sentiment from you on such an important occasion as the present dispute but as I do not understand the subject I shal[l] conclude," wrote Anna Maria to her father.⁶

The Tilghmans provide a contemporary perspective, from several vantage points, on the imperial crisis. Historians have long debated the causes of the American Revolution. In the early twentieth century, Carl Becker put forth the supposition that the colonists were fighting for who should rule at home as well as

“home rule.” Numerous scholars have followed Becker’s line of reasoning with notable permutations and variations, searching for the kinds of internal conflicts and social upheaval that gave rise to the French Revolution. A contrary viewpoint holds that the Revolution was primarily a constitutional and political struggle, with very little, if any, social impact—a fight to preserve rather than alter the existing social structure. Historians in this camp tend to emphasize the conservative nature of the rebellion, and see it as a struggle over concepts of liberty and power, virtue and corruption. Alternatively, there are scholars who view economics as the determining factor, the colonies having reached a point in their development where the British imperial system no longer benefited them.

Many recent studies of the period have focused on manners, polite discourse, gentility, sociability, political ritual, and the public sphere, to the point that the war itself often fades into the background. Historian Gordon Wood has argued that the American Revolution “was as radical and social as any revolution in history, but it was radical and social in a very special eighteenth-century sense.” For Wood, the Revolution’s radical nature was not located in class conflict, in poor versus rich, in city versus country, in radicals versus conservatives, but in the transformation of a monarchical society into a democratic one. What the Tilghmans reveal through their correspondence bolsters Wood’s thesis. To them, the principal cause of the rebellion was a political and constitutional crisis, and their writings show how that crisis unleashed forces that transformed a hierarchical world into a democratic one.⁷

The British empire in which James Tilghman, his grandparents, parents, siblings, and children had been born was one in which men were either gentlemen or commoners. Gentlemen possessed land, wealth, learning, and leisure; everyone else had to work for their livings. Within this grand division were numerous gradations of rank: yeomen, merchants, tradesmen, and artisans as well as peers, bishops, baronets, and “mere” gentlemen all had their appropriate places in the “great chain of being.” In eighteenth-century America, where there was no titled aristocracy, gentle status rested on reputation. All the components of gentility—land, affluence, education, religion, and breeding—had to be present, but a family was only of the first rank if society accorded it that standing. The Tilghmans belonged to that select group of American clans that included the Washingtons, Lees, Livingstons, and Shippens. They were major landholders in Kent, Queen Anne’s and Talbot counties, held local and provincial offices, sat on parish vestries, and engaged in trade—all hallmarks of the Chesapeake gentry. By the fourth generation in Maryland, they had established blood or marriage ties to most of the landed families on the Eastern Shore, including the Lloyds, Goldsboroughs, Earles, Chamberlaines, and Hollydays. Their kinship network extended to Philadelphia, including the Chews, Francises, Willings, and Mifflins.⁸ Lineage was an important component of gentility and family identity. The Tilghmans were de-

scended from a minor gentry family who had lived in Kent in the southeast of England for more than 500 years. Their coat of arms dated to at least 1468, perhaps earlier. James's grandparents Richard and Mary Foxley Tilghman arrived in Maryland in 1662 with their two children and sixteen indentured servants during the boom period in the tobacco trade. Lord Baltimore had granted Richard a patent to a thousand-acre tract, Canterbury Manor, near present-day Easton, but he settled at "Tilghman's Hermitage" on the Chester River. Governor Charles Calvert appointed him sheriff of Talbot County in 1669. By his death in 1676, Richard had accumulated 3,350 acres and an estate worth more than £800 sterling, placing him in the top rank of Chesapeake society. His son and namesake Richard married Anna Maria Lloyd in 1700, thus allying the Tilghmans to one of Maryland's wealthiest families. Richard held numerous offices, among them justice of the peace for Talbot and Queen Anne's counties, vestryman of St. Paul's parish, sheriff of Queen Anne's County, member of the Lower House of Assembly for Talbot County, member of the Upper House, Councillor, justice of the Provincial Court, and Chancellor of Maryland. He "dyed in what we call in this Country good circumstances."⁹ James Tilghman, born on December 6, 1716, was the eighth of Richard and Anna Maria's nine children. Twenty-two at the time of his father's death in 1739, he inherited about 2,500 acres. He studied law with Tench Francis and married Francis's daughter Anne on September 30, 1743. The couple resided at "Fausley," Francis's former plantation in Talbot County. James sat in the Lower House of Assembly for Talbot County in 1762, where he led the anti-proprietary party against the Supply Bill, legislation to raise revenue for the colony's defense. He moved his family to Philadelphia in late 1762 or early 1763 because of Anne's poor health. By 1766, Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietors of Pennsylvania, had appointed him to the post of secretary of the land office.¹⁰

The Tilghmans' actions seem to have been guided always with an eye to honor and reputation, and the memory of the family's gentry status in Kent. The Tilghmans, fully part of the Chesapeake gentry, concerned themselves with how they would appear to the world. Richard Tilghman [III], congratulating his younger brother James on his appointment to the land office, cautioned him "to be carefull to preserve the honest Man in the great officer. . . . Riches and Honours are uncertain & transitory, but good & worthy Actions will ever bear reflection with Delight & pleasure."¹¹ James frequently reminded his children of their duty to uphold the Tilghmans' good name. He admonished Philemon to "keep a watchful Eye on your conduct and let it be directed by the principles of virtue and honor[.] For let me tell you if you deviate from them, you'l[l] be the first of your name who has ever violated them."¹² Speaking of himself, James remarked that if he had "run with the stream and made a sacrifice of my honour and conscience to my interest," he probably would have retained his govern-

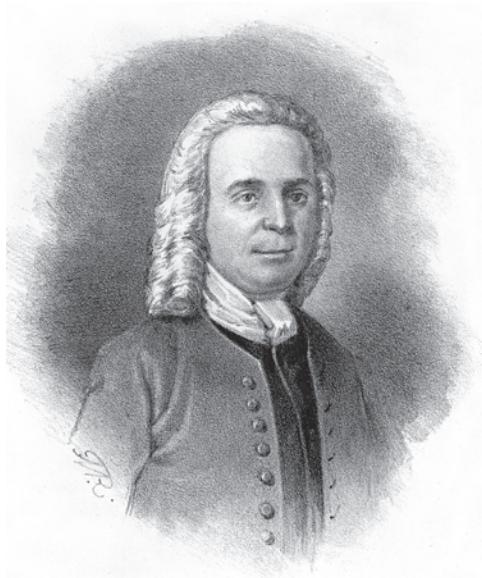


Tilghman's Hermitage, Tilghman family home on the banks of the Chester River. (Maryland Historical Society.)

ment post after independence.¹³ Matthew Tilghman commented, “I have hitherto in my own Opinion Acted upon upright & consequently justifiable Motives.”¹⁴

The 1760s and 1770s presented James Tilghman with the trial of preserving his and his family’s reputation and estate. Although he found himself taking the opposite path from many members of his clan, regard for the family’s honor played a role in his actions. Gentility dictated a certain code of conduct, regardless of political opinion. His peers regarded him as a man of probity and honor, and it was vitally important that he retain their regard.

In 1774, when the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, James expected it to produce a “reasonable Bill of Rights of America; the only way, in my Opinion, to settle the unhappy difference upon a permanent Basis.”¹⁵ James had actively opposed the Stamp Act, and the British response to the Boston Tea Party had “staggered” him. He knew there were many people in the colonies willing to counter force with force, thus burdening moderate men (and he considered himself among them) with the difficult task of keeping inflamed spirits in check.¹⁶ Matthew Tilghman, whom James described as “a man of Steadiness and modera-



*Matthew Tilghman (1718–1790).
Tilghman's work at the First and Second Continental Congresses earned him the nickname "Father of the Revolution" in Maryland. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

tion and of the strictest virtue And utterly averse from all violent Measures," stayed with his brother during the session. Since the delegates had agreed to keep their deliberations secret, Matthew could give his sibling only a general sense of how the proceedings progressed. James inferred there were two parties within Congress, one willing to adopt a more extreme stance towards Parliament than the other. He could not gather which of the two would prevail.¹⁷

His correspondence from late 1774 and early 1775, shows that James was sorely disappointed with the measures the First Continental Congress had adopted; instead of petitioning for redress of grievances with "decent and respectful moderation," the delegates had displayed what he considered nothing but contempt for Parliamentary power.¹⁸ To Lady Juliana Penn, he explained that he did "not blame an Opposition to the Encroachments of Power" but that there were historical examples "of untimely and improper Oppositions which have ended in Consequences worse than submission itself, at least for a Season." In James's estimation, "a wantonness of Liberty in America which overlooks all prudence" had led the body that might have healed the rift between mother country and colonies down the wrong path. Hope now lay in the parent indulging the children and sparing the rod.¹⁹

The battles of Lexington and Concord, in April 1775, dealt a severe blow to "moderation" and to any chance of repairing the breach between Britain and America. James knew the ministry's resort to arms would be no solution to the crisis, based as it was on the faulty supposition that the colonists were no match for British troops. A faithful report of the actions in Massachusetts should put an end to that belief, he wrote to Lady Juliana Penn. "Allow me, madam, to assure you that every man in America, except the tradesman in the Towns, is practiced in

the use of fire Arms from child hood and is a much better marksman than any of the regulars[.]”²⁰ He pointed out that the fighting tactics and superior numbers of the colonists would overwhelm the best regular soldiers in the world, particularly when the colonists fought on their home ground, and knew the terrain intimately. The Seven Years’ War provided examples of the colonists’ military abilities. James Tilghman Jr.’s friend George Washington had achieved renown on both sides of the Atlantic through his gallantry at Monongahela in 1755, preserving the ill-fated General Edward Braddock’s army from complete annihilation at the hands of the French and their Indian allies.²¹ To the Penns’ solicitor Henry Wilmot, James commented that it seemed this defeat had been forgotten in England. He reminded Wilmot that during the previous war, the British army could rely on American support; “Now not a soul would venture to supply them with a bit of Bread” or any other necessity.²²

A martial spirit had spread across America. James estimated that in Philadelphia about 2,000 men spent close to five hours each day in military exercises. His own sons Tench and Richard, and his nephew Edward Tilghman Jr., had joined militia companies.²³ James figured there were at least 20,000 men under arms in all of Pennsylvania. On June 15, the Second Continental Congress adopted a plan to raise ten companies of riflemen from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. These soldiers would reinforce the New England troops encircling the British forces in Boston. The following day, Congress appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the new Continental Army.²⁴ Congress’s decision to raise rifle companies had a particular purpose, which James explained in a letter to Lady Juliana Penn and her son-in-law William Baker. “These Riflemen experienced in the Wars with the Indians are compleat Marksmen robust active and bold and are sent for the purpose of taking down the Officers. They will seldom miss their Mark at 200 yards distance[.]”²⁵ New Englanders’ success against British regulars on their retreat from Concord and Ethan Allen’s capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had buoyed the colonists’ confidence in their ability to sustain armed defiance. Notwithstanding colonial preparations for war, James clung to the hope that the more temperate delegates to the Second Continental Congress would prevail and offer the ministry some viable proposal for peacefully settling the imperial crisis. James considered himself a friend of both the colonies and Britain, and earnestly desired some mutually acceptable resolution. He saw the specter of full-fledged civil war looming on the horizon, and only if Congress and Parliament made concessions would it disappear.²⁶ It seemed to him that both parties truly wanted to resolve matters but kept adopting measures that only worsened the situation. If attempts at repairing the breach failed, the colonies would face the choice of either being “ruled with a rod of iron” or “to shift for ourselves.” If forced to choose, James would be at a loss to determine which alternative was the lesser evil. In his opinion, both sides would be destroyed in a

war whose effects would be “calamitous.” He found Montaigne’s saying, as he remembered it, that “Mortals are the Tennis balls with which the Gods divert themselves” particularly apt for the crisis.²⁷

In July 1775, in one last attempt to close the widening rift between Britain and America, the Second Continental Congress appealed to the king for redress of grievances with the so-called Olive Branch Petition. The document beseeched George III to use his powers to persuade Parliament to repeal its oppressive legislation and restore harmony. Congress selected Richard Penn, William Penn’s grandson, to deliver the petition. George III refused to receive it, stating that he would deal only with the legally constituted authorities in each colony, not the Continental Congress. In August, he declared the colonies in a state of rebellion. News of the king’s proclamation reached American shores in the fall. Despite the royal rebuff, James still adhered to his belief that mother country and colonies could reach some kind of accommodation. Accepting by now that the ministry must recognize the Continental Congress, he wrote to William Baker that if Parliament sent peace commissioners, they would have to treat with Congress rather than individual assemblies. “Every attempt thro’ the Assemblies will be looked upon as a scheme to divide and disunite.”²⁸ James’s desires for a peaceful remedy were fast becoming a forlorn hope.

The failure of the Olive Branch Petition effectively ended any realistic chance of reunion. With many Americans in favor of breaking away from the mother country, and an army in the field, the Second Continental Congress finally declared independence from Great Britain on July 4, 1776. Although James opposed the arbitrary measures Parliament and the ministry had taken against the colonies, he disapproved of completely severing the bond with the mother country. He explained his position to his son Tench (which explanation deserves to be quoted in full):

We were undoubtedly under the weight of oppression which in my mind, by proper management might have been effectually remedied But we have chosen a remedy, upon the best judgement I can form, worse much worse than the disease. And tho’ I would not oppose the ruling powers I would not join them to the violation of my judgement and my conscience from which every man has a right to claim an exemption. When a man parts with that right he loses the most valuable of all earthly concerns; And can be justified only by the most urgent necessity, if he may, even in that Case. I will not say what effect the prospect of losing my life and ruining my family might have upon me. I hope I shall not be put to a Trial so severe. my Principles are that it is not only right but proper to oppose Arbitrary power But I would not do it in such a manner as to risque Every thing, untill oppression became

Tench Tilghman (1744–1786). James's eldest son, served as an aide-de-camp to General George Washington. (Maryland Historical Society.)



grievous and every other remedy had been repeatedly tryed In that necessity only I would put every thing upon the Chance of Arms.²⁹

The tide of events had pushed James into the Loyalist camp.

When Tench Tilghman learned of the Olive Branch Petition's fate, he decided having "taken a military part, I could not in honor withdraw or hold myself back."³⁰ Unlike his father and younger brothers, Tench was willing to fight for independence. He would later write to his uncle Matthew, "Upon the breaking out of the troubles, I came to a determination to share the fate of my Country."³¹ Already a member of John Cadwalader's battalion of Philadelphia militia, Tench moved into the Continental Army when his unit became part of the Flying Camp. On August 8, 1776, he joined George Washington's staff as an aide-de-camp and secretary. At that time, Washington's headquarters was in New York City, where a British attack was imminently expected. James would have preferred his eldest son to have continued his mercantile career rather than take up arms against Britain. Yet, he resigned himself to Tench's choice, writing "Whatever part you take I hope and trust youl Act it in a becoming manner God direct and bless and prosper you."³² For his part, Tench recognized that his father's advice stemmed from his "Regard" for him.³³

James's apprehensions about independence were grounded in concerns for his property and his family's future. A fifty-nine-year old widower with young children still at home and a career tied to the proprietary interests would understandably be deeply reluctant to favor measures that quite probably would de-

stroy his means of livelihood. Revolutions brought upheaval. James was too old to rebuild his estate if it were lost. Congress, conventions, and committees were extralegal bodies, appropriating legislative and executive powers to themselves from the duly constituted authorities. If they became permanent, as they would with independence, there would be no room for a proprietor—or his officials.

Of considerable concern to James and like-minded men were the proceedings of various radical committees that directed their activities against persons opposed to the Continental Association, and thus to the American cause.³⁴ Since August 1775, Philadelphia's Committee of Observation and Inspection had increasingly focused on suppressing dissent and organizing for war. In September, thirty militiamen had paraded lawyer Isaac Hunt around the town in a cart so that he might make apologies to the townspeople for challenging the committee's authority. His error had been to defend a merchant accused of selling linen contrary to the Association and in so doing questioning the committee's right to regulate trade. Bowing to popular pressure, Hunt agreed to publicly apologize. When the entourage stopped near the house of Dr. John Kearsley, an ardent Loyalist, the doctor threw open his window and shot a pistol into the crowd. The militiamen immediately rushed the house, grabbed Kearsley, put him in the cart, and released Hunt. They then paraded the doctor through the town and let him endure the public's abuse.³⁵

In Virginia, the committees bore responsibility for ensuring that every inhabitant subscribed to the association, placing proof of patriotism beyond mere obedience to the boycott agreement. Every Virginian faced the choice of open hostility or active friendship to America.³⁶ The committees published the names of non-Associators in the gazettes. Members of the Second Provincial Convention recommended a similar resolution in Maryland. In early 1775, Matthew commented that "to publish the Names of NonSubscribers as Enemies to Ama is rash & I fear will do Mischief by creating Divisions. . . . I was ever agst these kind of movements & I find no Cause yet to alter my Opinion."³⁷ From London, Henry Wilmot observed that "the Proceedings of the People of Maryland and Virginia will not, I think, Unite the Americans against Government, but will certainly drive them into a Rebellion among themselves."³⁸ Maryland's Provincial Convention of July 1775 adopted an Association of the Freemen of Maryland. The county committees of observation were to obtain the signatures of the citizenry, drawing up lists of anyone refusing to sign.³⁹ Matthew Tilghman, president of the July convention, demonstrated less than complete enthusiasm for this measure when he wrote to his brother in December, "returns of our Non Associators not yet looked into I am in hopes we shall not proceed agst. them with any Extraordinary Rigour."⁴⁰ By January 1776, the Patriot government had decided to subject non-associators to higher taxation, to confiscate any arms they might possess, and to demand that they give parole for their good behavior.⁴¹

James could only hope that men of fortune and ability, like his brother Mat-

thew, would keep the more radical and leveling elements in check. In the previous century, during the English Civil War, Parliamentary committees in the counties had been responsible for sequestering Royalist estates. It was quite possible an independent American government would adopt similar measures with regard to Loyalists. “Wealthy and Moderate People every where will begin to think it better to have the Protection of this Country, rather than to be under the Dominion of those who are likely to Seize the Government,” Henry Wilmot remarked.⁴² In a republic, all would be equal. As a dutiful proprietary official, James foresaw that, for the Penns especially, independence would mean “Those who have Estates will lose them and they will go into the hands of those who have them not.”⁴³ The security of private property belonging to those the committees declared “inimical” to America would undoubtedly be in jeopardy.

Matthew Tilghman, just over a year younger than James, had no fear of being declared “inimical” to America, but he was not among the “violent” Congressional delegates, men such as John Adams who thought independence the only solution to the imperial crisis. “I am more & more convinced of the Utility & Efficacy of our [Continental] Association,” he wrote to James in January 1775, “but I fear we are loosing Sight of & ruining it by other plans.” Reporting on the activities of the December 1775 Maryland Convention, he noted, “Mr R[obert] Alexander & Mr John Rogers both well disposed men are appointed Deps. and will soon attend in Congress both I think well inclined to Measures that may lead to Peace.”⁴⁴ That convention instructed its delegates to abstain from any vote for independence without its prior knowledge and approval. Early in 1776, Matthew and other leaders in the Maryland government met with Governor Robert Eden to develop measures for resolving the conflict. Shortly after, the governor wrote to Lord Dartmouth that he was “satisfied they are so far from desiring an independencey that if the establishment of it were left to their choice, they would reject it with abhorrence.”⁴⁵ Even after July 1776, while he was actively involved in forming the new state government, Matthew still evinced interest in negotiation with the British, “If our Army can be kept together . . . & people are wise possibly something may be done this Winter in the way of Accomodation I cannot help hoping that there may be a Disposition towards it even in Congress.”⁴⁶ Having received the news of the American victory at Trenton, Matthew wrote to James, “Certainly this is the Time for people to move who incline to peace.”⁴⁷ Unlike his brother, however, he was willing to “fight on & supposing we’re right leave it to providence to decide on the Justice of our Cause.” Although Matthew may have preferred in his heart of hearts to have somehow remained within the British Empire, he could not bear “Absolute Submi[ssion]” and chose to have a hand in molding the future rather than cling to the past.⁴⁸

Edward Tilghman, unlike his younger brothers Matthew and James, had no use for accommodation or moderate measures. “There is on every new Occasion

when Climers [sic] see their Way to preferment a new Term introduced as the first round of their Ladder ‘Moderation’ is now the fashionable Word & I am a false profit [sic] if many dont make Use of it to climb.”⁴⁹ Edward had been a leader of the anti-proprietary party in the Maryland assembly. He had represented Queen Anne’s County in the Lower House for nearly twenty years and had served as speaker in 1770 and 1771.⁵⁰ In 1765, he attended the Stamp Act Congress and helped draft that body’s petition to the House of Lords. Despite his popularity among his constituents, Edward declined to run for election in 1773.⁵¹ He would have liked to have represented Maryland in the First Continental Congress and wrote, when Congress met in Philadelphia in September, that he was “wretched that I cannot make Acquaintance with some of the most remarkable Worthies the chief Orators of this grand Amn. parlt.” News of Lexington and Concord shocked him, “but as my Conscience tells me that upon the Grand Object of Difference they are right I must wish them Success.” He was hurt to learn that his brother James was a Tory.⁵²

Edward Tilghman Jr. remained a less ardent Patriot than his father. “I am no Climber & I hope never shall be, but as to moderate Measures . . . I totally differ from you.”⁵³ A lawyer, the younger Edward lived in Philadelphia and was married to Elizabeth Chew, daughter of Benjamin Chew, the chief justice of Pennsylvania. With a father-in-law and an uncle in the proprietary government, Edward Jr. may have found the arguments for reconciliation with Britain extremely persuasive.

After Congress declared the colonies’ separation from Great Britain, those Tilghmans who, like James, tried to remain neutral found it ever more difficult to avoid being branded a Tory. Patriot governments were increasingly anxious to suppress all opposition. It was unclear whether Loyalists would remain quiet or actively support king and Parliament. Keeping internal dissension from erupting into violent disorder was vitally necessary to the success of the Revolutionary cause. Britain could be defeated only if Americans retained their unity.

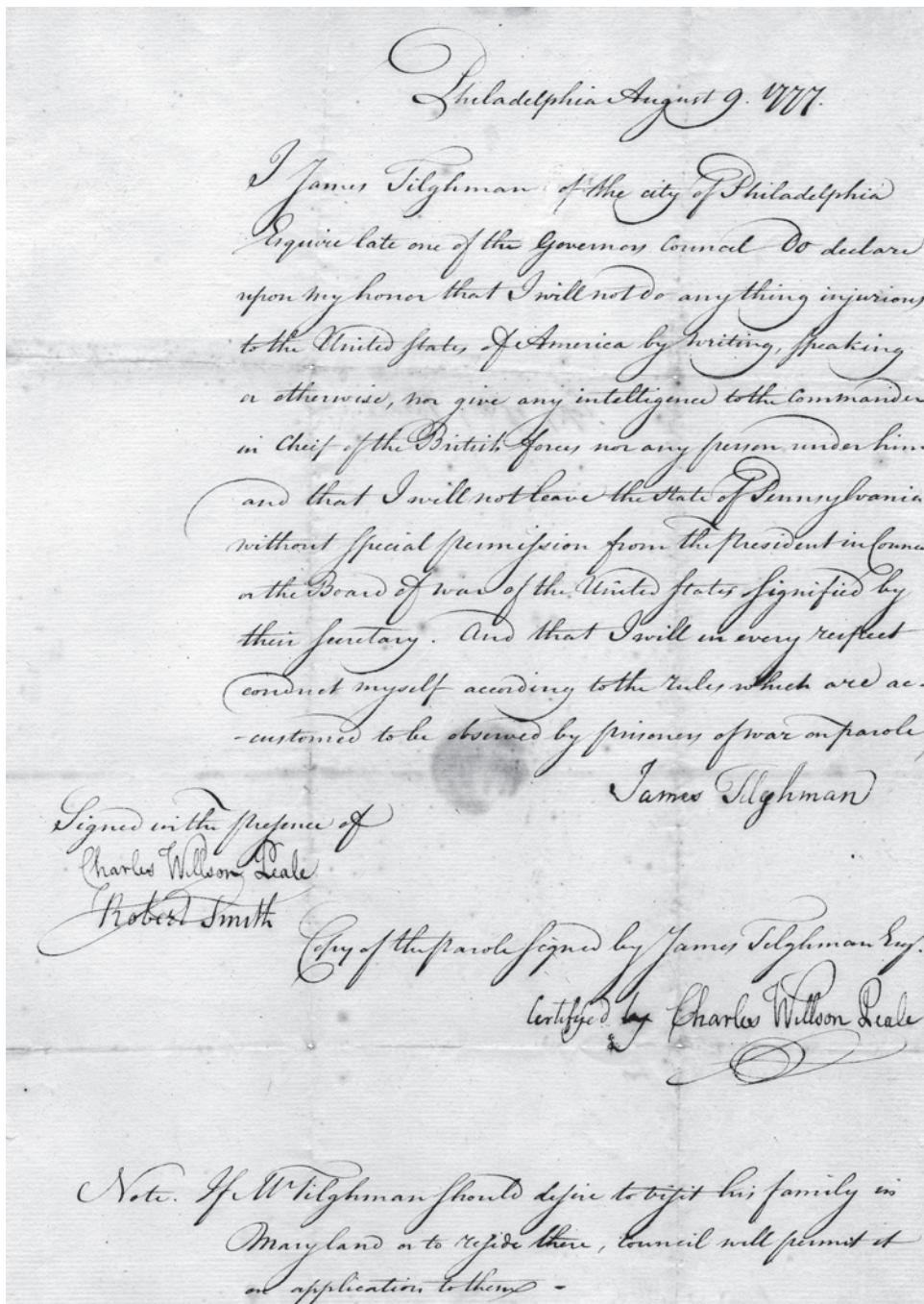
One of the first laws passed in the new state of Maryland was “An Act to punish certain Crimes and Misdemeanors, and to prevent the Growth of Toryism.” Enacted in early 1777, the law stipulated that any person waging war against the state was guilty of treason and subject to the death penalty and confiscation of his estate. The law gave the government the power to confiscate the estate of those guilty of misprision of treason—failing to report treasonous activities to the proper authorities. Fines and imprisonment were the punishments for avowing support of king and Parliament, trying to encourage resistance, obstructing recruitment, opposing independence, or corresponding with the enemy. The act granted the governor the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus during time of an invasion and to confine persons considered dangerous to a limited area. It required all civil officers and voters to take an oath of fidelity to the state. The law forbade traveling through certain areas without a pass. If caught and brought before a judge, the guilty party could be jailed if the court deemed the violator a “dangerous person.”⁵⁴

The Maryland House of Delegates had pushed for a broader law, one that would have had in essence “the effect of suppressing all communication of public transactions.” That body had pronounced “that it is high time that some test should be established to discover, if possible, our internal and secret foes. . . . Our association was intended as a test, but proved defective.”⁵⁵ The house version of the law would have prescribed banishment or death to anyone uttering cynical remarks about the course of events or spreading false rumors. Even talk of reconciliation short of complete independence would have been subject to punishment. But the senate disagreed with the house’s demand for a general loyalty oath, regarding such a test as improper “because no government has a right to dive into the secret thoughts of subjects conforming their conduct to the known laws of the state, nor lift from their bosoms their political principles . . . in order to lay the foundation of a prosecution, or for the purpose of inflicting pains and penalties.”⁵⁶ Since many senators, among them James’s brother Matthew, actually had thoughts of settling the dispute without total independence, they managed to keep the house’s more radical proposals out of the final bill.⁵⁷

In June 1777, Pennsylvania’s legislature adopted a highly controversial Test Act, the kind of broader law Maryland’s House of Delegates had wanted to enact. The law required all white male citizens over the age of eighteen to swear allegiance to the state before a justice of the peace prior to July 1. In taking the oath, individuals had to renounce the king, promise to act in no way harmful to the independence of Pennsylvania, and to report any treasonous activities. The justices issued certificates to those who had taken the oath. The Test Act dictated harsh penalties for refusing to comply with the law. It barred the non-juror from holding any state office. He could not serve on a jury, sue for debts, run for election, vote, make any land transactions, or own arms. If he continued to refuse to take the oath, he could be jailed without bail until he complied. Although the legislature altered the law several times to lessen or increase the Test Act’s penalties, it still required the citizenry to declare their loyalty to the state and renounce allegiance to the king.⁵⁸

The month after Pennsylvania enacted its Test Act, Congress suggested to the state’s Supreme Executive Council that it arrest the governor, proprietary officers, and other disaffected persons. General Sir William Howe’s army had embarked from New York and it seemed likely the British would attack Philadelphia. The Patriot authorities thought it necessary to neutralize those men who might aid and abet the invading army. The Council arrested about forty persons, including James Tilghman, and released them on parole, thus treating them as prisoners of war.

The terms of James’s parole specified that he was to be held “at any place on the west side of the river Delaware, and within six miles of the same.”⁵⁹ One of the officers sent to apprehend him was the artist Charles Willson Peale. Ironically, James had lent Peale money several years before the Revolution so that the young



James Tilghman's parole, 1777, MS 2821, Maryland Historical Society.

man could establish his own saddlery. According to the artist's autobiography, James hesitated to sign the document presented to him. After giving him a day to

think it over, Peale returned the following morning. Finding that James still hesitated to sign, Peale suggested that if James wanted no more trouble, signing the document would be the safest course of action.⁶⁰ Peale's account fails to mention that on August 8, James wrote to Thomas Wharton, president of the Council, suggesting slightly different terms. He made it absolutely clear that he objected to accepting any parole. "Without the least insinuation that I have been guilty of any thing which renders me suspicious, I am taken up and considered in the light of a Prisoner of War And as such I am to conduct myself." He complained that he would be cut off from "all social and friendly intercourse" because he was prohibited from "giving intelligence of publick affairs" to any person, not just the British commander or anyone serving him, and how could he possibly know "what other people may call publick affairs?"⁶¹

To underscore his extreme unwillingness to sign such a document, James denounced the council's actions as "the most arbitrary that can be imagined." Wanting to avoid, however, the "horror of a Gaol," James was willing to sign a parole on his own terms. Firstly, he altered the language regarding giving intelligence so that it applied solely to the British forces. Secondly, he agreed to be confined to the west side of the Delaware if he could visit his family and estates in Maryland on giving two days notice to the Council president or vice president, or "to have my general Residence fixed in maryland with liberty to come to Philadelphia occasionally upon permission of the President or Vice president." The Council allowed James's modifications, and he signed his parole on August 9, in the presence of Peale and Robert Smith, another Pennsylvania officer. A note appended to the document allowed James to visit his family in Maryland or to remove there upon application to the council.⁶²

News of James's arrest reached his family before the details of his parole, and resulted in unexpected repercussions. His nephew Michael Earle, fearing that word would spread "perhaps with aggravated circumstances," mentioned what had transpired "to . . . our friends to whom I was writing, that they may understand this untoward Affair as it is, & be able to set those right that may have receiv'd misrepresentations, or taken up wrong Conceptions of it." James's three eldest daughters were visiting their uncle Matthew and his family in Talbot County. Michael chose to write directly to Matthew and leave it to his uncle to break the news to the women. His valiant efforts to prevent any "disagreeable Consequences" resulting from James's arrest were not entirely successful.⁶³

So incensed was Philemon Tilghman at the news of his father's arrest that he ran off to join the British. Philemon had been living with his brother James Jr. and William at their father's Forest plantation in Queen Anne's County. As events were unfolding with James, Admiral Lord Howe's fleet was sailing up the Chesapeake to deposit troops at Head of Elk on the way to Philadelphia. Philemon asked Howe for a commission in the army or navy. The commander "very readily

made him a Midshipman of the *Somerset* a 74 Gun Ship.⁶⁴ On August 31, just a few days after the British troops landed, the Supreme Executive Council allowed James to return to Maryland for one month "or sooner if called for."⁶⁵ When James arrived, he learned of his son's "rash & indiscreet" step. He immediately tried to get Philemon out of the navy. In the first place, the boy was not yet seventeen years old. Secondly, to rise in the navy required influential friends, which Philemon lacked. A third consideration was financial; James could not provide the "Necessary Credits for you in places where it is probable you may be."⁶⁶ Finally, joining the British navy might "cast odium on him here should things ever settle."⁶⁷ James applied to George Read, governor of Delaware, for a pass to allow William to go to the fleet and try to recover his brother. Read prepared a pass, but Philemon was either unable or unwilling to leave his ship.⁶⁸ James tried to resign himself to his son's choice, although he wished he would return home. Almost a year later, he was still trying to convince Philemon to abandon his naval career. The *Somerset* was involved in the attack on American defenses on the Delaware, but after about a year in American waters, Philemon ended up on ships involved in the relief of Gibraltar.

Philemon's defection could have jeopardized James's parole. In a draft of a letter to Timothy Matlack, secretary of the council, James wrote about his son's rash act. In this version, however, it was not the council's arrest of his father that prompted Phil to join Lord Howe but "Resentments for being put upon some Military duty for which indeed he was not fit being of a weakly infirm constitution and afflicted with a rupture which obliged him constantly to wear a truss."⁶⁹ James worried that these events would "bring suspicions upon the parties' friends however innocent of any participation, especially where the matter is not thoroughly known."⁷⁰ James decided to delete his comments about his son from the letter he actually sent to Matlack, perhaps thinking it would do more harm than good to mention it. He was trying to get the Council to allow him to remain in Maryland for more than the month that body had originally allowed him to stay on his estates.

On September 26, 1777, William Paca, one of Maryland's Patriot leaders, wrote to Thomas Wharton on behalf of James. This was the same day that Charles, Earl Cornwallis entered Philadelphia with a detachment of British and Hessian grenadiers. Congress and Pennsylvania's government had fled to Lancaster for safety. Howe had defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine on September 11 and was encamped near Germantown. James had written Wharton on September 13, requesting that he be permitted to stay longer in Maryland.

With Howe's army between him and Philadelphia, it seemed to make more sense for James to remain where he was than to attempt to return. He had written again to Wharton after hearing news of the Battle of Brandywine, but had received no answer to either of his letters, which he attributed to "the Confusion of

the times and the difficulty of communication.”⁷¹ He consulted with Paca, who agreed that since the terms of his parole stipulated that he keep out of General Howe’s way, it would be best for him to remain in Maryland. Paca assured the Council that he had every confidence James would “punctually fulfill every engagement he has made.” He also pointed out to the Pennsylvanians that with Howe near Philadelphia, it would be more in keeping with James’s parole to allow him to remain in Maryland.⁷² That Matthew Tilghman was a leader of Maryland’s revolutionary government was probably of no small benefit to James in gaining Paca’s support.

A little more than a week after Paca had sent his letter to Pennsylvania’s Supreme Executive Council, the American and British armies clashed again at Germantown. Washington planned to crush Howe’s army in a pincers movement. His plan failed, however, and Howe moved into Philadelphia in early October. Timothy Matlack, secretary of the council, had sent a number of letters to James informing him that Wharton had approved his staying in Maryland for two months longer than the original terms of his parole. After the Battle of Germantown, with Howe ensconced in Philadelphia, the council was willing for James to stay on his estates as long as he wished. The council received Paca’s letter, along with James’s of October 1, in late November. As James had surmised, the confusion around Philadelphia had made communication difficult. Thomas Wharton wrote directly to James, in case the council’s letters to him had been lost, informing him that he could remain in Maryland until the council’s further instructions.⁷³ James would not return to Philadelphia until July 1778, after the British had evacuated the city.

James had managed to escape Philadelphia prior to the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, but the Eastern Shore of Maryland was hardly a peaceful refuge. Large numbers of “disaffected persons,” principally in the southernmost counties, actively opposed the state government. Some areas were in such a state of upheaval that Maryland sent troops to quell the uprisings. Congress itself became alarmed at the disorder on the Eastern Shore. Samuel Chase had written to the state’s Council of Safety that reports from Somerset County had caused anxiety in Philadelphia.⁷⁴ In a letter to James Warren, Samuel Adams remarked on the Tory uprisings in Somerset and Worcester counties, “much more is to be apprehended from the secret machinations of these rascally people than from the open violence of British and Hessian soldiers. . . . if measures are not soon taken, and the most vigorous ones, to root out these pernicious weeds, it will be in vain for America to persevere in this generous struggle for the publick liberty.”⁷⁵ Congress urged Maryland’s government to adopt measures to suppress disorder.⁷⁶

Loyalist sentiment was strong on the Delmarva peninsula. When Sir William Howe’s forces arrived in the Chesapeake on their way to Philadelphia, the general issued a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the Eastern Shore, promis-

ing protection and a pardon to anyone who would uphold the monarchy and repudiate the revolution. Numbers of slaves, servants, and disaffected inhabitants went over to the British. The local militia tried to stop the flow of Tories, but the soldiers were inadequate to the task. Officers had found it almost impossible to recruit on the Eastern Shore and what men they did have, in the words of General William Smallwood, "will shine more at an election than in the field."⁷⁷ James had asked that his parole be extended in part because he was concerned his slaves would join the British fleet if he were absent.⁷⁸ So alarmed was Washington at the situation on the Eastern Shore, he dispatched Colonel Mordecai Gist to take command of the troops there.⁷⁹

In the fall of 1777, Maryland's legislature passed a test act similar to Pennsylvania's. "An act for the better security of government" required every free male over eighteen to take an oath of fidelity to the state by March 1, 1778. The government would penalize those refusing to comply with treble taxes. The non-juror could not commence a lawsuit. If a lawyer, doctor, minister, or teacher, the act forbade him to practice his profession. A person was barred from civil or military office, or from voting, if he failed to take the oath of fidelity. The law did allow a grace period of six weeks after March 1, and individuals who had taken an oath of fidelity in another state were exempt, if they could produce a certificate to that effect.⁸⁰

In March 1778, the Maryland legislature passed "an Act to Prevent and Suppress Insurrection." This law gave the governor and state council power to use all military force necessary to stamp out disorder. Furthermore, it authorized stationing troops permanently in Somerset County for three years and a patrol of armed galleys in the southern part of the Bay to prevent Tories from communicating with the British fleet. Reaction to the legislation came in the form of another insurrection, this time in Queen Anne's County.⁸¹ China Clow, "a backslidden Methodist," raised a company reported to be anywhere from 300 to 700 men. Their intention was to join the British fleet. Clow's partisans, who wore their hair in a queue as a mark of distinction, threatened the Continental Army's stores of supplies at the head of the Bay. Forces under the command of General William Smallwood and Colonel William Bordley managed to quell the uprising. Although Clow remained a nuisance, he was never able to rally a sufficient number of Loyalists to become a real threat. He was finally captured in 1782.⁸²

The uprisings on the Eastern Shore hit close to home when James Jr. came under popular suspicion of being an active Tory. At the time of China Clow's insurrection, James was in Chestertown and James Jr. at the Forest. The militia sent to deal with Clow tried to steal what they could from Tilghman's farm, but the officers caught them. "Some of the Raschally Militia" had hidden ammunition in the slave quarter which they then pretended to discover to provide an excuse for plundering the estate. The sergeant of the company recognized the cartridges

as his own, thus foiling the plot.⁸³ James commented that “it was lucky for me that my overseer is a great Whig had served two Campaigns in the Militia and had taken the Test and took upon him to know something of military affairs.”⁸⁴ Although his overseer may have been a “great Whig,” his son was not, and ran afoul of the militia.

Clow’s men, under the impression that James Jr. was favorably disposed to them and that the militia had moved to another location, approached the Forest twice to ask for arms and ammunition. They “were absolutely refused And upon Jemmys expostulating with them and telling the folly of their proceeding and advising them to disperse some of them said if they could be pardoned they would.” James Jr. conveyed this information to the militia officers at Bridge Town, who asked him to return to Clow’s men and find out what terms they expected. He agreed to act as go-between if the officers would send some of their own men to accompany him. James Jr. and three officers returned to the Forest to discover that Clow’s followers had evaporated. The militia, balked at getting Clow’s men and fueled with whiskey, turned their wrath on James Jr., claiming that he was one of the partisans. Some of the officers were able to defuse the potentially violent situation.⁸⁵ It was undoubtedly easy for Patriots to suspect James and his family of actively supporting open hostility towards the state government. After all, Pennsylvania’s government had arrested him and his son Philemon had run off to the British fleet. Neither James Jr. nor William supported the Revolution. Only Tench seemed above reproach, although even he had to suffer questions about his attachment to the Patriot cause.⁸⁶

The aftermath of the insurrection prompted James Jr. to go to Talbot County to manage his father’s lands there and be out of the way of any future uprisings.⁸⁷ Suspicion still clung to “Jemmy,” however, and fourteen years after China Clow’s rebellion, he found it necessary to publicly clear his name.⁸⁸ According to the testimony of Donaldson Yeates, the former commander of the militia, James Jr. had offered to help find Clow’s location. In company with two officers “of well known attachment to the countrys cause,” Tilghman reconnoitered for the new camp but without success.⁸⁹ His loyalties already suspect, when rumors that “a Young Man well dressed wearing a queue [sic] was seen Coming from Clows Camp,” the militia immediately assumed it was Tilghman. The soldiers “were much enraged and Shewed a disposition to Wreck their Vengeance on Tilghman.”⁹⁰ According to one witness, when James Jr., in company with several officers, “went up Jonathan Jesters Stairs who kept a Publick House. . . . that Pritchett Rathel Charles Irons & others stood at the bottom of the Stairs . . . with the determination to kill him said Tilghman[.]”⁹¹ To protect James Jr. from “further insult and gain order among the Militia,” Yeates arrested him. He then paraded the militia and told them if any officer or private could charge the prisoner with a criminal act, and provide proof, he would hold him for a proper trial. No one came forward and

Yeates released James Jr.⁹² The former officer wrote that “Mr. Tilghman Merrits esteem from his conduct in this particular case of the insurrection....I had not the least reason then nor since to doubt his intention of service, to the best of my recollection he was the first person that gave information of the gathering of the insurgents.”⁹³ Fortunately for James Jr., Yeates had been in command of the militia.

Despite several members of the family being involved in Maryland’s revolutionary government, the Tilghmans’ loyalties remained suspect. Edward Tilghman reported that “The Actions of our Fmy are I believe pretty much pried into—Turbutt Wright I am told sayd publickly there was not one of the Ts except Matt. Snr. & Matt’s Dick but what woud cut the Throat of any Man to let in Ld Howe.”⁹⁴ There was a “general Suspicion” that Edward Tilghman Jr. had gone to Philadelphia during the British occupation without a pass and was “running backward & forward to evade Tests.”⁹⁵ He and his father had to post \$5,000 bond to ensure that he would appear before the General Court of the Eastern Shore to explain why he had gone to Philadelphia without permission from the governor and council of Maryland. Edward Jr. appears to have been a lukewarm Patriot, although he had been at the Battle of Long Island where he served as “an Assistant Major Brigade to Brig. Genl. Ld. Sterling.”⁹⁶ Joseph Reed, Washington’s adjutant general, commented during the battle, “When I look around and see how few of the numbers who talked so largely of death and honour [are] around me, and those who are here are those from whom it could least be expected, such as the Tilghmans, etc., I am lost in wonder and surprize.”⁹⁷ With some members of the family, Patriots found it difficult to discern whether they were disaffected or attached to the common cause.

In April 1778, as Clow had Maryland’s Eastern Shore stirred up, Pennsylvania’s General Assembly revised its Test Act as many Pennsylvanians, even those in support of independence, refused to comply with the law. Non-compliance was connected in part to the controversy over the state’s constitution. Benjamin Chew reported to James in the summer of 1777 that “The Test Act is brok’n thro’ by hundreds every Day, yet no one has yet been call’d to Account: It is however impossible for any one to say how long it may be transgress’d with Impunity.”⁹⁸ The revised act of 1778 gave those who had not taken the oath prior to the previous deadline until June 1. The penalties for refusal increased with teachers, lawyers, doctors, and merchants fined £500 for non-compliance and subject to double taxation. After June 1, any two justices could summon any white male over eighteen to take the test. Refusal could result in a three-month jail sentence and a fine of up to £10. Nonpayment of the fine could result in the penalty being assessed against the non-juror’s possessions. If at the next county court of Quarter Sessions he still remained obdurate, he had thirty days either to take the oath or leave the state. Choosing the latter alternative ended in the forfeit of his personal property to the state and his realty to his heir-at-law.⁹⁹

From Washington’s headquarters at Valley Forge, Tench urged his father to

take the test. “I will not undertake to dictate, but I wish for your own sake, that of your family, and the preservation of your fortune, you would think seriously of conforming to the law of the Country in which you are obliged to live.”¹⁰⁰ He reminded his father that a majority of Americans determinedly supported independence and that France had allied itself with the new nation. He encouraged his father by suggesting to him that taking the oath would be no more a spot upon his honor than a member of a representative body taking an oath he had opposed in debate, “He takes it because the Majority think it right.”¹⁰¹ In case James had not seen the particular sections of the new act that pertained to him, Tench enclosed them in his letter. About two weeks later, Tench again wrote to his father, encouraging him to comply. He mentioned that former proprietary official James Hamilton had taken the oath and that Benjamin Chew was expected to do so, “to see you at peace with and conforming to what is now the establishment of this Country would give me greater pleasure than anything I have experienced in a Contest, in which I have faithfully laboured, and by which I flatter myself I have assisted my friends and have gained some reputation to myself.” James apparently swallowed his pride and took his son’s advice.¹⁰²

Compared to some of his friends and relatives, James’s sufferings from the war were mild. His son Richard had acquired substantial wealth in the service of the East India Company and put aside sums of money for his father’s use. James wrote to William Baker, “For stripped as I have been of Employment and Office and greatly as I have suffered by the vast depreciation of paper currency the money I have had from him [Richard] has been a very Seasonable Assistance.”¹⁰³ To Lady Juliana Penn he wrote, “If I were altogether at Liberty it would be no easy task to give you an adequate Idea of the distresses and hardships of many People in this Country I have had my share tho’ not so full a measure as many others.”¹⁰⁴ Although his fortune was somewhat reduced, he retained his property.

In Pennsylvania and Maryland, the state governments confiscated the lands of Tory emigrés. James’s old friend Daniel Dulany, former attorney general of Maryland, and his wife were living at Hunting Ridge in Baltimore County, a property Dulany had transferred to his son prior to independence. Daniel Dulany III had left Maryland in July 1775. In a letter to James describing his failures at farming, Dulany wrote that he intended to remain at Hunting Ridge unless the state took the property from his son.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately for the elder Dulany, Maryland’s government did confiscate the land and sold Hunting Ridge on December 7, 1781 in four lots for over £7,500. The Dulanys moved to Baltimore after the sale. Most of the family’s landed estate was lost to confiscation. Daniel Dulany had assigned his real property to his sons between 1772 and 1775. All the land belonging to Daniel Dulany III, including over 6,000 acres in Frederick County and ten lots in Annapolis, went up for sale. The family had probably half its combined wealth taken away because of its loyalty to the Crown.¹⁰⁶

The Allen family, friends of the Tilghmans in Pennsylvania, suffered heavily at the hands of the Patriots. Pennsylvania confiscated former chief justice William Allen's lands after his death in 1780.¹⁰⁷ In the fall of 1776, as General Howe moved into New Jersey, rumors floated through Philadelphia that the Patriots were going to round up about 200 suspected Tories and transport them to North Carolina. William Allen's four sons—James, John, William Jr., and Andrew—learned that they were among those targeted for expulsion. They promptly left the city for one of the family's properties in New Jersey. James soon returned to Pennsylvania but Andrew, John, and William Jr., moved on to Trenton, then in Howe's control, and from there to New York. Matthew Tilghman commented, "I am truly sorry to hear the Mr Allens shoud have tho't themselves under any Necessity of going over to the Enemy. . . . Innocence has never prevailed much agst. the Spirit & Temper of Times even the Appr of Guilt is Sufft. often to undo a Man."¹⁰⁸ Andrew and William Jr. were with Howe's forces when they landed at Head of Elk. Andrew sailed for England after the British evacuated Philadelphia. William Jr., who had joined the Pennsylvania militia in 1775 and fought against the British in the Canadian campaign, but resigned his commission when Congress declared independence, raised a troop of cavalry for the king called the Pennsylvania Loyalists. On March 6, 1778, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a law ordering thirteen men, including Andrew, John, and William Allen, to report for trial for treason before April 20. The government attainted those failing to appear and confiscated their estates.¹⁰⁹

Benjamin Chew, James Tilghman's friend and fellow councilor, and Edward Tilghman's brother-in-law, took the test after Pennsylvania's government released him from his parole, and thus managed to retain his property. He would have retired to Cliveden, his country estate, but it had sustained heavy damage during the battle of Germantown. "At present it is an absolute Wreck, & Materials are not to be had to keep out the Weather."¹¹⁰ Trying to husband his resources, he moved to Dover, a less expensive locale than Philadelphia. He wrote to James that his move to Delaware would "protract a little the Evil Day but with the utmost Oeconomy & good management it will be impossible for me to save the little principal that is left me from sinking most rapidly."¹¹¹ Chew, like his friend, suffered from loss of office and the depreciation of currency rather than from confiscation of his estate. Unlike James, however, Chew had to lease or purchase a farm to sustain his family.¹¹²

Despite having subscribed to the test, and his studied neutrality, John Penn lost his estate to the revolutionaries. He and his nephew, Thomas Penn's son, were the proprietors of Pennsylvania in 1779. In March of that year, the Pennsylvania Assembly began to debate what to do with the Penns' lands. James Tilghman and Benjamin Chew appeared before the legislature as the proprietors' counsel. They argued that the Penns' landholdings were private property.¹¹³ James reported to Lady Juliana Penn what transpired at the session. The assembly appointed a spe-

cial committee to report on the Penns' claims. "The matter, however weighty and important, was very speedily brought to a report." According to the committee, the proprietors had a right to only one-tenth of the province, and held the remainder in trust for the settlers. The proprietors had no right to grant lands, except to what were called proprietary tenths or manors. "The granting Lands in general and Reservation of quit Rents was the Effect of Fraud and Imposition." The payment of quit rents was "a badge of slavery and ought to be abolished." The committee's report also stated that the concentration of so much land in the hands of one family was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the government. James wrote, "I can not help first remarking that most of these Resolves contain a Supposition that the People of Pennsylvania and there Representatives have remained in utter ignorance of their Rights and Priviledges for near a Century." Prior to the assembly's resolution on the committee's report, the Penns' counsel addressed the house. James believed that the "Audience (the hearing was publick & open) except those whose judgements were warped by the particular circumstances of the times, were fully satisfied of the justice and legality of the Proprietary claims And that they were of such a nature and extent as to consist with the Safety and Welfare of the Publick."

The legislature decided to postpone any decision until its next session and asked Chief Justice Thomas McKean for his opinion. He upheld the legality of the Penns' charter, and its absolute and hereditary nature.¹¹⁴ He added, though, "that his opinion goes only to the legality not the Policy of the Questions proposed to him." It was unclear what the Assembly would finally decide.¹¹⁵

On November 27, 1779, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed "an Act for vesting the estates of the late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in this Commonwealth." The state confiscated all the Penns' lands except those surveyed for the family itself prior to July 4, 1776, and the proprietary tenths. The law abolished quit rents and any arrears of purchase money became payable to the commonwealth. The assembly did vote to pay the proprietors £130,000 sterling in compensation, beginning one year after the end of the war at the rate of £15,000 per year. Yet, this sum was a mere fraction of the worth of the proprietors' lands. The act deprived the Penns of more than 21,500,000 acres valued at nearly £1,300,000.¹¹⁶ John Penn complained of the injustice of the act, stating that "I have always understood it to be a Maxim founded in Reason and Justice that no Persons Property can be taken from him without his consent," but to no avail.¹¹⁷

The Tilghmans fared well when compared to the Dulany's, Allens, and Penns. James Tilghman could be grateful that none of his sons had been killed, his estates had not been confiscated, and although he had lost his profitable post, he still had a reasonable income. Philemon Tilghman would eventually return to Maryland, having eloped with his admiral's daughter, and take up the duties of a planter. Neither his kin nor his neighbors ostracized him for having served in the British

navy. James Jr. and William both took seats in the Maryland legislature and William became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Edward Tilghman Jr. became a highly respected lawyer in Philadelphia. Tench returned to the mercantile career he had abandoned at the outset of the Revolution, and his youngest brother joined him in the trade. James's daughters married into landed families.

Two years after the war had ended, James would remark, "Good God! what havock have the late troubles made amongst the best families in America. When I look back upon the past and compare it with the present I am almost overcome by Chagrin."¹⁸ Although the monarchical world into which he was born had passed away, virtue and honor were still important qualities in the young republic. He could consider his lot a happy one when compared to what had befallen some of his friends. Despite the split in the family that the American Revolution caused, the Tilghmans emerged from the maelstrom with their property and family and reputation intact—they had survived the horrors of civil war.

Notes

1. James Tilghman (hereafter J.T.) to Lady Juliana Penn, April 28, 1775; J.T. to William Baker, April 30, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore (hereafter MdHS).
2. Paul H. Smith, "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength." *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (April 1968): 267–69; Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 176.
3. Mercy Otis Warren, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political and Moral Observations* (1805; reprint, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1994), 1:185.
4. James's nephew Peregrine Tilghman was a delegate to two of Maryland's Provincial Conventions and later served in the state senate. Peregrine's brother James represented Queen Anne's County in five Provincial Conventions, was a member of the Maryland Council of Safety, and briefly served as attorney general. Richard Tilghman Jr., another nephew of the elder James, was a delegate for Talbot County to Maryland's fifth Provincial Convention in 1775. Edward C. Papenfuse et. al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 2: 824, 829, 831.
5. J.T. to Philemon Tilghman (hereafter P.T.), November 23, 1779, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
6. Anna Maria Tilghman to J.T., March 16, 1777, ibid. James's wife Anne Francis (1726–1771) was the daughter of Tench Francis (1701–1758), former attorney general of Pennsylvania. She was connected to several prominent Philadelphia families, including the Willings, Shippens, and Mifflins. The dates for the Tilghmans' children are: Tench (1744–1786), Rich-

ard (1746–1786), James Jr. (1748–1796), Anna Maria (1750–1817), Elizabeth (1754–1799), William (1756–1827), Mary (1758–1789), Philemon (1760–1797), Henrietta Maria (1763–1796), and Thomas Ringgold (1765–1789).

7. Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1909); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 5. See Edward Countryman, *The American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), 246–74 and Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2002), 167–76 for extended bibliographical notes on the scholarship of the American Revolution. Following is a very small sampling of works from the various viewpoints: Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (New York: Collier Books, 1963); Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1780* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982); Alfred Young, *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976); T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2004); Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch & Revolution: Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); David Shields, *Civil Tongues & Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1997); Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1999).
8. Jennifer Anne Bryan, "The Tilghmans of Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1660–1793," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1999), 6, 11–12.
9. J.T. to Mark Milbanke, May 23, 1786, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
10. Bryan, "The Tilghmans," 9, 132.
11. Richard Tilghman [III] to J.T., February 24, 1766, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
12. J.T. to P.T., July 18, 1778, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
13. J.T. to John Penn, February 22, 1789, *ibid.*
14. Matthew Tilghman (hereafter M.T.) to J.T., December 22, 1776, *ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. J.T. to Henry Wilmot, June 22, 1774, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS. James Tilghman was one of a delegation of Philadelphians who waited upon stamp distributor John Hughes and forced him to agree not to act upon his commission. For his role in the affair with Hughes, and his thoughts on the Stamp Act, see Bryan, "The Tilghmans," 237–48.
17. J.T. to Henry Wilmot, October 2, 1774, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
18. J.T. to Henry Wilmot, January 29, 1775, *ibid.*
19. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn, January 1, 1775, *ibid.*
20. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn, April 28, 1775, *ibid.*
21. See Paul K. Longmore, *The Invention of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 28–30 and William M. S. Rasmussen and Robert S. Tilton, *George Washington: The Man behind the Myths* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 57–64. James Tilghman, Jr. was a frequent visitor to Mount Vernon. See Donald Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1978), 3: 103–249.

22. J.T. to Henry Wilmot, May 28, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
23. In May, Philadelphia's militia organized into an artillery company and three battalions. Tench and Edward Jr. joined Colonel John Cadwalader's Third Battalion, derisively known as the "Silk Stockings." Richard was a battalion ensign-in-chief, probably in the same unit. Richard Alan Ryerson, *The Revolution Is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia, 1765–1776* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 119–21; Homer Bast, "Tench Tilghman—Maryland Patriot," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 42 (June 1947): 74; Edward Tilghman, Jr. (hereafter E.T. Jr.) to Edward Tilghman (hereafter E.T.), May 4, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS. See also [Alexander Graydon], *Memoirs of a Life* (Harrisburgh: John Wyeth, 1811), 107–8.
24. Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 281.
25. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn and William Baker, June 16, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
26. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn, May 27, 1775; J.T. to Daniel Dulany, May 22 and 24, 1775, *ibid.*
27. J.T. to Henry Wilmot, July 1, 1775, *ibid.*
28. J.T. to William Baker, March 29, 1776, *ibid.*
29. J.T. to Tench Tilghman (hereafter T.T.), [?] August 1776, *ibid.*
30. T.T. to J.T., August 15, 1776, in [Samuel Harrison,] *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman, Secretary and Aid to Washington, together with an Appendix, Containing Revolutionary Journals and Letters, hitherto Unpublished* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1876), 132.
31. T.T. to Matthew Tilghman (hereafter M.T.), June 10, 1782, in *ibid.*, 124.
32. J.T. to T.T., [?] August 1776, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
33. T.T. to J.T., August 15, 1776, in Harrison, *Memoir*, 132.
34. A boycott agreement adopted by the First Continental Congress.
35. Ryerson, *Revolution is Now Begun*, 131–32; Anne M. Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution*, Contributions in American History, no. 123 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 117; E.T. Jr. to E.T., September 7, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
36. Jennifer Anne Bryan, "The Tyranny of Revolution" (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990), 24–27.
37. M. T. to J.T., January 30, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
38. Henry Wilmot to J.T., April 5, 1775, *ibid.*
39. Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 191.
40. M.T. to J.T., December 12, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
41. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 191.
42. Henry Wilmot to J.T., April 5, 1775, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
43. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn, March 2, 1776, *ibid.*
44. M.T. to J.T., January 30, 1775; December 12, 1775, *ibid.*
45. Robert Eden to the Earl of Dartmouth, January 25, 1776, quoted in Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 154–55.
46. M.T. to J.T., October 31, 1776, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
47. M.T. to J.T., January 12, 1777, *ibid.*
48. M.T. to J.T., February 9, 1777, *ibid.*
49. E.T. to E.T. Jr., July 22, 1774, *ibid.*
50. Papenfuse et. al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 2: 821.

51. Richard Tilghman to E.T. Jr., May 14, 1773, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
52. E.T. to E.T. Jr., July 4, 1774; September 30, 1774; April 30, 1775, *ibid.*
53. E.T. Jr. to E.T., July 28, 1774, *ibid.*
54. *Laws of Maryland*, (February 1777), c. 20.
55. Maryland, House, *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland*, February 1777, 80.
56. *Ibid.*, 91.
57. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 199.
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60. Charles Coleman Sellers, *The Artist of the Revolution: The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale* (Hebron, Conn.: Feather and Good, 1939), 166.
61. J.T. to Thomas Wharton, August 8, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
62. *Ibid.*; Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5: 502–3; “Copy of the parole signed by James Tilghman Esq.” [in the hand of Timothy Matlack, secretary of the Supreme Executive Council], August 9, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
63. Michael Earle to J.T., August 11, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
64. J.T. to Benjamin Chew, October 31, 1777, *ibid.*
65. Timothy Matlack to J.T., August 31, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
66. J.T. to P.T., July 18, 1778, *ibid.*
67. J.T. to George Read, October 24, 1777, *ibid.*
68. George Read to W.T., October 27, 1777, *ibid.*
69. J.T. to Timothy Matlack, September 13 and October 20, 1777, *ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, 5: 641.
72. *Ibid.*, 5: 635–36.
73. Thomas Wharton to J.T., November 20, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
74. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 194.
75. Samuel Adams to James Warren, February 16, 1777, as quoted in Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, eds., *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958; reprint, New York: Bonanza Books, 1983), 346–47.
76. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 194–96.
77. *Ibid.*, 202–4.
78. J.T. to Timothy Matlack, September 13 and October 20, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
79. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 203.
80. *Laws of Maryland*, (October 1777), c. 20. James estimated the treble tax would cost him £750 per year. J.T. to Joseph Shippen, June 15, 1778, Joseph Shippen Papers, Peter Force Collection, Series 8D: 157, Library of Congress. The state did not enforce this penalty until 1781, and the legislature suspended the treble tax in 1782.
81. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 233–34.
82. Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garretson* (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, 1829), 64; Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension*, 233–36. Clow's name is variously spelled Chancey Clowe, Cheny Clow, Cheney Clow, or Clowes. An account of his capture, trial, and execution can be found in William Thompson Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, with Notices of Some of His*

Contemporaries (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Company, 1870), 323–25. This work also contains a letter from George Read to his wife dated May 5, 1770, in which Read writes “the dispute between the Justices and Grand Jury was heard, and determined in favor of the former....the affair of the Grand Jury, of which Clowes was the foreman,...was a case of great expectation in the county, and drew great numbers in; but Clowes, the Wilkes or McDougal of Sussex, was remanded to prison, to the mortification of the party.” Read, *George Read*, 39–40. See also Harold B. Hancock, *The Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1977), 80–87.

83. J.T. to Joseph Shippen, June 15, 1778, Joseph Shippen Papers, Peter Force Collection, Series 8D: 157, Library of Congress.

84. Ibid.

85. J.T. to E.T., Jr., 21 April 1778, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.

86. “You cannot conceive how many attempts have been made, some time ago, to alarm the Generals suspicions, as to my being near his person—Thank God—He has been too generous to listen to them—and the many proofs I have given of my attachment have silenced every malignant whisper of the kind.” T.T. to W.T., June 12, 1781, Harrison, *Memoir*, 174. Tilghman’s cousin Margaret Shippen was married to Benedict Arnold. It seems Arnold may have attempted to make use of that connection, trying to influence Washington through Tilghman for the command at West Point. See L. G. Shreve, *Tench Tilghman: The Life and Times of Washington’s Aide-de-Camp* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1982), 132–34.

87. J.T. to E.T. Jr., April 21, 1778, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.

88. Broadside “To the Public,” September 5, 1792, Lloyd Papers, MS. 2001, MdHS.

89. Donaldson Yeates to Edward Lloyd, September 14, 1792, *ibid.*

90. Donaldson Yeates’s additional statement given to Arthur Bryan, September [11?] 1792, *ibid.*

91. Statement of G. Jackson, September 5, 1792, *ibid.*

92. [Statement of Donaldson Yeates], August 6, 1792, *ibid.*

93. Donaldson Yeates to Edward Lloyd, September 14, 1792, *ibid.*

94. E.T. to E.T. Jr., 20 February 1778, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.

95. Ibid.

96. E.T. Jr. to E.T., August 20, 1776, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS. In this letter, E.T., Jr. paints an amusing portrait of General John Sullivan: “he is a [?] eater of unripe Apples & Peaches & wears at this Season red plush Breeches that do not come over his Knee Pan & by riding get into wrinkles.”

97. Joseph Reed as quoted in Commager and Morris, eds., *Spirit of ‘Seventy-Six*, 458.

98. Benjamin Chew to J.T., July 24, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.

99. Ousterhout, *State Divided*, 191–94.

100. T.T. to J.T., 31 May 1778, Harrison, *Memoir*, 167.

101. Ibid.

102. T.T. to J.T., June 12, 1778, Harrison, *Memoir*, 171. Although he never again resided permanently in Philadelphia, James did return to the city after the British evacuation. Given that former members of the proprietary regime, including John Penn, took the test, and that the state government never confiscated James’s property, it is reasonable to assume that James complied with the law. William Tilghman wrote to his cousin Edward Tilghman, Jr., “He [James] intends to go to Pennsylvania in a day or two, & I think it probable he will follow Mr. Hamilton & Chew’s example.” W.T. to E.T. Jr., June 20, 1778, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.

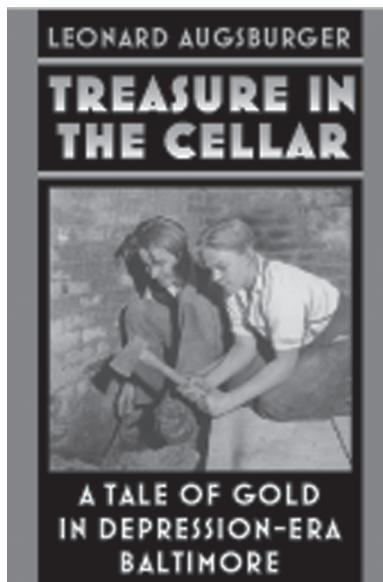
103. J.T. to William Baker, December 13, 1781, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
104. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn, May 22, 1779, *ibid.*
105. Daniel Dulany to J.T., August 15, 1780, *ibid.*
106. Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulany's of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685–1753) and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722–1797)* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955), 326–27.
107. Stephen Brobeck, “Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Proprietary Gentry,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33 (July 1976): 432.
108. M.T. to J.T., January 3, 1777, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
109. Ousterhout, *State Divided*, 158–59, 173.
110. Benjamin Chew to E.T., Jr., July 15, 1778, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS. See also Burton Alva Konkle, *Benjamin Chew, 1722–1810* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), 161.
111. Benjamin Chew to J.T., December 27, 1779, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
112. Benjamin Chew to E.T., Jr., July 15, 1778, *ibid.*
113. Lorette Treese, *The Storm Gathering: The Penn Family and the American Revolution* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 187–88.
114. *Ibid.*, 189.
115. J.T. to Lady Juliana Penn, May 22, 1779, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.
116. Treese, *Storm Gathering*, 188–89; Ousterhout, *State Divided*, 289–90.
117. John Penn as quoted in Treese, *Storm Gathering*, 190.
118. J.T. to Phineas Bond, June 8, 1785, Tilghman Papers, MS. 2821, MdHS.

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In this Issue . . .

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The Journal of the Maryland Historical Society



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From Slave to Slave Owner: The Life of Robert Pearle of Maryland

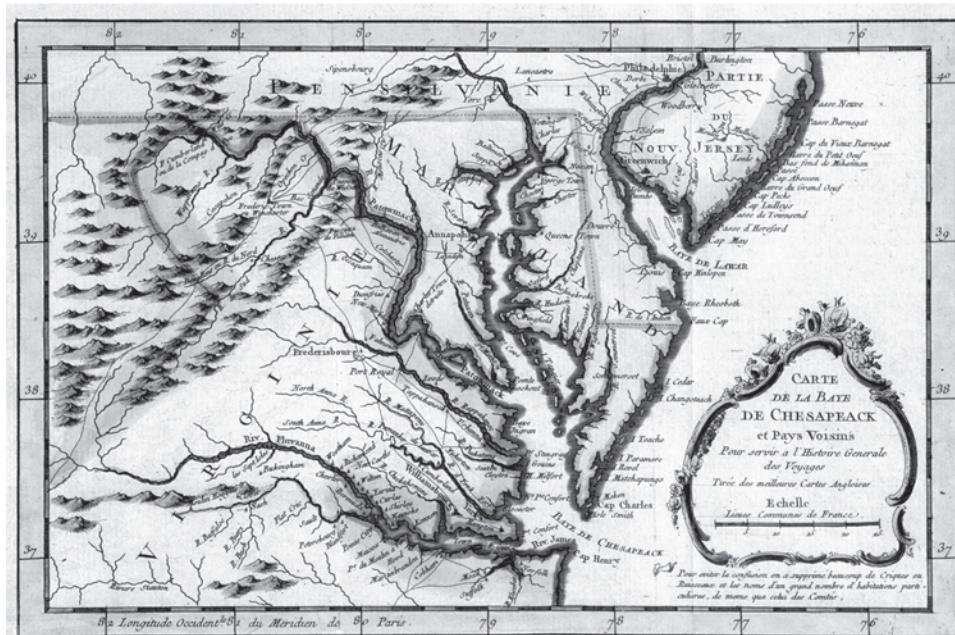
Mary Clement Jeske

During his unusually long life, Robert Pearle (c. 1685–1765), a free mulatto who had been “born of a negroe Slave” in Calvert County, Maryland, achieved a level of success truly remarkable for the time and place in which he lived. “Manumitted by his late master’s Will” with his wife and eldest son in 1720, Pearle established himself as a carpenter and began a rise to prosperity that would eclipse that of most men, black or white, in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake. Pearle probably never lost his identity as a former slave and even though not free until age thirty-five, he nevertheless attained a level of economic success that placed him among the ranks of the wealthiest white planters in Maryland during the colonial era. The evidence and measure of that achievement—the fourteen slaves enumerated in Pearle’s will—testify to just how far he had traveled—from slave to slave owner—during his life.¹

No probate inventory survives to provide a detailed analysis of Pearle’s personal property, but his fourteen chattels were perhaps worth as much as £700, the value of which—exclusive of his other property—would have placed Pearle among the top 5 to 10 percent of all inventoried Chesapeake decedents during the colonial era.² Pearle did not own any land when he died, choosing instead to live on the two hundred-acre tract on Carrollton Manor in Frederick County that he had rented from the Carroll family for more than two decades. Nevertheless, Pearle had acquired a level of wealth that placed him among the top ranks, though not at the very pinnacle, of Chesapeake wealth holders.

Several factors seem to have contributed to Robert Pearle’s success. First, while enslaved, Pearle had acquired a valuable skill, carpentry, that allowed him to find employment as a free man and probably provided the foundation for his eventual prosperity.³ In addition, he lived an extraordinarily long life by eighteenth century standards, dying at age eighty, years that allowed him time to accumulate property despite his long period of bondage. Most importantly, Pearle enjoyed the support of some members of the white ruling elite, beginning with his master, Richard Marsham (c. 1640–1713), the wealthy Prince George’s County land and slave holder who gave Pearle his freedom.⁴ After Marsham’s death, Pearle continued to enjoy the patronage of some powerful whites, which proved critical to maintaining his rights and to

The author is an editor at the Charles Carroll of Carrollton Family Papers Project.



Jean Nicholas Bellin, *Carte de la Baie de Chesapeake*, 1757. Robert Pearle migrated to Frederick County in 1744.

his eventual success in a world where whites controlled all access to power and most blacks were slaves. Pearle parlayed his unique advantages into economic success, which, once attained, exerted an equal or even greater influence than his race.

Robert Pearle was born about 1685 and grew to maturity in the early eighteenth-century Chesapeake, simultaneously with the emergence of a slave-based plantation economy that shaped and defined his world. His was a very different world from the Chesapeake of the previous century, when white indentured servants, the primary labor force, outnumbered slaves by as many as five to one. Blacks, both slave and free, comprised only a tiny part of the population, just 6 percent of the total in 1670. White servants and black slaves worked together in the same fields, usually alongside their masters, on small agricultural units, lived under the same roof with their owners, played together, ran away together, sometimes enjoyed intimate sexual relationships, and occasionally married. Although most blacks were slaves, slavery was not yet legally codified, race and slavery were not synonymous, and race relations were more fluid than they would be in the eighteenth century. Before the 1680s the majority of slaves in the Chesapeake did not come directly from Africa, but had spent time in the Caribbean, other parts of the New World, or along the Atlantic coast. Because this “charter generation” of slaves had acquired an understanding of European languages and cultures, they quickly adapted to life in the Chesapeake. They spoke or soon learned English, became Christians, and used the legal system to their advantage. Often granted

the opportunity to work independently, they developed their own economy which allowed some to accumulate the resources to purchase their freedom. Though difficult, some blacks did work their way out of slavery. Very few became wealthy or acquired land but nevertheless generally enjoyed a modest level of prosperity.⁵

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however, Chesapeake economy and society underwent a sweeping transformation that completely altered the system of plantation slavery by the time Robert Pearle came of age. That lost world, characterized by small planters, white indentured servants, and racial fluidity became a closed slave society dominated by two extremes: large planters who consolidated control over the land, courts, and economy at one end of the spectrum and an enslaved black labor force at the other. In that society, slavery became the primary labor system, slave holders the ruling class, and race the basis of slavery. White servitude declined, while the importation of slaves, now directly from Africa, greatly expanded. Whereas the total black population numbered perhaps no more than two thousand in 1670, planters imported another two thousand during the 1680s alone, double that number in the 1690s, and eight thousand during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Unlike the charter generation, the majority of these slaves, who by 1700 outnumbered white servants, came directly from Africa. Lacking any familiarity with European culture, they Africanized Chesapeake slavery with their foreign dress, music, religion, material culture, and languages. At the same time, the conditions under which slaves labored declined. Longer work days, harsher labor regimes, physical isolation, increased physical coercion, and less freedom to move about or labor independently now characterized the new plantation system. Opportunities to escape slavery diminished or disappeared altogether, while the rights of free blacks, whose very existence undermined the rationale of race-based slavery, declined.⁶

Free people of African descent did not entirely disappear from the Chesapeake, but they shrank to an insignificant, marginalized segment of the population. Census figures compiled in 1755 indicate that people of African descent, designated as either "black" or "mulatto," comprised about a third of the nearly one hundred and fifty-five thousand inhabitants of the colony. But only 4 percent of all blacks and mulattos, fewer than two thousand people altogether and no more than one percent of the entire population, were free. Eighty percent of the free population was designated mulatto, but mixed racial origins did not necessarily or even usually lead to freedom. More than half of those enumerated as mulatto in 1755 were slaves, most of whom, like Robert Pearle, were probably the children of black slave women, whose status followed their mothers. Free people of mixed racial origins, on the other hand, frequently descended from white servant women who, aside from their free status, had little to offer their children, many of whom were often required to work as servants for long periods before obtaining their liberty.⁷

The small number of free blacks who lived in the eighteenth-century Chesa-

peake generally enjoyed limited opportunities for social and economic advancement. Although there were variations and exceptions, many held on to only a precarious freedom and lived a marginal existence in a “constricted world,” not far removed in status, residence, or condition from their enslaved kinsmen. Most lacked access to land or skills, had often served some years in bondage before attaining their freedom, and were sometimes forced to contract themselves or their children into servitude to survive. In all, their often humble origins, the courts, and racial prejudice conspired to keep most free blacks near the bottom of Chesapeake society.⁸

The well-to-do and well-connected Pearle stands out in striking contrast to the majority of free people of color in the early eighteenth-century Chesapeake. But in many ways Pearle’s distinctiveness preceded, and indeed made possible his outstanding achievements. To be sure, Pearle must be credited with the personal drive and determination to carve out a place for himself and his family in a world dominated by white slave holders. But throughout the history of slavery, blacks repeatedly demonstrated their ability to seize opportunities to better their situations and occasionally win their freedom. Pearle was unique, however, in the unusual advantages he enjoyed, due in large part to the support, or at least acquiescence he received from the white community—won precisely because he was not like most free blacks in the region at that time. Pearle was not the son of a poor white servant woman, nor the descendant of one of the free black families from the charter generation who had managed to cling to a marginalized and precarious freedom. Rather, he was the son of a black slave woman and a white man, almost certainly his master, the wealthy and powerful Richard Marsham, a Roman Catholic with ties to the colony’s proprietary family. Sexual relationships between masters and slaves were not unusual, but rarely did white owners free the offspring of these unions or make any provision for their mulatto children.⁹ Because Marsham did not acknowledge Pearle, then called “mulatto Robin,” as his son, his paternity cannot be definitively established, nor can his reasons for freeing his slave, unexplained in his will, be known. What is clear, however, is that Pearle enjoyed a highly unusual relationship with Marsham that led to his eventual freedom and probably accounted for the continuing white patronage he enjoyed after his master’s death.

Marsham himself followed a trajectory in life remarkably parallel in some respects to that of mulatto Robin. Imported to the colony as a servant in 1658, Marsham began his rise to wealth and power after a period of bondage, as did Robin, though Marsham’s time of servitude appears to have been short.¹⁰ Like others who started with little or nothing, including a few free blacks, Marsham quickly joined the scramble for land, labor, and upward mobility that characterized the mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake. He soon began to acquire land and during the two decades before 1680 had acquired “wealth” and an “estate” by

planting tobacco, engaging in trade, and like mulatto Robin, plying the “art and mistery of a house Carpenter.” During those years Marsham employed “great numbers or Gangs of servants,” probably white indentured servants, “for the ordering manageing Caryaing on and effecting of his said, trade, faculty, art, mistery, and businesse aforesaid.”¹¹ Like other aspiring Chesapeake entrepreneurs, Marsham apparently combined several different economic pursuits including his knowledge of carpentry (a skill he evidently passed on to mulatto Robin), trade, land, tobacco, and servants, to ascend the economic ladder. By the time he died, Marsham had acquired an extensive estate that included thirty-six slaves and over three thousand acres of land.¹²

Not too long after beginning his rise to wealth and power, Marsham fell afoul of the law when, in 1669, the Calvert County court called him to answer for the murder of his servant Jenkin Price. Although the charges were dropped for lack of evidence, the case suggests that Marsham was not the most benevolent master. And though the charges did not result in a trial, rumors regarding Marsham’s treatment of Price would not die. Ten years later Marsham sued William Collins, one of his original accusers, claiming that the previous fall, a decade after the alleged crime had occurred, Collins, “malitiously intending” to deprive him of his “good name fame creditt and repute” had on more than one occasion publicly declared in the presence of several witnesses that Marsham had beaten his servant Jenkin Price to death. Perhaps there was no truth to these allegations, and Marsham was, as he claimed, always a “carefull Loveing and kinde Master towards all his servants.” A jury trial did in fact return a verdict in favor of Marsham, not an exoneration of responsibility for Price’s death, but a conviction of Collins, who was assessed nearly four thousand pounds of tobacco in fines and costs.¹³

Collins’s motives remain a mystery, yet he was not the only person to accuse Marsham of murder, and his persistence in repeating those charges years later suggests that Marsham’s reputation was not above challenge. It is also curious that Marsham did not immediately sue his accusers, including Collins, once the original charges had been dismissed in 1669. Perhaps Marsham was not as powerful then and his reputation not so precious as it had apparently become ten years later, about the same time that he was first appointed as a justice of the peace in Calvert County. Marsham’s appointment, in 1679 and for several years thereafter, indicates that he had by then indeed left his lowly origins behind.¹⁴ He now not only had a reputation to protect but was, as Collins discovered to his financial detriment, a force with which to be reckoned.

Sometime before his run-in with the court and soon after ending his indenture, Marsham had married his first wife, Catherine, who, like Marsham, was also a former indentured servant.¹⁵ Catherine bore Marsham two daughters, but, perhaps significantly for mulatto Robin, no male heir. Both daughters, possibly Robin’s half-sisters, married extraordinarily well given their parents’ humble beginnings,

both to members of the Catholic gentry, which had not yet been deprived of political power by the Glorious Revolution of 1689 and its aftermath. One daughter, Catherine, married Baker Brooke (?–1698), the son of Baker Brooke (1628–1678/9), a wealthy Roman Catholic who served in the Upper House, on the governor's council, and as deputy governor of the colony, and his wife Ann Calvert (1644–c. 1714), who was herself the granddaughter, niece, and cousin, respectively, of the first, second, and third Lords Baltimore. The Marsham's other daughter, Sarah, did not make quite so striking a match, but her husband Basil Waring (1650–1688) was the son of Sampson Waring, a sheriff and justice in Calvert County and member of the colonial assembly. Sarah's son Marsham Waring (by 1688–1732) later served as executor of Richard Marsham's estate and interim owner of mulatto Robin while he served out the remainder of his term.¹⁶

Eventually Marsham himself would make a second, highly distinguished match as the third husband of his daughter Catherine's mother-in-law, Ann (Calvert) (Brooke) Brent, whose first cousin was, at the time of her marriage to Marsham, the third Lord Baltimore. Ann was far too old (about fifty-two at the time of their c. 1696 marriage) to bear Marsham a male heir, but the couple did share common grandchildren in the offspring of their children, Baker and Catherine (Marsham) Brooke. By the time of his death in 1713, therefore, Marsham had, much like mulatto Robin, transcended his lowly beginnings to attain a truly impressive rise to wealth and power. With a personal estate including thirty-six slaves and valued at more than a thousand pounds, over three thousand acres of land, and a marital alliance with Maryland's proprietary family, Marsham had without doubt reached the very pinnacle of Chesapeake society.¹⁷

Parallels between Marsham and mulatto Robin, who began life much farther down the ladder and faced an entirely different set of challenges as a mixed race, former slave in the less-open eighteenth-century Chesapeake, should not be over-drawn, but are nevertheless compelling. To what extent Marsham's own experiences, including the lack of a legitimate male heir, might have influenced his relationship with his slave Robin is unknown. But shortly before his death, Marsham directed in his will that Robin and three other mulatto slaves eventually be set free. Robin, then twenty-eight, his mulatto wife Nanny, and their son Daniel, a sickly two-year-old, were to be "fully discharged and set free" when Robin reached age thirty-five, provided they be "vigilent and faithfull" to his executor during their time of servitude. Eighteen-year-old mulatto James, whose identity is unknown, was also freed under the same conditions. Marsham's other thirty-two less fortunate "negro" men, women, and children were to be divided among his grandchildren with no provision for future freedom.¹⁸

Aside from his manumission, further evidence of Robin's special position comes from the inventory of Marsham's goods made after his death, which reveals that Robin, the only slave so privileged, lived in his own house on the plantation, the



Mount Pleasant, 1936. John Waring built this home c. 1750 on the tract his great grandfather had patented. Mulatto Robin probably lived on this land before obtaining his freedom. (Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress).

contents of which the appraisers inventoried separately. The eclectic assortment of goods at "Robin's house," valued at nearly £60, included "one Indifferent good flock Bed boulster and old blankett," "3 worne Stript Duffies Matchcoates," a set of carpenter's tools, a chest, several yards of cloth and a pound of thread, a pair of scales and weights, an "old Plow," several hogs, eighty-two ounces of plate, and "1 ream of writing paper 6 papers Ink powder."¹⁹ Evidently the goods in Robin's house, even the tools of his trade, did not belong to him, as they were part of Marsham's estate. Nevertheless, he was the only slave who lived in his own house and clearly enjoyed a status different from the bulk of Marsham's other chattels.

Although it seems likely that Robin's slave mother also belonged to Marsham, she was not, if still living, freed under the terms of his will. Possibly she was "Negro woman Sarah," age sixty, the only other slave singled out for special treatment. In his will Marsham directed that Sarah remain with her daughters "negro" Beck, age twenty-two, and "negro" Sarah, age fifteen, on his dwelling plantation "to Cair, and mend and make for so many of my Grand Children as shall dwell thereon." Marsham's executor was directed to ensure that Sarah have "good sufficient Dyet and apparill and to pay her yearly and every year during here natural Life the Sum of two Pounds Sterling provided she prove true and faithful" to his executor. At the time of Robin's birth, Sarah would have been about thirty-two. Marsham's birth date is unknown, but assuming he was at least eighteen when imported in

1658 (born by c. 1640), he would have been about forty-five. Since both of Marsham's daughters were born by about 1675, it seems quite possible that his liaison with his slave, if indeed such a relationship existed, began after the death of his first wife, and certainly preceded his second marriage. Marsham's Sarah was probably "old Negro Sarah at Mount Pleasant" whom Marsham's grandson freed when he died in 1732, leaving her a legacy of £10 current money. If so, Sarah, like mulatto Robin, enjoyed remarkable longevity, living well into her seventies, and Marsham himself was at least seventy when he died.²⁰

On the whole, Marsham appeared somewhat conflicted about his relationship with his mulatto slave Robin. Although he accorded Robin a special status and eventually freed him and his family, the terms of his freedom were encumbered from the start. Not only were Robin and his wife to continue serving Marsham's heirs until age thirty-five, any children born to the couple before they had attained their freedom, from the time of Marsham's death in 1713 until 1720, were to remain slaves, the property of Marsham's grandson and executor, Marsham Waring.²¹ Nor did Marsham provide Robin with any land or property with which to begin his new life. The goods appraised in Robin's house also belonged to Marsham's estate. Nevertheless, Marsham, who himself had, as already noted, once been a carpenter, probably ensured Robin's training in that skill. More importantly, he gave Robin an invaluable and extremely rare gift with his eventual manumission. In doing so, he declared to Robin and to the community at large that this man was different and should be treated differently from his other slaves. Marsham's patronage, whether it stemmed from paternal affection or some other source, ensured that Robin would receive continuing support from at least some other influential whites in the community.

Marsham's declaration undoubtedly resonated with some whites. In 1713, at the time his owner drafted his will, the younger man *was* very different from most other slaves, on the plantation and in the Chesapeake region as a whole. The thirty-two slaves Marsham did not free appeared as "negros" rather than mulattos and their names suggest that some—Coco, Pompey, Prince, Dido, Quash, and Mingo—might have been African imports. Regardless of the composition of this particular labor force, by 1713 the overwhelming majority of slaves living in the Chesapeake had been imported directly from Africa. These alien men and women, with their strange appearance, languages, and religions, contrasted strikingly with mulatto Robin, the son of a charter generation slave and a white father. Robin had far more in common with Marsham and other white slave holders than with the new arrivals from Africa. His mixed racial origins were only one of several features differentiating Robin from the majority of plantation slaves. A skilled artisan rather than a field hand, this second generation Marylander spoke like a native, looked and dressed like a native, and demonstrated a familiarity with the Chesapeake world that enabled him to prosperously navigate the economy, use

the courts to his advantage, and establish a place for himself and his family in a potentially hostile world. Furthermore, Robin was a Christian, more precisely, a Roman Catholic, the faith of his master. That religious affiliation, which Robin apparently maintained until his death, quite possibly won him some allies among the close-knit Catholic gentry, who, though excluded from political office, still wielded considerable influence.²²

Despite the potential for abuse—only Marsham’s executor, his grandson Marsham Waring, who stood to lose a valuable laborer, had the power to determine if Robin and his wife had been “vigilant and faithful”—the couple finally obtained their freedom in accordance with their late master’s wishes. Freed in 1720, per the terms of the will, he first appeared in the Prince George’s County court records the following year having adopted, for unknown reasons, the name Robert Pearle.²³ In this instance, Pearle requested an allowance for keeping Margaret Baker and her child, a common procedure in which the county courts, dispensing what limited welfare services existed, compensated private citizens for providing public assistance. Neither Baker nor Pearle’s race was specified in the record, but evidently the justices saw nothing unusual in his request and duly awarded him 200 pounds of tobacco. Pearle did not appear in the records again until 1725, after which the pace of his appearances escalated. In March 1726 he brought suit against Edward Bradshaw, inn holder, for 3,200 pounds of tobacco. Pearle won this case, and a number of other suits he brought over the next two years. Among them, he brought suit against Richard Normansell, dancing master, for £10 sterling, William Calvert, a Prince George’s County planter, for 600 pounds of tobacco, and against John Bursh for an unspecified amount. The case against Calvert, possibly the son of William Calvert (c. 1642/43–1682) and if so the nephew of Richard Marsham’s second wife, reveals Pearle’s continuing association with his late master’s family.²⁴ According to a written agreement recorded in the court proceedings, Pearle had sold Calvert a horse and a barrel of corn, for which Calvert refused to make payment. Ruling in Pearle’s favor, the court ordered that Calvert’s goods be attached for the debt and costs and placed in the hands of Marsham Waring, Pearle’s former owner and possibly now patron, until subsequently condemned for his use.²⁵

Pearle’s frequent appearances in the court records suggest that he might have had difficulty collecting his debts, but that was not uncommon and not necessarily an indication of racial bias. The cases do indicate, however, that the court treated him fairly, forcing his debtors to live up to their agreements. Legally, Pearle enjoyed most of the same rights as other free men. Aside from prohibitions on miscegenation, the legal statutes placed few restrictions on free blacks, probably because they were too few in number to pose a “realistic political or economic threat” to the white community.²⁶ “No records survive to reveal whether the Pearles could vote, but no family members appear to have served on a jury, suggesting

they were excluded on racial grounds. Otherwise they do not seem to have been barred from participation in white society. Robert Pearle never held major office, but he participated in local government by signing petitions and held the minor office of road overseer near Carrollton Manor on three different occasions in the late 1740s. While this office was more of a burden than a privilege, Pearle's appointment does demonstrate that he was not excluded because of his race.²⁷

The law did not prohibit free blacks from owning land or slaves, and, not long after attaining his freedom, Pearle in January 1722/3, acquired a tract of land in Prince George's County from John Cranford, the son of James Cranford (?–1699), a wealthy land and slave holding attorney who represented Calvert County in the lower house of the assembly from 1696 until his premature death from a lightening strike in 1699. Cranford first conveyed the land, a tract of unspecified size lying between Beaver Dam Branch and the Patuxent River, by bequest in his will to his "well beloved and esteemed Friend Robert Pearl . . . alias Molatto Robin," in consideration of £20 already paid. A week later Cranford executed a second conveyance of the same land by an unusually worded deed naming Pearle as his attorney with power to take possession of the land to "occupy and enjoy . . . as his own proper right to him the said Pearl and his heirs forever." Perhaps concerned about the legality of the transaction, Pearle paid to have both documents recorded in the county land records. Cranford's apparent friendship indicates that Pearle had already won the approval of some whites in the community, but the significance of the unusual wording should probably not be exaggerated, since Cranford likewise referred to another beneficiary in his will, to whom he also conveyed land, as "my well beloved friend."²⁸

The following year Pearle purchased another tract in the county, one-hundred-acre Archer's Pasture, near Cabin Branch, for £14.10 sterling. The court records indicate that by 1727 he also owned a servant, for at the August court term Robert Pearle, Prince George's County carpenter, pledged £10 security for his possibly white servant Thomas Row's appearance in court. Row was convicted of assaulting John Bursh, the defendant in a debt suit brought by Pearle that was subsequently settled without a trial, with Bursh agreeing to pay all costs.²⁹

Evidently unwilling to live quietly on the margins of colonial society, Pearle proved his determination to assert his rights the same as any other free man. Not all whites accepted his inclusion, however, which led to an effort to bar Pearle from his often successful use of the courts on the basis of his race. In late 1727, Pearle sued Charles Drury, a white planter, for assault. The incident might have stemmed from the earlier suit Pearle had won against Richard Normansell, for whom Drury had pledged security. Unable to satisfy Pearle, Normansell was committed to the custody of the sheriff, and Drury became responsible for the debt. When the case came before the court, Drury questioned Pearle's right to bring suit, and the justices, "Considering the Circumstances of the Plaintiff who is a

Molatto (born of a negroe Slave) and manumitted by his late master's Will," declared "Unanimously they are of Opinion" that Pearle was "Incapable to prosecute any action at Law in this Court" and should thus "take nothing by his action." The justices then directed Pearle to pay Drury 972 pounds of tobacco for his costs.³⁰

Such a decision could have brought devastating consequences for Pearle. Men at all levels of Chesapeake society routinely used the courts to collect debts and enforce contracts, and the knowledge that he could not exercise that right would not only label him as not fully free, but would have denied him essential legal protection and subjected him to potential abuse from unscrupulous men, such as Drury, with whom he did business. Refusing to meekly accept the court's decision, Pearle complained to the assembly that "he is rendered Incapable by the Justices of the said County to Recover his Just Debts and Praying for releife."³¹ The action of the assembly, though not recorded, was evidently favorable, for the following year Pearle successfully resumed litigation in the county court against his adversaries. And in what must have been a particularly satisfying action, his assault suit against Drury was tried before the Provincial Court in May 1729. Pearle requested an immense sum of £200 sterling in damages. Although the jury did not award him the full amount, they did find in his favor and awarded him £45 sterling plus 2,363 pounds of tobacco for costs and charges.³² Although Pearle had to fight to retain his rights, he successfully met the challenges that came his way. His ability to do so, however, depended on the patronage and support of at least some influential whites in the colony.

In addition to successfully prosecuting his own cases, by 1729 Pearle had acquired the financial wherewithal to post a joint £200 sterling bond for the administration of the estate of Thomas Lloyd, a white landowner. To secure the bond, administrator Benjamin Lloyd mortgaged sundry properties to Pearle and his co-security, blacksmith Peregrine Mackanesse, including sixty-two acres and two slaves, probably the "negro man Harry" and "negro woman Lucy" Pearle mortgaged to the county sheriff the following August. During the 1720s, Pearle also posted security for several different defendants in various court actions. In one such case he acted jointly with Richard Croxall, a member of the Catholic gentry, hinting at ongoing ties with members of his own and Marsham's faith.³³

In another action involving a wealthy Catholic, Pearle entered into an agreement with Henry Darnall II (1682–1737) in May 1729 to buy his slave Charles Pembrooke for £35 sterling. Before Pearle completed the purchase, however, Darnall made plans to move to England for a time. Unwilling to separate Pembrooke, who had served "faithfully and honestly," from his wife and children, Darnall manumitted him from further service. Why Pearle wanted to buy Pembrooke, a married man with children who was unable to perform "hard labour," is not known. Pembrooke was not one of Pearle's children. The eldest, Daniel, was only eighteen at the time.³⁴ Regardless of the reason, the incident suggests that he

had established some sort of relationship with Darnall, a wealthy land and slave owner from a powerful Catholic family closely connected to the proprietor and, more distantly, to Richard Marsham's family.³⁵

Despite Pearle's land acquisitions, his successful use of the courts, and his increasing prosperity, at least two of his children might still have lived in bondage as late as 1732. The children born to Robin and his wife Nanny between 1713 and 1720, per the terms of Marsham's will, remained enslaved to his grandson, executor and heir Marsham Waring. Like Marsham, when Waring died in 1732 his extensive property placed him among the colony's elite, with hundreds of acres of land and a personal estate, including thirty-three slaves, worth over £1,500.³⁶ Among the several mulattos in this group, at least two and possibly four could have been Robin and Nanny's children. Pearle's 1765 will named seven children, Daniel, James, Basil, Charles, Thomas, Ann Marshall, and Catherine Dean. Quite possibly Charles and Catherine were the mulattos Charles (age nineteen, born c. 1713) and Kate (age fourteen, born c. 1718) listed in Waring's 1732 inventory.³⁷ Mulattos Robin and Margery (both age sixteen) might also have been Pearle's children, but neither is named in his will nor is there any further record of any Margery in the Pearle family. A Robert Jr., later appears in the court records (see below), but he was probably a grandson, the son of Daniel. James, Basil, Thomas, and Ann were not listed among Waring's slaves. These children were probably born after 1720, free and as they had not reached the age of sixteen by 1733 their names did not appear on that year's tax assessment list. Daniel Pearle, the only child living at the time of Richard Marsham's death in 1713, gained his freedom with his parents in 1720. In 1733, at age twenty-two, Daniel Pearle was living as an independent head of household in the county.³⁸

Although Robert Pearle owned land, he was not assessed as an independent head of household in 1733 but lived on a quarter belonging to Marsham Waring's son Richard Marsham Waring (by 1713-1743) with thirteen slaves. It seems likely that Pearle, who as a free land owner could live where he chose, opted to remain near his former master's heirs to be with his still-enslaved children. Despite his successes, Pearle probably had not yet been able to free all of his children from bondage. Eventually, however, his seven known offspring attained their liberty (although what became of Robin and Margery, if they were in fact Pearle's children, is unknown). Catherine married a free man named Richard Dean and was still living in 1765. Charles, a carpenter like his father, bought land in Frederick County in 1763 and later moved to Allegany County.³⁹

Although the bondage of some of his children might have induced Pearle to remain near his late master's descendants, there is also evidence that Pearle enjoyed a good relationship with the Waring family. Robin's interim owner, Marsham Waring, freed Robin and his wife as directed in Richard Marsham's will, though they would have had little recourse had Waring chosen to ignore his grandfather's

wishes. Waring also acted as receiver of property due Pearle in his suit against William Calvert, and the account of Waring's estate made after his death in 1732 included a payment to "Robert Pearle" (not the diminutive "Robin"), indicating that he had continued to work for the family after his release.⁴⁰ Also telling are the names of Robert and Ann Pearle's children, especially their choice of the name Basil, the name of both Marsham Waring's father and of his son, who was born before 1713 and probably lived near the Pearles while they served out their time to his father. The name Basil continued in both the Waring and the Pearle families into succeeding generations. Other names found in both families were Ann (both Richard Marsham's second wife and Marsham Waring's daughter), Catherine (Marsham's daughter and granddaughter), and Thomas (Basil Waring's son). Pearle's daughter Catherine christened one of her sons Marsham, clearly derived from the family of her father's, and probably her own, former master. If "Negro Sarah" had indeed been Pearle's mother, however, he evinced no desire to enshrine that memory in his family through the use of her name, which never appeared among his descendants.

Although some of Pearle's children might have remained enslaved as late as 1732, all had probably attained their freedom by 1744, when he moved to Carrollton Manor in the Monocacy Valley, a newly settled region not far removed from the colony's western frontier, in what would shortly, in 1748, become Frederick County. Pearle leased a two hundred-acre tract on Carrollton beginning in 1744, at the same time both his son Daniel and son-in-law William Marshall began renting their own one-hundred-acre tracts on the manor.⁴¹ The family's move might have been motivated in part by a confrontation with the county authorities that underscored both their potentially vulnerable position in Chesapeake society and the importance of their white allies. In November 1742, the Prince George's County grand jury charged William Marshall, a white planter, with the crime of marrying an unnamed mulatto woman, identified in August 1743 when the case came before the court as Ann Pearle, the daughter of Robert. The same court also charged Elizabeth Graves with the crime of marrying mulatto Daniel Pearle, another of Robert Pearle's children. Elizabeth was probably the sister of William Graves, another Carrollton Manor tenant, and the daughter of William Graves, a Prince George's County planter who had died in 1730, leaving two children, Elizabeth and William, "the eldest about 7 yrs old," and a medium-sized personal estate valued at £64.⁴²

Because free blacks undermined the logic and legitimacy of race-based slavery, the ruling elite sought to prevent any addition to their numbers. The Maryland General Assembly passed statutes in 1699, 1704, and 1715 that placed severe penalties on miscegenation, stipulating that any white woman who "Suffer[ed] herselfe to be got with child by a negroe or other Slave or Free negroe" shall "become a servant for and dureing a terme of Seven years." If free, the father was also to become a servant for seven years, and the "Children of such Unnaturall and Inordinate Copulations"

were to become servants until age thirty-one. A supplementary act passed in 1717, noting that the 1715 act failed to include penalties for interracial marriage, specified that any white who married any “Negro, or Mulatto” was also to become a servant for seven years. The “Free Negro, or Mulatto,” who entered such a union was to become “a Slave during Life, excepting Mulattoes born of White Women,” who “shall only become Servants for Seven years.”⁴³

Under the terms of the statute then in effect, therefore, William Marshall and Elizabeth (Graves) Pearle were, if convicted, to become servants for seven years, while their mulatto partners, Ann (Pearle) Marshall and Daniel Pearle, were to be made slaves for life. Surely the Pearles, not so very far removed from slavery by either race or history, would not have jeopardized their freedom to enter into these unions had they believed the law would be enforced. In fact, neither was ever indicted for their alleged crimes. The real target appears to have been the white partners, whose liberty was for a time actually at risk. When Marshall’s case came before the court he was convicted and ordered to “Become a Servant for Seven Years.” Before sentence could be carried out, however, Marshall’s attorney—the same William Cumming who had earlier represented Pearle—produced a writ of habeas corpus removing the case to the Provincial Court, where it was finally, in April 1745, struck off the docket without explanation. There is no indication as to why the case was not prosecuted, but it was not because Marshall reconsidered his marriage to Ann Pearle. Robert Pearle’s 1765 will left five shillings to his daughter Ann Marshall, who was also listed as kin on William Marshall’s 1778 inventory, and William Marshall’s son James was later identified as a mulatto in the county court records. Meanwhile, Elizabeth Graves’s case was not transferred to the Provincial Court but in March 1744/5 struck from the county court docket, again with no explanation except “by order of Attorney General.”⁴⁴

The courts took laws against miscegenation seriously, yet they were not enforced against the Pearles, who almost certainly enjoyed access to some channel of white power. Significantly, at the time the cases against William Marshall and Ann Graves were dismissed, the attorney general was none other than the crypto-Catholic Henry Darnall III, whose father had apparently had some relationship with Pearle. Attorney General Darnall’s intervention in the marriage prosecutions indicates that Pearle’s ties to some of the most influential Catholic gentry families, beginning with his master Richard Marsham, might have been a valuable asset. Though excluded from politics, wealthy Catholics still wielded power through alliances with Protestants, or, as in Henry Darnall III’s case, nominal conversions that removed the disabilities against office holding. Other Catholics might readily have sympathized with the Pearles as outsiders, unfairly excluded not just because of religion but race as well. Pearle’s supporters were not exclusively Catholic and the members of the courts and the assembly who upheld his rights were not Catholics. Nevertheless, the Pearles’ ties to the Catholic commu-



Detail, Bellin, Carte de la Baye de Chesapeak. Pearle settled near the Moncacy River, on Carrollton Manor.

nity added yet another dimension to the complex web of relationships defining and protecting their place in society.

Once the cases against Marshall and Graves had been dismissed, the laws against miscegenation were never again invoked against the Pearle family. No records survive to document the race of the marriage partners of most of Robert's other children, and it is possible that they all married other free blacks or mulattos, thus avoiding any potential legal ramifications. Given the scarcity of free blacks and mulattos, however, it seems more likely that at least some married whites without legal intervention from the courts. At least one of Robert's granddaughters, Priscilla Marshall—the daughter of Ann Pearle and William Marshall—did marry a white man without penalty. There is no record that either Priscilla or her husband William Graves, who was probably the younger brother of Elizabeth (Graves) Pearle, was ever charged with, let alone prosecuted, for the crime.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the statutes designed to prevent miscegenation applied to mulatto bastardy as well as intermarriage. Yet when Robert Pearle's grandson Samuel was convicted of fathering a bastard child with Sarah Yaunt, the daughter of white Carrollton tenant John Yaunt (a German immigrant), neither stood trial for the more serious crime of mulatto bastardy—a crime that could have resulted in seven years servitude for them both. Likewise, in 1769, Robert's granddaughter Ann Pearle and her partner, Carrollton tenant Benjamin Stewart, were charged and convicted only of the lesser crime of bastardy, not mulatto bastardy.⁴⁶ These incidents, as well as the Pearle marriages to white partners, show that race relations were more fluid than the statutes implied, at least when the perpetrators enjoyed the support of powerful whites. In contrast, at least two white servant women without influential friends were convicted of mulatto bastardy by the Frederick County Court and sold into servitude for seven years. Their mixed-race illegitimate children, bound out as servants until age thirty-one, faced a future far different from the lives of Robert Pearle and his progeny.⁴⁷

Although the Pearles and their partners ultimately escaped prosecution, the coincidence of the charges with the move to the frontier suggests they might have hoped to escape the hostility apparently still prevalent among some of members of their Prince George's County community, where Robert Pearle's origins were common knowledge. Perhaps Pearle envisioned the move to a new area as an opportunity to present himself as white, and in fact references to the family in the Frederick County records rarely employ the identifying label "mulatto"—prevalent, but not always used—in Pearle's appearances before the Prince George's County Court. Nevertheless, although the family might have encountered less racial hostility, their mixed-race origins were evidently known. Per the law, they were "exempted" from military service.⁴⁸ In addition, Robert's grandson James Marshall, the son of a mulatto mother and a white father and at most one quarter black, was referred to as "mulatto" in the county records during the 1780s, almost certainly to distinguish him from a wealthy Scots immigrant of the same name who lived near Carrollton Manor. And finally, some, though not all, members of the family living in the county after the initiation of a regular ten-year census in 1790 were enumerated as free blacks.

More likely, Pearle elected to pull up stakes and strike out in search of new opportunities. Lacking the resources to help establish his sons in the more densely populated areas to the southeast, he saw the migration to the Monocacy Valley as a means to acquire access to land and to keep his family together. At the time that Pearle and his family moved to Carrollton Manor, its proprietors sought to improve the land through a policy of developmental leasing, which offered many potential benefits to men with few resources. Rents were low compared to the value of the land, especially during the early years in which Robert and his family moved to the manor, and little capital was required to set up a tobacco planta-

tion. If access to land and maintaining close family ties was his aim, Robert's strategy proved successful, for he and his descendants lived on the manor for generations, and several, including Robert himself, became quite prosperous.⁴⁹

Pearle might have been drawn to Carrollton Manor because its owners, the wealthy Carroll family, were also prominent members of the Catholic gentry. There is no evidence, however, that Charles Carroll Sr., who oversaw the management of the manor during Robert Pearle's tenure, sought to attract Catholic tenants or encouraged them in any way, such as providing a chapel or a priest to say mass. Nor is there any hint that Carroll, one of the largest slave owners in the colony, extended any protection or patronage to Pearle and his family. On the other hand, there is no indication that Carroll discriminated against the family because of their race, a detail not noted in either Pearle's lease or in Carroll's tenant account book.⁵⁰ It also seems likely that Pearle might have learned of opportunities to rent land on Carrollton Manor through his Catholic connections. The Carrolls and the Warings were acquaintances, though not affiliated by marriage or close friendship, while Henry Darnall III and Charles Carroll Sr. were first cousins. Furthermore, members of the Darnall and Waring families later followed Pearle to the manor. A Basil Waring, either the son or nephew of mulatto Robin's interim owner Marsham Waring, rented land on Carrollton Manor beginning in 1750. And in 1749, John Darnall (1708–1768), the brother of Henry Darnall III, leased a two hundred forty-acre tract on the manor. Darnall later purchased his Carrollton tenement from his cousin Carroll in 1764 and, although he owned hundreds of acres elsewhere in the county, he, and his son John Darnall Jr. (by 1749–c. 1797) maintained their residences on the manor. Like his brother, the senior John Darnall converted to Protestantism and held public office, serving as clerk of the Frederick County court for many years. At least two of his sons, however, either remained Catholic or later converted back to the faith of their forefathers.⁵¹

After he moved to the Monocacy, Pearle's name appeared in the county court records through the next several years, both as plaintiff and defendant in debt suits. Most of these were routine cases for relatively small amounts, but in 1747 the court found Pearle guilty in a suit brought for an unpaid debt of 16,000 pounds of tobacco, a huge sum equivalent to more than twenty times the annual rent he was paying for his two hundred-acre tract on Carrollton Manor. The sheriff, ordered to attach Pearle's goods to satisfy the plaintiff, returned an inventory of his Prince George's County tract, Archer's Pasture, valued at seven thousand pounds of tobacco. Before judgment could be executed, however, Robert took his case to the Chancery Court, which issued an injunction and struck the case.⁵² Robert retained possession of Archer's Pasture until 1751, when he sold it to John Eversfield, rector of St. Paul's parish, for six thousand pounds of tobacco.⁵³ As with many of the major cases involving Pearle, this incident suggests that he encountered greater

hostility at the lower courts that he was able to neutralize through his connections to people who wielded power higher up, having won reprieves from both the provincial and chancery courts, the assembly, and even the attorney general.

After 1751, the year he turned sixty-six, Pearle's court appearances declined precipitously, perhaps because of his advancing years. One final intriguing case brought shortly before Pearle's death indicates that sometime after his wife Ann's death, Pearle established a relationship with a "free" widow—probably of mixed race—named Elizabeth Jervis.⁵⁴ Her presence in Pearle's household at the time of his death was evidently a source of contention among his children. In June 1762, the Frederick County court presented one Robert Pearle, probably a son or grandson, for "whipping & abusing" Jervis. Robert Pearle Sr. posted security for Jervis's appearance to testify and he also gave evidence against the younger Pearle, who submitted to "the Grace of the Court" when the case was heard the following year. Pearle sided with Jervis in this dispute, and, when he died three years later, his will directed that his executors pay her four barrels of corn, one barrel of wheat, one crop hogshead of tobacco, and weight of pork "each Year for two years." He also left her one bed and furniture "that is in the Chapell" and one "duch Cow forever." The bulk of Robert's estate went to his sons Daniel, James, and Basil, but Jervis received far more than any of the other children named in the will—Charles, Thomas, Ann Marshall, and Catherine Dean—who inherited five shillings each. Robert Pearle Jr.'s rancor against Jervis resurfaced a year later, when he accused her of theft. Tried and convicted on the evidence of Thomas, Basil, and James Pearle of stealing seven Spanish dollars and a gold coin, Jervis was sentenced to thirty lashes and the pillory. Whatever her relationship with their father, evidently Pearle's children were not fond of Elizabeth Jervis.⁵⁵

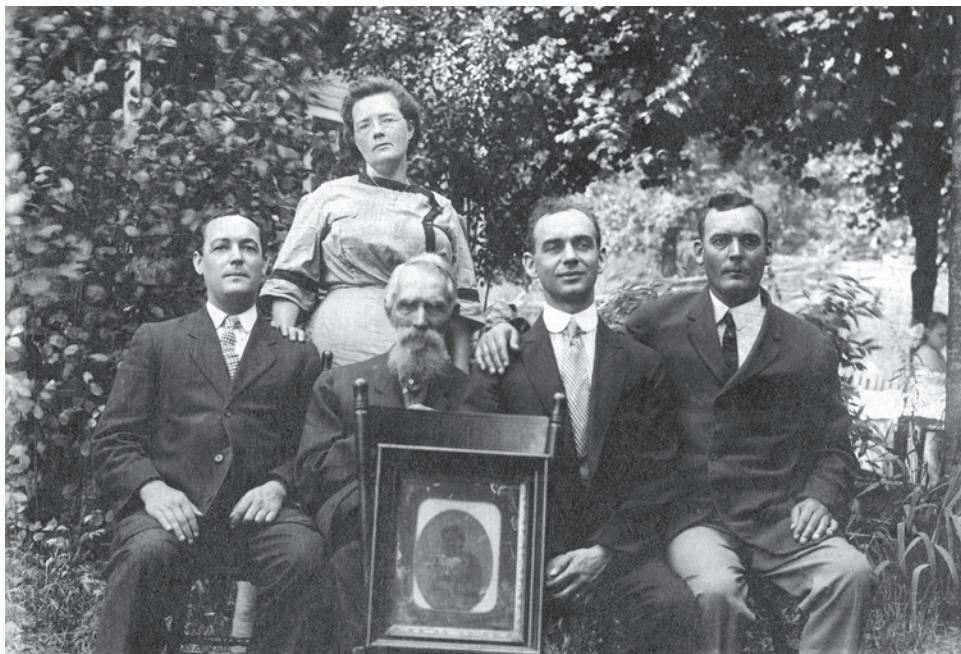
By the time Pearle died in 1765 he had become quite prosperous, as evidenced by the fourteen slaves mentioned his will. Although it might seem ironic that the wealth of former slave Pearle should be measured by his own acquisition of human property, Pearle himself undoubtedly saw his "Negro" slaves as a sign of his success. It is not really surprising, however, that Pearle, who had more in common with other slave owners than with most slaves, should have identified with the class and race of his father, rather than the slave status inherited from his mother. It seems quite likely, in fact, that once he had settled on his two hundred-acre Carrollton tract worked by his slave laborers, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, at least some of whom were also prosperous slave holders, Pearle viewed himself as a member of the gentry. Of course he could not vote or hold office, but then neither could other Catholics, including the wealthy Carrolls. In fact, his exclusion on the basis of religion might have mitigated or even nullified the effect of his exclusion due to race.

Pearle's "Chapell," though probably just a room in his house (as was generally the case with these private places of worship) no doubt added to his stature as a

kind of minor lord of the manor, providing a place for his extended family, possibly his slaves, and perhaps other members of the local Catholic community to worship. Certainly for other members of the Catholic gentry, including the Carrolls, who kept chapels in Annapolis and at their country seat, Doughoragen Manor, the maintenance of chapels was a sign of their status.⁵⁶ Perhaps even the younger generation of the wealthy Darnall family, tenants, and, after 1764, land-owners on Carrollton Manor and close kin of squire Carroll himself, worshiped at Pearle's chapel. Unfortunately few records survive to document the work of the priests who rode circuit to the various privately held chapels, but there were very few places for Catholics to worship in Frederick County during the years Pearle lived on the manor.⁵⁷ It is unlikely that John Darnall, a convert to Protestantism and an office holder, would have maintained a chapel, nor is there any mention of one in his will. It is therefore quite plausible that his sons, at least two of whom were Roman Catholics when they died, attended services with the Pearles.⁵⁸ Perhaps Pearle's chapel was even the forerunner of the Catholic church built on Carrollton Manor some years after his death.

In addition to his fourteen slaves, to be divided among sons Daniel, James, and Basil, Pearle's will mentions livestock (cattle and hogs), a riding horse and a bed, and several items left to Elizabeth Jervis. The remainder of Pearle's unspecified property was to be distributed among James and Basil. Pearle's will mentions no land, and aside from his slaves his most valuable asset was undoubtedly his rented farmstead on Carrollton Manor—referred to as “my now dwelling plantation”—which he left to son Basil. Although Pearle's original lease with Carroll had expired and he was probably renting “at will,” he evidently considered the Carroll tract as his property to dispose of as he chose. Normally the Carrolls acknowledged this right, and Carroll Sr., though annoyed when his son informed him that Basil Pearle had “forsook his 50 a. and is gone to his father's Rob. Pearl's place,” evidently reached some agreement for by 1768 Basil was renting a 150-acre tract on the manor.⁵⁹

Members of Robert Pearle's family, the most extensive kin group on Carrollton Manor, continued to rent from the Carrolls for decades, well into the nineteenth century. Altogether at least eleven family members rented land on Carrollton. Not all of Pearle's children and grandchildren replicated his success. His son Daniel (like Robert, born a slave), who had married the white Elizabeth Graves, was moderately well off when he died in 1774 at age sixty-three. He divided his resources among his numerous children, none of whom were able to maintain his place on the manor. Daniel's son Joseph initially took over his father's tenement but failed to pay the rent and left after a few years. Another son, Jeremiah, reduced to the status of a landless laborer in the employ of other Carrollton tenants, was conscripted into the Revolutionary army in 1778 as a vagrant. In a petition for relief to the governor and Council, Jeremiah asserted that he was “no



Robert Pearle's descendants, John James Pearle (1836–1923), seated second from left, and his children, left to right, William Andrew Pearle, Dora Pearle, Ed Pearle, and Charles Pearle. (Courtesy of Linda Cunningham Fluharty.)

Vagabond" but was born and "raised from an Infant . . . on Mr. Carrols Manner" where he had contracted to work for one of the tenants.⁶⁰ Although eventually dismissed from military service, Jeremiah, a dependent laborer, had fallen a long way from the status of his independent, prosperous grandfather. His problems stemmed more from a dispersal of Daniel's limited resources, however, rather than from his racial origins.

In contrast to Daniel's family, Robert Pearle's son James, son-in-law William Marshall Sr., and grandson William Marshall Jr., were all wealthy slave owners when they died. As noted earlier, James Pearle left a personal estate worth nearly five hundred pounds in 1774, making him a wealthy man.⁶¹ Robert Pearle's white son-in-law William Marshall Sr., the husband of his daughter Anne, also prospered. Marshall, who rented a one-hundred-acre tract on Carrollton Manor from 1742 until his death in 1778, left an estate worth £342, including five slaves. As with Robert Pearle's children, however, Marshall's sons James and William Jr., both of whom also rented land on Carrollton Manor, followed divergent paths. James became an independent householder on Carrollton Manor in 1769 and shortly thereafter began to appear frequently before the county court to answer creditors for unpaid debts. By 1786, the year he evidently fled the county, his debts totaled nearly four hundred pounds current money, in addition to overdue rents which his brother William agreed to pay the landlord, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

William Jr., on the other hand, remained on the manor until his own death in 1810 and left a prosperous estate valued at £355, including five slaves. Whatever the cause of James Marshall's problems, the successful careers of his brother, father, and grandfather demonstrate that they were not the result of his racial origins. No probate records were found for Robert Pearle's other children, though another grandson, Samuel Pearle, also a Carroll tenant, was quite prosperous when he died in 1816.⁶²

Many of Pearle's descendants continued to live in Frederick County into the nineteenth century. All of the Pearles—Basil, Samuel, and Thomas—and the Marshalls enumerated in the first federal census of 1790 were listed as white. By 1800, however, a number of black Pearles appear on the census as well, and in subsequent decades Pearles are listed as both free blacks and as whites. Some members of the family migrated west to Washington (later Allegheny) County, where they are again listed as both white and black. At least one branch of Pearle's family moved north to Pennsylvania, where they were first listed as black, and then to Ohio, where they ultimately became white. Over the generations those Pearles lost any familial memory of their mixed racial origins.⁶³

Robert Pearle himself probably never "became white," nor would it have made much difference in his life if he had. Pearle did not need to present himself as white because he had successfully fought all the most important battles in a society where his racial and slave origins were well known. Establishing himself in free society after his release from bondage, plying his trade as a carpenter, acquiring land, property and eventual prosperity, ensuring the freedom of his children and their right to intermarry with the partners of their choice, fighting discrimination and attempts to bar him from the courts—all of these achievements Pearle made while living in Prince George's County where he was identified as a mulatto and a former slave. Pearle continued to prosper after his move to the Monocacy Valley on the colony's western frontier, not, however, because he had assumed a new racial identity, but rather because, like many whites, he was able to take advantage of available economic opportunities. Once Pearle, and at least some of his descendants, had established themselves as substantial, well-to-do members of the community, their racial origins, while still known, were less important. Not all of Pearle's children and grandchildren were as successful as he, however, and it seems likely—though beyond the scope of this study—that the more successful ones became "white," while those less prosperous continued to be designated as free blacks.

Robert Pearle probably could not have been much more successful in the Chesapeake of the early to mid-eighteenth century even had he not been of mixed racial origins. Of course, had Pearle been the legitimate son and heir of Richard Marsham, his life would have been quite different. He would not have been Robert Pearle, but a Marsham and a member of the Chesapeake gentry, not the unique individual profiled in this study. But had Pearle been a white indentured servant

freed in 1720 after a period of bondage, it is unlikely he could have surpassed the achievements of mulatto Robin. Richard Marsham, an indentured servant transported in 1658, was notably successful as were other former servants of his era, but the open society of the mid-seventeenth century offered far more opportunities for upward advancement to individuals—white or black—with few resources. Part of what makes Pearle remarkable was his ability to attain a level of wealth that exceeded that of most blacks *and* whites, after having spent the first thirty-five years of his life in bondage. Pearle also managed to free his children, keep his family together and provide them with access to land and the chance to prosper, and to overcome efforts to exclude him or deprive him of his rights on the basis of his race. Though a remarkable individual, Pearle could not have achieved what he did without the support of some influential members of the white community, beginning with his master Richard Marsham. The most basic fact of Pearle's existence, his freedom, depended on Marsham, who, by singling Pearle out with his manumission, ensured that he would continue to enjoy the patronage of some important whites. Pearle's own distinctive characteristics—his white father, artisanal skill, English culture, religion, and relationship with Marsham and his descendants—differentiated him from most slaves as well as the majority of other free blacks in the Chesapeake during the first half of the eighteenth century and played a decisive role in winning the support of influential white allies, including some members of the Catholic community. Though unique, Pearle was nevertheless a product of the time and place in which he lived. He could not escape that reality but was remarkably successful at making the most of the opportunities available to him and to attain the outer limits of success possible for a former slave in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake prior to the American Revolution.

Notes

Ira Berlin, Samuel T. Brainerd, Jennifer Dorsey, Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, Stephen G. Hardy, Ronald Hoffman, Philip D. Morgan, and T. Stephen Whitman provided helpful comments on various drafts of this paper. Genealogist Beverly Dean Peoples and two of Pearle's descendants, Linda Cunningham Fluharty and Joan Moore, generously shared their extensive genealogical files on the Pearle family.

1. Frederick County Wills, Liber 33, fols. 351–52, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md. (hereinafter MSA). None of these “Negro” slaves, some identified as “working hands,” could have been Pearle’s mulatto children. Pearle had at least seven children, all of whom were named as beneficiaries in his will; all were free long before he died.
2. When Robert’s son James died in 1774, three of the slaves he inherited from his father were appraised at £55, £50, and £45 current money of Maryland. Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh, using data compiled by the St. Mary’s City Historic Commission to analyze the inventories from four Chesapeake counties between 1636 and 1777, divided some 7,500 decedents into five wealth levels based on their total estate values (deflated to 1700–1709 prices): poor (less than £50), lower middling (£50–94), upper middling (£95–225), wealthy (£226–490) and very wealthy (over £490). Carr and Walsh found that by the 1770s, 30 percent of inventoried decedents left estates worth less than £50, and 38 to 45 percent less than £95, while those with estates worth over £490 comprised only 5 to 10 percent of decedents over the entire colonial period. For comparison, inventory and estate values in this paper have been converted to a common currency and deflated to 1700–1709 prices using the same deflator, provided to the author courtesy of Lois Green Carr. At £50 each, Robert Pearle’s fourteen slaves alone would have been worth £700, or £542 deflated. Pearle’s will also mentioned a riding horse, two beds and furniture, and livestock, with all the remainder of the unspecified estate to be divided among two sons. James Pearle’s entire personal estate, which included only nine as compared to Robert’s fourteen slaves, totaled £782 (£590 deflated) and 9,037 pounds of tobacco, placing him among the very wealthy, or top 5 to 10 percent of inventoried decedents in the colonial Chesapeake. Frederick County Inventories, Liber 118, fols. 142–45, Administration Accounts, Liber 71, fol. 367, MSA; Carr and Walsh, “The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 45 (1988): 135–45; and “Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake,” in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cary Carson et al. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 59–166, especially 70, 81, n.13.
3. Other prosperous eighteenth-century free black carpenters included Azaricum Drighouse of Virginia and Gideon Gibson of South Carolina. Douglas Deal, “A Constricted World: Free Blacks on Virginia’s Eastern Shore, 1680–1750,” in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, ed. Lois Green Carr et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988), 289–90; Winthrop D. Jordan, “American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser. 19 (1962): 189–91.
4. I am extremely grateful to Beatriz Betancourt Hardy for identifying Richard Marsham as Robert Pearle’s master. Though a 1728 Prince George’s County Court case identifies Robert Pearle as a “Molatto (born of a negroe Slave) and . . . manumitted by his late master’s Will” (Liber O, fols. 65–67, MSA), the record does not name Marsham. Without her assistance, locating Marsham would have been a difficult if not impossible task.
5. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 29–46; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1998, 8–12; T. Stephen Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake: Black and White Resistance to Human Bondage, 1775–1865* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2007), 3–12. For the concept of a charter generation, see Berlin, 29–46.
6. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 109–26; Whitman, *Challenging Slavery*, 7–18; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 13–16.

7. *Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 34 (1764): 261. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 123–25.
8. Deal, "A Constricted World," 303–5; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 485–97; Ashley Ellefson, "Free Jupiter and the Rest of the World: The Problems of a Free Negro in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (1971): 1–13. Thomas E. Davidson offers a more positive assessment in his study of free blacks on the lower eastern shore of Maryland, stressing their ability to shape their own lives, in contrast to slaves, indentured servants, and other dependent laborers, though he concludes that they were never an economic threat to their white neighbors, and that the majority "were either laborers or tenant farmers who worked on white plantations." *Free Blacks on the Lower Eastern Shore of Maryland: The Colonial Period, 1662–1775* (Crownsville, Md., Maryland Historical Trust, 1991), 46, 75–76.
9. Philip D. Morgan, "Interracial Sex in the Chesapeake and the British Atlantic World, c. 1700–1820," in Jan Ellen Lewis and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *Sally Hemings & Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture* (Charlottesville, Va.: 1999), 67–68.
10. Gus Skordas, ed., *The Early Settlers of Maryland: An Index to Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633–1680, in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968), 306. Marsham testified in 1680 that he had spent the previous twenty years living on the Patuxent River in Calvert County as "Master of a ffamily," suggesting his term of servitude had ended about 1660. William Hand Browne, Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore and Annapolis, Md., 1883–; this series is ongoing and available online and searchable electronically), 69: 118.
11. Ibid.
12. Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1993), 493–94.
13. *Archives of Maryland*, 69: 118–21.
14. *Archives of Maryland*, 15: 327, 395, 17:378–79, 717:236.
15. Skordas, *Early Settlers*, 306.
16. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 435, 493–94, 527; Edward C. Papenfuse et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1: 168, 190–91, 2: 864.
17. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 435, 493–94, 527; Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 168, 190–91.
18. Prince George's County Wills, Liber 1, fols. 69–72, MSA. Marsham moved to the newly created Prince George's County by 1696, probably when he married Ann Brent.
19. Prince George's County Inventories, Box 3, folder 27, MSA.
20. Prince George's County Wills, Liber 1, fols. 69–72, Liber 20, fols. 450–55, and Inventories, Box 3, folder 27. The death date of Marsham's first wife is unknown. Daughter Sarah, the mother of two sons by her husband Basil Waring who died in 1688, had to have married by c.1685, placing her birth no later than c.1670. Daughter Catherine had four sons with husband Baker Brooke, who died in 1698, placing her marriage no later than c.1690, and her birth at no later than 1675.
21. Marsham's will also directed that Robin build Marsham's grandson Leonard Brooke "one twenty foot Dwelling House and one fifty foot Tobacco House cleare of Carpenters Wages together with one fifteen foot quarter" when Brooke reached age twenty. But since Brooke, whose father died in 1698, would have reached age twenty by 1718 at the latest, before Robin's emancipation date of 1720, the question of wages would appear to have

been between the two grandsons—Marsham Waring, who still owned Robin and Leonard Brooke.

22. Because Catholics were prohibited from worshiping publicly prior to the American Revolution, several kept private chapels in their homes. Robert Pearle's will mentions a chapel, evidence that he was a Catholic. Richard Marsham also kept a chapel in his home. Marsham's Waring descendants were Catholic, as were at least some of Pearle's descendants, including Lawrence Pearle (1793–1868), probably Robert's great-grandson, who was born in Frederick County and later moved to Pennsylvania and then to Ohio, where he is buried in St. Dominic's Catholic Cemetery in Perry County. His son John James Pearle (1836–1923) is buried in St. Patrick's Catholic Church Cemetery, also in Perry County (information provided by Joan Moore, a descendant of Lawrence Pearle).

23. There is no doubt that Marsham's slave "mulatto Robin" and Robert Pearle were the same person. The court records frequently identify Robert Pearle as either or both "alias mulatto Robin" and as a carpenter. A 1728 Prince George's County Court case identifies Robert Pearle as a "Molatto (born of a negroe Slave) and . . . manumitted by his late master's Will." Not only were manumissions extremely rare, Marsham's slave mulatto Robin was a carpenter, had a son Daniel born c.1711, and wife Nanny (or Ann). Robert Pearle was a carpenter, had a son Daniel born c.1711, and his wife Ann released her dower right when Pearle sold land in 1736. Not only is Daniel Pearle mentioned in Robert Pearle's will, in 1768 Daniel, identifying himself as the son of Robert Pearle, deposed that he was then about fifty-seven years old, placing his birth c.1711, the exact age of Marsham's slave and Robin's son Daniel (Frederick County Land Records, Liber L, fols. 518–20, MSA). I am grateful to Beverly Dean Peoples, a genealogist who has researched Pearle's descendants in conjunction with her search for her own Dean ancestors, for pointing me to this deposition.

24. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 191.

25. Prince George's County Court Records, Liber K, fol. 426, Liber L, fols. 540, 614–16, Liber N, fols. 158–61, 589.

26. Davidson, *Free Blacks on the Lower Eastern Shore of Maryland*, 21. Slaves and free blacks were not permitted to give evidence in a court of law in cases involving whites, but this restriction applied to mulattos only during their term of servitude as prescribed by law—that is, until age thirty-one if they were the children of a white mother, a condition that did not apply to Pearle. "No Negroe or other Slave" was "permitted to Carry any gun or Any other Offensive weapon," but the subsequent phrase "without License from their said Master" suggests that the law applied only to slaves. The law also "exempted" from military training and service "all Negroes and Slaves whatsoever."

27. *Archives of Maryland*, 30: 277–83, 291.

28. Prince George's County Land Records, Liber I, fols. 429–30, 443, MSA. I am grateful to Beverly Dean Peoples for pointing out this deed to me. It is also cited in George Ely Russell, "Pearle Family of Maryland," *Western Maryland Genealogy*, 13 (1997): 2. Some researchers of the family, unaware of Pearle's connection to Richard Marsham, postulated a relationship between Pearle and Cranford, buttressed by James Cranford's inventory, which included "One Negroe man Called Robin" (Prerogative Court Inventories, Liber 19½ B, fol. 32, MSA). But Cranford's Robin was a "Negroe man" in 1699, while Pearle was then a mulatto boy, no more than fourteen years old. Also unexplained is how Cranford's Robin would have become Marsham's slave, and why in that case Marsham would have freed him.

29. Prince George's County Court Records, Liber N, fols. 490–91; Liber O, fol. 52.

30. Ibid., Liber O, fols. 65–67.

31. *Archives of Maryland*, 36: 20.

32. Provincial Court Records, Liber R. B. no. 2, fols. 135–37, MSA. The Provincial Court heard this case because of the amount of damages requested, since the county court had jurisdiction only in suits involving £100 or less. Pearle also resumed other prosecutions in the county court the same year.
33. Prince George's County Administration Accounts, Liber 10, fols. 308–9, Land Records, Liber I, fol. 568, Liber M, fols. 460–461, 464, Court Records, Liber L, fol. 540, Liber O, fol. 495, Liber P, fols. 88, 294 It seems unlikely Pearle would have owned these slaves while some of his own children remained in bondage, and he was not recorded as owning any slaves in the 1733 tax assessment for Prince George's County (printed in *Calendar of Maryland State Papers No. 1. The Black Books* [Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1943], 2: 110–24). Along these lines it is interesting to note that Pearle's attorney during his suit against Drury was William Cumming. Although Cumming was not a Catholic, which would have made him ineligible to practice law, he was a former Jacobite rebel arrested and transported to Maryland as a servant and might well have harbored Catholic sympathies, Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 245–46.
34. Prince George's County Land Records, Liber M, fol. 433. I am grateful to Joan Moore for this reference.
35. Prince George's County Land Records, Liber M, fol. 433. I am grateful to Joan Moore for this reference. Darnall's father, Henry Darnall I (c.1645–1711) held several important offices, including justice, chancellor, commissary general, and member of the governor's council, before the Revolution of 1689 excluded Catholics. After 1689 he was the primary agent representing the proprietary interest in the colony and continued to serve the proprietor as receiver general until his death. Darnall's mother, Elinor (Hatton) (Brooke) Darnall (1642–1725), was the widow of Thomas Brooke (1632–1676), the brother of Ann (Calvert) (Brooke) (Brent) Marsham's first husband and uncle of Catherine (Marsham) Brooke's husband. Darnall's son, Henry Darnall III (1702/3–1783), who nominally converted to Protestantism to retain access to political office (while his wife and children remained Catholic), would subsequently play an important role in Pearle's future. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 239–40, 455–56; Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 250–51.
36. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 527.
37. Prerogative Court Inventories, Liber 17, fols. 6–13.
38. List of taxables, 1733, *Black Books*, II, 110–24. Slaves aged sixteen and over were considered taxable property.
39. Frederick County Land Records, Liber J, fols. 152–54, 652–53, Liber W. R. no. 7, fols. 122–23, MSA; Russell, "Pearle Family of Maryland," 52–53. I thank Beverly Dean Peoples for the information regarding Catherine Dean's husband.
40. Prince George's County Administration Accounts, Liber 14, fols. 143–44, MSA.
41. Prince George's County Land Records, Liber B. B. no. 1, fols. 264–65, 379–80. Daniel Pearle's lease was not recorded, but his tenement is referred to in the 1744 lease of another Carrollton tenant named John Adams (*ibid.*, fols. 186–87). Carrollton Manor, located in what was still part of Prince George's County in 1744, was considerably west of the part of the county where Marsham and his descendants lived. The area became part of newly created Frederick County in 1748.
42. Prince George's County Court Records, Liber A. A., fol. 191, Liber C. C., fol. 17, Inventories, Liber 14, fol. 5, and Accounts, Liber 10, fol. 473. William Graves was a tenant by at least 1767 until his death in 1783.
43. *Archives of Maryland*, 13: 546–49, 22: 546–53, 26: 254–61, 30: 283–92, 33: 111–13.
44. Provincial Court Records, Liber E. I. no. 9, fol. 227, MSA; Frederick County Wills, Liber

33, fol. 351, and Inventories, Liber G. M. no. 1, fols. 142–44; Prince George's County Court Records, Liber D. D., fol. 26.

45. William Graves rented a 100-acre tract on Carrollton Manor from before 1767 until his death in 1783 (CCA, Account Book and Index, 1754–1784, Ledger MT, fols. 36, 83, MS 211, MHS). Unlike the Pearles, who were exempted because of their race, William Graves served in a militia company raised in Lower Monocacy Hundred during the French and Indian War, as did William Marshall. The muster roll is printed in George Ely Russell, *Moravian Families of Carroll's Manor Frederick County* (Middletown, Md.: Catoctin Press, 1989), 17.

46. Frederick County Court Minutes, Nov. 1768, fol. 392, Mar. 1769, fols. 461, 474–75, MSA. Ann Pearle was probably the daughter of Robert's son Thomas, who posted security for her fine and fees. Two other Pearles were also convicted of bastardy, but their partners were members of the Burgess family, who also intermarried with the Pearles and who were probably mulattos.

47. The cases, against Ann Grimes and Ann Dunn, are in *ibid.*, Aug. 1773, fols. 41, 46.

48. A militia list compiled during the French and Indian War for Lower Monocacy Hundred, where Carrollton Manor was located, includes the names of several tenants, but although the Pearles were living on the manor, and all of Robert's sons were of age to serve, none appears on the list. Russell, *Moravian Families*, 17.

49. Altogether eleven family members, including Robert's sons Basil, Daniel, James, and Thomas, rented land on Carrollton Manor during the eighteenth century. Mary Clement Jeske, "Autonomy and Opportunity: Carrollton Manor Tenants, 1734–1790" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1999), 19–25.

50. Frederick County Land Records, Liber B. B. no. 1, 264–65; Ledger MT, fols. 33, 41–42, 45.

51. Frederick County Land Records, Liber B, fols. 91, 181–84, Liber H, fols. 678–79, and Wills, Liber 36, fols. 255–57, Liber G. M. no. 3, fols. 154–57, and Liber R. B. no. 1, fols. 411–13. Both John Darnall Jr., and his brother Henry specified in their wills that they be buried according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

52. Chancery Court Records, Liber I. R. no. 5, fols. 154, 236, 249, 461, 539, MSA.

53. In 1756, a Robert Pearle bought a one hundred and fifty-acre tract in Frederick County on the Seneca River, several miles east of Carrollton in what is now Montgomery County (Frederick County Land Records, Liber F, fols. 93–95, 318–20). Robert Pearle/mulatto Robin was then seventy years old, living on Carrollton Manor, and it thus seems likely this was either a son or grandson. In any case, the owner sold the tract in 1761, and Robert Pearle Sr., did not own any land at the time of his death in 1765 (*ibid.*, Liber G, fols. 318–20).

54. Ann had probably died by the time Pearle sold land in 1751 because she did not release her dower right in that deed.

55. Frederick County Court Minutes, June 1762, fols. 445, 460, March 1763, fols. 28, 42; Frederick County Court Docket, June 1766, MSA; Frederick County Wills, Liber 33, fols. 351–52.

56. Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 201–2, 561, 565.

57. *Ibid.*, 553–75.

58. John Darnall, Jr., and Henry Darnall were both Catholics when they died (Frederick County Wills, Liber G. M. no. 3, fols. 154–57, Liber R. B. no. 1, fols. 411–13). Henry Darnall, who died without progeny, left the bulk of his estate to his "friend" Henry Waring of Montgomery County, probably one of Richard Marsham's descendants.

59. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, "Queries and answers about tenants [on Carrollton]," [1765?], MS 216, Carroll Papers, MHS; Ledger MT, fol. 33.

60. Maryland State Papers, *Blue Books*, MSA; *Archives of Maryland*, 21: 133.

61. See note 2, above.

62. Frederick County Inventories, Liber 118, 142–45, Liber G. M. no. 1, fols. 65–66, Liber R. B. nos. 2, fols. 443–46, Liber H. S. no. 2, fols. 16–19; William Marshall to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Bond, Nov. 17, 1786, Carroll Family Papers, DLC.

63. Census data compiled by Joan Moore and Linda Cunningham Fluharty, two of Pearle's white descendants who have shared their extensive work on the family's genealogy with me. Both were astonished to discover their family's descent from a former slave.



James H. Gambrill Sr., (1830–1932), seated, with son James H. Gambrill Jr. (1866–1951), left, and grandson James III (1891–1985) on his centennial birthday, February 24, 1930. (Courtesy of Virginia Gambrill Hendrickson.)

The Heirs of Augustine Gambrill and the Making of Nineteenth-Century Maryland

Tracy Matthew Melton

Three successive generations of Augustine Gambrills were planters at Head of Severn. From 1737, when Augustine I and his wife Comfort inherited the plantations Friendship and What You Please from her father William Stevens, until 1830, when Augustine III died, they headed families prominent in their tobacco-growing neighborhood. Though their community was rural and agricultural, it was also a busy commercial hub with extensive links to distant trading partners. Like their friends and relations on nearby plantations, they had their tobacco inspected and shipped from Indian Landing. The landing, a small but important Severn River port, provided easy access to Atlantic markets. The tobacco trade made the Gambrills businessmen as well as slaveowning planters. Their long commercial experience gave them the expertise to recognize developing opportunities as the regional economy gradually transitioned from tobacco to wheat and then from agriculture to industry. Gambrill descendants—and those of their fellow tobacco planters—largely directed the expansion of commerce and industry in nineteenth-century Maryland.

The lives of the Gambrills at Head of Severn were altogether representative of the experience of many of the descendants of early English immigrants to the Maryland colony. Augustine I's grandfather, William Gambrill, progenitor of the family, arrived as an indentured servant in the early 1660s, probably from Kent county, England. He served his term under Captain Thomas Manning, a Puritan militia officer during the tumultuous period created by the English Civil War and driven by local rivalries. Manning's Calvert Cliffs neighborhood was the home of several Puritan leaders. In December 1668, William Gambrill proved his right to fifty acres of land "due for his time of Service performed to Capt. Manning." He sold his right to fifty acres of land and instead purchased one hundred acres of land, part of a thousand-acre plantation known as Charles's Gift (or Charles His Gift). Richard Preston, another Puritan leader, had originally patented the plan-

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tation as Preston's Clifts but subsequently sold it. In 1684, Richard Ladd left the plantation to the church "newly built near the hornes upon the Clifts," with the exception of the parcel sold to William Gambrill.¹

By 1676, William's name appeared in lists of creditors and debtors in the inventories and accounts of Calvert County planters. Within a few years, his network of personal and financial ties stretched into Anne Arundel County. In 1680, he served as an appraiser for one Anne Arundel estate, and his name was included in a long list of planters in the financial summary of the estate of Cornelius Howard of Head of Severn in the same county. Like many of the early settlers, William suffered an early death. He died intestate in the mid-1680s, perhaps as a result of the smallpox epidemic that ravaged the colony in 1685 and 1686. The inventory of his estate shows that he held only a meager amount of property.²

Sometime after completing his term of servitude, he had married Mary Billingsley. The names of most of the couple's children are lost, but they clearly had several children. Several Gambrills—including a son William—turned up in following decades in the immediate Head of Severn neighborhood where their father had ties. William Gambrill married Sarah Harper in All Hallow's Parish in Anne Arundel in 1703 and John Marriott's 1716/1718 Anne Arundel will named a daughter Anne Gambrill. The relatively small presence of this generation in the historical record suggests slight wealth and standing. William apparently never possessed land or held even a minor office and was most likely the deceased William Gambrall (Gamble) for whom an estate inventory appeared in the 1717 Charles County court. The inventory indicates that he lived as a tenant farmer of modest means, possessing one mare and young colt, a sow and four shoats, small sable, one yearling steer, an old saddle, an old chest, a broken frying pan, a broken iron pot, and three glass bottles. Appraisers valued the entire estate at little more than £4.³

The third Gambrill generation established the family's place among the Chesapeake planter class. The transaction that gave the family its secure rank came with Augustine I's wife Comfort's inheritance of Friendship and What You Please. Though modest in size, the lands lay near Indian Landing and the Cross Roads neighborhood (Millersville) at Head of Severn, home to several prosperous families, some of whom intermarried with the Gambrills over the years. Augustine's appointment as tobacco inspector at Indian Landing in 1748 indicates his rising status.

Maryland's 1747 tobacco inspection law established warehouses at trading centers along the colony's rivers and empowered the local Anglican vestrymen to nominate candidates as inspectors. When the vestrymen of St. Anne's Parish met in Annapolis in October 1748, they named Augustine as the first tobacco inspector at Indian Landing. In December 1749, apparently responding to the excessive demands of the position, they chose Joshua Warfield to serve with him. The following year four men, Sylvanus and Augustine Marriott, Richard Warfield (son of John), and Augustine Gambrill received the nomination. Gambrill served as to-

bacco inspector every year except one (1765/66) through the 1750s and 1760s. His fellow inspectors included members of the leading families at Head of Severn. In 1769, Augustine Gambrill II, together with his father, became an inspector at Indian Landing.⁴

The Gambrills accumulated additional lands at Head of Severn and the lands around the Magothy River. In 1752, Augustine I purchased the one hundred sixty-two-acre Young's Success on the Magothy and a little more than a decade later patented the three hundred-twelve-acre Gambrill's Purchase (Magothy) in the same region. His son William later held other properties near the Head of Magothy and along Rock Creek on the Patapsco River. These land acquisitions functioned as part of Augustine's parental responsibility in that he provided each of his four sons with a means of making a living in a region where land ownership equaled income and community standing. Augustine's 1771/1774 will left his dwelling plantations and Young's Success to sons Augustine II and Stevens and Gambrill's Purchase to sons William and Benjamin.⁵

Augustine II followed his father as a planter at Head of Severn. He married Sarah Sappington, the daughter of Young's Success neighbor Richard Sappington. The couple had eight children who survived to adulthood, including sons Richard, Augustine III, and William. Augustine II owned at least ten slaves who worked the family lands. When he died in 1790, he left his Head of Severn lands to sons Richard and Augustine III and Young's Success to William and divided his slaves among family members.⁶

Of the two sons at Severn, Richard worked most directly in the tobacco trade, as a planter and also as the leading businessman at Indian Landing. The same year that his father died, Spiers, French & Company—a Scottish mercantile firm with wide and long-standing interests in the region—had assigned him to collect on the loans they had made to fellow planters in the neighborhood. Among those who owed debts were Joseph and Gerard Hopkins, Launcelot and Joshua Warfield, Philip Hammond, Joshua Marriott, Rezin Gaither, and William Gambrill, some of the most successful planters in Anne Arundel County. The appointment suggested that the young Richard had not only the right ties but also at least a fair degree of respect and reputation. In 1800, he became tobacco inspector at Indian Landing. He made his home at the Landing and retained the office, more or less continuously, until his death almost two decades later.⁷

Augustine III remained on the family dwelling plantations at Head of Severn. In the two decades after his father's death, he aggressively bought and sold properties in the area. He acquired half of Young's Success and a large Severn River plantation renamed Gambrill's Purchase (Severn). From his wife Maria Graham Woodward Baldwin's first husband, the couple inherited the large Rising Sun plantation, which became the site of the well-known tavern of the same name. By 1810, Augustine III's household included seventeen slaves, not enough

to rank him among the largest Anne Arundel County owners but a number nonetheless more substantial than that of all but a few of his neighbors.⁸

Despite his status as a member of the tobacco planting gentry, Augustine III suffered several reverses. Tobacco prices often dipped during the first decades of the nineteenth century as European conflicts and the War of 1812 disrupted Atlantic markets, forcing him to sell several of his properties. These market conditions and the obvious wealth and influence of merchants in rapidly growing Baltimore led Augustine—as well as some of his other fellow planters—to the determination that tobacco was no longer the best route to financial success and community standing. He attempted several other projects himself, including winemaking, and began to look for new opportunities for his sons. In April 1814, Augustine's stepson William H. Baldwin, serving in the United States Navy, wrote to his mother Maria, "I observe that you have made merchants of Stephen [Stevens] and Augustine but if you would take my advice you would make a preacher of Stevens [Stevens] and a Sailor of Augustine, as I think these occupations much more suited to their disposition, the idle cant of sailors being such dissipated reprobates is all fudge."⁹

The comment neatly recorded the fundamental transition in the thinking of the tobacco planting class that had dominated Maryland society since its colonial beginnings. Wheat was clearly surpassing tobacco as the leading crop in the region and domestic manufacturing increasing in importance. Commerce had grown so extensive that great profit and influence could be gained from managing and controlling its flow. Evidence of these accelerating changes could be gleaned from ledgers and newspapers and from conversations with friends and associates. For a father seeking to provide for his family and to find a means of allowing his sons to do the same, new opportunities had to be explored. Fortunately for Augustine III, and his brother Richard, they had deep enough resources to allow them to pay for their children's educations and to set them up in careers beyond tobacco planting. Neither Stevens nor Augustine IV became merchants, nor did they become planters. Stevens attended the new University of Maryland medical school in Baltimore and long served as a doctor at Severn. Augustine IV died before reaching adulthood, thus ending the line of Augustine Gambrills. Among their cousins and subsequent Gambrill generations, though, few members remained in farming, none in tobacco planting. Rather, they chose careers as merchants and manufacturers, owning at times many of the most important nineteenth-century Maryland mills.¹⁰

In addition to Stevens, two of Augustine III and Maria Gambrill's sons, Charles A. and Launcelot, reached adulthood. Both sons initially followed mercantile careers. Charles left Severn for Frederick County in the early 1820s and Launcelot later moved to Columbus, Georgia (and then South Carolina), where he became a prosperous cotton broker. At Frederick, Charles met Ann Margaret Shriver, the

daughter of well-known businessman Abraham Shriver, and married her in April 1829. His father-in-law's extensive business connections gave him the early opportunity to form relationships with leading merchants in Maryland and his managerial talents drew their attention.¹¹

In the 1820s, Charles accepted an offer to manage the cotton factory at Warren in Baltimore County, about fifteen miles from Baltimore. Investors had built the Warren factory between 1814 and 1816 as part of the broader wartime effort to advance domestic industry. The two hundred thirty-two-acre property included the five-story cotton mill, 116 feet long and 44 feet wide, made of stone, a saw mill, and two dozen tenement buildings for the hands. A Warren Manufacturing Company advertisement in June 1816 announced the sale of cotton yarn made at their factory on Gunpowder Falls. By the following spring, the company was offering "a large stock of Shirtings, Stripes, Bed Tick, Chambrays and Plaids—manufactured of their own yarn." In 1824, the owners bragged that they had had made "the first American calicoes which have thus been finished, from first to last, at one establishment." By 1831, he was again actively engaged in the western trade at Frederick. A report in the *Fredericktown Herald* on October 31, 1831, publicized that the newspaper's "fellow citizen" Charles A. Gambrill had "commenced the erection of a warehouse on one of the most eligible sites near the depot, with a view to the forwarding and storage of goods to and from Baltimore." Construction of the facility coincided with the arrival of the B&O Railroad in the city.¹²

Charles's Frederick business dealings naturally led him to take an active interest in the wheat and flour trade. The surrounding countryside offered prime land for the cultivation of wheat and other cereals. The coming of the railroad reduced transportation costs and gave local producers access to distant markets. Merchants such as Charles Gambrill managed the trade. In January 1834, a group of Frederick County farmers and millers met to protest the practical application of the General Inspection Law of 1831. They believed that the legislation tended to discriminate against their products and named Charles as a member of a committee appointed to gather signatures endorsing the resolutions adopted.¹³

Charles became associated with Charles Carroll, the grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a Maryland signer of the Declaration of Independence and, at the time, one of the wealthiest men in the colonies. The elder Carroll had, with other grand estates, inherited Doughoregan Manor in Howard District, west of Ellicott's mills, and had early on converted his farming operations from tobacco to grain. He developed a financial relationship with the Ellicott brothers and during the 1830s and 1840s, his grandson Charles, who also lived at Doughoregan, gained ownership of the Ellicott mills. Charles Carroll, more a gentleman farmer than an active businessman, needed a partner to oversee the marketing and financial aspects of mill operations. In the 1840s, Charles A. Gambrill assumed this role.¹⁴



Advertisement for Gambrill's mills at Ellicott City, 1885–1886. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Over the following decades, Charles's flour interests prospered. Baltimore city directories showed him moving his offices to Light Street and then Commerce near the waterfront. Beginning in 1847, shortly after he became a full business partner with Charles Carroll, his designated occupation changed from flour merchant to flour manufacturer and then miller. His closest business associates included merchant-capitalist Johns Hopkins and Baltimore & Ohio Railroad president John Work Garrett. Charles's family moved several times during these years, from Greene Street to Fayette (just south of Lexington Market) to Mount Vernon Place. Charles's classically elegant house in the most fashionable location in Baltimore, the corner of Charles Street and Mount Vernon Place, stood as a grand statement of his business success.¹⁵

He leased the old Ellicott mills from the estate of Charles Carroll, who had died in December 1862, and it was Gambrill who controlled the mill property in July 1868 when massive flooding devastated the narrow valley where his mill and others lined the Patapsco River. “Charles A. Gambrill’s lower flour mill was entirely swept away, there being scarcely a vestige left to mark where it stood. . . . The upper mill was also materially damaged, the northwest corner being washed out, and all its machinery on the lower floor, together with a large quantity of flour, &c., carried away.” Charles also owned the twelve-year-old Orange Grove Mill downstream at Ilchester, which the floodwaters also destroyed, “only a part of it remaining standing.”¹⁶

Shortly after the flood, Charles purchased the Ellicott mill property from the Carroll estate and began plans for reconstructing the Patapsco River mills. After Charles’s death the following year, nephews Patrick and Richard Macgill and son Albert inherited ownership of C.A. Gambrill & Company. A mark of respect, the company continued to operate under this name—and later the C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Co.—for more than five decades after his death. Over the following decades, Albert Gambrill and the Macgill brothers aggressively adopted new milling technologies that transformed their industry. During the 1870s and 1880s, producers installed steam power in their mills, reducing their reliance on water power. The most significant change came with the fundamental shift from burrs (grindstones) to a roller process for grinding wheat.¹⁷

This next generation installed Corliss engines and boilers at the rebuilt Orange Grove Mill (Patapsco Mill C) in 1873 and the rebuilt Ellicott City Mill (Patapsco Mill A) in 1875. In 1881–1882, they built a new mill on Spear’s Wharf on the Baltimore waterfront (Patapsco Mill B) that became the first in the state to incorporate the recently introduced roller system for milling flour, replacing the traditional burrs. They converted Orange Grove to the roller system in 1883 and Ellicott City in 1884. C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Co. proudly boasted that their Patapsco flour had been produced almost continuously since 1774 and was the oldest trademarked consumer item in the country.¹⁸

The company suffered several calamities. The Spear’s Wharf Mill survived a fire in 1887, but the Great Baltimore Fire obliterated it in February 1904. After the second fire, the company decided not to rebuild but to enlarge the capacity of their Orange Grove Mill, which became the largest in the state, capable of producing 1,500 barrels per day. Another fire, however, razed the Orange Grove Mill in May 1905, burning it “to the ground . . . together with all its extensive machinery and a large quantity of wheat stored for grinding.” The two fires left the company with only the original Ellicott City mill. This mill succumbed to flames in April 1916. No longer dependent on the river for power, the C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Co. rebuilt on property along the Frederick Road outside of Ellicott City.¹⁹

The C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Company remained in Gambrill/Macgill



Antoinette Staley Gambrill (1838–1894), wife of James Henry Gambrill Sr. In July 1864 she huddled in a basement with her children as the fighting that became known as the Battle of Monocacy raged outside on the family's Bush Creek mill property. (Courtesy of Virginia Gambrill Hendrickson.)

family hands until 1923. Charles A. Gambrill's successful career may also have played a part in the enlargement of flour milling in Frederick. James Henry Gambrill, the third son of Richard and Mary (Iglehart) Gambrill (and grandson of Augustine III's brother Richard), left Howard County at the age of nineteen and went to work in George W. Delaplaine's mill at Araby on Bush Creek in Frederick County in 1849.²⁰

James's destination was a logical one given developments in the region over the previous two decades and Charles's connection to them. Though Charles had relocated to Baltimore, his position as a well-connected flour merchant would have meant regular contact with associates in Frederick County. Nor were his Frederick connections strictly professional. Charles's father-in-law Colonel George M. Eichelberger (father of his second wife), and several of his other in-laws, continued to live in the western region and he may have visited the McPhersons at Araby. The Eichelbergers had land nearby and, like Charles, had a long association with them, one in which he would have learned when the Araby mill passed from the McPherson family and to George W. Delaplaine [Delaplane] in the 1840s. One can imagine him recommending his young relative for a position in the mill.²¹

After a brief tenure at Araby, James moved to Ijamsville to work in the mill, just a few miles farther up Bush Creek, which flows down to the Monocacy from a ridge east of Frederick. This small town also stood on the B&O route where the well-situated mill supplied flour to Baltimore. James later remembered the ex-

ceedingly high prices for wheat during the Crimean War (1854–1856) when demand forced prices up. In March 1855, he returned to Araby and purchased the mill and surrounding land from Delaplaine who was shifting his operations to Frederick City.²²

In the early 1870s, James and his wife Antoinette (Staley) built a seventeen-room, Second Empire-style mansion house with a distinctive mansard roof and central tower on the hill above Araby mill. One description of the structure painted an impressive picture, “The Mansion House, which is one of the most beautiful and elegant residences in Maryland, occupies an elevated position on the east side of the Monocacy River, commanding a magnificent view of the historic field of the Battle of the Monocacy, and the fertile and picturesque Frederick Valley.” The Gambrills named their house Edgewood (later, under a different owner, the dwelling was known as Boscobel).²³

In June 1878, James Henry Gambrill purchased another mill on Carroll Creek in Frederick City and shifted the focus of his milling operations to this new location. Carroll Creek flowed down from the highlands at the base of High Knob in the Catoctin Mountains to the Monocacy River. Frederick had developed in a bend in the creek, where it turned from south to east and ran down to the river. The B&O tracks entered the city from Frederick Junction to the southeast, making a sweeping turn to the west to parallel Carroll Creek on its south side. The railroad had long before established the neighborhood as a commercial and industrial one where local merchants and manufacturers set up their operations to take advantage of the railroad and the power provided by the creek. The property lay in the immediate vicinity of the B&O depot and the spot where Charles A. Gambrill had built a warehouse to handle goods for the western trade almost four decades earlier.²⁴

James made extensive improvements to his new Carroll Creek mill. According to a contemporary description, he raised the north side by twenty feet to accommodate new roller machinery in the fall of 1884. As noted, the C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Co.’s new Pratt Street Mill had become the first in Maryland to adopt the roller process (1881–1882). The company soon after converted its mills at Ellicott City, Orange Grove. Other Maryland millers, like James, quickly followed the example.

James fully converted the mill after raising the north side of the building. He hired J. T. Noye who had earlier installed a roller system at the Richard D. Johnson Mill in Cumberland. The description of the work at Carroll Street listed sixteen pairs of Stevens rollers, twenty bolting reels, two centrifugal reels, five purifiers, two dust collectors, five wheat cleaners, and other equipment. James guaranteed that “the mill, when perfected, will produce as good grades of flour as any mill in existence using same grades of wheat.” Within a few months, he was advertising his “My Queen Flour” as being “Full Roller Process Flour.” A testimonial from Lloyd T. Macgill claimed that it made “elegant white bread and biscuits. It is in every

particular a very superior flour." One from the baker at the City Hotel declared it "equal to any and superior to a great many brands I have used in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington and smaller cities. . . . The Gambrill flour has long been famous all over the county," a later report claimed, "and large quantities of it were annually exported."²⁵

In the early morning hours of October 11, 1892, workmen at the Carroll Creek mill saw flames on the second floor and rang the alarm to evacuate workers from the building. Several fire companies arrived and began to pump water into the mill, one from a nearby plug and others from Carroll Creek, but the fire had already gathered enough momentum to completely engulf the structure and milling machinery. The inferno cracked windows in an adjacent warehouse, threatening to destroy the structure and several others. By the time the firemen put down the flames, "the building was gutted from top to bottom, leaving nothing but the bare walls standing where but a couple of hours before was a scene of activity." Three days later the still-smoldering debris rekindled, and firemen had to return.²⁶

The timing of this destructive event proved unfortunate for James. The loss, significant but not necessarily crippling, yielded an insurance payment of \$23,000 on \$34,000 in damages but did not take into consideration lost revenue and market losses. As James rebuilt, a severe financial crisis and subsequent economic depression was breaking around him. Additionally, his products faced severe competition from his midwestern competitors.²⁷

James rebuilt his Frederick mill over the following year, installed electric lights, and issued a report in which he claimed the facility could produce up to 250 barrels per day. Despite deteriorating economic conditions, the Maryland flour milling industry fared reasonably well and the new Frederick mill and the older Araby operation continued production. In October 1896, James gained some attention for the bold confidence he displayed while on the stump for Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan. "Much interest has been excited among the farmers," a story in the *Washington Post* noted, "by the proposition made at the Democratic meeting held at Mount Pleasant, Frederick County, a few days ago, by James H. Gambrill, a wealthy grain dealer of Frederick City, who agreed to buy 500,000 bushels of wheat and guaranteed to pay \$1.29 per bushel therefore in the event of Bryan's election and the passage of the free coinage bill." He told the crowd that he had already made a similar arrangement with one of his Republican customers to buy his last crop at that price.²⁸

William McKinley's victory over Bryan, however, negated the offer. The depression continued through 1897, continuing to tighten credit and driving numerous businesses into bankruptcy. These difficulties caught up with James early that year. His business failure forced the sale of all of his property at Araby and on Carroll Street, even his house in Frederick.²⁹



*George T. Gambrill (1842–1930),
Baltimore grain merchant and
distiller of Maryland Rye whiskey
at Roxbury. (Courtesy of Virginia
Gambrill Hendrickson.)*

James's younger brothers Philip and George pursued the same career. In the 1850s, Philip established himself as a successful miller in Parkersburg, Virginia (West Virginia). In February 1870, Philip and George purchased a warehouse and several lots on Walnut and Church Streets in Hagerstown that they planned to convert into a steam-powered flour mill. They estimated that the new facility would process approximately 150 barrels per day. According to the newspaper report of the transaction:

The name [Gambrill], in connection with the manufacture of flour, is well known, and the energy and business character of the parties, coupled with the advantages of the situation—the mill is situate between two divergent railways—Franklin [Cumberland Valley Railroad] and Western Maryland—give assurance of a great impetus to the business.³⁰

When the brothers shortly after contracted with a mechanic for the conversion of the warehouse, another report highlighted the expected economic impact on the community, “The Messrs. Gambrill expect to complete their improvement by next harvest, and when completed, it will really be a very great one, not only in reference to the business of our town, but also that of a very large scope of country to which it will afford a most desirable market for the sale of its grain.” At the same time, their brother Stephen (later president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal) wrapped up his business affairs at Ellicott City, where he ran the agricultural store

that their father Richard had started, and prepared to come to Hagerstown, apparently to work at the new mill.³¹

Regardless of these grand predictions, the Hagerstown mill did not prove successful. Philip and George incorporated as Gambrill Brothers, but George sold most of his interest to another investor even before workmen finished installing the equipment and the facility operated under the name Artesian Mills. Construction of the mill continued into 1872 and a national financial panic soon followed. Evidence of trouble became apparent by spring of 1873 when Washington County millers formed an association to protect their interests, among them a price fixing arrangement in which Hagerstown's Philip Gambrill participated. By the spring of 1878, the entire property fell under foreclosure and went up for sale. It fetched a mere \$13,400, a clear reflection of the depressed economy.³²

George T. Gambrill's brief association with the Hagerstown mill occurred toward the beginning of a long career as a grain merchant and rye whiskey distiller. He began his career as a wheat merchant in Baltimore in the late 1860s, while he was still in his mid-twenties, and formed Gambrill & Williar with George P. Williar. The firm dissolved in 1870, likely due to George's involvement in the Hagerstown flouring mill, but the partners remained friends. George, particularly popular in Baltimore business circles, had a reputation as "one of the best-known and most popular members of the Baltimore Corn and Flour Exchange. . . . He is of commanding presence," the description continued, "and would attract attention in any gathering of gentlemen." He conducted his business affairs under the name George T. Gambrill & Co. and appeared almost daily at the Baltimore Exchange.³³

In the late 1880s, George attempted a second venture in Western Maryland. In 1887, he purchased an old mill and distillery at Roxbury on Antietam Creek, south of Hagerstown, in Washington County. The lack of rail transportation had long ensured that the mill remained a small operation, producing for the local market. Construction of the B&O spur from Weverton to Hagerstown in 1867, however, finally connected Roxbury to faraway markets. On the site, George built a large distillery to make rye whiskey distilled from local rye and corn crops. The building included "all the latest and most improved apparatus for distillation."³⁴

George marketed his popular drink under the name Roxbury Rye and at the end of the century entered into a profitable contract with a New York liquor wholesaler who undertook production for five years. A fire destroyed the distillery in January 1900, but George quickly rebuilt and restarted operations. The new iron and stone rectangular structure was the most impressive man-made feature for miles across the hilly landscape. By 1910, Roxbury had earned a national name and ranked as the second biggest producer of rye in Maryland outside of Baltimore.³⁵

Roxbury, with George's other business and political activities, made him a well-known figure across much of the state. In addition to his home in Baltimore,

he owned a country house near Hagerstown known as The Orchards. Long successful, he eventually ran into serious financial and legal difficulties when found systematically duplicating whiskey receipts and then using them to receive loans on collateral that he did not actually possess. The scheme defrauded creditors of tens of thousands of dollars. The story exploded in the press in March 1910 when the United States Circuit Court issued a warrant for his arrest. News of the warrant and George's immediate disappearance shocked the state's business community. One newspaper description provided reason for the surprise, "He has been a member of the Chamber of Commerce more than 25 years, and was regarded as a practical man of safe business habits." George returned from Alabama the following week.

The legal case against him continued through the end of the decade as he faced numerous charges but succeeded in getting most of dismissed. In March 1912 a jury finally found him guilty of one count of securing money under false pretenses, and, months later, he received a sentence of four years in jail. George won a new trial on appeal and then gained a long series of continuances granted on the grounds of poor health. Baltimoreans understood that the old rascal was using maneuvers to hold off the jailor until he was forever out of reach. George's long legal travail became a local legend and continued to be the most remarked episode of his career down to his death in May 1930.³⁶

James Henry Gambrill's 1897 bankruptcy did not end his own family's connection to the grain trade and flour manufacturing. James's oldest sons Richard, Cornelius Staley ("Staley"), and James Jr. followed their father into milling and the grain trade. Dick Gambrill moved to Chicago during the mid-1880s, a decision certainly connected to the revolutionary changes in flour manufacturing and trading. The roller system came into wide use and midwestern producers established their dominance of the national flour market. For Dick, the move would have been an alluring opportunity to take his place at the rapidly developing center of his industry. For James Sr., who was then still in business, it would have been useful to have a family member established in Chicago, the new headquarters of the grain and flour trade. The Chicago Board of Trade had gained control over the city in the 1850s and the national trade over the following decades. Its membership had government-sanctioned power to hire inspectors and measurers whose decisions were binding. "New members joining the organization were required to swear an oath—with the full force of binding contract behind it—that they would obey the Board's rules, regulations, and bylaws, in effect abandoning much of their right of appeal to the civil courts." Dick Gambrill became a member shortly after arriving in the booming city and his son Richard Jr. later also held a seat on the Board.³⁷

James Jr. reestablished the family milling business in Frederick. In 1899, the Eastern Milling and Export Company purchased the Carroll Creek mill and oper-



Frederick County Farmers' Exchange, James H. Gambrill Jr. founded the exchange in 1902. (Courtesy of Philip Winebrener Bowers.)

ated it until going into receivership in May 1904. Under the company, it became known as the Mountain City Mill. Afterwards, it came into the possession of the Philadelphia Flour & Milling Company, which leased it to the Frederick County Farmers' Exchange. The Farmers' Exchange, an association organized largely on the impetus of James Henry Gambrill Jr., coordinated and rationalized the business practices of local growers. James Jr. served as treasurer and manager.³⁸

When the Farmers' Exchange leased his father's old mill on Carroll Creek, James became manager. He kept the Mountain City Mill name but restored the family name to the flour milled there. In March 1906, a local advertisement touted Gambrill's "My Queen Flour," which was "made from carefully selected Maryland wheat and manufactured with the object of filling the wants of those who wish a strictly high grade flour. It is rich, light, nutritious, and possesses a sweet, nutty flavor seldom found in flour."³⁹

Shortly after the appearance of the advertisement, however, fire again destroyed the mill. On the night of August 3, 1906, James Jr. was in the mill when flames began to come up through the floor from the cellar. "So rapidly did the flames make headway," a local newspaper reported, "that Mr. Gambrill, having secured the books, leaped through the window of the office, rather than take time

to make his escape through the door.” Fire companies arrived quickly but could do little to slow the incredibly hot fire. “From the first, it was seen that the mill could not be saved.”⁴⁰

The blaze was so ferocious that a newspaper article on Frederick’s old mills almost half a century later described it “as a spectacular fire which may be well remembered. . . . When the roof of the mill started to go, great sheets of red-hot tin were tossed into the air and carried off by the breeze, and for a time it seemed that a terrible conflagration would certainly ensue.” Less than an hour after James Jr. hurried out the window, “the front wall of the mill fell into the street, and the firemen there had a narrow escape from being caught beneath an avalanche of bricks.” During the excitement a gathering roar from one of the boilers caused sudden fears of an explosion and those on the ground briefly “stampeded” for safer ground.⁴¹ Fortunately, the aftermath of this second fire was less devastating than the one of October 1892.

Philadelphia Flour & Milling decided to sell the Mountain City Mill. Two months after the fire, the owners advertised the sale of the mill site, all of the damaged equipment and the building material. Dean Wellington Dietrich purchased the property. Dietrich, from a Berks County, Pennsylvania milling family similar to the Gambrills, was a colorful figure with sharp business skills. His Frederick milling operations would long serve as a component of a regional milling and manufacturing conglomerate that included the Schuylkill Flour Mills of Leesport, Pennsylvania, and the Freihofer Baking Company of Philadelphia. D.W. Dietrich eventually became partners with James H. Gambrill Jr. in several profitable Frederick enterprises.⁴²

By the summer of 1907, Dietrich had put up a new mill on Carroll Creek. In August, Superintendent George W. Morton and his workmen began to receive wheat shipments and test the equipment being installed. On the first floor were offices and seventeen double-stand roller mills, a pair of hopper scales, and a power grain shovel. On the second floor were purifiers, dust collectors, agitators, flour packers, and a magnetic separator. On the top floor were bolters, reels, receiving and milling separators and flour and feed packers. In September, the new Mountain City Mill went into full operation.⁴³

Dietrich sold Challenge Flour in Frederick County and became a supplier to a large bakery, probably Freihofer’s, in Philadelphia. An early Frederick advertisement for “Challenge Flour” described it as “The Best Winter Wheat Flour Made in America.” Appealing to community pride and loyalty, it asked, “IF YOU WANT FLOUR THAT IS FLOUR—and you do—why buy a brand made a thousand miles from home when there’s a better one made here.” The reference to brands made a thousand miles away was aimed at the Minneapolis flour marketed as Gold Medal and Pillsbury’s Best.⁴⁴

Locally, Dietrich marketed and distributed his flour through the Frederick



James H. Jr. and Robert Gordon Gambrill, c. 1872. (Courtesy of Virginia Gambrill Hendrickson.)

County Farmers' Exchange. This arrangement put him in close association with James H. Gambrill Jr. Their association swiftly evolved into a partnership, Dietrich running the financial side in Philadelphia, James Jr. the operational side in Frederick. This type of arrangement had always been what Dietrich envisioned

when he bought the mill site. According to a newspaper report at the time of the opening of the new building, "Mr. Dietrich, who is extensively engaged in the flour business in Philadelphia, will continue to reside in that city and will look after the disposal of the mill's product, but will make frequent visits to Frederick."⁴⁵

Not long after the Mountain City Mill's reopening, James Jr. embarked on a new enterprise. He partnered with R. Rush Lewis and D.W. Dietrich and built the GL Bakery on Carroll Street, across the street. Lewis had been secretary and member of the board of the Exchange for several years. Dietrich's involvement showed the growing closeness of his relationship with James Jr., a logical business development given his family's experience as bakers in Pennsylvania. His Mountain City Mill dominated local flour production and he could efficiently supply the neighboring bakery with high-quality, low-cost flour. He simply created a vertically integrated set of enterprises.⁴⁶

The GL Bakery produced a wide range of baked goods. According to a description published at its opening on September 1, 1909, "The company's building is a new one, and it is equipped with a complete outfit of new machinery of the most improved type for the production of bread, rolls, cakes, pies, etc., its ovens, in particular, being of the finest character. . . . No expense has been spared in making this a model bakery." An advertisement the following day declared, "that in completeness [this bakery] is not excelled by any in Maryland."⁴⁷

During this period, James Jr. also marketed dairy feed manufactured at the mill through the Farmers' Exchange. According to a 1919 advertisement, "Gambrill Dairy Feed has proven by three years' experience to be one of the Best Dairy Feeds on the market and the demand for same has necessitated our contracting to increase our plant to three times its original capacity."⁴⁸

Dietrich and Gambrill began to produce and market their feed and flour under the firm name of Dietrich & Gambrill (D&G). The Carroll Creek mill had produced animal feeds from grain since Dietrich had rebuilt the operation in 1907. For several years, the feed had been marketed under the Gambrill name. In the mid-1920s, though, the partners incorporated as Dietrich & Gambrill Inc. Initially, the feed continued to carry only the Gambrill name. By 1928, the corporation was marketing it under its own name. The reorganization also included the flour produced at the mill. Advertisements for Challenge Flour early in the 1920s carried the Mountain City Mill name, those later in the decade Dietrich & Gambrill. The corporation not only had the Carroll Creek mill in Frederick but also another in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Officers in the reorganized company included president D.W. Dietrich, treasurer and manager James H. Gambrill Jr., and assistant manager James Gambrill III.⁴⁹

James Jr. also partnered with his uncle George T. Gambrill and older brother Staley in a Baltimore grain products exporting business. The family members founded the Gambrill Grain Products Company during the World War. Initially,

James Jr. served as president and Staley vice-president. George worked as manager and his daughter Florence secretary-treasurer. James Jr. remained in Frederick, while Staley oversaw operations at the company's three-story brick plant in the 2100 block of Aliceanna Street on the Baltimore waterfront just east of Fell's Point.⁵⁰

These family businesses remained profitable for several decades. James Gambrill III and later his son-in-law E. Mason Hendrickson (president of the Maryland Historical Society, 1989–1992) headed the company's milling operations. Staley's son Cyrus Gambrill long managed the GL Bakery operations. Over time, the family shut down operations and sold off properties. The GL Bakery, though, continued in Frederick into the 1970s. The Gambrill family's industrial operations expanded beyond flour milling and the production of food and rye and contributed significantly to the development of the Maryland textile industry. The key figure, Horatio Nelson Gambrill, a great-grandson of Augustine I had pioneered in the establishment of the cotton duck industry in the Jones' Falls valley just north of downtown Baltimore in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.⁵¹

Born in December 1810, and named for Admiral Horatio Nelson, the British hero of Trafalgar (1805), Nelson grew up on the Falls Road along a stretch of Jones' Falls with several cotton and flour mills. In 1829, the projectors of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad offered a survey of the mills operating in the valley. They listed the Lanvale, Washington, and Albion cotton mills and the Salisbury, Mount Royal, Rock, Laurel, Red, White Hall, Woodberry, Rural, Johnson's, and Caton's flour mills, all within eight miles of Baltimore. Most of these mills were small operations, running their spindles and burrs with the power generated by the water rushing down the narrow valley running down from the Baltimore County hills to the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco.⁵²

The mills attracted Nelson, who possessed a natural mechanical aptitude. As a boy, he may have worked in some of the Jones' Falls mills, most likely the Washington or Albion, which were close to his house. In the late 1820s, he apprenticed at the Savage Mill on the Little Patuxent River in Howard District, Anne Arundel County. Built the previous decade, the Savage Mill was a large-scale operation with technologically sophisticated spinning and weaving machinery. Dean Walker, a pioneer cotton-machinery manufacturer from Medway, Massachusetts, had been in charge of machine-making at Savage for several years until Daniel Hack replaced him in 1828. No record of how Nelson Gambrill ended up at the Howard District remains, but it may have been more than coincidence that he had family in the immediate neighborhood. Mary (Iglehart) Gambrill's brother Richard Iglehart Jr. was married to the daughter of Thomas Griffith, who owned a plantation immediately adjacent to the mill. During these same years, Richard and Mary lived in Baltimore and likely saw his Gambrill cousins in the area.⁵³

At Savage, Nelson met his future business partner David Carroll, another

apprentice. Carroll was not from the prominent Maryland family but the son of a poor Irish immigrant. Just months younger than Nelson Gambrill, he had been born and had grown up at Elkridge. He started his three-year apprenticeship at Savage on April 1, 1829, at seventeen years old, working under Daniel Hack in the machine shop. His notebook reveals the meager wages offered to mill apprentices. His agreement called for him to make \$104 his first year, \$154 the second, and \$204 the third. The knowledge gained, though, proved invaluable. When Hack left Savage in 1831 to set up operations in Occoquan, Virginia, Carroll began to work directly for the Savage Manufacturing Company. The following year, he followed Hack to Occoquan.⁵⁴

Over the next few years, the movements of Nelson Gambrill and David Carroll left little mark on the historical record. Contemporary biographies suggest that Nelson worked at the Jericho Mill in Baltimore County and at the Thistle Cotton Mill in Ilchester, on the Patapsco. If Nelson was at the Jericho Mill on the Little Gunpowder Falls—only one reference places him there—then his tenure was necessarily brief. This mill apparently never fully recovered from a fire and had only a short and modest existence. Nelson's time at Ilchester was most likely more significant to his future career. The Thistle Cotton Mill had been built in the mid-1820s and was incorporated as the Thistle Manufacturing Company in 1834. It focused more on weaving of cotton sheeting than the spinning of yarn. A historian of the mill has noted that although no production records exist, Thistle was “ideally configured to supply sheets of cotton duck to the important Baltimore shipyards.”⁵⁵

Both Nelson Gambrill and David Carroll worked at the Stony Works, another small cotton mill near Baltimore. This mill may have been Nelson's first solo venture. Biographies date his initial involvement here to 1836. By that date, Stony Works had been producing woven cotton for at least two years. An 1834 Baltimore advertisement described three-ply “Carpet Chain” being produced at Stony Works. Nelson, with his friend Carroll, may have taken over the already existing mill or put it up shortly before the given date. According to one account, the two former apprentices set up their Stony Works Mill with equipment purchased from the Savage Mill.⁵⁶

Over the next decade, the two men, now business partners turned squarely to the production of cotton duck and greatly expanded their operations. In 1839, they purchased the old White Hall [Whitehall] flour mill on Jones' Falls and converted it to a cotton factory and incorporated themselves and their associates as the White Hall Company. Their mill had five looms for the production of cotton duck. Over the next half dozen years, they purchased additional land and built the Woodberry [Woodbury] Mill. At Woodberry, they installed steam engines to ensure a more reliable power supply to drive their machinery. In the mid-1840s, they purchased the old Laurel flour mill a little to the south and built

Mount Vernon Mill #1. According to one description, the Mount Vernon alone housed 5000 spindles, an operation that required 150 hands. The 1847–1848 Baltimore city directory listed Gambrill, Carroll, and Company as cotton manufacturers with factories at White Hall, Woodberry, and Mount Vernon.⁵⁷

Expansion of cotton duck production in the Jones' Falls valley continued. In 1854, the White Hall Mill burned, and the company built the Clipper Mill—named for the famed ships built in the local shipyards—to replace it. About the same time, the owners erected Mount Vernon Mill #2 as a sister mill and also the Park Mill for the production of cotton netting. The large cotton factories of Gambrill and Carroll, together with Poole & Hunt's metal foundry and other factories in Mount Vernon and Woodberry, transformed the valley. By the Civil War, thousands of millhands lived and worked in the area. Many of them rented stone, brick, and frame houses from the mill owners.⁵⁸

Nelson Gambrill had learned his craft well during his early apprenticeship. During the 1850s, he registered four United States patents for the manufacture of yarn and cotton duck and for a carding machine and carding engine. His self-stripping cotton card reportedly garnered him an annual United States royalty of \$4,000 and a payment of \$66,000 for British rights. He was not only a brilliant businessman but also a gifted mechanic who understood the machinery that he managed.⁵⁹

Early in the development of their Jones' Falls cotton factories, Gambrill and Carroll partnered with William E. Hooper. Hooper's father William, an immigrant from Londonderry, had run a sail-making business in Baltimore since the 1810s. Working as a salesman for his father, Hooper got to know Gambrill and Carroll and by the 1840s, he was working with them on the manufacture of duck for sails. City directories listed him as being associated with the Woodberry Mill. When the White Hall Mill burned down, newspapers identified the owners as Hooper and Gambrill. Hooper continued to buy into the mills and, by the end of the Civil War, owned all of the Gambrill-Carroll mills, except the Mount Vernon #1 and #2, where David Carroll and his sons remained in charge. The Hooper family continued to expand their operations at Hampden-Woodbury, including the construction of the landmark Meadow Mill (1877), and remained one of the leading families in the area for generations. Cotton duck production in the narrow river valley accounted for a large majority of world output during the last half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

The sale of Nelson Gambrill's original mill properties did not end his career as a cotton duck manufacturer in the Jones' Falls valley. In 1865–1866, Nelson built the expansive Druid Mill on Union Avenue at a reported cost of \$470,000. He operated the mill with his sons Charles, William, and Frank under the name Gambrill, Sons & Company and after his death in August 1880, his sons assumed control.⁶¹

Just the year before Nelson's death, J. Thomas Scharf published his monu-

mental history of Baltimore. In the book, Scharf described the beautiful view from Prospect Hill in Druid Hill Park. Prospect was the high hillside on the south side of Woodberry. From there, “The busy village of Woodberry is in full view, with all its manufacturing interests,—Druid Mills, Woodberry Mills, Poole & Hunt’s foundry, Gambrill’s mills, Hooper & Sons’ mills, Clipper Mills, etc. While looking at the beautiful hills in the distance you still hear the rattle of the machinery and the clang of the anvil in the busy manufacturing village spread out below.” It was a description that would have made Nelson Gambrill proud.⁶²

The Jones’ Falls cotton duck mills continued large-scale production until the post-World War II period. Ownership combined the mills at the end of the 1890s to form the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Cotton Duck Company. By World War I, when the company reorganized as the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills, Inc., its mills included the Mount Vernon #1 and #3 (rebuilt after a fire in 1873), Clipper (rebuilt after a fire in 1865), Druid, Meadow, Woodberry, Park, Mount Washington, Phoenix (Baltimore County), Laurel Hills (Howard/Prince George’s Counties), Franklinville (Baltimore/Harford Counties), and additional facilities in Columbia, South Carolina, and Tallassee, Alabama. During World War II, the Baltimore mills ran non-stop. “Tents, tarpaulins, hatch covers, collapsible pontoons, rafts, stretchers, cots, knapsacks, uniforms, [and] shoes were among the items made from the 1,500,000 yards of cloth turned out each week.” In the post-war period, competition from synthetic fabrics drove the local mills out of business. By the early 1970s, all had ceased production of cotton duck. Most of the mills and many of the nineteenth-century company houses, though, remain on the valley floor and adjacent hillsides in the early twenty-first century, contributing greatly to the unique physical character of the Hampden-Woodberry area of Baltimore.⁶³

Nelson was not the only Gambrill family member to have a large role in the development of the Maryland textile industry. After resigning from the U.S. Navy, Augustine III’s stepson William H. Baldwin became a merchant-planter at Indian Landing, where he later also served as tobacco inspector and then a judge for the Anne Arundel County Orphans’ Court. At Indian Landing, William made friendly business connections with large numbers of Baltimore merchants. These connections later helped his sons find places in the city’s dry goods houses and started them on fantastically successful mercantile careers. The most important connection, though, was William’s brother-in-law William Woodward.⁶⁴

William H. Baldwin Jr. partnered with Woodward to form the mercantile house William Woodward & Co. of Baltimore (1844), which later became Woodward, Baldwin & Co. of Baltimore (1856). William’s brother Christopher Columbus Baldwin joined the company in 1856 and opened its New York office in 1863. William and Christopher merged their company with their brother Summerfield’s own commission house to form Woodward, Baldwin & Norris (1873) and then

Woodward, Baldwin & Co. (1888). The family mercantile companies became interested in textile manufacturing and purchased Savage Mill in 1859. A few years later, Summerfield and some associates bought the Warren Mill and incorporated it as the Warren Manufacturing Company. "That property," Summerfield later wrote, "remained with us and our family, after undergoing many changes and improvements, converting it from a light sheeting mill to a heavy cotton duck mill, until January 1922, when it was purchased, together with the Phoenix Mill, which we had also acquired, by the City for their water supply, they paying for these properties the sum of \$1,000,000."⁶⁵

The Baldwin brothers also operated mills in the South. According to Summerfield, "Our firm after the Civil War resumed their business relations with the South, and were instrumental in the building up of a large number of cotton mills, mostly in South and North Carolina, and I might say we were pioneers in that business." A history of the successful brothers' companies suggests that they may have gotten involved in southern mills through their relationship with Captain Ellison A. Smyth, a son-in-law of Launcelot Gambrill, Augustine III's youngest surviving son and their uncle. During the 1880s and 1890s, Summerfield was as well a leading investor and active manager in the development of the electric industry in Baltimore.⁶⁶

Although industrialization in nineteenth-century Maryland resulted from many converging developments, a deep pool of native sons in search of new opportunities was certainly an important element. In addition to the Gambrills, Baldwins, and Woodwards, numerous other old Maryland planter families from the economically stagnant tobacco-growing counties played a part in this process. For these families, declining prospects for tobacco led them to seek alternative means of protecting and advancing their wealth and status. Their comfortable circumstances, based on land and slavery, allowed them to give their sons educations helpful in the new economy that they and their peers were creating. Their rich networks provided essential information on potential opportunities and the connections to exploit them.

In the decades after William H. Baldwin commented on Augustine III and Maria Gambrill's decision to make merchants of their sons, Gambrill and Baldwin family members came to dominate the large flour and cotton duck manufacturing industries in Maryland. From the 1830s, they owned or controlled numerous mills along Jones' Falls; at Baltimore, Orange Grove, Ellicott Mills, Araby, Frederick, Hagerstown, Warren, and Savage; and at Parkersburg (Virginia/West Virginia) and across the South. The impressive rye whiskey distillery at Roxbury was under Gambrill ownership as well. They often were responsible for making or importing landmark technological innovations. Nelson Gambrill helped to create the cotton duck industry in the state, and Charles A. Gambrill's descendants and James Henry Gambrill Jr. to a large extent introduced the flour milling revolution.

Appropriately enough, the Gambrill name appears in two places on Mary-

land maps, Gambrills and Gambrill State Park. The former is a small town near the head of the Severn River. Its name derived from a stop on the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad where a family member kept a store. The latter is a park in the Catoctin Mountains, just west of Frederick. The state of Maryland named it for James Henry Gambrill Jr., who was not only a leading businessman but also an early and active conservationist. The former is a legacy of the family's three generations as Severn tobacco planters and the latter of its three generations as Frederick flour millers—bookends on Maryland economic history from the earliest days of European settlement through most of the twentieth century.

Notes

The author thanks Virginia Gambrill Hendrickson and her sons Hank and Jim Hendrickson for supporting this research and providing a wealth of information about the Gambrill family.

1. More detailed information on the Gambrills appears in Tracy Matthew Melton, *Plantation to Mill: The Gambrill Family in Maryland History* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 2007). MLO, 1667–1668, Liber 11 (transcript of GG), f. 558 (Microfilm SR7353), hereinafter cited MLO; MLO, Patent record, 1675–1680, Liber 19 (transcript of WC), f. 273 (Microfilm SR 7360), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland (hereinafter cited MSA). He appears as William Gamball in the first record, and the Gambrill name is spelled various ways through the eighteenth century. See also Carson Gibb, comp., *A Supplement to the Early Settlers of Maryland*, (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1997), 86; Robert W. Hall, *Early Landowners of Maryland*, vol. 3: Calvert County 1640–1710 (Lewes, Delaware: Colonial Roots, 2005), 164; J. Hall Pleasants, ed., *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery, 1669–1679*, vol. 51 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1934), 188–191; Jane Baldwin (Cotton) and Roberta Bolling Henry, *Maryland Calendar of Wills 1713–1720*, vol. IV (Baltimore: Kohn & Pollock, Inc., 1914), 235; Charles Francis Stein Jr., *A History of Calvert County Maryland* (Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1960), 55, 68, 113, 303–4; Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (New York: KTO Press, 1981), 52. Hulbert Footner's *Charles' Gift* (1939) incorrectly identifies Preston's house on the Patuxent, the author's home and the subject of the book, with Preston's plantation on the Clifts.
2. Several other Head of Severn planters on the list, most notably Charles Stevens and Richard Warfield, belonged to families whose histories would later be tightly intertwined with that of the Gambrill family. V.L. Skinner Jr., *Abstracts of the Inventories and Accounts of the Prerogative Court of Maryland 1674–1678 and 1699–1703*, vol. 1 (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications), 28, 45; Skinner, *Abstracts of the Inventories and Accounts of the Prerogative Court of*

Maryland 1679–1686, vol. 2 (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1992), 23; Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 23; Maryland Prerogative Court, Liber 13, f. 370 (Microfilm 76-3); MPC, Inventories and Accounts, 1686–1688, MSA S536-12, Liber 9, ff. 190, 473, MSA; V.L. Skinner Jr., *Abstracts of the Testamentary Proceedings of the Prerogative Court of Maryland*, vol. V (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 2006), 182.

3. Melton, *Plantation to Mill*, Chapter I; F. Edward Wright, *Anne Arundel County Church Records of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books, 2000), 17; Baldwin (Cotton) and Henry, *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, vol. IV, 190; Anne Arundel County Judgment Record, Liber G, f. 259; Charles County Register of Wills, Inventories, Liber Inventories 1677–177, f. 454; MPC, Inventories and Accounts, Liber 37B, f. 86, MSA.
4. *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereinafter cited *MdHM*), 9 (1914), 165, 168–69, 280–85, 287, 339, 343; 10 (1915), 131.
5. Daughters generally married planter sons, most often from the same general neighborhood. For Augustine's landholdings, see Index 55, Patents-Index-Young's Success, A.A. Co., John Young, 1727, Certificate and Patent #324, Liber I.L. #A, f. 736 and Liber PL #6, f. 572, MSA; Index 73, A.A. Co., Land Records-Index-1750, Young's Success, 324 Acres, Deed, Liber RB #3, ff. 333–34, MSA; Index 73, A. A. Co. Land Records-Index- 1751, RB #3, f. 421, MSA; A. A. Co. Court Land Records, Liber RB#3, ff. 467, 616, MSA; Charles Gambrill Baldwin and Dorothy Baldwin Garretson, *Life and Public Addresses of Juliet Sewell Baldwin*, (Baltimore: C.C. Giese Company, 1943), 120; Peter Wilson Coldham, *Settlers of Maryland 1751–1765* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1996); Charles Francis Stein Jr., *Origin and History of Howard County Maryland*, (Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1972), 326–327; *Anne Arundel Readings* 2(1) (January 1999), 15; A.A. Co. Wills, 1788–1797 (Microfilm CR 72,254-1) (Will of William Gambrill, October 16, 1791), MSA; A. A. Co. Land Records, Liber IB and JB #1, 1768–1770, f. 338, MSA; Index 54, Patents-Index-William Gambrill, 1769, the Great Island, A. A. Co., BC&GS40/341 and BC&GS39/99, MSA; Index 54, Patents-Index-William Gambrill, 1769, Gambrill's Trust, A.A. Co., BC&GS41/294 and BC&GS 39/121, MSA; A. A. Co. Land Records, Liber NH2, 1784–1787, f. 3, and, Liber NH12, 1803–1806, f. 138, MSA; Gladys Nelker, *Town Neck Hundred, The Land 1649–1930* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 2000), 45–46, 53–54, Appendix A, Appendix E; *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, vol. XV, 163 (January 10, 1771/July 27, 1774); V.L. Skinner, Jr., *Abstracts of the Administration Accounts of the Prerogative Court, Libers 67–74, 1771–1777* (Westminster: Willow Bend Books, 1999), 200.
6. *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, XIV: 236; A. A. Co. Wills, 1788–1797, Liber JG-1 (Microfilm CR 72,254-1), MSA.
7. For the Spiers appointment, see AA Co Land Records, Liber NH5, 1789–1791, f. 339, MSA. In this record, Richard Gambrill is specifically identified as an Anne Arundel County planter. For his tobacco inspector appointments, see AA Co Land Records, 1795–1797, Liber NH8, f. 271; 1797–1799, Liber NH9, f. 127; 1799–1801, Liber NH10, f. 200; 1801–1803, Liber NH11, ff. 415–416, Land Records, 1803–1806, Liber NH12, ff. 350, 534–535; 1806–1807, Liber NH13, ff. 393–394, 419; 1808–1810, Liber NH15, f. 121; 1812–1814, Liber WSG 2, f. 225; 1814–1815, Liber WSG 3, f. 448; 1817–1818, Liber WSG 5, f. 124; 1818–1820, Liber WSG 6, f. 400, MSA.
8. For a detailed discussion of Augustine III's property holdings, see Melton, *Plantation to Mill*, Chapter III. For Augustine III's slaves, see 1810 U.S. Census, Anne Arundel County, Md.
9. William H. Baldwin to Maria Gambrill, April 2, 1814, and November 28, 1814, Ms. 1846, War of 1812 Collection, MdHS, Baltimore, Maryland.
10. For Stevens Gambrill's career, see Melton, *Plantation to Mill*, Chapter VI.

11. Ruth Lawrence, ed., *Gambrill—Blair and Allied Families* (New York: National Americana Society, 1935) (Prepared for Richard V.N. Gambrill), 23–31.
12. Charles's tenure at Warren is unknown, although it perhaps extended beyond Columbus O'Donnell's acquisition of the Warren factory in October 1830. O'Donnell, a Baltimore merchant-capitalist, hired Samuel G. Smith of New England to run the factory but may have employed Charles A. Gambrill to work as its mercantile agent. According to his niece Juliet Gambrill Sewell (Baldwin), Charles lived there for "some years." One 1830 description of the factory claimed that it contained "about 4500 Spindles and 170 Looms, with other necessary fixtures and machinery for conducting the manufacture of Cotton Cloths of a superior quality." John McGrain, comp., "The Treasures of Loch Raven: Mills Near Loch Raven: Summary (March 4, 2002)," www.marylandfreestate.com (February 8, 2007); *Baltimore Patriot*, June 3, 1816; May 2, 1817; June 10, 1819; December 29, 1820; March 20, 1821; August 8, 1822; July 15, 1824; August 18, 1826; *Laws of Maryland*, 192: 1983, MSA; *Baltimore Patriot*, October 4, 1830; October 30, 1830; Letters from Samuel G. Smith to Sarah Smith, MS. 2308, Warren Factory Papers, MdHS.
13. *Baltimore Patriot*, January 18, 1834.
14. On Charles Carroll of Carrollton's farming techniques, see Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "Genteel Erosion: The Ecological Consequences of Agrarian Reform in the Chesapeake, 1730–1840," in Philip D. Curtin, Grace S. Brush, and George W. Fisher, *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
15. The house also had historical importance. It had previously belonged to Charles Howard, a son of Revolutionary War hero and Maryland Governor John Eager Howard, and had been the site of Francis Scott Key's death in 1843. Baldwin and Garretson, *Life and Public Addresses*, 10. See also Baltimore city directories for this period.
16. *Baltimore Sun*, December 3–4, 1862 (Carroll obit); *New York Times*, July 28, 1868; Baldwin and Garretson, *Life and Public Addresses*, 18–21.
17. The pioneering developments came out of the upper Midwest and Great Plains, especially Minneapolis, where millers were attempting to come up with ways to grind local varieties of wheat, which were darker, to make them saleable in eastern markets. After 1880, when John Stevens of Wisconsin patented a chilled-steel roller system, the process was improved enough for large numbers of millers across the nation to deem it advisable to convert their old mills from grindstones. John W. McGrain, "'Good Bye Old Burr': The Roller Mill Revolution in Maryland, 1882," *MdHM*, 77(2) (1982), 155–58.
18. *Baltimore Morning Herald*, March 16, 1882; *Washington Post*, June 16, 1886; *Baltimore American*, November 12, 1892; undated advertisement for C.A. Gambrill Manufacturing Company from the Baltimore County Public Library website (www.external.bcpl.lib.md.us) (September 6, 2006); J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1879), 882; McGrain, "Good Bye Old Burr," 154–71.
19. *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1887; *Frederick News*, October 31, 1904; *Baltimore Sun*, May 2–3, 1905; *Washington Post*, May 2, 1905; *Baltimore Sun*, April 20, 1916, p. 5; *Frederick Daily News*, May 1, 1916; *Frederick Post*, August 24, 1916. Even more damaging to the company's interests, however, was the rapid development of midwestern flour production. Producers here were taking business from local and regional mills and shipping their flour for the national and international markets. Vast wheat fields rationally organized and farmed, technological innovation (roller process), efficient transportation, cheap and available capital, and outstanding management had allowed them to dominate international markets for their products. By the early 1890s, the Washburn Crosby Company (later General Mills) had already

been marketing popular "Gold Medal Flour" and Pillsbury its "Best Flour" brand for several years. During this period, the Midwest replaced Maryland and other East Coast states as the breadbasket of the nation and the entire Atlantic market. On developments in Maryland milling, see McGrain, "Good Bye Old Burr."

20. Richard G. Macgill had died in October 1895 and his brother Patrick in March 1898. Albert Gambrill had passed away in May 1900, and leadership fell to Charles C. Macgill and Richard Gambrill Macgill, sons of Richard. Charles served as president until his death in June 1923 when control passed to Morris Schapiro who changed the name to the Continental Milling Company. Schapiro sold the company's property to the Doughnut Corporation of America (DCA) in 1930. Another fire destroyed the old mill in May 1941. DCA rebuilt and continued production until the post-World War II period. Wilkins-Rogers later purchased the mill and operated it into the twenty-first century when it stood as the only commercial flour mill in Maryland. *Washington Post*, March 11, 1898, and *Baltimore Sun*, March 11, 1898 (obits of Patrick H. Macgill); *Baltimore Sun*, May 30, 1900 (obit of Albert Gambrill); *Frederick Daily News*, June 29, 1923 (obit of Charles C. Macgill); Continental Milling Company to Doughnut Corporation of America, October 16, 1930, Plat Liber WHM9, f. 72, MSA; *Syracuse Herald Journal*, May 28, 1941; *Frederick Post*, April 20, 1945; "Dollars for Doughnuts," *Time Magazine*, November 11, 1940.

21. *Frederick Daily News*, June 7, 1894; *Frederick News*, February 26, 1932, p. 5; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland: Being a History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett Counties* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1882), 598–599. The mill and the Gambrill house are currently part of the Monocacy National Battlefield. The Park Service uses both buildings for administrative offices.

22. *Frederick Daily News*, May 20, 1897; *Frederick News*, August 4, 1930; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 598. The sale is listed in Frederick County, Liber E.S. No. 6, folio 405, MSA. Delaplaine appears as a miller in Frederick in the 1860 U.S. Census.

23. For a description of the house and property, see *Frederick Daily News*, May 20, 1897. The National Park Service estimates that the house was built in 1872.

24. James's Carroll Creek property itself had a lengthy history as a commercial and manufacturing location. Lewis Birely had built a warehouse there in 1832. Several businesses operated out of the structure in the first few decades of its existence. A.B. Hanson used it as a liquor warehouse and rectifying site. It eventually went to Valentine S. Brunner in the 1850s. Brunner sold a share to Frederick A. Markey, who partnered with him in a mercantile business. Brunner and Markey then sold it to William H.C. Kemp for \$5000 in April 1872. Kemp converted it to a flour mill before conveying it to Aaron Anders and John Reifsneider two and a half years later. *Frederick News*, October 11, 1892; March 18, 1897; November 19, 1898; April 21, 1956, p. 5; *Frederick Daily News*, December 9, 1889 (Valentine S. Brunner obit); August 4, 1906. See also Valentine S. Brunner and Frederick A. Markey to William H.C. Kemp, April 18, 1872, Frederick County Land Records, Liber CM8, f. 359; William H.C. Kemp to Aaron Anders and John Reifsneider, November 10, 1874, Liber TG9, f. 266; John Reifsneider and Anders family to James H. Gambrill, June 29, 1878, Liber TG9, f. 575; Mortgage to Margaret E.S. Hood, July 15, 1879, Liber TG12, f. 141, MSA. The 1870 U.S. Census, Frederick County, Maryland, lists Kemp and Anders as millers. Kemp was residing near Middletown, Anders near Urbana. It lists Reifsneider as a grain merchant. Anders and Reifsneider show large real and personal property; Kemp has none listed.

25. *Frederick News*, October 9, 1884; March 13, 1885; March 16, 18, 1897; *Frederick Daily News*, April 19, 1887; June 30, 1887; February 27, 1890; McGrain, "Good Bye Old Burr," 158.

26. *Frederick News*, October 11, 1892; *Frederick Daily News*, January 4, 1893.

27. *Frederick Daily News*, January 4, 1893.
28. *Frederick News*, August 23, 1893; March 16, 1897; *Washington Post*, October 15, 1896; McGrain, "Good Bye Old Burr," 165.
29. *Frederick News*, March 16, 1897; *Washington Post*, March 16, 1897.
30. *Hagerstown Mail*, February 11, 1870.
31. *Hagerstown Mail*, February 11, 1870; *Hagerstown Herald and Torchlight*, March 9, 1870. Philip Doddridge Gambrill was a successful miller. He moved to Parkersburg, where he operated the Novelty Flour Mills. His arrival in Parkersburg closely coincided with the completion of the Northwestern Virginia Railroad from Grafton, Virginia, on the main line of the B&O to the city. The Northwestern Virginia was a project largely conceived and financed by the B&O as a means of reaching a more southern location on the Ohio River than its existing terminus at Wheeling to the north. River conditions were more reliable at Parkersburg, and it was on a more direct line to growing population centers at Cincinnati and St. Louis. The railroad promised to make Parkersburg a thriving city and the entire region a good market for flour. It also provided convenient transportation to the Baltimore market. For information on Philip D. Gambrill, see *Parkersburg Sentinel*, June 11, 1897 (Gambrill obit); September 29, 1915.
32. *Hagerstown Mail*, November 10, 1871; June 14, 28, 1878; *Hagerstown Herald and Torchlight*, December 27, 1871; May 7, 1873; McGrain, "Good Bye Old Burr," 155.
33. *Frederick Daily News*, June 2, 1890 (Williar obit); *Hagerstown Herald and Torch Light*, June 8, 1893.
34. *Washington Post*, August 23, 1888, p. 2; The Roxbury Edition, *Maryland Cracker Barrel: Sentinel of Washington County's Heritage* (April/May 1996) contains several articles about the Roxbury distillery.
35. *Frederick Daily News*, April 17, 1900; July 17, 1900; James H. Bready, "Maryland Rye: A Whiskey the Nation Long Fancied—But Now Has Let Vanish," *MdHM*, 85 (1990): 345–78.
36. *Hagerstown Herald and Torch Light*, June 28, 1894; *Washington Post*, March 5–7, 13–15, 24–25, April 3, 12, 1910, March 9, 1912; *Frederick Daily News*, September 30, 1919; *Baltimore Sun*, May 3, 1930 (George T. Gambrill obit).
37. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1923, p. 10; William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 119.
38. *Frederick Daily News*, February 16, 1904; July 12, 1904; August 4, 1906. The July 12 article provides a guide to land records involving the series of sales in this period.
39. Frederick grocers and dealers sold "My Queen." *Frederick Daily News*, March 15, 1906.
40. *Frederick Daily News*, August 4, 1906.
41. *Frederick News*, April 21, 1956, p. 5; *Frederick Daily News*, August 4, 1906.
42. *Frederick News*, October 9, 1906; *Reading (Pa.) Times*, October 27, 1927; and interview with Virginia Gambrill Hendrickson, July 2006.
43. *Frederick Daily News*, September 7, 1907.
44. *Frederick Daily News*, August 27, 1907.
45. *Frederick News*, March 17, 1908; July 6, 1908; November 17–24, 1908 and many other dates in 1908; *Frederick Daily News*, August 27, 1909.
46. *Frederick Daily News*, January 17, 1903; June 9, 1903; September 1–2, 1909; May 25, 1910; December 27, 1910.
47. *Frederick Daily News*, September 1–2, 1909; July 23, 1910; *Frederick News*, March 15, 1911.
48. *Frederick Daily News*, November 3, 1919, p. 13; *Frederick Post*, June 23, 1919.
49. *Frederick News*, May 1, 1923; October 7, 1926; *Frederick Post*, April 28, 1928; August 8,

1929. James Henry Gambrill Jr. to T.B. Hayward, February 26, 1930, in possession of Hendrickson family. The letter is on D&G letterhead and lists the named officers.
50. R.L. Polk & Co.'s *Baltimore City Directory for 1918–1919*; for 1920; and subsequent years; *Washington Post*, December 15, 1923, p. 3; *Frederick News*, December 14, 1923, p. 1.
51. For the family genealogy, see Melton, *Plantation to Mill*, Appendix.
52. *Baltimore Patriot*, September 15, 1829.
53. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 836; *Baltimore Sun*, August 31, 1880 (Gambrill obit); August 1, 1881 (Carroll obit); David Carroll and Horatio Nelson Gambrill in Dielman-Hayward File, MdHS; *Baltimore Patriot*, February 28, 1822; June 18, 1824; October 26, 1826; December 27, 1828; June 2, 1831; *Richmond Enquirer*, November 28, 1826.
54. David Carroll Account Book, MS. 200, MdHS; *Baltimore Patriot*, July 6, 1831.
55. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 836, 892, 924–25; Henry K. Sharp, *The Patapsco Valley: Cradle of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: MdHS, 2001), 54–55; *Baltimore Morning Herald*, September 1, 1880; *Baltimore Sun*, August 31, 1880.
56. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 836; *Baltimore Patriot*, January 25, 1834; *Baltimore Sun*, August 1, 1881 (Carroll obit).
57. D. Randall Beirne, "Hampden-Woodberry: The Mill Village in an Urban Setting," *MdHM*, 77 (1982), 7–8; Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 275, 407–9, 836–37; *Baltimore Sun*, August 31, 1880 (Gambrill obit); August 1, 1881 (Carroll obit). After the purchase of the Woodberry property, Gambrill and Carroll apparently continued to operate the old flour mill there. When this mill burned on September 21, 1843, the newspapers identified Gambrill, Carroll & Co. as the owners. See *Baltimore Sun*, September 22, 1843 and *Pittsfield* (Mass.) *Sun*, September 28, 1843.
58. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 409, 836; Beirne, "Hampden-Woodberry," 7–11; *Laws of Maryland*, 1838, vol. 598: 341, MSA; *Baltimore Sun*, April 7–8, 1854. *Baltimore Sun*, September 25 and 28, 1843 lists the mills on Jones' Falls (September 25) and Gwynn's Falls and Herring Run (September 28).
59. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 409; Mark Walston, "U.S. Patents by Marylanders, 1830–1860," *MdHM*, 80 (1985): 71–93. Gambrill's patents were: Carding Engine, September 1, 1855, #18124; Carding Machine, February 27, 1855, #12469; Cotton-duck, October 21, 1851, #8444; Yarn for the manufacture and other coarse fabrics, preparing cotton, June 15, 1852, #9021.
60. William's son Alcaeus was the first Republican mayor of Baltimore (1895–1897). Mills—Baltimore City—Mount Vernon, undated newspaper article, "Mr. Vernon Mills Buys Hooper Co.," Dielman-Hayward File, MDHS; *Baltimore Sun*, April 7–8, 1854; Beirne, "Hampden-Woodberry," 11.
61. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 409, 836; Beirne, "Hampden-Woodberry," 9; *Baltimore Sun*, September 20, 1867.
62. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 275.
63. Bill Harvey, "Hampden-Woodberry: Baltimore's Mill Villages," in Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman, *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 53; Dielman-Hayward File, Mills-Baltimore City—Mount Vernon, undated newspaper article, "Meadow and Mt. Vernon Mills Join Trend in Processing of Synthetics"; "Meadow and Mt. Vernon Mills Join Trend in Processing of Synthetics"; "Meadow Mill, Old Hampden Landmark, Sold at Auction," Dielman-Hayward File, MdHS; *New York Times*, November 6, 1865; July 2, 1915.
64. Summerfield Baldwin, *Summerfield Baldwin: His Autobiography, His Ancestry, With Editorial and Newspaper Comments* (Baltimore: Norman T.A. Munder & Co., 1925), 40–41.

65. Mary Baldwin Baer and John Wilbur Baer, *A History of Woodward, Baldwin & Co.* (Baltimore: Garamond/Pridemark Press, 1977), 4–21; Baldwin, *Summerfield Baldwin*, 15–16.
66. Baldwin, *Summerfield Baldwin*, 15, 17–19; Baer and Baer, *History of Woodward, Baldwin & Co.*, 22. On Summerfield Baldwin’s role in the Baltimore electric industry, see Tracy Matthew Melton, “Power Networks: The Political and Professional Career of Baltimore Boss J. Frank Morrison,” *MdHM*, 99 (2004): 455–79.

Book Reviews

Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America: Expanding the Orbit of Scottish Culture. By Elaine G. Breslaw. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008. 362 pages. Illustrations, note on sources, footnotes, index. Cloth, \$55.00.)

Dr. Alexander Hamilton is best known as the author of the *Itinerarium*, written in 1744 during a trip from Annapolis to Massachusetts. He is probably equally known to aficionados of Maryland history as the founder of a social organization known as the Tuesday Club. But in her new biography, Elaine G. Breslaw proves to readers that there was even more to the man.

The early chapters are especially engaging as she deftly discusses the Scotland in which Hamilton was raised. His father William Hamilton, a Presbyterian minister, was a rationalist who believed in the toleration of differences in doctrine, and as a professor of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, he helped to change the school's curriculum from one that emphasized tradition to one that pushed research and thought. These changes transformed the institution into one of the leading schools of its day, nourishing the Scottish Enlightenment and thinkers such as David Hume.

When Alexander Hamilton matriculated, the university had developed perhaps the best medical school in Europe, a perfect place for this aspiring doctor. Once he received his degree, however, he found that Scotland could not support more doctors. To make a living he had to go abroad and he followed his older brother to Maryland. This "emigration mentality," Breslaw claims, reflects a very practical part of Scottish character.

The Annapolis into which Hamilton settled in 1737 was small, little bigger than a Scottish village, and Breslaw provides the reader with a fine depiction of colonial Maryland. Hamilton's culture shock, however, was profound. In addition to fighting through his "seasoning" by malaria, he also found it more difficult to rise in colonial society than he had expected. It was expensive to start a household, buy slaves to run it, furniture to sit on, and nicer clothes than those to which he was accustomed. These were, however, necessities if one hoped for a clientele that could pay. All of this might be bearable if he could only find intellectual companionship similar to that in Edinburgh. He seriously considered returning home.

Instead Hamilton decided to travel, and Breslaw convincingly argues that his trip to Massachusetts proved that stimulating companionship could be had in the colonies. He met delightful people along the way, visiting their social clubs. They reminded him of the intellectuality of clubs he had known in Edinburgh, a connection the author describes well. Hamilton remained a snob, but one more open

to American possibilities, and he returned to Annapolis determined to found a club unlike the pre-existing drinking societies. His Tuesday Club had one rule—members approached all subjects with humor, and it became hugely successful.

Hamilton needed a wife to complete his happiness and found one in the sixteen-year-old sister of a club member. Her name was Peggy Dulany, and although little survives about her, we know that she brought a respectable dowry to the marriage and that the Hamiltons did not struggle financially.

By this time in the book, Breslaw tends to approach the chapters thematically rather than following a straightforward chronological course, which is both a help and a hindrance. It is unclear why the author divides the trip into two smaller chapters, though the second is certainly tighter. But in “A Money’d Wife” about Peggy Dulany the focus is understandable. A separate treatment of his political career also makes sense, as he is only in the Lower House of the Assembly for one term due to his opposition to discriminatory treatment against Catholics, a harkening back to his Scottish roots. This thematic approach also works regarding his medical fight in favor of inoculation against smallpox. Sadly, Hamilton died childless at the age of forty-four, of an apparent kidney ailment.

In all, Breslaw succeeds in arguing that Hamilton helped to expand the orbit of Scottish culture. But this happens less through the Tuesday Club, despite all of the attention it receives in the book, for the club did not outlast Hamilton’s death. Instead, the rationalism of Scottish culture was expanded more, it would seem, in his joining in the campaign for the “American method” of smallpox inoculation, a lasting benefit to the colonies and to science.

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Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region. Edited by Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida in association with the Society for Historical Archaeology, 2004. 368 pages. Illustrations, tables, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$65.00.)

This important, if uneven, anthology accomplishes two interrelated goals—enhancing the reputation of historical archaeology by demonstrating how it has expanded our understanding of Native American contributions to the multicultural Mid-Atlantic between 1500 and 1750. Historical archaeology has flourished in Maryland and Virginia for many decades, making exemplary contributions to our knowledge of the colonial Chesapeake. It is indispensable for supplementing the documentary record of European colonization and is the only discipline capable of analyzing indigenous populations prior to contact.

Thanks to the expertise of its editors, Dennis B. Blanton, director of the Center for Archaeological Research at the College of William and Mary, and Julia A.

King, director of the Maryland Archaeology Conservation Laboratory at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum in Calvert County, this collection of twelve essays addresses the traditional problem with historical archaeology—making highly technical and often unpublished excavation reports accessible to non-specialists in readable syntheses.

Make no mistake, this is still a book for scholars, and the general reader will encounter problems in comprehending arcane jargon, “insider” theories and models, and perplexing graphs in some of these essays. The most rewarding chapters, however, present clear explanations of local climatic conditions and political organization before and after contact, important developments in the Potomac River Valley, and complex trade relations between natives and newcomers. Indeed, this volume focuses most attention on intercultural exchange, providing intriguing analyses of Indian clay pots, European copper, and the manufactured tobacco pipes and beads from both sides of the Atlantic.

The essay by Seth W. Mallios, “Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown,” is the best of all—an incisive and innovative, comparative and compelling, reappraisal of gift-giving and its capacity for inducing hospitality or inciting hostility in intercultural contacts between 1570 and 1611. His approach is path-breaking and should revolutionize the way we interpret cross-cultural misunderstandings. I hope that he will apply his convincing model to Maryland and later periods of Chesapeake history.

Less successful chapters include Philip Levy’s “The Strange Career of the 1634 Middle Plantation Palisade,” which erroneously labels ethnocentrism as racism, misinterprets Virginia events in the 1620s, and leaves the reader confused about whether Williamsburg’s version of the Great Wall of China existed at all. Martha W. McCartney’s “Last Refuge: Tribal Reserves in Eastern Virginia” is not representative of historical archaeology, citing a total of only three sources in that discipline, while relying on old land and legal records more appropriate for a different anthology.

As in most publications on the colonial Chesapeake, Maryland plays second fiddle to Virginia in this volume, but given continuing public and private support for historical archaeology, more of its fascinating underground secrets should soon come to light.

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Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607–2007. By Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2007. 416 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$29.95.)

The 400th anniversary of Virginia in 2007 called forth the retelling of this state's immensely important history with several publications. *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia 1607-2007* divided its narrative among four chroniclers: Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade. This contrasts with the single authored history *Cradle of America: Four Centuries of Virginia History* by Peter Wallenstein, (Lawrence, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2007). Both efforts beg comparison to Maryland's 350th commemorative work by Robert J. Brugger *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore & London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). All three publications illustrate the challenge of compiling comprehensive state narratives. Successful efforts require authors to provide overarching themes that carry down the centuries, a state history placed in a national framework, stories of everyday and well-known individuals woven seamlessly into the discussions of state issues, and illustrations that amplify the story.

As the only publication of the three with multiple authors, *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* suffers less in several of these categories than one might expect. The authors generally reinforce their chosen themes of change and continuity, conservative political order, race and slavery, economic development and social divisions while maintaining a fair consistency of tone from chapter to chapter with minor overlaps of topical material. The situating of Virginia within the national framework is understandably the most successful when addressing political order. The authors see Virginia history as a narrative divided by the early years when the state influenced the national political order and the years of the Civil War and after in reaction to the national demands of equality and reform in education and voting rights.

The authors less successfully interweave stories of everyday life, middling people, and artists into their narrative. We learn of the eighteenth-century Virginia planter patriarchs—Carter, Byrd, Randolph, Lee, Cabell—but nothing of Clementina Rind, the publisher of Thomas Jefferson's 1774 pamphlet *A Summary View of the Rights of British American* and the *Virginia Gazette*. In the twentieth century the political maneuverings of governor and Senator Harry Byrd Sr. rightfully gets a chapter or more, though twentieth-century Virginian musicians, writers, and artists such as the Carter family, Tom Wolfe, Gari Melchers, and Annabel Morris Buchanan, founder of the White Top Folk Festival, receive no mention. By contrast, Brugger's more expansive *Middle Temperament* addresses the contributions of the state governors, officials, and artists as well as the less prominent

citizens who move the state forward. This omission in the Virginia publication makes it a less useful resource for teachers and general readers than it could have been.

Old Dominion, New Commonwealth is also diminished by the lack of visual interest. The layout and format is dense, and the text sparsely illustrated. A casual flip through the book turns up half length portraits of white men and static depictions of buildings. With the exception of a dozen images from elsewhere, the remaining forty are the same familiar representations from the Library of Virginia. The dedicated effort of a picture researcher, as was the case with the *Middle Temperament* publication, could have enlivened the book, amplified the story, and provided a greater appeal to the casual reader.

The book contributes most in two areas: to our understanding of early Indian life in Virginia with the sad tale of cultural strains, European violations, and near annihilation of the tribes; and the complex and revealing story of Virginia during the aftermath of reconstruction. Although by different authors, both show sensitivity to the plight of the two races that fared ill at the hands of Virginians. Only in the last twenty pages of *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, from 1960–2007, can Virginia be addressed as the Commonwealth—a place governed for the common good vs. a state governed for the benefit of a given class of owners. Throughout the book the authors face that fact with forthrightness and clarity.

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Portrait of a Patriot: The Major Political and Legal Papers of Josiah Quincy Junior. Ed. Daniel R. Coquillette and Neil Longley York. Vol. 1. (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2005. 1 color illustration, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$40.00.)

In September 1774, Josiah Quincy Jr. set out for London on what he thought was a precarious diplomatic mission—to save his “Country.” Less than a year later he died from painful lung disease on the return voyage, possibly within sight of Boston harbor, his mind still full of information he hoped to communicate to his friends.

A talented lawyer and capable essayist, he would have played an important part in the events to come. He possessed an overwhelming sense of duty to his personal, professional, and political ideals. As a young lawyer he had courageously helped represent the British soldiers charged with murder in the Boston Massa-

cre. Upon his death he left an infant son with his wife, Abigail Phillips, and his elderly father. Josiah Quincy III grew up knowing his father's reputation, however, and also entered a life of service—as a Massachusetts Congressman, Mayor of Boston, and president of Harvard University.

This book is the first volume in a projected four volume series devoted to making Quincy Jr.'s papers more accessible to scholars and the general public. Subsequent volumes, under Professor Coquillette's expert guidance, will focus mainly on Quincy's legal papers and provide a new edition of his law reports. This volume features Quincy's *London Journal* and his *Political Commonplace Book*—a thematic collection of quotations and commentary based on Quincy's broad reading in history, philosophy, law, politics, and literature. Professor York has done a superb job of making both texts accessible and readable, yet capturing the feeling of eighteenth century manuscripts. This volume has no particular connection to Maryland history and is not likely to reshape our understanding of pre-revolutionary diplomacy. It provides, however, a rare view into the inner workings of the mind of a pre-revolutionary Patriot and encourages a fresh appreciation for the intellectual depth of his world view.

The *Political Commonplace Book*, previously unpublished, dates from the early 1770s. In over two hundred manuscript pages, Quincy copied and paraphrased brief passages, concentrating on the *topoi* of the day—"government," "the people," "power," "treason," "loyalty," "duty," "corruption," "factions," "ministers," "liberty," "patriots," "tyrants," "venality," "monarchy," and so on. Quincy saw himself and America on a vast historical stage edging toward front and center. Good men had struggled against venality in government and the abuse of power since Greek and Roman times, it seemed to him, and he intended to capture and organize the most insightful and eloquent testimony to that struggle. "History, being the faithfull depository of all the actions, good and bad, of the whole race of mankind, who have lived in all ages, and have performed any distinguished part on the theatre of the world, forms the most powerfull incentive to virtue, and preservative from vice" (113–14). Professor York also provides a very helpful annotated bibliography of Quincy's sources. Not for those seeking a narrative to curl up with, the *Political Commonplace Book* offers any serious student of this period an intriguing record of Quincy's effort to organize the political wisdom of "mankind" into a coherent whole. Quincy's *London Journal* is brief and readable, and this edition supplants a less scholarly one published in 1941. Quincy recounted his travels, meetings with fellow Americans, and interviews with British ministers. In an entry following a meeting with Lord North on November 19, 1774, he describes a polite encounter, but reveals more than he probably intended about the disconnect between the two men and their political cultures (230–33). He was captivated by British oratory and copied several long passages from speeches in Parliament into the *Journal*. After a long conversation with "Dr. [Benjamin] Franklin" shortly before de-

parting London, Quincy confided in the *Journal*, "I was charmed: I renounced my own opinion; I became a Convert to his." He thought it imprudent to commit Franklin's views to writing, but was convinced they might do "much good" if heard in "Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, and in the end . . . all America" (266).

Primarily a resource for specialists, with extensive and meticulous notes and commentary, this book contains entertaining and thought provoking material for the general reader as well, including not least a color illustration (and the story surrounding it) of Gilbert Stuart's uncanny portrait of Quincy painted fifty years after the subject's death.

JEFFREY K. SAWYER
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George Washington's Enforcers: Policing the Continental Army. By Harry M. Ward. (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006. 281 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

The blurb for the dust jacket of this book, by using such phrases as "subordination to a strict military code . . . enlisted men lived in constant fear of harsh discipline . . . the brutality experienced by the enlisted men . . . punished severely for even light transgressions . . . lacked legal protection . . . ill-trained and arrogant officers," tempts the reader to anticipate lurid melodrama. In the event, discussion of corporal punishment takes up only a small part of the book. The task of "policing the Continental Army," as its subject is described in the sub-title, might be more lucidly defined as that of enforcing the maintenance of order, and included, not only tasks such as beating the tar out of soldiers, but also such mundane and unromantic ones as making sure a camp was clear of human excrement and other trash, supervising the entrances and exits of the various civilians who might or might not be authorized to be in camp, and preventing stragglers from diverging, intentionally or otherwise, from the main body of soldiers, during a march.

To regard this group of activities as comprising a cohesive topic for study might seem reasonable, but in fact the topic is so comprehensive that it cannot be meaningfully examined without some sort of theoretical underpinning to give one's discussion coherence. For instance, one might study it within the context of such broadly conceived concepts of social control as were made the subject of inquiry by Michel Foucault. Those who long ago became wearied by the unjustified prominence of Foucault's ideas in academic discussion (a prominence which seems largely to have abated) may find it refreshing to read a history concerning social control that reads as if Foucault had never been born. (Nevertheless, Ward's own discussion of corporal punishment, on page 155, suggests that he might have found Foucault of use.) But any analysis of a body of information, no matter

what the theoretical construct used, must begin—or at least end—by explaining why that body of information forms the subject of analysis and what is learned from such analysis. Ward seems to have addressed this problem by, for the most part, foregoing analysis altogether. Notwithstanding his occasional and very cursory discussion of the significance of what he is describing, his book is primarily an amassment of factual detail, without much regard to interpretation.

Even a collection of facts can still serve as a resource for other historians. In that case, the main criterion by which it should be judged would be either that its contents should provide facts that change or modify current preconceptions, or that they be arranged and presented in such a way that they may be easily absorbed and referred to. On the basis of either of these criteria, Ward's book does not rate very high. The structure of the book is determined mostly by discussion of the kinds of duties assigned to particular groups of soldiers—groups which, as Ward himself admits, often overlap. There is, partly in consequence, a good deal of repetition, not only from one chapter to the next but from one page to the next within chapters. We are told, for instance, on pages 48, 53, and 81 that it was among the responsibilities of the brigade major of the day to inspect the arms of soldiers about to go out on guard. There must have been one particular place where this information would be most relevant. It also does not help when the information is different in different places. On pages 138–39 Ward lists three different times at which Washington pardoned prisoners en masse; on page 181 he lists six such occasions, apparently including the three previously mentioned, but with a completely different set of references. On page 163 he asserts that floggings were conducted “under the direction of either the provost marshal or, most likely, the regimental adjutant.” On page 176 he says that “floggings were under the direction of the adjutant.” His organization of material often does not extend beyond lists. For instance, he has an annoying habit of listing the names of all the various people who held a particular office, or made up a particular group of soldiers (60, 66, 71, 81, 131, 135), or of the precise numbers of various kinds of officers that might make up a particular kind of guard (89, 135). Very often, his presentation seems to rely on the reader's already being familiar with the terminology of administrative hierarchy that it might seem to be the task of such a book to present, informatively, to the uninitiated. Such a sentence as “The brigade majors of the Continental army may be viewed as deputy adjutant generals or as brigade adjutants” (52) is certainly funnier when taken out of context, but even when read in context, the average reader has to engage in the kind of interpretation and decipherment that it is really the job of the author to make unnecessary.

Ward does cite primary sources, published and unpublished, but mostly in illustration of uncontroversial facts, summaries and assessments that he has often drawn from other, easily accessible secondary works. He includes information, also sometimes drawn from those works, that is not directly relevant, concerning the

modern and contemporary theories regarding the cause of typhus (122), the daily diet of the soldiers (126), and the way a drum is constructed (171). These may all fairly be described as padding, and such padding would be excusable if there were not, in this short book, a dearth of discussion of the matters that really would be pertinent to such a topic. There is an occasional comparison of the ways in which the Continental Army used the military police and the ways the European armies used it, but there is not much discussion of what significance the similarities or differences had, in the context of the Revolutionary War. That war was different, in many ways, from any that had hitherto been fought by Anglo-Americans or Europeans. One of the most important differences was in the kinds of interactions that took place between the Revolutionary commanders and their fighting men. If the use of the military police by the Continental Army was not in itself different from its use in earlier wars, that in itself is a fact worthy of discussion. But when Ward does attempt to address such issues, a favorite gambit is to speak of them as "ironies." For example, "Even though a 'national' army during war had as much potential for infringement upon liberty as did a standing peacetime army . . . the irony was that when it soon became evident a full-scale war had begun, Americans desired their own regular army of intercolonial troops. . . . A further irony was that although they showed greater tactical adaptability and improvisation than the British army, the American forces subscribed to the principles and practices of organization and discipline learned from their British counterparts" (11–12). It is also "an irony that the military code of an army fighting for American liberty was grounded in the denying of liberty in military society" (30). These are not "ironies." They are puzzles demanding explanation, and it is the job of a historian to attempt to explain them. For Ward to say merely that "military necessity trumped liberty" (35) is hardly sufficient explanation. There is virtually no discussion of what the soldiers may have thought of the discipline they experienced. His assertion that "soldiers have a certain disdain for military police" (130) seems based on modern experience rather than on evidence. Statements so important and pertinent that they would seem to require explicit documentation and discussion, such as that "persons enlisting in the Continental army realized that in doing so they accepted the status of second-class citizens" (155) are footnoted to other secondary works.

Certain military historians of an older school may have already decided that this is a review by someone so enamored of the "new military history" that he cannot appreciate a good old-fashioned collection of data useful to antiquarians, re-enactors and people who don't care what they read as long as it's about the Revolutionary War. Indeed, this book is no worse than many dozens of books that have been published about the Revolutionary War—and thousands that have been published about the Civil War. But even the "old" military history was, at its best, more than a "data dump" of insufficiently digested information. Books that

fitted such a description were what, over the years, threw military history into disrepute among thinking readers, and made the “new military history” necessary. One of the reasons that the Revolutionary War is less popular among history buffs than the Civil War is that, in that earlier war, not only were the average soldier’s motivations for fighting uncomfortably complex, but, because of the comparatively cursory nature of most soldiers’ diaries and letters, they are not easily investigated. For that reason, the problems of social control and the maintenance of discipline in the Continental Army pose a difficult challenge to the historian, but, given the focus on “liberty” in the War for Independence, a peculiarly important one. Ward’s book does not meet that challenge.

GARY RALPH
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1812: War with America. By Jon Latimer. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007. 651 pages. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$35.00.)

The War of 1812 that involved Great Britain and the United States from late June 1812 until February 1815, when the administration of President James Madison ratified the Treaty of Ghent, constitutes a war that has largely been ignored by British historians. In truth, this seeming lapse is not surprising because the war was in reality a sideshow to Britain’s war with Napoleon, during which the island nation was fighting for its very survival. Jon Latimer’s study is, as the author correctly claims, “the first comprehensive history of the American War of 1812 to be written from the British perspective since Reginald Horsman’s [*The War of 1812*] in 1968” (vii)—fully forty years ago. The author provides a mostly solid history of the often misunderstood and controversial war, enlivened by a number of personal accounts and quotes, some of which concerning the war as it was fought in the Chesapeake Bay are new to this reviewer.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the author’s need to cover the full gamut of events during the war, and their implications, the amount of space devoted to Maryland and actions in the Chesapeake is limited. First appearances though might be deceptive, because the dustcover of this edition of the book shows an attractive hand-tinted version of “Admiral Cockburn Burning and Plundering Havre de Grace [Maryland]” on May 3, 1813, by Philadelphia-based Scottish-born cartoonist William Charles (though the title of the print erroneously says the event took place “1st of June 1813”). The back cover, moreover, gives a quote from the book noting that “Maryland lawyer and politician Joseph Nicholson [stated that the war was fought], ‘not for free Trade and sailors rights not for the Conquest of the Canadas, but for our national Existence.’” (237)

Thus out of 403 pages of actual text, just eleven pages are devoted to the raids

around the Chesapeake in 1813 (155–62, 169–73) while the August 24–25, 1814, burning of Washington, D.C., gets a chapter, “Burning the White House,” of twenty-two pages (301–22). The attack on Baltimore of September 12–14, 1814, shares space in a chapter also given over to discussion of the siege of Fort Erie, being tidied away in a mere eleven pages (323–33). During the attack on Baltimore, because the British bombardment fleet was kept at bay by the defenders’ long 32-pounders in the Water Battery at Fort McHenry, and was forced to hurl their 10- and 13-inch mortar bombs from some two miles out in the Patapsco River, most of the projectiles went astray during the 25-hour bombardment in unsettled, rainy weather. Only four defenders were killed at the fort, when a direct hit smashed into the star fort’s southwest bastion. Latimer echoes the dismissive and apologetic after-battle report of British commander-in-chief Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane in which the admiral claimed the attack on Baltimore was just a “demonstration”—despite the British lives lost, around fifty men dead and upwards of 295 wounded, mostly at the Battle of North Point—and all the war materials expended! The author concludes, “what resulted was probably the greatest fireworks display the city has ever witnessed” (329).

The author tells the story of the detention aboard the British flagship of Upper Marlboro physician Dr. William Beanes for arresting some British stragglers during the somewhat disorderly retreat from Washington. In Baltimore harbor, having helped negotiate the doctor’s release, Georgetown lawyer Francis Scott Key penned the words of the poem “The Defense of Fort McHenry,” later renamed “The Star-Spangled Banner.” Despite the author’s acknowledgment of the importance of the Star-Spangled Banner as an American national symbol, the story is covered in one scant paragraph over two pages (330–1). Moreover, Latimer makes the assertion that Key’s “brother-in-law, Judge Joseph H. Nicholson [presumably the same Nicholson the author had quoted on an earlier page] . . . recognized that the poem fitted the popular drinking song of the London Anacreonitic Society, *To Anacreon in Heaven* (331). It is true that Judge Nicholson took the poem to be set in type at the offices of the Baltimore *American* and that within weeks, reprinted in newspapers throughout the land, the words became nationally famous. However, Latimer seems unaware that Key used 1814 elements such as the description of the flag in a patriotic poem he had written in 1804 at the time of the Tripoli War. Because that poem was likewise set to the tune of “To Anacreon in Heaven,” it would seem that the poet himself knew what tune he wished to use for these new lyrics, without Nicholson’s suggestion.

Latimer’s handling of the description of the September 12, 1814, Battle of North Point between the Baltimore militia under Brigadier General John Stricker and the British under Colonel Arthur Brooke (the British commander who had captured Washington, General Robert Ross, having been mortally wounded in a skirmish before the main battle) likewise contains some errors. He states that the

battle took place on the Patapsco Neck peninsula “where Bear and Cheese Creeks formed a choke point” (327). Here the author has garbled the names of a couple of Baltimore County landmarks, the narrowing of the peninsula is formed by *Bear Creek*, an inlet on the south of the battleground, and the inlet pinches the land surface toward Back River north of the battle site. Latimer has conflated the name of Bear Creek with that of *Bread and Cheese Creek*, a small tributary of Back River on the northwest fringe of the battlefield, just west of the Methodist Meeting House, where wounded from both sides were treated in the aftermath of the battle. Latimer also contends that during the battle “a detachment of the 21st Fusiliers and Royal Marines moved to turn the Americans’ left flank, where a bloody encounter ensued as the 51st Maryland Militia put up a stout resistance to the 4th Regiment under Major Alured Faunce.” (328) This statement is seriously flawed on several counts. Colonel Brooke in his after-battle report as well as in his diary stated that he sent the 4th Regiment under Major Faunce to turn the American left flank. However, most authorities on the battle acknowledge that the regiment got mired in the swampy land near Back River before they could engage the Americans properly. Nonetheless, quite opposite to Latimer’s statement, the British movement panicked the inexperienced and untested 51st Maryland Militia under Lieutenant Colonel Henry Amey which beat a hasty retreat and did not stand to fight the invaders.

The disintegration of this unit was readily conceded by General Stricker in his report to his superior: “The 51st, unmindful of my object to use its fire in protection of my left flank in case an attempt should be made to turn it, totally forgetful of the honour of the brigade, and regardless of its own reputation, delivered one random fire and retreated precipitately, and in such confusion, as to render every effort of mine to rally them ineffective.” (Stricker to Major General Samuel Smith, September 15, 1814, published in William Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland 1812–1815*, 161–6.) Possibly the author has confused Amey’s “aimless” 51st with the redoubtable Maryland Militia 5th Regiment, the forerunner of today’s Maryland National Guard, which is credited with acting honorably in the battle—a valiant holding action that struck a blow against the invading British army force before it got nearer to Baltimore.

As we head toward the upcoming Bicentennial of the War of 1812, Latimer’s book makes an important contribution to our understanding of a war that achieved little for either side but that did give the United States a new standing in the world, and a new national pride. For details of local events during the war, there exist better books devoted to the war in this region. The wise reader is advised to seek out those volumes to read in conjunction with Mr. Latimer’s book.

CHRISTOPHER T. GEORGE
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A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America. By Thomas M. Allen. (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 292 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Paper, \$22.95.)

The concluding chapter to Thomas M. Allen's *A Republic in Time: Temporality & Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* should perhaps be his first, for it is there that he answers the "So what?" question that plagues all historical researchers. This study, he tells us, is his answer to those post-modern historians and social critics who deprecate the idea and examinations of the "nation" in favor of larger and more enduring concepts. The temporal finiteness of a nation, Allen declares, is what makes it a healthy institution, protean, multifarious, open to reshaping by citizens holding contesting political and cultural outlooks and belief systems.

Working within this theme of the multiple and the various, Allen begins by assuming that many different conceptions of time existed concurrently in nineteenth-century American culture, and he sets out to explore a number of them. In so doing, he runs counter to most historians of temporality, who have generally presented nineteenth-century Americans as increasingly bound to a single, mechanically-produced time (clock-time) that itself became ever more synchronic and structured until the whole nation ran on standardized railroad-time. Followers of E. P. Thompson tend to see this phenomenon as an inevitable result of industrialization and market capitalism, forces beyond individual control or resistance.

Allan rejects the idea that any monolithic power has shaped our national consciousness about time. Rather, to him each of the many temporal concepts in circulation was important in shaping national identity: not only clock-time but also notions of historical time, domestic time-keeping, geologic time and even Transcendental consciousness. Allen uses an equally diverse and wide-ranging set of sources: among them the papers of Thomas Jefferson; the works of George Bancroft and other early historians; objects, in the form of early Connecticut clocks, genre and American luminist paintings; and the writings of Catharine Beecher, Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

For the most part, Allen's sources limit the ideas he explores to those circulating amongst America's better educated classes. The writers he cites all seem to feel that they own their time (even when they wrestle with the idea of their own transience) and that they can shape it to their own ends. This is not, nor does it pretend to be, a work that deals with the problems of the dispossessed.

Allen displays considerable ingenuity in exploiting his sources. His interdisciplinary analyses help contextualize and concretize the history he explores, broadening what would otherwise be a chiefly literary study. He is especially to be com-

mended for his intelligent use of material culture. For example, he reads the Neo-classical iconography ornamenting the Great Clock at Monticello as an attempt, not only to connect the new American republic to the ancient Roman republic and Athenian democracy, but also to a boundless future vista. Allen notes that Jefferson's design places the plantation slaves, who cannot see the clock (visible only from the mansion's interior), outside the framework of this utopian vision. Jefferson's epistolary contention that the young American nation would colonize not space (which would have to be taken from the aboriginal peoples) but the future, is perhaps one of the most telling of the many self-serving pretenses espoused by America's most revered self-deceiver.

A Republic in Time is sure to prove an influential work. By refuting the accepted notion of Americans as merely forced to bow to an increasingly homogeneous clock time, and mapping a fuller and more various temporal terrain, this book poses an important challenge to the temporal historians of the future.

HILLARY MURTHA
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Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement. By Joe L. Coker. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007. 344 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, 50.00.)

There have been two great waves of state-level prohibition laws in American history. The first, which culminated in the 1850s, was exclusively a northern affair. The second wave, which rose in 1907 and swept Americans toward national prohibition in 1920, derived its greatest energy from the South, a region traditionally hostile to state-sponsored sumptuary reform. Joe L. Coker highlights the role of southern white evangelical Protestants in this extraordinary transformation. Through its detailed examination of the denominational sources of southern prohibitionism, *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause* fills major scholarly gaps in the history of American temperance reform, the history of southern Protestantism, and the cultural history of the South.

Coker confines his close attention to the activities of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. Building his argument out of the often contentious denominational press and the annual reports of the major evangelical churches, supplemented by the extensive secondary literature on a host of topics, Coker demonstrates how evangelicals crafted their dry initiatives to fit the particular, and sometimes repressive, customs and values of the South as the region moved into the twentieth century. During the early part of the nineteenth century, southern evangelical temperance sentiment was restricted to controlling drinking within the church community itself. The South's pre-indus-

trial economy, its political hostility to restrictions on white liberty, and its violent, heavy-drinking, masculine behavioral standards overshadowed the temperance commitment of the small evangelical movement. As their numbers and influence grew, however, a majority of evangelicals by 1880 demanded legal controls on drinking. By the turn of the century, such regulatory devices as high license laws, local option, saloon-free zones around churches and schools, and state dispensaries gave way to a drive for outright state prohibition.

For prohibition to triumph, dry evangelicals were forced to develop a particularly southern doctrine of prohibition reform that would satisfy critics both within and outside the evangelical fold. First, prohibitionists had to overcome the powerful evangelical belief that the church as a spiritual body should remain separate from political affairs. This doctrine of the spirituality of the church, which Coker attributes to the Presbyterian divine James Henry Thornwell, had been applied, somewhat retroactively and conveniently in Coker's view, to the division over slavery that had driven southern Methodists and Baptists to split from their northern brethren in 1845. Resurrected by purists and conservatives alike to dampen enthusiasm for dry laws and political preachers, the spirituality doctrine compelled prohibitionist evangelicals to construct an alternative doctrine of Christian engagement that required public action to defend morality and Christian beliefs. The push for prohibition also entangled evangelicals in the difficult matters of white political supremacy and loyalty to the Democratic party. On the one hand, the dominant Bourbon Democratic organizations in the South were hostile or, at best, indifferent to prohibition. But to ally with the Prohibitionist party or the Populist revolt, as some evangelicals advocated, was denounced as a betrayal of white unity in the face of black electoral challenges.

Coker's analysis of dry evangelicals' adjustment to race, gender, and the violent southern code of honor documents the peculiar mixture of reform, conservatism, and repression that marked prohibition, especially in the South. Arguing that southern evangelicals initially reflected the New South's hopes for steady black citizenship, Coker contends that wet voting patterns among African Americans, the southern rape phobia, and violent outbreaks of rioting and lynching led dry evangelicals to capitulate to southern racism at the end of the nineteenth century. Disfranchisement, they argued, would allow whites the political latitude to discuss prohibition and prohibition itself would combat lynching by removing the alcoholic source of black criminality. Similarly, many southern evangelicals welcomed women's dry activism through the Woman's Christian Temperance Union but then turned bitterly, misogynistically critical of the WCTU when the national body advocated woman suffrage. Even as evangelicals adjusted dry arguments to fit southern values and beliefs, Coker argues that prohibitionists redefined southern notions of honor and manhood from a prickly regard for status backed by violence to a new definition of manliness rooted in discipline, morality,

and Christian principles. In that sense, prohibition confirmed the cultural dominance of southern evangelicalism.

Coker does not wrestle with the state's rights issue that dogged the push for national prohibition in the South, but that is the book's only serious oversight from the perspective of prohibition history. As an analysis of the complex interplay between prohibition reform, evangelical belief and organization, and southern culture, Coker's work is the best in print.

THOMAS R. PEGRAM
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Sea Change at Annapolis: The United States Naval Academy, 1949-2000. By H. Michael Gelfand. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. 411 pages. Illustrations, statistical appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Foreword by Senator John McCain. Hardbound, \$34.95.)

H. Michael Gelfand, assistant professor of history at James Madison University, has produced an often disturbing picture of the Naval Academy's attempts to navigate through fifty years of social upheaval following World War II. These years of struggle for racial and gender equality produced presidential orders, congressional legislation, and Federal Court decisions that attempted to erase inequalities of treatment and opportunity in American society. One such measure, signed into law by President Gerald Ford in 1975, specifically opened the nation's military academies to women. A graduate of Annapolis, Mr. Gelfand painstakingly documents the actions and atmosphere inside this important institution that possessed few resources and minimal desire to accomplish the cultural overhaul dictated by these mandates. The Academy's performance "has been inconsistent," concludes Mr. Gelfand. "After the initial attempts to increase minority enrollment and to integrate female midshipmen, the academy's administrators largely ceased to concern themselves with those issues; the various groups were at Annapolis, so what remained to be done?" (216)

In 1948 President Truman ordered the armed forces desegregated. Almost two decades would go by, however, before Presidents Kennedy and Johnson would exert pressure on Academy officials to recruit from the African American community. Once non-white applicants were accepted into the ranks of midshipmen, they had to study and compete with their white counterparts in an environment of "racist attitudes, perceptions, symbols, and comments," writes Mr. Gelfand (68).

In addition to racial tensions inside the Academy, Mr. Gelfand discloses that the Navy suffered from a "persistently negative reputation" in the black commu-

nity (66). Efforts were made to ease the problem, but “Superintendent Thomas Lynch noted in 1992 that poor relations with minority communities continued to plague” the Academy’s recruiting efforts (76). “Like American society,” Gelfand writes, “the Naval Academy has work remaining before it has established full representation and participation of minorities and fostered true racial neutrality in its community” (78).

An even more hostile climate of discrimination greeted the first group of 81 women admitted in 1976. They and their successors endured continuous verbal abuse, intimidation, sexual harassment, resentment, and isolation by male midshipmen. After four years, twenty-six of the “pioneer” women had resigned. Fifty-five women graduated in the class of 1980, establishing an attrition rate of 32 percent that remained relatively unimproved throughout the years of Mr. Gelfand’s study (236–37). When at the end of the first year administrators asked the remaining women what advice they would give the next group of female plebes, “the dominant response was ‘Don’t come’” (150). But women and minorities continued to apply and gain admission in increasing numbers.

Although Mr. Gelfand’s methodology was to study cultural upheaval from the point of view of the institution, what emerges from his narrative is another story, one of indomitable courage and determination. Over the course of twenty years several thousand minority and women midshipmen, left largely to fend for themselves by Academy officials, endured an onslaught of anger, disrespect, and discrimination in order to serve the nation in a leadership capacity.

Mr. Gelfand conducted oral interviews with over three hundred members of the Academy community. The accounts lend a personal authenticity to the narrative. Significantly, “The overwhelming majority of the interviewees chose to be anonymous” (221). The atmosphere of discrimination, according to Mr. Gelfand, “appeared to encourage a strong determination to succeed.” One female graduate recalled, “I got to a point where I had to finish, no matter what, no matter what happened or how terrible it was” (148). Minority and female midshipmen believed they belonged at the Naval Academy, believed they had a right to study and compete and achieve. Despite the climate of rejection and acts of harassment that at times approached criminality, those who succeeded in overcoming the rigors of the Academy’s curriculum and the negative aspects of its culture, have made a lasting contribution to the institution, the Navy, and society. They have not only achieved positions as officers and leaders, but they also have become role models for those who follow with the same dreams. From the first class of 55 graduates in 1980 to the final class of Mr. Gelfand’s study, the annual number of women graduates increased steadily to 134. Moreover, during the same period the number of non-white male graduates (African American, Hispanic, Asian American/Pacific Islander, and American Indian) increased annually from 111 to 160 (236–37).

Mr. Gelfand concludes that the Naval Academy complied with the mandates

to integrate women and minorities into the Brigade of Midshipmen. But it failed to achieve an equality of treatment and equality of opportunity. “But when midshipmen who are African American or female face constant racial or gender isolation five decades after the graduation of the first African American midshipman and three decades after the arrival of the first female midshipmen, it becomes clear that the Naval Academy is falling short of its own ideals and of society’s democratic expectations” (214).

Racial and gender bitterness were not the only problems besetting the Academy during these years. In Chapter Four Mr. Gelfand details the turmoil surrounding a landmark 1972 Federal Appeals Court ruling in the *Anderson v. Laird* case, which declared unconstitutional requirements imposed by the military academies forcing attendance at religious services.

In addition to his personal interviews, Mr. Gelfand conducted an exhaustive review of public records, print and electronic media, and documents at the National Archives and Records Administration and the Academy’s Nimitz Library. His extensive notes and bibliography offer students and researchers of cultural change, particularly change in hierarchic communities, references to hundreds of sources, including files, reports, correspondence, memoranda, directives, orders, personal papers, books and articles, and studies conducted by Navy and outside reviewers.

It is impossible to visit the city of Annapolis and ignore the presence of the Naval Academy. The 338-acre campus is situated three blocks from the historic Maryland State House. Yet, fortress-like walls, a mission vital to the nation’s existence, and venerated tradition and practice insulate its activities from public scrutiny. It is an institution held in the highest esteem; in the foreword, Senator John McCain describes the Academy as “the very soul of the United States Navy.” (xiii) For students of the Navy and its Academy, as well as readers interested in the city of Annapolis and its history, *Sea Change at Annapolis* provides an important and readable account of what has taken place behind those walls during a painful period of America’s social history.

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Notices

Call for Papers *Maryland Historical Magazine*

In commemoration of the Civil War sesquicentennial and the bicentennial of the War of 1812, we are planning several special issues of the journal. We seek in particular work that broadens our knowledge of Maryland and Marylanders beyond the major events typically associated with these wars. For additional information and contributor's guidelines please email the editor, panderson@mdhs.org or contact via snail mail at the address below.

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Research Notes and Maryland Miscellany

The Socialite Spy from Baltimore: Marguerite E. Harrison, 1918–1922

Wallace Shugg

On Sunday morning, November 28, 1920, upper-crust readers of the *Baltimore Sun* surely gasped at the familiar well-bred face of Mrs. Marguerite Elton Harrison staring back at them under the caption, “Baltimore Woman Held by Bolsheviks.” Until recently, as society columnist for the *Sun*, she had regularly phoned them for details about their daughters’ coming out parties, engagements, and wedding plans. Now she had fallen into the clutches of the revolutionary Bolsheviks in faraway Russia, imprisoned—as revealed later—on charges of espionage.

An accomplished linguist, Mrs. Harrison had been sent abroad by the *Sun* in the fall of 1918 and was reported to be the first woman correspondent to reach Berlin after the armistice. In Russia she met Trotsky, heard Lenin speak, and smuggled food and clothing to the imprisoned Kosciuszko Squadron flier Merian C. Cooper (future creator of King Kong), who credited her with saving his life. The story of this adventurous woman is told in her autobiography, *There’s Always Tomorrow* (1935).

Born in Baltimore “during a first-class hurricane” the night of October 23, 1878, Marguerite Elton Baker was raised on her paternal grandfather’s luxurious estate until 1889, when her parents moved into a forty-nine room Georgian mansion built by her father, Bernard N. Baker, on Ingleside.¹ As owner of the fast-growing Atlantic Transportation Line, forerunner of the United States Line, he could provide generously for Marguerite and her younger sister, Elizabeth. Marguerite’s socially ambitious mother groomed her for marrying into the English peerage. She and her sister were educated at home by a strict governess until Marguerite was old enough to attend St. Timothy’s Girls School in Catonsville,

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Marguerite Harrison, c. 1920, shortly after her return to the United States. (*Marguerite Harrison, Marooned in Moscow: The Story of an American Woman Imprisoned in Russia* [New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921].)

where she excelled in history, Latin, French, and German. After graduation she spent a year at Radcliffe College, “the Harvard Annex,” before making her debut.²

As a child and young girl, Marguerite made many Atlantic crossings on her father’s ships until she “was just as much at home on the other side of the Atlantic as in Baltimore. . . . I spoke German, French, and Italian fluently.” Thanks to her father’s prominence in the shipping world she met such people as Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Ellen Terry, Henry Irving, Bram Stoker (author of *Dracula*, 1897), the Cunards and Ismays, and Lady Randolph Churchill (American Jennie Jerome, mother of Winston). At Ascot she was presented to the Prince of Wales (future Edward VII), “I remember doing my curtsey and looking up at a fat gentleman in a gray morning coat and gray top hat, who smiled and asked in a pleasant voice with a German accent if I had enjoyed the races.” She was even taken to Buckingham Palace where she curtseyed “to a little old lady in black wearing a hat like an inverted bowl and sitting in a Bath chair drawn by a small donkey attended by an old Scotsman in Highland costume. She bowed slightly and muttered something unintelligible and then drove on. She was not my idea of a Queen Empress.”³

In 1901, against her mother’s wishes, she married Thomas B. Harrison, a Baltimore stockbroker and in less than a year bore him a son. Late in her pregnancy she chafed under the restrictions placed on her behavior by polite society at the time. For the next twelve years she settled down into the relatively uneventful and sheltered life of a socialite matron, dining with others of their set, accompanying her husband on duck hunting trips, and doing charity work. In 1905 she helped

found the Children's Hospital School. She took no interest in national politics, "the woman's suffrage movement left me cold," except in Maryland, because of the political activity of her brother-in-law, Albert C. Ritchie (future governor).⁴

However, this idyllic life did not last. First, her father lost control of the shipping company and his personal fortune dwindled. Then the outbreak of war in 1914 stirred passions abroad and at home, especially among Baltimore's large German population. With her love of the German language and culture, acquired at St. Timothy's, Harrison refused to believe the stories of German atrocities. Finally, her personal life was shattered when her husband fell into debt and died of a brain tumor in 1915. Left with a son to raise, she sought work—unusual at the time for someone of her class—at the *Baltimore Sun* and with the help of part-owner Van-Lear Black was interviewed and hired by managing editor Frank Kent as an assistant society editor. She soon branched out successfully into other kinds of writing; she became the music and drama critic, did investigative reporting, and using her knowledge of French and German, interviewed distinguished foreign visitors such as French Marshal Joffre and Austrian violinist Fritz Kreisler.⁵

With the entry of America into the war and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Harrison felt an overwhelming desire in the summer of 1918 to see for herself conditions in Europe, especially in Germany. "There was only one way to do this—by entering the Intelligence Service. In plain English, I was willing to become a spy." Her scheme was presented to General Marlborough Churchill, Chief of Military Intelligence, by an influential family member.⁶

On September 28, an agent from the War Department interviewed her at the Emerson Hotel in downtown Baltimore. His incisive report, filed the next day, revealed her to be well-suited for spy work. He described her as a "cultured lady, a widow . . . of very attractive personality and of high intelligence. . . . She is an accomplished linguist. . . . She remarked she is fearless, fond of adventure and has an intense desire to do something for her country. . . . She could easily be considered ten years younger. . . . I believe she would be discreet; she impressed me most favorably."⁷

She was accepted for secret service under cover as a foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*, "to collect social and economic data rather than military information." The armistice was signed on November 11, just before she sailed, but her reports on conditions inside Germany were still expected to prove useful to the American delegates attending the Peace Conference. Her spirits were high, "I thrilled at the thought that I was to have a small part in carrying out America's mission. . . . I could not see into the future. Perhaps it was just as well."⁸

During the first week of December, Harrison sailed for France. On her stop-over in Paris she revealed a reporter's keen eye for detail: the boulevards, cafés and restaurants were crowded with officers, the Americans "trig and stiff like stage soldiers, their uniforms mostly brand new" and the British somewhat rumpled

"but with an indefinable air of smartness, swagger sticks under their arms." There were "few male civilians left in Paris except for boys and old men . . . and women in mourning."⁹

In January 1919, Harrison crossed the Rhine at Mainz into unoccupied Germany and found political instability, if not chaos. The mutinies in late October 1918 on ships of the High Seas fleet had spread throughout the country, the Kaiser had fled to Holland on November 10, and now a socialist chancellor tried to maintain order. Slowly, Harrison made her way by train to Berlin, with frequent stopovers to obtain passes from radical Workmen's and Soldier's Councils that had taken over the local governments. She arrived at last in the capital to find a Spartacist (Communist) revolt being suppressed by government troops. As she rode in a cab up to the Hotel Bristol, "bullets bounced on the pavement and ricocheted from the walls around us. . . . I crouched in my seat, holding my suitcase in front of me as a shield." Safe at last inside, she was given a room facing away from the street-fighting on Unter den Linden by a considerate desk clerk so she could sleep undisturbed.¹⁰

After a visit to the Foreign Office to obtain a press card, Harrison ventured forth into the city to assess the morale of the German people. During the first weeks she reported her impressions by courier to the American Military Mission in Paris. She found the Prussian militarists bitter and unwilling to admit defeat, blaming the Jews for the internal collapse of Germany and anxious to prevent the spread of Bolshevism. The average German, however, she found to be "too stunned and bewildered by the sudden turn of events to reason much about them. . . . he imagined a peace of conciliation would be followed by an era of reconstruction and prosperity for which he was willing to wait." Some flocked to the cabarets and dance halls driven by reckless hedonism in reaction to four years of wartime austerity. But the terms of the armistice "wrecked the country's transportation system . . . crippling the supply of food and fuel." The food shortage lasted six months, worsened by hoarders and bootleggers. Some of it ersatz, much of the remaining food lacked nutrition—saccharine instead of sugar, potato flour instead of wheat. The soup she sampled at the People's Kitchen on Alexanderplatz "consisted of potato parings ground fine, mixed with a little farina and artificial sage flavoring." Harrison estimated that half of the people were close to starvation.

Then she dug deeper, settling into a routine at the Hotel Bristol, familiar to secret agents the world over, "Every morning I received a huge sheaf of newspapers with my breakfast. These all had to be carefully read and whenever I found an article that might serve to throw light on social, political, or economic conditions I translated excerpts from it or made a synopsis of the contents." Later, armed with newspaper credentials, she went out for interviews, to inspect factories, obtain statistics from the Foreign Office, lunch with German friends or officials, and mix with the people in the streets during strikes or demonstrations. "I had immedi-

ately realized the importance of forming connection with both Communists and reactionaries."

While working as a secret agent, she took pains to avoid obtaining information under false pretenses, such as posing as an adherent of the left or right or using sex appeal. "I often used to smile when I compared my own life with that of beautiful and baleful spies of popular fiction and the movies who stole secret documents from drunken diplomats and officers after champagne suppers or caajoled their lovers into revealing state secrets."

As sporadic fighting continued on the streets between government troops and insurgents, Harrison was forced several times to take cover. At one point, "a young girl, almost a child, was killed by a stray bullet a few feet from me." She had a gift for vivid language, "in many places the finely broken glass on the sidewalks was as thick as a light fall of snow."

By April the political situation had calmed down, unemployment decreased, and food became more plentiful. Everyone followed the negotiations at the peace conference closely. "When it became apparent that Clemenceau was getting the upper hand of Wilson and Lloyd George I worked feverishly, trying to assemble every bit of information that might serve to support the American thesis [of conciliation]. I was yet unwilling to acknowledge that Wilson's peace plan would fail."

And yet this is just what happened. After two side trips to report on the condition of the buffer states between Revolutionary Russia and the West, she returned to Berlin in June to read over the harsh terms of the peace treaty, arousing bitterness and despair throughout the nation. Her words now seem prophetic, "I felt that the war was not over. It had merely entered a political phase which could be just as bitter, almost as disastrous to the world at large, and much longer in duration than the armed conflict which had made a shambles of Europe for four long years."

Her mission was ended, but before leaving Europe she was called upon by the Military Intelligence Department to perform a brief and, to her, distasteful job—to dig up incriminating evidence against the American Robert Minor, who had been spreading Communist propaganda among the troops. This she did, posing as a Socialist correspondent to obtain the necessary information. The episode would soon have repercussions for her.

Harrison sailed from Antwerp and was back in Baltimore by September, engaged in routine work at the *Sun*. She soon became restless again. She sought and was given another assignment by the Military Intelligence Department in Washington, to report on the progress of the Bolshevik government. She applied to the Soviet representative in New York for a visa to go to Moscow but was turned down, the official explanation being that Russia "was not yet ready to welcome correspondents from capitalist countries." In reality, he already knew about her obtaining evidence about Robert Minor, thanks to an exposé thoughtlessly pub-

lished (unknown to her) in the *Army and Navy Journal*. Undaunted, she resolved to go to Poland and slip over the border into Russia.

She sailed with her son in November 1919, intending to leave him in a Swiss boarding school for the few weeks she expected to be gone. Christmastime found her in Warsaw, staying at the Hotel Bristol. There at a dance she met an American flyer, Captain Merian C. Cooper, now a member of the volunteer Kosciuszko Squadron, helping the Poles in their fight against the Bolsheviks. It was a meeting that would prove fateful for both of them.

She left Polish territory with a Russian-speaking woman doctor on February 8, 1920, and crossed the frontier into Russia. On foot, by carriage, sleigh, and train the two women made their halting way through checkpoints and numerous interrogations, finally arriving at Alexandrovsky Station in Moscow twelve days later.¹¹

Harrison at once phoned the Foreign Office about her arrival and was told to wait there. Her first encounter with Soviet officialdom was about to begin. Soon, a small, stooped man named Rosenberg entered the waiting room. On learning she had no visa, he demanded, "Do you know that you have done a dangerous and absolutely illegal thing in coming to Moscow without permission?" She held her ground, "My entry into this country may have been illegal but it was not clandestine, and . . . the officials of the Red army could have stopped me and sent me back to Poland at any time."

She and her companion were then relieved of their passports and papers and driven to the Government Guest House, where "virtually under arrest" she would remain until authorities could decide their fates. During the trip she noted the absence of automobiles and taxis, saw only sleighs, their bells jingling, driven by colorfully attired cabbies. The snow-covered sidewalks were filled with people on the move, carrying sacks of provisions and pulling sleds loaded with bundles. Long lines stretched out from government shops and stores. Red flags on every public building waved in celebration of the second anniversary of the Red army. She saw "placards ten-feet-high showing brawny workmen holding aloft the banner of the proletariat against a background of smoking factories" and "propaganda posters . . . showing the Capitalists of the World sitting on their moneybags and lording it over the Workers." The next day the Foreign Office granted her a two-week stay in Moscow.

Given her brief visit, she did her best to absorb the sights and sounds of the city and to learn as much as she could about the revolutionary regime, writing at night and sending home stories by telegraph after being censored by Rosenberg. By day she interviewed officials and visited Soviet institutions such as hospitals, schools, workmen's clubs, and day nurseries. At one children's home she noticed a five-year-old girl playing with a doll. "What a pretty dolly," Harrison said, "is she yours?" The child replied "Oh, no, she is ours."

After meeting with Djerzhinsky, head of the Cheka (secret police) and the

"most feared man in all Russia," she was granted an additional month in Moscow. She began to feel more secure. But her role as a secret agent in Germany was already known to the Cheka and "they were playing with me like a cat with a mouse and I was blissfully unconscious of the fact."

Toward spring she heard Lenin speak, and because of its rare detail her description is worth quoting at length:

My first feeling was one of disappointment. He was a short, thick-set, unimposing little man with colorless hair and complexion, a small pointed beard, and a quiet, unemotional, almost monotonous manner of delivery. He wore a suit of rough English tweeds and looked like nothing so much as a fairly prosperous middle-class businessman. After his first words, however, I became absorbed in his speech. His tremendous sincerity, utter self confidence and the forcefulness of his personality fascinated me. He was so absolutely sure of himself and of his aims, so absolutely logical in his deductions from his theories. . . . he used the simplest possible language, crystal clear.

And at an interview after the meeting, in company with other correspondents, "I never once saw him relax or smile or look at anyone directly. . . . People, to him, were not individuals but masses to be handled as such and incorporated into a new social order which would remold humanity."

Her next important encounter occurred inside the walls of the Kremlin when she spotted Trotsky walking ahead of her. She ran to catch up and called out to him, "Citizen Commissar [of War], may I speak to you for a moment?" He was dressed in a Red army uniform:

. . . of middle height, broad-shouldered, slightly inclined to stoutness at the waistline but erect and military in his bearing. A mass of curly chestnut hair protruded from under his cap. He had gray-green eyes, a prominent chin, brought into short relief by a small goatee, and a close-clipped moustache. The lines of his mouth were hard and rather cynical, but as he looked at me they relaxed into a whimsical smile and I suddenly realized that this grim-visaged man could be very charming.

At the end of their conversation, held in French, he took her hand and kissed it, "like any conventional Russian of the old regime." Then he saluted and was gone.

Soon after an imprudent visit to a propaganda exhibition intended only for Communist Party members, she was arrested on the street in April 1920 by a Chekist soldier and taken to the notorious Lubianka prison, reserved for spies and political prisoners. After being processed, including a personal search by a woman done "courteously," she spent the night on a board bed in a small, bare cell,

where, "much to my annoyance . . . the peephole in my door was lifted every half hour and the light switched on by someone who peered at me with one eye like a Cyclops." After a breakfast of weak tea and moldy black bread, she was taken before a Cheka official named Moghilievsky, "a dark, slender individual who reminded me of a black puma." Her description was apt—he would prove a dangerous adversary.

Speaking in French, he said, "We are fully aware of your mission in Russia" and showed her the shocking proof, a copy of one of her own reports to the Military Intelligence Department in Washington. She protested that she was only an observer and had done nothing illegal to obtain information. She could be executed as a spy, he warned her. Then he set the terms for her release. She was forbidden to leave Moscow and she was to report to him regularly on foreign visitors to Moscow staying at the Guest House. She appeared to accept but privately determined to give him only harmless or misleading information.

She warned her non-Socialist friends and countrymen about her new role as a soviet informer, told them to stay away from her. During that spring and summer of 1920 she reported to him regularly and played a game, often distracting him into discussions of world-wide politics. ". . . there gradually grew up between Moghilievsky and myself a curious sort of camaraderie. I could not but admire his fanatical devotion to Communism. He never spared himself, but literally worked night and day in the service of the Cheka. I do not think he was cruel or blood-thirsty, but he was ruthless."

She continued to telegraph her nightly dispatches to the Associated Press and to explore Moscow and even smuggled out an important report compiled by an American technical expert on conditions throughout Russia. The stress of being a double-agent told on her. "Yet, curiously enough, I lived intensely from day to day. . . . I found consolation and oblivion in my absorption of things outside myself. My individual life seemed so insignificant and unimportant compared with the colossal drama to which I was an eyewitness."¹²

During this time Moghilievsky subjected Harrison to a humiliating exercise of his power over her. The British journalist Mrs. Stan Harding, who was befriended by Harrison in her Berlin days, came to Moscow. He wanted to arrest her as a secret agent but had no evidence. So he staged a scene between the two women in the corridor outside his office. He ordered Harrison to walk by her friend without speaking as Harding was being led to his office, making her arrest seem the result of Harrison's having informed on her.¹³

Harrison's chief outlet for her stressful role as a double-agent was working with the French, Czech, and the British Red Cross, making up food packages sent to British, American, and Polish prisoners in Moscow. In the course of this work she received word that a Polish prisoner was really an American, Corporal Frank R. Mosher, in dire need of help. She was determined to help a fellow American, yet

mindful of the danger from her adversary. "If Moghilievsky ever suspected that I had any intercourse with the Polish prisoners of war, it would have been all up with me at once." She smuggled food and clothing packages to him along with her name. Back came a rolled up cigarette paper with a dramatic message, "My name is not Mosher. I am Merian C. Cooper of Jacksonville, Florida, and I met you in Poland. Don't you remember dancing with me at the ball in the Hotel Bristol in Warsaw?" By wearing second-hand clothing marked with Mosher's name and rating, he had concealed his identity and rank to avoid possible execution as a captain in the Polish army after being shot down. With the help of an American visitor to Moscow, she sent the stirring news to his parents that he was still alive. She continued to send packages to him until her second arrest in October.

Once again she was taken to Lubianka prison, where Moghilievsky told her what she already knew—she had been arrested for failing to provide him with useful information about foreigners in Moscow. He questioned her without success, "I took a certain enjoyment in our verbal duels. His was a keen alert mind and he was a stimulating and resourceful enemy." He then sent her into solitary confinement to think over her situation. For a week she withstood it, her social life limited to reading graffiti scribbled on the walls in several languages by earlier prisoners. She made a deck of cards out of paper scraps and played solitaire, sang all of the songs she knew, recited poems. At last she requested to see Moghilievsky again, convinced him she really knew nothing, and asked to be put in a larger cell with other prisoners. He ultimately granted her request. Their game had reached a standoff.

During her time alone, she had begun to "work out a certain philosophy that sustained me through the weary months to come and gradually made the prison not only bearable but almost enjoyable. Little by little, I learned to detach myself utterly from the world which seemed irretrievably lost and to find a new world of my own, but spiritually limitless." Like so many prisoners the world over, she had discovered that "stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."

Her adaptability worked well for her when she found herself in an eighteen-foot-long cell with nine other women, her home for the next half year or so. She did not hold herself aloof but exchanged stories with them all in her now fluent Russian. These political prisoners came from all social levels. She noted that the aristocrats and peasants adjusted well but the middle-class women complained and tended to break into hysterics.

Her social life in Baltimore must have seemed far away. She took her turn with the daily chores, swept the cell and emptied and cleaned the tin pail that served their natural needs. Daily they searched their bedding and clothes for vermin—bed bugs, fleas, nits, and lice, the last most feared because they could carry typhus.

Breakfast was black bread and weak tea. Dinner (midday) consisted of herring soup and kasha, the latter she ate "but the former nauseated me with its sickening smell." Occasionally she would pick out and eat "one of the unpeeled

potatoes that floated among the fish eyes and tails and bits of backbone. Supper was soup again." But given the scarcity of food, she observed in all fairness, most people in Moscow were eating the same fare.

Keeping clean required ingenuity. Generally only cold water was available in the washroom. She would take an extra portion of hot weak tea morning and night and bathe herself in a small bowl, sent by the Czech Red Cross in one of her weekly food packages, and then wash her underwear in the same bowl.

Along with the other prisoners she told stories, played games with home-made cards (forbidden) and chess with pieces made with dried bread. They sang songs and recited poetry. And in the time-honored way of prisoners everywhere they tapped messages in code on pipes to the adjoining cell filled with male prisoners. Such communication was strictly forbidden.

Violation of the rules could mean being sent to "the dark room or the cellar." But she discerned human qualities in her keepers. "The prison guards sounded much gruffer than they really were and often apparent threats were only rough jokes or friendly admonitions. They were almost always responsive to dignity and quiet good breeding." The commandant of the prison she saw frequently on his daily inspection tour and described him as "a rigid disciplinarian, but absolutely just and . . . always willing to listen to any reasonable requests or complaints."

Fewer executions took place than rumored, she found. "It was said in Moscow that when shootings were taking place at the Lubianka, the motor of an automobile in the courtyard was kept running to drown the sound of the shots. But I heard it only twice and then for twenty minutes or so."¹⁴

Eight long months without sun or fresh air told on her health. A bad cold acquired in December had left her with a persistent cough that worsened by June. She was transferred to the nearby Novinsky prison, where she could receive medical care. Admitted to the hospital with a "touch of tuberculosis," she was given the best medical care possible, she said, despite a shortage of medical supplies, and found the hospital a "haven of rest." By now she had become fully acclimated to prison life, "indifferent to all else, like a lotus-eater."

But in July she received a visit from Maryland senator Joseph I. France, who had intervened on her behalf with Lenin. At the same time the U.S. government, although not yet recognizing the Soviet regime, was offering supplies to Russia during its famine, on condition that all American detainees be released. This combination of events brought an end to her long ordeal.

Returned to Lubianka to be processed for deportation, she was given a farewell handshake by Moghilievsky along with some kind words. "You and I have been enemies it is true . . . but it was all part of a big game. I hope you feel that I had nothing against you personally." After this amicable parting, she "little dreamed that he and I would again confront each other as judge and prisoner."

She left for western Europe, where she found herself played up by the press as

"the only American woman who had ever been in a Bolshevik prison!" Her new freedom hit hard. She felt "rather dazed and bewildered . . . somewhat like a nun suddenly turned out of her convent." This feeling did not, however, keep her from writing up yet another report for Military Intelligence.¹⁵

In Berlin she was greeted by Merian C. Cooper, who in company with two Polish prisoners had made a daring escape from a forest camp near Moscow in April. Having learned in Warsaw of her release in July, the grateful Cooper journeyed to Berlin to be there on her arrival. "I would have gone around the world to see you and tell you I should never have lived to escape if it had not been for the supplies you sent me. The news of your recent release gave me the greatest thrill of my life." The cinema world of the future would also have reason to be grateful to her for helping him to survive—he would go on to be the creator of the momentous film *King Kong* (1935).¹⁶

After a reunion with her son in London, she was back in America by late August. The chief of Military Intelligence in Washington congratulated her for her work as a secret agent in Russia, saying "he had always found my reports accurate, fair-minded and impartial." She also learned of her betrayal by an Army officer (now demobilized), a Soviet secret agent who sent copies of here reports to the Cheka. She took this philosophically as "the fortune of war, part of the risk I had been willing to undertake." She spent the winter of 1921–1922 in New York with her son, writing a book, *Marooned in Moscow*, and lecturing about her prison experiences. She obtained a commission from *Cosmopolitan* magazine to write a series of articles on the Far East. In May of 1922 she set forth. She would soon discover that Moghilieovsky had a long arm.

While gathering information on life in Japan, Korea, and China, she accidentally landed in Chita, a part of eastern Siberia that came under Bolshevik control on November 17, twenty-four hours before her arrival. Several days later she was arrested at gunpoint by a Red soldier on a street in Chita, 3,000 miles from Moscow. After a long train trip across Siberia, she reached Moscow in December and found herself back in prison. Shortly after New Year's she stood once more before her old adversary, Moghilieovsky, who told her he had followed her movements in Siberia and ordered her arrest. He had done it, he said, because he wanted her to work for him as a paid Soviet agent to spy on Russians, who presumably would reveal to a foreigner information they would not give to a native Russian. She refused his offer to prolong her spying career, even after he threatened her with death or imprisonment on old charges of espionage and high treason.

Why, she wondered, had he made such a "fantastic" proposition, given the "certain camaraderie" between them arising from their earlier long talks—"what was the motive that had impelled him to follow my movements after I had left Russia and to scheme and plot to get me back to Moscow?" Though she does not

say so, perhaps he felt stymied in their earlier intellectual game and wanted to give it one more try. Or, perhaps an underlying sexual attraction, on his side, made him want to see and hear her again. Whatever the case, his bringing her across Siberia all the way to Moscow again was clearly a show of power. She never saw him again after her release but in reading later of his death in an airplane crash, she “thought of the legend of Lucifer who had defied high heaven and was flung headlong into darkness.” As the U.S. government still did not recognize the Soviet regime, her release once again came about through the intervention of officials in the American Relief Administration.

Back in America once more, Harrison took an apartment in New York and in between lecture engagements worked on a new book, *Red Bear and Yellow Dragon*, hoping to finish it in the summer of 1923. But then she grew restless again, “during the late spring nights I lay awake listening to the sirens of the great ocean liners that were leaving for distant parts. They were truly sirens to me, urging, enticing, irresistible. Finally I could stand it no longer.” She teamed up with Merian C. Cooper and cameraman Ernest Schoedsack to shoot a documentary of a nomad tribe on its annual migration to the grassy upland of the mountains in western Persia.¹⁷

Schoedsack objected to the idea of a woman joining them on an expedition into unknown hardship and danger but Cooper remained loyal to the woman who he believed had saved his life and insisted she accompany them (she also had put up half the money). Cooper would use this dramatic situation of two men arguing about bringing a woman along with them into the wild for the opening of *King Kong* ten years later.¹⁸

And indeed this expedition into the wild, like her spying mission to Moscow, was not a natural choice for a socialite from Baltimore. After reaching western Persia in the spring of 1924, they departed with their host tribe of 5,000 nomads in mid-April. During the two-month trek Harrison traveled by muleback. She endured hot days and cold nights, swarms of flies and mosquitoes, dried dung cooking fires, a Spartan diet of unleavened bread, sour milk, rice, and mutton. She made a dangerous crossing of a torrential quarter-mile wide river on a stick raft on inflated goatskins during which several animals were swept away. She caught malaria, running a fever of 106 degrees. She crossed a twelve-thousand-foot high mountain, in one place so steep that cameraman Schoedsack nearly slid to his death. As Cooper later remarked, “It was a hell of a trip for a woman to be on. She had guts.” The resulting documentary, *Grass*, released by Famous Players-Paramount in early 1925, proved a commercial and artistic success.¹⁹

Back in New York in the spring of 1925, Harrison lectured and wrote magazine articles to rebuild her finances. Annoyed by repeated frivolous questions from reporters, such as had she fallen in love with a sheik in Persia or had a love affair with a Bolshevik commissar, she helped found, with two other female explorers, the Society of Women Geographers in order to gain more serious

recognition from the public for their global explorations.

With her son engaged and about to leave her, she considered remarriage, this time to Arthur Blake, an Englishman she had met earlier that year. After one last trip to the Near East for a relief society, she returned, determined to settle down. She married Arthur Blake in 1926.²⁰

Thereafter her movements are difficult to trace because her papers were burned after her death by her daughter-in-law, who supposedly despised her. At one point she moved with her husband to California. After his death in 1947 she returned to Baltimore. A vivid and loving portrait of Marguerite Harrison in old age comes from a recent book by her great granddaughter, Susan Richards, who as an eight-year-old visited her in 1958:

Her house reflected her life as a nomad, with art and artifacts from all over the world gathering dust on her walls and shelves. She'd greet me at the door, a tall, elegant woman, still slender in her eighties, holding one of the Camel cigarettes she chain-smoked in one hand, unaware or unconcerned about the trail of fallen ash that followed her everywhere. "Hello Dearie," she'd say, and I'd follow the high heels and shapely ankles just visible below the hem-line of her black silk dress to the living room. . . . She'd talk about her adventures, especially her months in Africa. . . . She talked about the plight of women and children all over the world, uneducated and impoverished by sexist and patriarchal policies. . . . Perhaps it was there, sitting on her couch and eating butter cookies from a tin while she told her stories, that the seeds of my own desire to write and to work with the marginalized were sown. Sometimes she'd wrap herself in an enormous musty old fur coat speckled with cigarette burns and we'd walk a few blocks to the movie theater, where she'd promptly fall asleep and snore through the entire film. Once a week she'd come for dinner at her son's house and invariably singe her hair while lighting a cigarette from one of the candles at the table. I thought she was brilliant so nothing she did embarrassed me.

She died on July 16, 1967, at the age of 88 in her home at the Charles Apartments, 3333 North Charles Street.²¹

The achievements of Marguerite E. Harrison compel the admiration of feminists and non-feminists alike. As a person she fulfilled her intellectual potential, transcending the country club set in Baltimore. Left with little money and a young son to raise after the death of her first husband in 1915, she did not seek handouts or a meal-ticket husband but entered the mostly male world of newspaper reporters as a society columnist. She succeeded there, broadening her work assignments into theater reviews and investigative reporting. Looking back, she said, "Although I had never considered myself a feminist, I suppose I was instinctively one, as are

most women who have had to make their own way in the world.”²² Increasingly absorbed by international politics and eager to witness European events for herself, she volunteered as a spy for the U.S. government with journalism as her cover. In the course of her travels, her gift for languages and self-professed “chameleon” adaptability enabled her to deal with people at all social levels, be it a German general, the Russian Revolutionary leader Trotsky, or her prison cellmates. Arrested as a spy by the Russian secret police, she gave them only her token cooperation, withstood repeated interrogations and long imprisonment, and emerged intact mentally, if not altogether physically.

As both a foreign correspondent and secret agent, she proved a keen observer and tireless gatherer of information, willing to face hardship and danger. Her reports were praised by the American chief of military intelligence as “accurate, fair-minded, and impartial.”²³ She was a pioneering woman of adventure, whose career helped smooth the way for such notable female foreign correspondents as Martha Gellhorn (1908–1998), Marguerite Higgins (1920–2006), and Oriane Fallaci (1929–2006). And thanks to Harrison’s help in saving Merian C. Cooper’s life, the cinema world has his innovative classic, *King Kong* (1935).

Notes

1. Marguerite Harrison, *There’s Always Tomorrow: The Story of a Checkered Life* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935), 3, 20–21. She does not give her birth date, but the National Weather Service records show the big storm passed through Baltimore the night of October 23, 1878. Marsha Wight Wise, *Catonsville* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 38. The site is now occupied by Westview Mall at the intersection of the Beltway and Route 40.

2. Harrison, *There’s Always Tomorrow*, 5, 19–20, 22–25, 40. The governess, Miss Kate Gillet, never allowed the two sisters to cross their legs in the schoolroom. “A lady has no legs,’ she would say severely. . . . She taught me how to walk and stand, how to enter a room, how to pour tea gracefully, how to entertain visitors with small talk. ‘Be intellectual if you must,’ she always said, ‘but do not let anyone see it. It is fatal. Learn to be charming,’ ” The two founding teachers of St. Timothy’s, Miss Sally and Miss Polly Carter, were still there after more than twenty-five years. Being an excellent student, Marguerite got along quite well with them, especially Miss Sally, from whom she acquired her deep love of German culture. However, academic distinction did not make Marguerite popular with her schoolmates, who considered her “highbrow.” She probably graduated from St. Timothy’s c. 1895 but no records or photos exist for the years prior to 1903 (Alumnae Office at St. Timothy’s, June 30, 2006).

3. Harrison, *There’s Always Tomorrow*, 32–33, 37–38, 50.

4. Ibid., 45, 48, 49, 51–53, 62–63. Her mother bitterly opposed the match and did everything

she could to stop it, including importing the son of a Scots marquis to distract her daughter. Of her pregnancy she said, ". . . during the last three months before his arrival I led what would seem a most appalling existence to any young woman of the present generation. Having a baby was something that must not be spoken of or be in evidence. It was not considered decent for a prospective mother to appear in public after her condition became apparent. She could go to the market and do necessary shopping furtively and hastily. She took walks in the country or under cover at night. She might occasionally sneak into a back seat at the theater, but she never went out except to family parties or to dine with intimate friends. I submitted to all these conditions without a murmur."

5. Ibid., 58, 64, 67–69, 72–74, 77–86. "I did not share the widespread horror over the sinking of the *Lusitania*. By that time it had become apparent to me that war was a beastly unethical business anyway and that there could be no code of ethics governing anything so essentially inhuman and brutal. I began vaguely to grasp the fact that propaganda was as much an arm of warfare as were big guns and high explosives. We understand that now, but in those days, Americans were simple-minded."

6. Ibid., 89, 90.

7. Mark Cotta Vaz, *Living Dangerously: The Adventures of Merian C. Cooper, Creator of King Kong* (New York: Villard, 2005), 66, and note 19, 427.

8. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 90–95.

9. Here and elsewhere in her memoir she does not give an exact date. But her mention (Ibid., 99) of the liner *George Washington* carrying President Wilson to France for the peace conference puts her departure around December 4, 1918. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002), 3.

France had lost 1,385, 000 (killed or missing), Hanson W. Baldwin, *World War I* (New York: Grove Press, 1962), 157. The present writer remembers a visit to Père Lachaise Cemetery in 1955 and seeing countless small celluloid photos of French soldiers from the Great War attached to the fence because their bodies were irrecoverable, having been churned into the mud by German artillery at Verdun and elsewhere.

10. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 108, 109–13; Baldwin, *World War I*, 153.

11. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 115–120, 123–24, 128, 134–35, 149, 154, 166, 173, 179, 191, 193, 196–98, 212–14, 215, 230, 253–73..

12. Ibid., 273–76, 279–89, 291, 293–95, 304–12, 315–16, 329–30, 339.

13. Ibid., 164, 172–73, 343. Harding had repaid Harrison's friendship by piecing together a torn report from her wastebasket and then using it to politely blackmail Harrison and her handler into buying information from her.

14. Ibid., 347–49, 358, 360–66, 369, 370, 373–78.

15. Ibid., 403–404, 411–12, 416–17, 421–22, 424–25.

16. Vaz, *Living Dangerously*, 69, 71, 72, and 428 note 44. For how Cooper created King Kong, 201–39.

17. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 428, 430–31, 434, 440–41, 499, 534–35, 538, 542, 551–54, 556, 559, 564–67.

18. Vaz, *Living Dangerously*, 111, 368.

19. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 619, 620, 624, 637, 638; Vaz, *Living Dangerously*, 136, 368.

20. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 650, 651, 653.

21. Susan Richards, *Chosen By a Horse* (New York: Soho Press, 2006), 163–64; Vaz, *Living Dangerously*, 367. "Mrs. Arthur M. Blake, Author, Dies," *Baltimore Sun*, July 17, 1967. Services

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were held at the Roland Park Presbyterian Church on July 24, after which her family disposed of her ashes (telephone interview with Jenkins Funeral Home, August 21, 2006).

22. Harrison, *There's Always Tomorrow*, 572.

23. Ibid., 49. When thinking of her predecessors, only the journalist and adventurer Nellie Bly (1864–1922) comes readily to mind.