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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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No. 1

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL¹

By LEWELLYS F. BARKER, M. D.

When Mr. Griswold invited me to address you tonight, he suggested that I speak either on "The History of the Quakers in Maryland" or on "The Early Days of the Johns Hopkins Hospital." Owing to pressure of circumstances, it was not possible, at this time, for me to prepare carefully the kind of paper that would befit the former topic so I decided to choose the second. It was my good fortune to live in the Johns Hopkins Hospital for nine years (from 1891 to 1900); I therefore saw much of it and of its personnel in its earlier days, and I am hopeful that my memories of that period, even if recounted in a somewhat randomish manner, may not be wholly uninteresting to you.

The founder of the Johns Hopkins University and of the Johns Hopkins Hospital was, as you know, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers). I was brought up in Canada as a Quaker myself and have known from earliest life the special interest shown by Quakers in education on the one hand and in the mitigation of illness and pain on the other. It is said that a friend of Johns Hopkins once told him that "two things are sure to live—a university to train youth and a hospital to relieve suffering."

Two of Baltimore's greatest benefactors—Johns Hopkins and George Peabody—were rich merchants. Johns Hopkins made his money in this city, George Peabody in Georgetown, District of

¹ Remarks made at a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, May 11, 1942.

Columbia (though he later became a banker in London, England). At a dinner given by John W. Garrett, George Peabody talked with Johns Hopkins and told him that though he had enjoyed the accumulation of money he had found higher pleasure and greater happiness in giving it away for good and humane purposes. You will recall that Mr. Peabody gave this city about a million dollars for the endowment of the Peabody Institute and that Johns Hopkins left his fortune of seven millions to be divided after his death equally between the university and the hospital that were to bear his name.

It is said that the lawyer who wrote the will of Johns Hopkins was Charles J. M. Gwinn, one of the trustees he selected, a wise and cautious man. Though the University and the Hospital were incorporated separately, nine of the twelve trustees designated were trustees in both corporations and there has been close cooperation between the two institutions ever since. Francis T. King was made President of the Hospital Board of Trustees and exerted a powerful influence while he lived. After his death he was succeeded by William T. Dixon and still later by Judge Henry D. Harlan.

Though the University was incorporated as early as 1867, nothing was done until after the death of Johns Hopkins in 1873. Then the University Trustees, after consultation with President Eliot of Harvard, President White of Cornell and President Angell of Michigan, happily chose as President of the new University, Daniel C. Gilman, who was largely responsible for the selection of the faculty and for decisions as to the policy to be followed by the new institution. The story of how President Gilman went about it has been well told in the volume he wrote, entitled *The Launching of a University* (1906). Up to his time, American institutions of higher education had been based upon the idea of the English colleges. But Gilman and his wise board of trustees did not want simply another college to be a rival of those already in existence. They decided that, rather than merely a college, they wanted a university, an institution in which graduate studies would be emphasized.

Mr. Gilman, with the approval of his trustees, visited Great Britain, France and Germany in order to study educational conditions in those countries. In Great Britain he consulted James

Bryce regarding Oxford and Cambridge and he also interviewed Jowett, Lord Kelvin, Tyndall, Spencer and Huxley. In France he talked with the greater men of the Sorbonne and in Germany he gained an inside view of the universities there from von Holst. On his return to America he reported to his trustees and they decided to choose a faculty composed of the best men obtainable before deciding upon the courses to be given and the methods of teaching and examination to be adopted. The group selected as professors included Sylvester, Gildersleeve, Remsen, Newell Martin, Morris and Rowland, later on to be joined by Haupt, Brooks, Bloomfield, Adams, Ely and others—a truly remarkable list of names, many of them destined to become illustrious in the history of education in America.

Despite the prejudice against biology, Gilman invited Huxley to give the address at the formal opening of the University on Oct. 3rd, 1876. There was no prayer at this meeting and some of the Baltimore people who were on the alert for impiety were very critical; it was bad enough to have Huxley, but to have Huxley without prayer seemed to many to be intolerable!

During its first year, much time was spent in discussions by the faculty of the methods to be pursued. It was decided to lay most stress on seminar courses and upon instruction in laboratories, and to attract able students to study for the Ph. D. degree by providing for a number of fellowships. As everyone knows, the University thus became a pioneer in higher education through its success in the encouragement of original research. Many of the men trained here became teachers in other colleges and universities throughout the country.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital, built upon a site in East Baltimore chosen by Johns Hopkins himself before he died, was not opened until 1889. The Hospital trustees sought the advice of experts as to methods of construction and organization and the reports of these experts were studied carefully by Dr. John Shaw Billings of Washington who was the principal adviser of the trustees at this time. Billings deserves, I think, greater credit than he has ever received for the services he rendered to the Hospital and to the Medical School of which it was to be a part; many of the ideas and methods attributed to others in reality undoubtedly had their origin in the brain of Billings. It was

Billings and Gilman who decided that the Hospital should be organized in units, the work to be arranged in departments, each with a responsible head, and over all a director.

The long delay in the opening of the Hospital was due to the wise decision of the trustees to pay for the construction out of income without encroaching upon the capital endowment. Though Dr. William H. Welch, called from New York, was appointed as pathologist to the Hospital in 1884 and, after further work in Europe, entered upon his duties in the pathological laboratory in 1886, the chiefs of the clinical departments were not chosen until later. Dr. William Osler (one year older than Dr. Welch) was made Physician-in-Chief, Dr. William S. Halsted became Surgeon-in-Chief and Dr. Howard A. Kelly, Gynecologist-in-Chief. During the first few months President Gilman lived in the Hospital and acted as Director; later Dr. Henry M. Hurd was made Superintendent of the Hospital and with his family lived on the second floor of the central administration building; among the younger men he was often referred to as "Uncle Hank." Dr. Hurd was Superintendent until 1911 when he was succeeded by Dr. Winford H. Smith. Miss Rachel Bonner, a demure Quakeress, was Matron, Mr. L. Winder Emory was Purveyor and Mr. James D. Leake, Treasurer. The nursing was temporarily placed in charge of Miss Louisa Parsons but very soon Miss Isabel Hampton was called from the Illinois Training School in Chicago to be made Superintendent of Nurses.

The Johns Hopkins Medical Society was organized and held weekly meetings and a Journal Club was started for the discussion of recent medical literature. A little later the Historical Club was established, monthly meetings of which were held. Graduate courses of instruction for physicians were offered, courses in pathology and bacteriology being given by Welch, Councilman and Abbott, in medicine (in the wards and in the out-patient department) by Osler, in surgery by Halsted, in gynecology by Kelly, in psychiatry by Hurd, and in hygiene by Billings and Abbott.

Hospital publications were also immediately begun. The first number of the *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* is dated December, 1889. It contains a brief account of the hospital and of the opening of the Nurses' Home as well as scientific articles on the cause of hog cholera (by Welch) and on the organisms de-

scribed by Laveran as the cause of malaria (by Osler). It is interesting that to the *Bulletin* of February, 1890, Billings contributed an article on rare medical books, a subject on which he had become an authority as Librarian of the Surgeon-General's Library. As early as May, 1890, Osler was writing on the *Amoeba coli* as a cause of dysentery and of abscess of the liver. In addition to the *Bulletin*, the hospital published volumes of *Reports*. The first volume of these *Reports* was published in 1890 and was numbered Vol. II, as Vol. I which was supposed to precede it was to contain studies from the pathological laboratory. Those who knew Dr. Welch well and were acquainted with the dilatoriness of habits that great man sometimes exhibited were amused to find that Vol. I did not appear until 1897! It contained a number of researches that had been carried out by Mall in Welch's laboratory, some experimental studies by Halsted on the thyroid gland and reports of unusual diseases of the skin by Gilchrist.

My own personal experience at the Johns Hopkins Hospital began in the autumn of 1891. My friend Dr. Thomas S. Cullen and I had, after graduation at the University of Toronto Medical School, spent a year as internes in the Toronto General Hospital. While we were there both Osler and Kelly visited Toronto and on one occasion Kelly performed in that hospital one of his brilliant operations, Cullen acting as one of his assistants while I gave the anaesthetic to the patient. We were both so impressed with Dr. Osler and Dr. Kelly that we decided to seek the opportunity of working with them at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Cullen wrote to Kelly and was made an assistant on the resident gynecological staff. I was not immediately so fortunate as there was no vacancy on Dr. Osler's resident staff. In reply to my application he suggested that I accept for the summer the residency at the Garrett Hospital for Sick Children at Mt. Airy, Md., and that in the autumn I could attend his ward visits at Johns Hopkins. I did so and enjoyed watching Osler work so greatly that I was sad-hearted when my money ran out except for about enough to pay the return railway fare to Canada. But, just at this juncture, Dr. Osler sent for me and told me that Dr. William T. Howard, who was to have had a place on his staff, could not take it and that therefore I could be one of his assistant resident physicians. I was, of course, overjoyed, entered the Hospital, and lived within it, in one position or another, for the next nine years.

It may be of interest to record some of my impressions of those who were working in the Hospital in the nineties. The "big four" were of course Welch, Osler, Halsted and Kelly. Their features have been permanently preserved in the celebrated portrait by Sargent that now hangs in the Welch Library at the Johns Hopkins Medical School.

Dr. Welch when I first knew him was 41 years old. Even then he was inclined to be obese, for he was of the rather short thick-set round-faced type that is constitutionally predisposed to become too heavy and he had the genial nature ("good-mixer type") that goes with that kind of constitution. By the younger members of the staff he was familiarly and affectionately spoken of as "Popsy" Welch. He had been profoundly influenced by his graduate studies in German universities and brought back to this country many of the German methods and ideals. His interests were in the promotion of the science of medicine, and he was destined to be most influential in this through the development of investigators, on the one hand, and, on the other, by inducing wealthy men like John D. Rockefeller and Henry Phipps or their representatives to make large gifts for medical education and research. He was patient in the accomplishment of what he set out to do and was a master in the art of diplomacy that led others to accept his opinions. One of the men who worked on a committee with him during the first World War has spoken of him as "smooth, placid, always the statesman, sometimes almost to the point of being a politician; the great professional manager of quiet tread, and always with great influence." As Pathologist to the Hospital he was succeeded in 1917 by the present incumbent, one of his former pupils, Dr. William G. MacCallum. An excellent account of Dr. Welch's life and work is to be found in the recent biography of him written by Dr. Simon Flexner and his son James (*William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine*, 1941).

Dr. Osler, whose parents (partly Anglo-Saxon, partly Celtic), had migrated from Cornwall to Canada, was of very different physical type. He was more slender in appearance and of dark complexion, with rather sparse hair but with a heavy mustache and a lively countenance. He was always immaculately dressed in English style; at consultations he usually wore a frock coat and top hat and drove to them in hansom cabs.

He had been well trained in medicine in Montreal, had worked for a long period at histology and pathology with Burdon-Sander-son in England and had been greatly impressed with the English system of teaching clinical medicine in which the essential feature was that the ward work was done by the students themselves. In his teaching later in Montreal, in Philadelphia and in Baltimore he applied what he had learned of British, French and German medicine.

The way Dr. Osler, or "the Chief," as everyone called him, went about the organization of his clinic in Baltimore has been well told by his first assistant, Dr. H. A. Lafleur. He had the opportunity "to blaze a perfectly new road, untrammelled by tradition, vested interests or medical 'dead wood'—best of all, backed by a board of management imbued with a fundamental and abiding respect for scientific opinion and commanding an ample budget."

We youngsters were fascinated by Osler's clinical teaching and by his generosity to his assistants, for he often gave credit to younger men for work that really belonged to himself. Dr. Osler had a good 'brain' but he had even a larger 'heart' and we were greatly impressed by his humanity and the appeal that he made to our sensibilities. It was the personality of Osler—his elusive and difficultly definable qualities—that made him so beloved. As one of his patients said of him: "As he passed about, gallant and debonair, with a whimsical wit that left the air sweet and gay, with an epigram here and a paradox there, tickling the ribs of his colleagues, none felt him frivolous."

He set an example of systematic steady work. When I entered the Hospital, I was assigned a bed-room next to his and I could with relative safety set my watch at 10 P. M. each night when I heard him place his boots on the floor outside his bed-room door. He was at that time writing the textbook *The Principles and Practices of Medicine*.² He rose at 7 A. M. From 8 A. M. to 1 P. M. on three mornings each week he dictated to his secretary, Miss Blanche Humpton; after lunch he made rounds in the private wards and saw special cases in the public wards, and then

² This book was read by Mr. F. T. Gates, a member of John D. Rockefeller's philanthropic staff and the frank disclosure by Dr. Osler of the narrow limitations of ascertained truth in medicine led later to the establishment of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research.

revised what his secretary had written. After 5 P. M. he saw cases in consultation with other physicians in the city, dined at the club at 6.30, and was in bed by 10. The textbook written at that time has had an enormous sale, going through a great many editions during his life time and more of them after his death (revised by Dr. Thomas McCrae).

Dr. Osler took a great interest in the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland and its library (with Miss Marcia Noyes at its head), engaged in the fight against typhoid fever and tuberculosis in Maryland, and did many other public spirited things for the city and State. But I must not talk too long about this great man who was said to be, at the time of his death "probably the greatest figure in the medical world." Some of you who are present knew him personally and others doubtless have read Harvey Cushing's delightful biography, *The Life of Sir William Osler* (1925).

Dr. William S. Halsted, three years younger than Dr. Osler, was known to us as "the Professor." He had very high ideals of research and made important contributions to surgical knowledge and technique. I recall his introduction of rubber gloves to be worn at operations, his insistence upon the delicate handling of tissues, upon the control of hemorrhage and upon strict asepsis, his research work on the thyroid gland, and his operation for the radical cure of hernia. He was a modest retiring type of man who did not mix easily with people he did not know well. One of the Mayo brothers spoke, with admiration, of this "shy unapproachable perfectionist" and Dr. Alexis Carrel referred to him as "the greatest surgical thinker America has produced." Dr. W. G. MacCallum has written a brief account of his life and work in the volume entitled: *William Stewart Halsted: Surgeon* (1930).

Dr. Howard A. Kelly, brought to Johns Hopkins from Philadelphia (and nicknamed the "Kensington Colt"), was placed in charge of Gynecology and Obstetrics, though later on, in 1899, the latter subject became independent and was placed in charge if Dr. John Whitridge Williams, a very able man who, unfortunately, was fated to die all too soon (see the volume by Dr. J. M. Slemmons entitled *John Whitridge Williams: Academic Aspects and Bibliography*). Kelly was the youngest of the "big

four," being 6 years younger than Halsted. He is the only one of the four still living.³ I had a pleasant note from him a short time ago on the 84th anniversary of his birthday. Kelly's surgical technique has been greatly praised both for its precision and speed; two well-known Chicago surgeons spoke of him as "the greatest surgical technician of his time." Always a very religious man, Dr. Kelly has been interested also in political reforms and in anti-vice crusades. I recall that in the nineties—I think about 1895—a number of Johns Hopkins men under Dr. Kelly's leadership undertook as a reform party to police the polls at the Marsh Market (17th Ward) in order to prevent the packing of the ballot box by unscrupulous voters. Though a fight ensued, the grip of the political ring was broken. The event inspired Dr. Osler (under the pseudonym of Edgerton Y. Davis) to write a humorous poem entitled "The Marsh Market."

Dr. William T. Councilman, who stood next to Dr. Welch in the pathological laboratory, lived in the Hospital at this time. He was a most amusing person, who stuttered a little but had command of a choice line of expletives that he made use of freely in conversation. I recall, one hot summer day, walking into the laboratory where I found Councilman peering through a microscope, his bald head covered with a huge sheet of sticky fly-paper as a protection from flies! He left Baltimore early to become Professor of Pathology at Harvard. He died in 1933 at the age of 79.

Dr. John M. T. Finney came to John Hopkins from Harvard. He did not live in the Hospital but at once became Dr. Halsted's right-hand man in the Department of Surgery, taking charge of the surgical work in the dispensary and later becoming a leading surgeon in Baltimore. In the world war he was Chief Surgical Consultant to the American Expeditionary Force and, as you all know, is still living as Emeritus Professor and as one of the most highly-esteemed citizens of Baltimore.⁴ His autobiography (*A Surgeon's Life: The Autobiography of J. M. T. Finney*), published in 1940, is an engaging volume; doubtless many of you have already read it.

Dr. William Sydney Thayer, another Harvard man, lived within

³ Dr. Kelly's death occurred on January 12, 1943.

⁴ Dr. Finney died May 30, 1942.

the Hospital for several years, and (after Lafleur) became Resident Physician for Dr. Osler. He had worked with Ehrlich and others in Germany and on his return stimulated studies of the blood by Ehrlich's methods. He became one of the most distinguished internists in America, was Chief Medical Consultant to the A. E. F. in France, and was for a time (1919-1921) Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins and Physician-in-Chief to the Hospital. After his death, his friend Mrs. Harry Fielding Reid wrote a brief but excellent biography of him entitled *The Life and Convictions of William Sydney Thayer* (1936).

In the Out-Patient Department, several practitioners of the town collaborated. Thus, Drs. Samuel Theobald and Robert L. Randolph had charge of ophthalmology, Dr. William D. Booker was pediatrician, Dr. James Brown was urologist, Dr. Henry M. Thomas was neurologist, Dr. H. J. Berkley was psychiatrist, Dr. Caspar Gilchrist and Dr. J. Williams Lord were dermatologists, and Drs. Mackenzie, Warfield and Gamble had charge of the nose and throat department. Joseph Hopkins, a relative of the founder, had clerical supervision in the dispensary. All these men have since died except Dr. Cary B. Gamble who is still well and active as a successful internist in this city.

Living in the Hospital in the early nineties in addition to Lafleur (who later went to Montreal and became Professor of Medicine at McGill), and to Simon Flexner (who later became head of the Rockefeller Institute in New York), were Dr. George Blumer (who was to have a distinguished career in hygiene, pathology and internal medicine and is now Emeritus Professor at Yale), Dr. Joseph Bloodgood (who later became Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins and Surgeon-in-Chief to St. Agnes Hospital, noted before his death as an authority on cancer), Dr. John Billings (son of the great librarian), Dr. Thomas S. Cullen (who wrote important volumes on surgical subjects and later succeeded Dr. Kelly as Professor of Gynecology and is now Emeritus Professor), Dr. John G. Clark (who was made Professor of Gynecology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1899), Dr. John Hewetson (much beloved by all but fated to die early from tuberculosis), Dr. James F. Mitchell (who became Clinical Professor of Surgery in George Washington University and is still active as Chief Surgeon at the Emergency Hospital in Wash-

ington, D. C.), Dr. Rupert Norton (a close friend of mine, a son of Charles Eliot Norton, who served as Assistant Superintendent of the Hospital for some seven years); Dr. Harold Parsons (who later entered practice in Toronto), Dr. Hunter Robb (who soon became Professor of Gynecology in Cleveland and who married our Superintendent of Nurses, Miss Hampton), Dr. W. W. Russell (who did excellent work in gynecology before his death from tuberculosis) and Dr. Frank R. Smith (an excellent English scholar who was helpful to those of us who wrote medical papers as he revised them for us, would not let us split our infinitives nor permit us to say that anything "centered around" anything else). Among the others who lived in the Hospital in those early days I remember A. A. Ghiskey, W. H. Baltzell, August Hoch, Harry Toulmin and Chauncey Smith.

In the corridors of the Hospital during the early years, I knew every nurse and every physician and could call each by name—so different from today when, owing to the enormous growth of the Hospital and its staff, I see many whose names I do not know at all. We were, in the early period, a small group in which seniors and juniors lived intimately together. We worked hard but we also knew how to play, and in the evenings many of us spent an hour or so over beer and pretzels at Hanselmann's (close to the pathological laboratory). Life was very congenial and the Hopkins men were spoken of as "a mutual admiration society." Certainly there was great happiness among us. One wonders if similar conditions can ever really exist again!

The Medical School, thanks to the gift of Miss Mary Garrett (advised by Miss M. Carey Thomas) was opened in 1893. It was a condition of her gift that women should be admitted on equal terms with men and that all students should, preliminary to admission, have the degree of Bachelor of Arts or of Science, have had training in physics, chemistry and biology, and possess a reading knowledge of French and German.

The Heads of the Clinics at once became the Professors in the clinical subjects in the Medical School. Important men were chosen as professors in the preclinical branches—F. P. Mall (Anatomy), W. H. Howell (Physiology), and J. J. Abel (Pharmacology). Dr. Welch was, of course, Professor of Pathology and the first Dean of the School.

John S. Billings had, years earlier, stated that the School, when it became established was "to aim at quality and not quantity" and that each of its graduates should not only be a well educated physician but also one who had learned to think and to be able to do original investigation of problems that were still unsolved. Billings had estimated that if the graduate of the School took a hospital internship and after that two years in travel and special studies he would be about twenty-eight years old when really ready to begin work and his education during the preceding eleven years would have cost him about \$8,000.00.

The new Medical School represented a sharp departure from former methods of medical education. From the beginning it was a success and it was not long before educators elsewhere realized that medical schools all over the country needed thorough-going reforms. The graduates of the Johns Hopkins Medical School were so outstanding that many of them were chosen for teaching positions elsewhere.

The first class at the Medical School contained three women students. At the end of the first year one of them became engaged to marry Dr. Mall and Dr. Osler gleefully wrote that since 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % of the lady students of the first class were to be married at the end of one short session, it was understandable why he regarded co-education as a failure. Later on, much to his chagrin, another 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % of these women espoused Christian Science—only one of the women continuing in orthodox medicine!

Flexner became associate in pathology and Mall took me as his associate to teach histology. At Mall's suggestion, I went to Leipzig for post-graduate work in 1895, doing a piece of research in Ludwig's laboratory under Professor von Frey and attending lectures given by Professor His on embryology, by Professor Flechsig on brain anatomy, and by Professor Wundt on psychology. Hewetson, who went with me to Leipzig, worked with Professor Spalteholz and prepared some beautiful sections of the brain stem. Unfortunately, he developed tuberculosis and had to give up his medical work. He presented his sections of the brain to me and on return to Baltimore I used them in my classes in histology. Among my students at that time was Miss Gertrude Stein and I have often wondered whether or not my attempts to teach her the course of the fibre tracts in the brain had anything to do with the peculiar style of writing that she later developed!

In 1899, President Gilman sent Flexner and me to the Philippine Islands as a commission to study tropical diseases. We were accompanied by two of the medical students (J. M. Flint and F. P. Gay) and by Mr. John W. Garrett. This was a fruitful experience as Flexner discovered in Manila the type of bacillus of dysentery that bears his name and we became well acquainted with a whole series of tropical diseases. On the way to Manila we visited some of the leading medical scientists in Japan and Hong Kong, and on the return voyage Flint and I went across British India where in Bombay and especially in Poona we saw a great deal of bubonic plague. This knowledge was helpful to me later when, with Dr. Flexner and Dr. Novy, I was sent by our Federal Government to determine the existence or non-existence of plague in San Francisco (1901).

During the nineties, the heads of the Hospital departments attracted many excellent men either as assistants or as research workers. Thus to Welch's department came Dr. George H. F. Nuttall (later hygienist of Cambridge, England), Dr. Walter Reed (who with Dr. Carroll and Dr. Lazear were later to solve the riddle of yellow fever in Cuba), Dr. Eugene L. Opie (well known for his work on hemochromatosis and on the histology of the islands of Langerhans in the pancreas from which insulin was later to be obtained) and Dr. W. G. MacCallum (who in 1897 made the important discovery of the part played by the free flagella in the process of fecundation of malarial parasites).

To Dr. Osler's department in the nineties a large group of eager young men were attracted, including, besides those already mentioned, Dr. Thomas B. Futcher (who took charge of the clinical laboratory), Dr. Thomas McCrae (who later on became Professor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania), Dr. Thomas R. Brown (who later became Associate Professor of Medicine and the gastroenterologist of the Hospital), Dr. C. N. B. Camac (who was to become a Professor of Medicine in New York City), Dr. J. Hall Pleasants (now one of the University trustees here), Dr. J. H. Mason Knox (so well known in this State in connection with child-welfare), Dr. Louis P. Hamburger (one of Baltimore's best known practitioners), Dr. Walter R. Steiner (who became an outstanding physician in Hartford, Connecticut), Dr. Henry M. Christian (who later became Hersey

Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at Harvard and Physician-in-Chief to the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital), Dr. Thomas R. Boggs (who became Associate Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins and Physician-in-Chief to the City Hospital at Bay View), Dr. Warfield T. Longcope (who was to have a distinguished career in pathology and internal medicine in Philadelphia and in New York and in 1922 was appointed to the chair at Johns Hopkins that Dr. Osler himself had held), and Dr. Louis V. Hamman (now one of Baltimore's most active consulting internists as well as Associate Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins).

To Dr. Halsted's department, equally important men were drawn. Among them, besides those already mentioned, I would refer especially to Dr. Harvey Cushing (who was to become one of the world's most skilful brain surgeons and was made Professor of Surgery at Harvard), Dr. F. H. Baetjer (who became roentgenologist to the hospital and was one of the first martyrs to that specialty), Dr. George Walker (who was to be so helpful to Dr. Finney in France during the World War), Dr. Richard H. Follis (who became Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins), Dr. Hugh Young (who was to become Professor of Urology and head of the Brady Clinic at Johns Hopkins and who last year wrote an autobiography that many of you have read), Dr. John Staige Davis (who developed especial skill as a plastic surgeon and became Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins), Dr. Harvey B. Stone (who became a Visiting Surgeon (Rectal) at Johns Hopkins), Dr. George Heuer (who has had a distinguished career in surgery in Cincinnati and in New York City), Dr. S. J. Crowe (who became head of the Nose and Throat Department), Dr. William S. Baer and Dr. George Bennett (who became Visiting Orthopedic Surgeons), and Dr. Walter E. Dandy (who has attained to professorial rank and is now in my opinion the greatest brain surgeon in the world). In addition to those mentioned, the excellent work of Dr. H. Hayward Streett, Dr. Louis D. Coriell, Dr. B. Lucien Brun and others in the department of Dental Surgery should not be overlooked.

To Dr. Kelly's department besides the men I have already referred to there were many others who came and have attained distinction. Among these I may mention especially Dr. Guy L.

Hunner (who has done important work in gynecology and in urology and is Adjunct Professor Emeritus in the department), Dr. Curtis F. Burnam (whose work with radium in the treatment of cancer and other conditions is outstanding and who has also become Associate Professor of Surgery at Johns Hopkins), Dr. Edward H. Richardson (who was to become Associate Professor of Gynecology at Johns Hopkins), and Dr. Dewitt B. Casler (who was to become one of the visiting Gynecologists to the hospital and Associate in Gynecology). The present incumbent of the chair of Gynecology (Dr. R. W. TeLinde) was a student in the Medical School when Dr. Kelly became emeritus professor. It was Dr. Kelly who brought to his department the brilliant medical illustrator, the late Max Broedel (from Germany) and thus led later on to the establishment of the department of "Art Applied to Medicine."

The training School for Nurses under Miss Hampton and Miss Nutting (and later under Miss Lawler) set up very high standards not only of nursing education but also of personal qualification of students. That these personal qualities did not pass unnoticed by the medical staff is shown by the number of the latter who married nurses; I recounted some twenty instances, recently, of physicians and surgeons at Johns Hopkins who had chosen nurses as their wives.

The work at the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School during its early years made a profound impression not only in this country but throughout the world. There were some, of course, who were critical, maintaining that too much attention was paid to the cultivation of science. "Make doctors," they said; "don't try to make scientists." Such criticism revealed profound ignorance of what is really meant by the science of medicine and the use of the scientific method. For it is not enough to teach what is known of practical clinical work; it is also important to imbue medical students with the desire to solve problems of the unknown. Besides collecting facts by keen observation of patients, it is necessary to try to establish relations among the facts observed and to explain them by the process of reasoning. Hypotheses are formed regarding the meaning of the facts and these hypotheses are then subjected to the test of experiment. It is an endless chain—observation, reflection, hypothesis, experiment and then more observation.

Medical men who have made use of the method of science have greatly enlarged our methods of observation, for we are no longer dependent upon our naked sense organs. Our eyes are implemented by the microscope, the ophthalmoscope, the cystoscope and the bronchoscope, and our ears by the stethoscope. By means of the X-ray we can visualize the inside of the body (the heart, the lungs, the stomach and intestines, the bones and joints, and even the cavities of the brain). By means of electrocardiograms we can study very precisely the rate and rhythm of the heart beats, the conduction-apparatus within the heart upon which they depend, as well as evidence of changes in the heart muscle itself. Studies in the clinical laboratories reveal any existing abnormalities of the blood, the sputum, the stomach-juice, the faeces, and the cerebrospinal fluid. Determinations of the basal metabolic rate tell us of the rate of oxidation in the body and throw light upon the activity of the thyroid gland. Bacteriological studies demonstrate the causes of existing infectious diseases and point to the remedies that are likely to be efficacious. Autopsies made in the pathological laboratory are often revelatory of errors in clinical diagnosis and compel us to make ever more careful studies of our patients.

Advances in the treatment of disease are continually being made by the application of the same method of science. The older treatment by drugs gradually led to important discoveries—the use of opium and its derivatives for the relief of pain, the use of quinine in malaria, and the use of mercury and iodide of potassium in syphilis. But in recent years methods of treatment have been enormously advanced through the use of vaccines and immune sera in the infectious diseases, through the administration of hormones in diseases of the glands of internal secretion, through the application of the newer surgical methods and technique, and through the use of radium and X-ray in certain malignant diseases. Most astounding perhaps has been the discovery of certain magic bullets that can be shot into the body (by hypodermic or by intravenous injection) to kill off certain parasitic invaders. Beginning with Ehrlich's discovery of salvarsan (arsphenamine) for the treatment of syphilis, later years have seen a great extension of chemotherapeutic methods. I need only refer to the sulfonamide compounds—sulfanilamide, sulfapyridine, sulfathiazole,

sulfadiazine, and others—in which Dr. Perrin Long and Miss Eleanor Bliss at the Johns Hopkins Hospital have been so interested. Streptococcal, staphylococcal, pneumococcal, gonococcal, and meningococcal infections are cured by them as if by magic. Those of us who in the old days watched pneumonia patients gasping for breath for days, a large percentage of them dying within a week or so, are now astounded to find them at the end of 24 or 48 hours sitting up in bed, declaring that they are well and asking if they may go home! That the treatment of wounds and burns is also being revolutionized through the use of these sulfonamide drugs has recently been made clear by experiences at Pearl Harbor.

Those who in the early days at Johns Hopkins stood firmly for scientific medicine would be happy if they could return to the hospital today and see the justification of the attitude they took. The battle for the application of the method of science to medicine and for the training of students in the way that was followed by our teachers here has been won. Indeed, all the great medical schools and hospitals of the country now vie with one another not only in teaching their students the best practical methods of diagnosis and treatment but also in the inculcation of the spirit of original research. At one time the Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins Medical School were unique in this country; they no longer stand alone for there are many institutions that are equally good now and in some respects better. For the reforms that have been made, Johns Hopkins set the example, but great credit is also due to Abraham Flexner of the Carnegie Institution who scathingly and devastatingly assailed the faulty conditions that existed elsewhere, as well as to the representatives of Rockefeller, Carnegie and other wealthy men who provided funds to bring about the changes that were desirable.

A few of us who were at the Johns Hopkins in the nineties are still living and we are glad that we could watch the fruitful work of our great masters who were the leaders at the time not only in medical science and in the medical art but also in medical education. It was our leaders who insisted upon preserving and utilizing all that was good in the medical knowledge of the past, but who also established workshops in which new wisdom was to be gained. Our clinics and laboratories were not merely institutes of

instruction; they were also important centres of original research. Those of us who were trained at the Johns Hopkins Hospital were inspired by our teachers with ideals of culture, of scholarship and of social service. Those teachers were exemplars of untiring work, of endless investigation and of a consuming thirst for truth. We are more than thankful to them; we cherish them affectionately in memory!



"QUINN" OR "SWEET AIR," FROM AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF MRS. DUNCAN McCULLOCH, SR.
The date of this picture is believed to be about 1850. The trees appear to be over 100 years old. The dwelling now stands without the west wing (at right).

"SWEET AIR" OR "QUINN," BALTIMORE COUNTY ¹

By RONALD T. ABERCROMBIE, M. D.

The name "Sweet Air" carried a long cherished memory among the old timers of Baltimore County, till recent research revealed the fact that this place was originally patented as "Quinn" in 1704. This being discovered, the State Roads Commission erected a historical marker at the driveway on the Paper Mill Road, reading:

"Quinn" 500 acres, (later called "Sweet Air"). Granted 1704 to Thomas Macnemara. Charles and Daniel Carroll, his "kinsmen" acquired it under a mortgage and sold it to Roger Boyce 1751, who built the house. Purchased for Henry Hill Carroll 1785, who lived and died here 1804. His son Henry Carroll sold it in 1838.

The marker describes one of the earliest homesteads in this part of Baltimore County. In 1937, when the writer acquired the property, there were the remains of a gem of a small brick dwelling, and a very dilapidated farm. It was found that the brick structure with its many coats of paint was ancient and had evidently gone through many changes. A careful investigation was begun, and from the results of the research, an attempt was made toward the restoration of the dwelling to its original state, and the facts of its history recorded.

This beautiful colonial house, which for well over a century has borne the charming name "Sweet Air," stands in the extreme east central part of Baltimore County. While it is best known in the tradition of the county as at one time the home of Henry Hill Carroll (who died there in 1804), and of his son Henry Carroll (born 1796 at "Sweet Air" and died 1877), yet both the ancient

¹ The author desires to make gracious acknowledgment for the facts and historical background to Mrs. Duncan McCulloch, Sr., Mrs. Spawhawk Jones, descendants of Henry Hill Carroll; Mrs. Esther Morrison Ward, and Mr. J. Alexis Shriver. It is through the Rev. Clayton Torrence's interest and research that this history is so far completed. The advice and services of the able architect, Mr. Bayard Turnbull, are responsible for the excellent restoration and for the present description of the house. The results of the cooperation of these two gentlemen are embodied here, and full credit is given them for their excellent work. To Mr. William B. Banks the author is indebted for the excellent pen and ink drawings.

dwelling house and the land upon which it stands are interestingly traceable to earlier dates.²

The so-called "Sweet Air" house stands upon a portion of ground which was part of a tract of land that bears the patent name of "Quinn," while the farm which belongs to it was made up of portions of "Quinn," "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect."

Towards the close of the seventeenth, or the very beginning of the eighteenth century, there appeared in Maryland one Thomas Macnemara, evidently a native of Ireland, a lawyer of no mean ability, a staunch, if not devout, Roman Catholic, and a man who possessed ample capacity for involving himself in conflict with the governmental authorities of the Province. He and his wife, Margaret, were called "kinsman" and "kinswoman" in the will of Charles Carroll, of Anne Arundel County, who died in 1720, though the degree of this relationship is not disclosed. It was probably due to this family connection that the Macnemaras came to Maryland.

Thomas and Margaret Macnemara made their home in Annapolis, and there it appears that Mr. Macnemara engaged in the practice of law. As early as 1709 his tempestuous and contemptuous nature brought him into conflict with the authorities, and he was forbidden to practice as an attorney.

In October, 1709, he was petitioning the Assembly for restoration to his profession. During the sessions of the General Assembly from 1714 to 1716 we find him occupying the office of Clerk of the Lower House of Assembly, and in May, 1717, there is a considerable amount of information relative to his conflict with Governor John Hart. It appears that Charles Carroll and Thomas Macnemara had made bitter complaint to the authorities in England relative to Governor Hart's governmental policy. Carroll and Macnemara seem to have taken grave offence at Hart's method of dealing with Roman Catholics, and did not hesitate to complain thereof. Governor Hart in referring to this matter in his address to the General Assembly in April, 1718, did not mince words in speaking his mind about these gentlemen.

In referring to Macnemara he says:

² This paragraph and the succeeding ones setting forth data from the court records are from Mr. Torrence's report.

You know the gentleman and his conversation; you are not ignorant what disturbances he has given this government for almost as many years as he has been on it.

However, this disturbing gentleman was soon removed in the course of natural events, for we find that he had died prior to October, 1719.

Among his other interests it appears that Thomas Macnemara was engaged in planting, and had taken out patents for several extensive tracts of land, among them the tract called "Quinn" (500 acres) in Baltimore County. It is not improbable that Macnemara started improvements on this land, as among the inventories of his estate there are items listed as "goods at his quarter in Baltimore County."

Thomas Macnemara died intestate, and his lands passed to his son Michael Macnemara. It appears that the Macnemaras became heavily indebted to their kinsmen, Daniel and Charles Carroll (sons of the elder Charles Carroll), and in 1730 Michael Macnemara and his mother, Margaret Macnemara, relict and administratrix of Thomas Macnemara, mortgaged their extensive properties to these Carrolls. In course of time, the mortgage not having been paid, the "Quinn" tract (which appears among the lands so mortgaged) was sold in 1751 by Charles Carroll (acting in behalf of his own interests, and also as executor of the will of his deceased brother, Daniel Carroll) and Michael Macnemara, to Roger Boyce, and thus "Quinn" passed from the possession of the Macnemaras. The tract brought £250 sterling, a not inconsiderable sum, which leads to the belief that the 500 acres in the "Quinn" tract were valuable lands.

Roger Boyce, the purchaser of "Quinn," had come to Baltimore County from Calvert County prior to 1747, for in that year he appears as sheriff of Baltimore County, and as also holding this office in 1748-1749, and again from 1758-1760. He appears also as a justice of the peace for Baltimore County 1752-1757, and in 1761; and as a vestryman of St. John's Parish 1751-1753, and as a warden thereof in 1764.

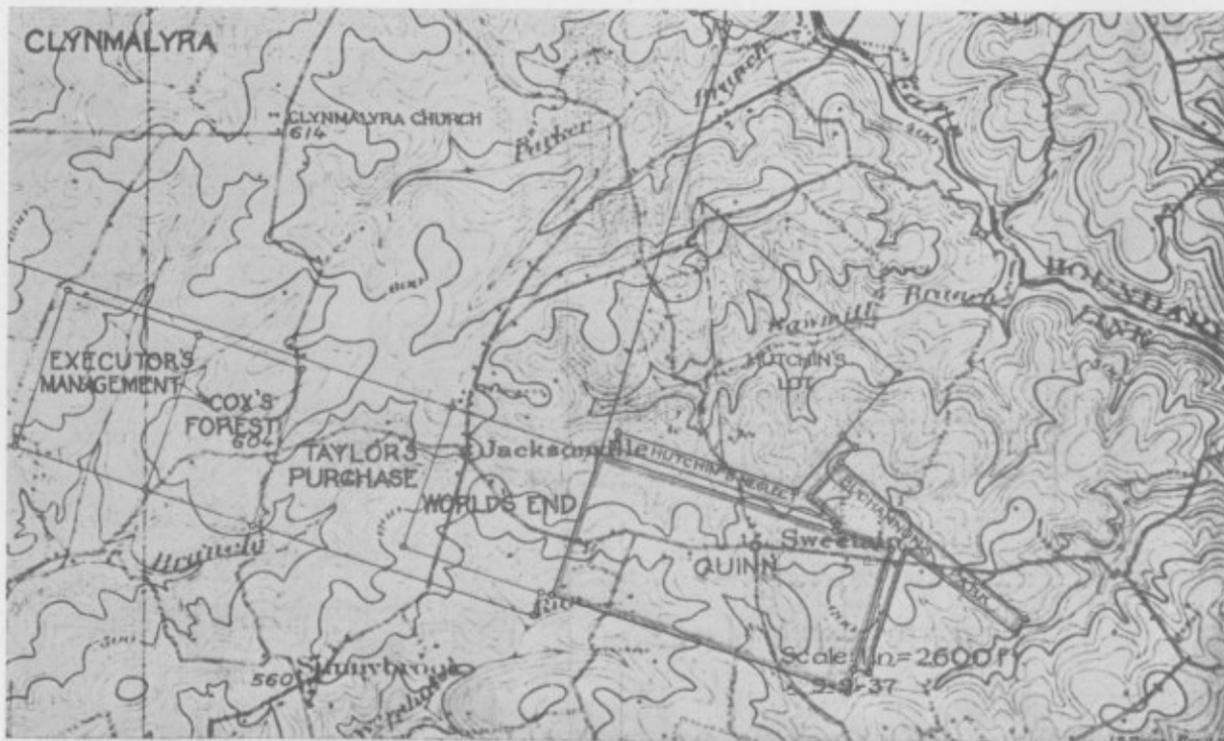
Roger Boyce married Rebecca, daughter of Richard and Eleanor (Addison) Smith, of Calvert County, a lady of distinguished lineage and connections. Mrs. Rebecca Boyce's mother, Mrs. Eleanor (Addison) Smith, was four times married: first to Ben-

nett Lowe; second to Richard Smith; third to Posthumous Thornton; while her fourth husband (whom she married in 1754) was Corbin Lee, who came to Baltimore County where he built the well known "Perry Hall" just off the present Bel Air-Baltimore highway.

Roger Boyce died in 1772, leaving his wife Rebecca, and a family of eight young children: (1) Benjamin; (2) Roger, Junior; (3) John; (4) Rebecca; (5) Eleanor; (6) Elizabeth; (7) Mary; (8) Ann. Mrs. Rebecca Boyce and her step-father, Corbin Lee, were named executors of Roger Boyce's will. This instrument proves that Boyce's "*dwelling plantation*" was on the tract of land called "Quinn." This "*dwelling plantation*" together with the whole of "Quinn" and "all the houses and conveniences to said tract appertaining" he devised to his wife Rebecca, "during her natural life," and after her death to his eldest son, Benjamin Boyce. Mrs. Rebecca Boyce's will was dated November 25, 1774, was probated January 19, 1775.

It is most interesting to note that Roger Boyce erected a dwelling house of not inconsiderable proportions on his "dwelling plantation" on the tract called "Quinn." In his mind's eye the reader may almost reconstruct the old house with the aid of an inventory of Boyce's estate, which was made March 2, 1774. This document names "the Chamber over the Inner Room," "the Passage Chamber," "the Passage Upstairs," "the Hall Chamber," "The Hall," "The Passage" (probably downstairs), "Mrs. Boyce's Room," "The Brick Passage," "the Old Hall," "the Back Room," "the Kitchen," "the Quarter," and "the Cellar." (For the interesting household furnishings see the inventory given later.)

We can not state positively that the house, rooms of which are noted in Roger Boyce's inventory, is that known today as the "Sweet Air" house, which certainly stands on a portion of the "Quinn" tract; though it is not improbable that the house which was Roger Boyce's dwelling, or certainly parts of it, are included in the house now standing and called "Sweet Air." It may also be true that the house erected by Roger Boyce, which was his dwelling house, contained parts of an older building. Of these matters we cannot make positive statement; but the suggestion followed out by an authority on historic construction might



Part of Maryland Geological Survey map (enlarged), with plat of "Quinn" and other surveys superimposed. The name "Sweet Air" here indicates the present village near the "Sweet Air" mansion.

develop some positive proof. That Roger Boyce's dwelling house (as described by rooms, halls and passages in his inventory) stood on the tract of land called "Quinn" is proved by his will; while the deeds in the title to the tract now owned by Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie and called "Sweet Air" clearly prove, from the deed of Benjamin Boyce (who inherited the dwelling plantation on "Quinn") to Ignatius Fenwick in 1785, conveying "Quinn," down to the present owners, the inclusion of the dwelling house tract. (Abstracts of these deeds are appended.)

In May, 1785, Benjamin Boyce sold "Quinn" and its buildings to Ignatius Fenwick, and in April, 1789, also sold to Fenwick the tracts of "Hutchins' Lot" and part of "Hutchins' Neglect," which adjoined "Quinn," and which had also been devised to Benjamin Boyce by his father.

Fenwick, who was the "guardian of the heir of Charles Carroll, Junior," of "Duddington," bought these lands evidently for his ward, and we find him re-conveying them (for the very nominal sum of 10 shillings) to Henry Hill Carroll, who was the son of Charles Carroll, Junior, of "Duddington." In March, 1788, Fenwick conveyed "Quinn" (500 acres) to Henry Hill Carroll and in October, 1789, he conveyed to him "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect" (the former certified for 2661½ acres, the latter for 30 acres); the three tracts totaling 7961½ acres. Mr. Carroll made this plantation his home; married Sarah Rogers, and continued his country residence here until his death in 1804. Besides this estate (made up of the tracts of land called "Quinn," "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect") which evidently was purchased for him as a "home place" by his guardian, Captain Ignatius Fenwick, Henry Hill Carroll was possessed (under his father, Charles Carroll, Junior, of "Duddington's" will) of the extensive estate of "Clynmalira" (5,000 acres), also called "Carroll's Manor." This estate joined his dwelling plantation.

The annals of few families disclose the apparent deep respect, quiet, strong devotion, and implicit trust between brothers which is found existing between Henry Hill Carroll and his brother Daniel Carroll, the two sons of Charles Carroll, Junior (1729-1773) of "Duddington," and Mary Hill, his wife. They were only very young boys at the time of their father's death, but the

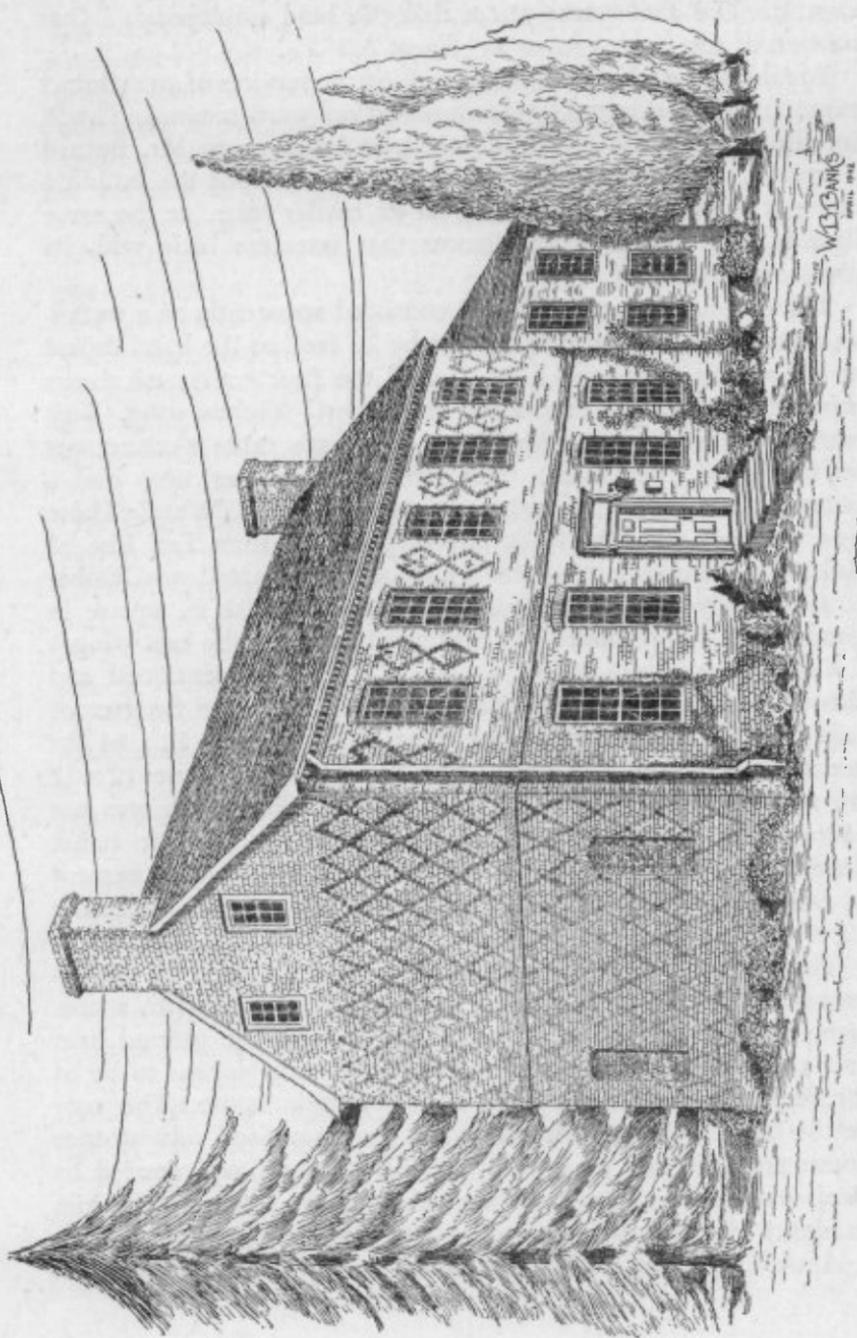
years apparently brought them ever nearer to each other in regard and tender affection. Daniel Carroll (1764-1849) outlived his brother by many years, becoming the builder of "Duddington Manor," which was within the limits of the present Washington City. Henry Hill Carroll died in 1804, leaving a handsome estate. Eventually his dwelling plantation of 796 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Baltimore County, including the tract called "Quinn" with its dwelling house, became the property of his son, Henry Carroll.

It is evident that Henry Hill Carroll (who died in 1804), made his residence in the house on the "Quinn" tract which had formerly been the residence of Roger Boyce, though we cannot say that Carroll did not make additions thereto, and alterations in the original building. Such questions can only be determined, in the absence of direct evidence, by the investigations of architectural authorities.

Coming into possession of this estate with its dwelling house, Henry Carroll continued to make his residence here while developing the "Clynmalira" estate, which he also inherited. In later years, having built a mansion on "Clynmalira," he moved to that place, and in May, 1838, sold 209 acres out of the 796 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre plantation, with the dwelling house, to the Morrison family. From the Morrises, through various conveyances, the present tract of 137 acres, with the "Sweet Air" house, has come into the possession of Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie.

In regard to the name "Sweet Air" by which this plantation and its dwelling house have been known for over a century, it is impossible to say when and how it originated. It is quite evident, however, from memoranda of births and marriages in the Carroll family, that the name "Sweet Air" had been given the place as early as 1812, for in February of that year it is recorded that Mary Ann Carroll, daughter of Henry Hill Carroll and Sarah Rogers, was married at "Sweet Air," to her first cousin, Charles Carroll, son of Daniel Carroll and Anne Brent, his first wife.

The first and, as a matter of fact, the only appearance of the name "Sweet Air" so far discovered in records of transfer of this estate appears in July, 1852, when Mrs. Eliza Morrison, his widow, and other heirs of the late Reverend George Morrison, deceased, conveyed 59 acres out of the 209 acre portion of the plantation which had, in 1838, been conveyed to them by Henry



"Quinn" or "Sweet Air" dwelling house as it now stands as seen from the south-west. The brick work has been restored after removing coats of paint. *Drawing by William B. Banks.*

Carroll. The conveyance states that the land conveyed is "that portion of the place known as 'Sweet Air'."

For the restoration of the old dwelling the services of an architect experienced in this type of reconstruction were secured. Credit for the present restored condition must be given to Mr. Bayard Turnbull. He studied well the known facts about the building and put it as nearly as possible in its earlier state, at the same time adding modern conveniences that interfere little with its former appearance.

The original part of the house consisted apparently of a rectangular building, two stories, 53 feet by 22 feet, as the band course at the second floor level runs around the four walls and shows now on the inside of the second floor (east) kitchen wing. This east wing was probably added later. The water table is continuous on the other three sides. This kitchen as late as 1898 had a famous old "Indian" fireplace as related by Mrs. Ward. There was no west wing in 1798, for in the Particular Tax List of Baltimore County in the name of Henry Hill Carroll on October 1, 1798, only "one brick wing one story high 22 ft. square in good repair" is recorded. (This must have been the east wing.) "A kitchen of brick 16 ft. square, 1 story" is mentioned and classed with a group of 5 outhouses, including one Quarter of logs 40 x 20 ft., one story; one meat house of logs 12 x 14 ft.; one poultry house 16 x 12 ft.; one stone Spring House 12 x 12 ft., and one Piazza 8 x 53 ft., two stories. This porch was not restored for as yet no definite picture of it has come to hand. Reference is made to a brick cabbage house in an advertisement in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, September 10, 1782.

There is now under the floor of a machine shed an underground brick cellar, rectangular in shape, 8 x 14 ft., with a one-layer brick arched ceiling, which is just under the ground line, and a dirt floor. The bricks in the construction appear to be of the same make and time as those in the main house. This may be the cabbage house referred to. It makes a good root storage house now. It may be noted that this property was deeded by Benjamin Boyce to Ignatius Fenwick in May, 1785, and by him to Henry Hill Carroll in March, 1788; more of this later.

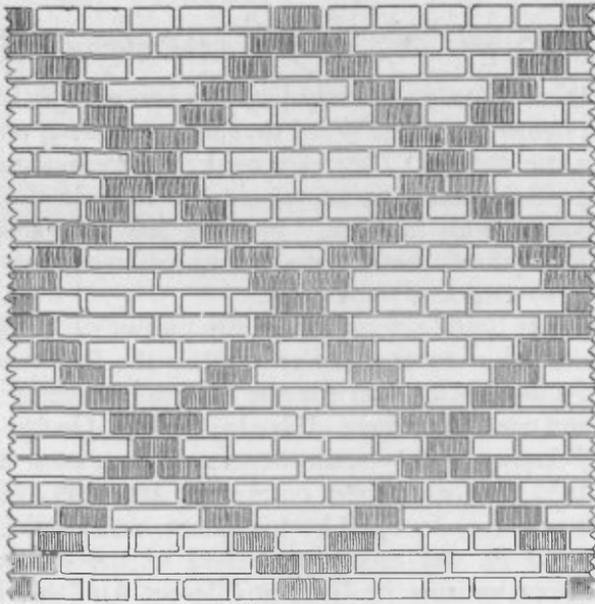
A west wing was added sometime later, probably by Mr. Car-

roll, but there is only the record of the photograph to show it, and the statement of Mrs. Ward that this west wing was entered only from the outside. There are evident markings on the west gable end of the main house, where the roof of the one-story wing conjoined with this wall. Nothing has been found as yet by digging and careful search of any foundation or other evidence. This wing was evidently the office.

The Quarter house referred to in the tax list of 1798, made of logs, in size 40 x 20 ft., was refitted by the Reverend George Morrison, and used by him for the Clerical Academy which he founded and conducted there. His son, the Rev. George Morrison (II), well known Presbyterian clergyman, was born at "Sweet Air" in 1831, and died there on August 28, 1898. He reestablished this academy founded by his father, and conducted it for two years till he was elected principal of the Baltimore City College. Upon retiring he lived at "Sweet Air" till his death. His daughter, Mrs. Ward, states that "the house, a fine old mansion, was erected by Charles and Daniel Carroll nearly two centuries ago, is surrounded by a beautiful lawn laid out after the style of the grounds of freeholders during the feudal system." On the south of this dwelling, there is now evidence of what was a garden of three terraces reaching 150 ft. where, centered with the doorway of the house at the distal end of the lower terrace, are still standing two old English box trees in fair state of preservation—they seem to be at least 150 to 200 years old.

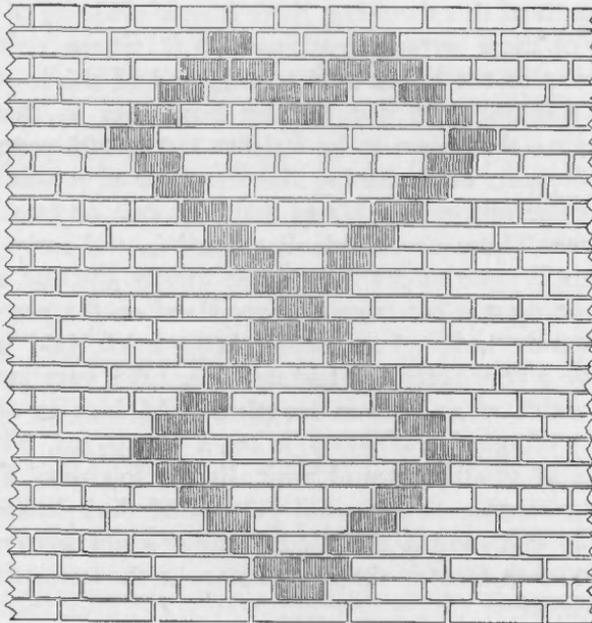
Mr. Turnbull, in describing the structure as it was and what he did in the restoration, states that it is one of two houses on the Western Shore of Maryland erected in the early days with pattern brick. The bricks were made locally and the wood used in the building was cut from the woodland on the place.

The outside walls of unusually large brick, laid in Flemish bond, have a very agreeable texture. The brick vary in size sometimes as much as an inch in length and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in other directions; the average size, however, is $2\frac{1}{8}$ x 4 x $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The window arches are of smaller ground brick, lighter in color. There is an interesting continuous diamond pattern of dark headers on the west gable end, and a modified figure-of-eight pattern running across the south front in the second story as shown by the drawing of this feature.



Detail of the continuous diamond pattern on the west gable end made by black brick headers.

Drawing by William B. Banks.



Detail of the modified figure of eight pattern across the second story south front. The brick work was restored principally by removing coats of paint.

Drawing by William B. Banks.

There is a moulded brick water table all around (Avolo and Scotia), and a band course at the second floor level, a soldier course of over-burnt headers between avolo red brick top and bottom. The only cellar the house has is under the dining room and staircase where there is a pair of deep arched recesses of brick, separated by an 18 in. pier under the dining room chimney breast.

It has been said that the early American builders gave more thought to permanence of construction than we. However, as is the case in this house, they carried down the outside wall foundations under the drawing room and main hall but 16 ins. below grade. This caused cracks and settling of the walls and necessitated under-pinning of much of the foundations to prevent further injury to the walls. The chimneys were made fireproof.

The east and west main gable ends are faced with barge boards having an outward flare at the bottom. The main cornice is of interesting detail with dentil moulding at the bottom and a course of delicately profiled modillions carrying the crown members. The effect of this unusual cornice, as seen in the old photograph, is that of a lace border drawn across the house.

The cornice of the gable or pediment over the north front porch, is heavier than the horizontal cornice, does not member with it, and has no dentils or modillions. This, combined with the stiffness of the pediment and its rather large wheel window, tend to give it a somewhat ungrammatical flavor; but such departure from classical dogma and Vignola's rules, give the front a certain quaintness and charm.

The north porch is new, designed in attenuated Colonial Doric in the spirit of the old house; the triglyphs of the frieze giving an appropriate accent to the entrance. The steps and border of the porch floor, all with moulded nosings, are composed of marble steps taken from a block of old houses formerly on Saratoga Street and lately demolished. Their mellowness merges with the old brick of the walls.

In the south entrance doorway treatment, the consoles, console bands, frieze and cornice are new, while the architrave (with croisettes) and the six panel door are original. The steps and platform are from the same Saratoga Street house as those of the north porch. Originally there was a two story rather shallow (8 feet) porch of square pillars, running across the south front

of the main building, whose roof must have tied in with the main house roof, though at a different pitch, but sufficient information to reconstruct it accurately is lacking.

Photographs exist showing the house with east and west wings. The east wing was a story and a half with dormer windows and a fine heavy chimney, traces of which showed both outside and in. The previous owner raised the height of this wing to full two stories, to gain more space in the upper story. The north cornice was apparently re-used, but the south cornice had disappeared and the present one was duplicated from the north front.

The west wing, smaller and lower than the east wing and without dormers, has disappeared. There is not even a trace of the foundations. This wing probably contained a single room which might have been the office. In the first story west wall of the main building, are two blind windows. One shows a 4-inch sinkage or recess closed with burnt headers. The other has been bricked up in such a way as to suggest that it might have been an opening from the living room.

From the photograph one can see that these two wings of unequal mass, added grace and dignity to the lines of the building.

The drawing room chimney breast is flanked with elliptical arched recesses of wooden trim. The key blocks and pilaster caps lend interest, and in combination with the decorative mantel design, contribute to the character of this handsome and friendly room.

The drawing room mantel has fluted pilasters, running through the frieze, the shelf and its supporting mouldings breaking over them. They likewise break over a central raised panel which is decorated with eleven flutes filled with rope ornament, and carrying twelve "guttae" or drops. On either side of this decorated panel are two plain panels. There is an interesting fretted dentil moulding under the shelf, and the face of the member just below the shelf, is decorated with a running ornament of alternating flutings and quartrefoils.

The dining room mantel is new, similar to the original one in the drawing room but in smaller scale and designed for a different sized fireplace opening. Of an interesting and simpler type is the mantel in the bedroom over the dining room, with its plain frieze curving inward to meet a cornice with dentil band.



STAIRWAY AT "SWEET AIR"

Showing newell post and fine wood carving detail.
The door leads to the dining room.

The main first floor doorways are trimmed with banded architrave with "croisettes" or dog ears at the head, and carrying a fluted frieze and cornice with fret-work dentil band, all of very individual detail.

Of unusual flavor is the main hall and drawing room chair-rail. Delicate in detail, 4 inches high overall, it consists of rudimentary Doric triglyphs spaced 4 inches apart between upper and lower running mouldings. In the dining room is a simpler but effective chair rail.

The main staircase is a feature of the house. To be noted are the wide rail, the turned balusters, the rather austere newels with unusual head treatment, and more elaborate stair end brackets, but particularly interesting are the varied treatments of the chair rail easings up the stair walls in combination with fluted pilasters. In the attic hallway there are ardl slats in place of the turned balusters. The planners of this staircase did not trouble to see to it that there was head room up in the attic, for those who do not duck will bump their heads against the roof slope.

Throughout the main portions of the house the windows have inside wooden shutters with raised panels, flush moulded, folding into splayed window recesses. These shuttered window recesses contribute greatly to the character of the interior. The size of the principal panes of glass is 9 x 10½ ins. and the main windows, 6 feet high and 30 ins. wide, with 18 panes. The first floor ceiling is 14 ft.

The doors are six-panel, with lock rail, raised panels, flush moulded on one side and flat panel without mouldings on the other. The flooring is random width. In the attic the boards are very wide and many are tapering; typical would be a board 12 inches wide at one end and 15 inches at the other and about 12 feet long.

A few of the original square brick tiles were found in the hearths, and this type was followed in the restoration of the work. A good deal of the original hardware is still in place, including such items as wrought iron case locks on a number of the doors, some with small solid brass knobs, a few of them oval shaped. The two case locks on the first story main entrance doors are good examples of the larger types. A number of the doors have cast iron gravity self closing hinges; two have wrought-iron strap hinges and thumb latch, and one, H-and-L hinges and thumb

latch. Some of the closets have the old wooden pins and pin-rails. The main brick walls of the house are 16 inches thick.

The dwelling is now occupied by the writer's daughter, Katharine Gordon, and her husband, Lieut. McCord Sollenberger.

ADDENDA

The facts recited relative to Thomas Macnemara are from the *Archives of Maryland*, Vols. XXVII, XXIX, XXX and XXXIII; the deeds (of which abstracts are appended), and the will of Mrs. Margaret Macnemara (who died in 1738) from the *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, VIII, 10.

The facts relative to Roger Boyce and his wife, Rebecca Smith, are from the records of Baltimore County, notes in the files of papers of the Harford County Historical Society and the Smith genealogy published in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III, 66-73; and the deed and will records of Baltimore County (see abstracts appended).

The facts relative to the Carrolls are from the deed and will records of Baltimore County (see abstracts appended); the Carroll family notes and charts in the Wilson Miles Cary Papers in the Maryland Historical Society; and items of family history given by Mrs. Duncan McCulloch, Senior, of Glencoe, Baltimore County, Maryland, a great-granddaughter of Henry Hill Carroll.

ABSTRACT OF TITLE

"Quinn" was the original grant of the property which included "Sweet Air" as we know it today, as the following record shows: "Quinn," 1704, granted Thomas Macnamara; 500 acres in Baltimore County at head of Gunpowder River, called "Quin." (Land Office, Annapolis, Liber P. L. # 2, folios 25-26).

Thomas Macnemara died intestate; in his estate inventories, appraised 26th October, 1719, and 24 Aug., 1720, there are appraisements of personalty at his "quarter" in *Baltimore County*. (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Inventories, Liber IV, folios 100 and 197).

Macnemara owned several large tracts in Baltimore County, and it is not improbable that he maintained a "quarter" on the "Quinn" tract.

This property was included in a mortgage on May 12, 1730, to Charles and Daniel Carroll, of Annapolis. By default at its expiration, May 20, 1733, the brothers Carroll became owners of "Quinn." Other properties adjoining present "Sweet Air" were taken over under this forfeiture by the Carrolls, including "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect," and these were all included in the transfer of "Quinn" to Roger Boyce, Sept. 25, 1751. (Hall of Records, Baltimore County Deeds, Liber T. R. No. D, folios 208-210. Also Deed Liber B., No. G, folio 86).

Roger Boyce erected a home at "Quinn" and by his will dated Sept. 16, 1766, and a codicil dated Aug. 20, 1767, and proved March 20 and May 4, 1772, provided for his young family through his wife and Corbin

Lee as trustees. At the death of Mrs. Boyce "Quinn" was devised to his son Benjamin and his heirs. (Baltimore County Wills, Liber # 3, folios 205-8).

When Benjamin Boyce came into possession of these lands he had a commission appointed to establish the actual boundaries of his lands. The report was filed Aug. 5, 1785, and is recorded. (Hall of Records, Deed Liber W. G. No. X, folios 129-132).

On May 11, 1785, Benjamin Boyce conveyed "Quinn," and on April 7, 1789, conveyed "Hutchins' Lot" and "Hutchins' Neglect" to Ignatius Fenwick. (Hall of Records, Liber W. G. No. W, folios 247-8 and W. G. No. D. D., folios 291-2).

On March 19, 1788, Fenwick conveyed "Quinn" for 5 shillings to Henry Hill Carroll, and on October 7, 1787, conveyed the rest of his property for 5 shillings to Henry Hill Carroll. (Hall of Records, Liber W. G. No. D. D., folios 722-724).

It is apparent from the very small financial consideration, 5 *shillings*, named in each of the deeds by which Ignatius Fenwick conveyed to Henry Hill Carroll the three tracts, "Quinn" (500 acres), "*Hutchings' Lott*" (266½ acres) and "Hutchins' Neglect" (30 acres) totaling 796½ acres, that the lands had been purchased by Fenwick for Carroll. The explanation of this seems to lie in the fact that "Ignatius Fenwick was guardian to the heir of Charles Carroll, of Duddington." As such Fenwick asked in 1785 for a commission to re-establish the boundaries of the tract called "*Clynmalira*," in Baltimore County. (Hall of Records, Liber W. G. No. X, folio 113).

It appears from the will of Charles Carroll, Junior, of Duddington, dated March 12, 1768, probated March 23, 1773, that he devised to his son Henry Hill Carroll, among other lands, a tract of 5,000 acres, called "*Clynmalira*," in the Fork of Gunpowder, Baltimore County. (Hall of Records, Wills, Liber 39, folio 461).

Henry Hill Carroll came to live on the plantation made up of the tracts "*Quinn*," "*Hutchings' Lot*" and "*Hutchings' Neglect*" and this dwelling plantation he directed, his executors to sell.

His will, dated Oct. 13, 1804, proved Nov. 7, 1804, devised to his son Henry Carroll, the tract "*Clynmalira*" (generally known as "Carroll's Manor") containing 5000 acres, in Baltimore County; also improved square in city of Washington; and "my undivided property (with my brother Daniel Carroll) in 2 lots in said city on which are built two, three story Brick houses"; and to his daughter Mary Ann Carroll, two adjoining tracts in the Garrison Forest, Baltimore County, called "Eli O'Carroll" and "Litterluna," containing 3000 acres; also two unimproved lots in city of Washington.

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, SEPTEMBER 10, 1782:

To be sold. A valuable tract containing 833 acres lying in Baltimore County, on the Fork of Gunpowder River, 18 miles from Baltimore Town, with an elegant brick house, 2 stories high, having a full cellar under it,

a brick office adjoining, a good kitchen, and all other houses convenient for a farm, a paled garden with a brick cabbage house therein, etc. . . . 3 apple orchards, [etc.].

Benjamin Boyce

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, MARCH 11, 1783:

To be sold on the second day of April next . . . valuable tract of land . . . 847 acres in the Fork of Gunpowder about 17 miles from Baltimore Town . . .

The improvements are, an elegant Brick House, two stories high, with two large rooms and a passage on the lower floor, and three rooms and a passage above stairs, and a cellar under the whole; a brick office adjoining the house, kitchen, store-house with cellar, and quarters; a large garden and yard paled in, a spring-house over the Spring within a few yards of the dwelling house—three apple orchards, as good fruit as any in the State, from which may be made annually five or six thousand gallons of cider—and all other kind of fruit.—Any person desirous of viewing the premises will be shown them and the conditions for payments of the money made known by applying to

Benjamin Boyce.

N. B. Four or five years credit will be given for the greater part of the money for which the above mentioned place will sell.

(From Boyce Family Notes by Anne Spotswood Dandridge, Vol. 1, 1703. Courtesy of Mrs. Heyward E. Boyce).

PARTICULAR TAX LIST, BALTIMORE COUNTY, GUNPOWDER UPPER HUNDRED, OCTOBER 1, 1798.

Henry Hill Carroll

- 1 Brick dwelling House, two stories high
53 by 22 ft. in good repair and well furnished
- 1 Piazza 8-53—two stories
- 1 Brick wing 1 story high 22 ft. square, in good repair
- 1 Kitchen of Brick 16 ft. square, 1 story
- 1 Quarter House of logs 40 x 20, 1 story high
- 1 Meat House 12-14 ft.
- 1 Poultry House 16-12 ft.
- 1 Stone Spring House 12-12.

Number of Houses admitted to be subject to valuation:

- | | | |
|---|---|--------|
| 1 Dwelling House | } | \$2500 |
| 5 Out Houses | | |
| 2 Acres of land on lots valued herewith | | |

INVENTORY OF ROGER BOYCE (ABRIDGED) TAKEN 2ND MARCH, 1774

To his wearing apparel,	£ 5: 0: 0
To the bed best curtains and furniture <i>in the Chamber over the Inner Room,</i>	£ 16: 0: 0
to another bed <i>in the same room</i> and furniture,	£ 10: 0: 0

3 old chairs and one old trunk <i>in same room</i>	£ 1: 0:0
1 Dressing table and glass in do.	£ 5: 0:0
1 pair <i>Cast Dogs</i> in do.	0: 8:0
1 small bed <i>in the passage Chamber,</i>	£ 6: 0:0
1 small desk <i>in the passage upstairs,</i>	£ 1:10:0
1 bed <i>in the Hall Chamber</i> with curtains bedstead and furniture,	£ 14: 0:0
1 old Low Bedstead and comd. in do.	0: 7:0
1 Red trunk 20/ one Black do. in do. 10/	£ 1:10:0
4 old Chaves (chairs?) 22/ and a close stool do/ 25/)	
In <i>the same room</i> with a pan 3/	£ 2:10:0
To 1 pair Small Dogs Broke with a fire shovel <i>in the same room,</i>	0: 5:0

IN THE HALL.

2 square Mahogany tables,	£ 8: 0:0
2 card tables	6: 0:0
1 Desk and Book Case with glass doors,	£ 12: 0:0
1 tea table,	2: 0:0
2 Arm and 10 small Chairs Mahogany frames & hair bottoms,	12: 0:0
2 glasses,	6: 0:0
1 Floor Carpet,	1:15:0
1 pair hand irons brass fender 1 old shovel and tongs,	£ 2:10:0

IN THE PASSAGE.

1 large Walnut Oval Table,	£ 1:10:0
1 old Oak ditto	0:10:0
4 old Chairs in Do.	1: 0:0

IN MRS. BOYCE'S ROOM.

1 Desk and bookcase,	£8: 0:0
1 Mahogany Desk,	4: 0:0
1 old Oval Table,	0: 3:0
5 old Leather Chairs and 4 other rush bottom do.	1:10:0
1 bedstead curtains bedstead and furniture	10: 0:0
1 small trundle bed and furniture,	3: 0:0
1 pr. handirons brass shovel and 2 pr. tongs,	2:12:0
1 large glass,	5: 0:0

IN THE BRICK PASSAGE.

To 1 still	£ 3: 0:0
3 teakettles,	1: 0:0
1 copper plate Warmer, hominy pan Stew kettle and Copper Int. Pot,	2: 0:0
1 pr. Old Scales and 2 wts. and a pr. of old Stillards	0:10:0
1 Chaffing Dish and Bed pans,	0:10:0
To a parcel of Pails, piggins and churn,	0:10:0
Half a dozen candle moulds,	0: 6:0

IN THE OLD HALL.

2 Beds and furniture,	£ 10: 0:0
3 old tables and 8 old chairs,	1:10:0
11 brass candlesticks and 3 tin do.	2: 0:0
1 Check (?) Red and 2 other Do.	0: 7:0
2 Linnen Wheels,	1: 0:0
1 pr. Cast Dogs five fork bread toaster and shovel and tongs,	1: 5:0

IN THE BACK ROOM.

1 pr. cast dogs, Bedstead Cord and furniture and old table,	1:10:0
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IN THE KITCHEN.

2 Water Dishes and 7 Water plates,	1:10:0
9 Good pewter dishes,	2: 0:0
6 old Pewter do. small,	1: 4:0

2 doz. good pewter plates, }	
1 doz. plain	3: 0:0
1 doz. with cyphons }	
2-1/2 doz. old pewter flat plates,	2: 0:0
A parcel of old pewter and tinware,	1:10:0
a Copper kettle, 20 odd gall ^o	4: 0:0
4 iron pott hooks,	2: 0:0
3 pewter wine measures,	0:10:0
4 pott Tramells,	1: 0:0
2 frying pans ladle and skimer and 2 iron spitts and }	
1 dripping pan,	
2 old bell mettle skillets, 2 old chocolate potts, }	1:10:0
1 old sauce pan, spice mortar and pestle, }	
parcel of old tubs and wooden ware,	0: 5:0
3 handirons tongs and shovel,	1: 4:0

In the Quarter, in the Cellar, in the Smith's Shop, were various items of general utility, such as were used about a plantation, and household utensils.

Of stock, there were many hogs, cows, steers, heifers, a bull, 11 horses; there was harness inventory, and "1 old chaise and harness £3:0:0."

Of Negroes, there were 12 listed, male and female, from 11 to 48 years of age.

Bar iron, steel, Indian corn, wheat, 24 sheep.

BOOKS:

- 1 Family Bible, old
- 3 other Books.

SILVER:	oz.	dar (?)	gr.
17 spoons	33	14	0
1 soup do.	5	14	22
10 teaspoons and tongs	5	15	10
1 good pint can	13	16	16
1 old Bmised Can	9	19	10
1 Waiter	14	5	16
2 Salts	5	5	21
1 Cream Pott	2	12	4
1 Round cup	2	17	10
1 Teapott	17	9	23
1 pepper box	2	13	0

113 : 14 : 12 @ 8 pr. oz. £45:9:9

CHINA VARIOUS PIECES.

(From Baltimore County Inventories, Vol. 11, folios 176-178.)

ADDITIONAL SOURCES.

Proof of the relationship of the Macnemaras to Charles Carroll is found in his will dated Dec. 1, 1718, proved July 28, 1720. (Annapolis Wills, Liber 16, folio 176 and Provincial Court Records Liber P. L. No. 6, folio 426, June 10, 1730).

Will of George Morrison, Dec. 31, 1896, probated Sept. 5, 1898 (Baltimore County, Liber No. 11, folio 287).

Record of deed, Nov. 16, 1899, Morrison to Seiler (N. B. M. 243, folio 42).

Record of deed, June 23, 1937, Seiler to Abercrombie (Land Record 1003, page 412-13).

Record of deed, Dec. 31, 1938, dwelling and 25 acres, Abercrombie to Sollenberger.

READING AND OTHER RECREATIONS OF MARYLANDERS, 1700-1776

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

To present a more rounded picture of the lives of colonial planters, merchants and professional men and to show their reading interests in better perspective, a brief discussion of some of their recreations is desirable.

It is, of course, impossible to estimate the time a colonist spent in reading in comparison with his other activities. The recently published diaries of William Byrd afford us our best insight into the everyday life of a colonial planter but our interpretation of the interesting data they contain must be tempered by the realization that Byrd was by no means an average planter.¹ The fact that each morning before breakfast he regularly read Greek and Latin authors in the original does not mean that his fellow planters found the same enjoyment in the classics or even that they spent a comparable proportion of their time reading.

On the contrary, the evidence of contemporary observers shows that most of William Byrd's neighbors were keenly interested in convivial pleasures. The Rev. Hugh Jones, who was fully qualified by his long residence in Virginia to know the character of the people, wrote in 1724:

The Common Planters leading easy Lives don't much admire Labour, or any manly Exercise, except Horse-Racing, nor Diversion, except Cock-Fighting, in which some greatly delight. This easy way of Living, and the Heat of the Summer makes some very lazy, who are then said to be Climate-struck.²

This description of planters of the tobacco colony is substantiated by the observations of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby when he visited the Southern colonies in 1759. He wrote:

The climate and external appearance of the country conspire to make them indolent, easy, and good natured; extremely fond of society, and much given to convivial pleasures.³

¹ William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712, and Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741* (Richmond, 1941 and 1942).

² Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (London, 1724), p. 48.

³ Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America* (London, 1798), p. 25.

To be sure, Burnaby admitted in a footnote that this broad assertion was subject to many exceptions and Hugh Jones made a similar qualification when he restricted his statement to "the common planters."

A few years before the Revolution William Eddis wrote a friend in England that he could find little difference between a wealthy Marylander and his equal in England. After expressing his astonishment at the rapid importation of fashions from the mother country, he added:

Whatever you have heard relative to the rigid puritanical principles and economical habits of our American brethren, is by no means true when applied to the inhabitants of the southern provinces. Liberty of sentiment, and genuine hospitality are every where prevalent. . . .⁴

The Rev. John Entick gives an attractive description of the social habits of Marylanders at the close of the colonial period:

An universal Mirth and Glee reigns in *Maryland* amongst all Ranks of People, and at set times nothing but Jollity and Feasting goes forward. Musick and Dancing are the everlasting Delights of the Lads and Lasses, and some very odd Customs they have at those Merry-makings; you would think all care was then thrown aside, and that every Misfortune was buried in Oblivion.⁵

Nearly every settlement of any size had its small tavern, particularly those on the highway between Philadelphia and Williamsburg. Here the traveler could get accommodations for himself and his horse, and in the evening the tavern served as a social gathering place. Ebenezer Cooke has described a scene in an Annapolis tavern while the Assembly was in session.

This said, resolv'd to t'other Dose,
To Tavern steer'd an Oblique Course:
Which standing almost within Hollow [Halloo],
I did his drunken Worship follow;
Seem'd by his reeling thro' the Street,
To be much founder'd in his Feet.
So reach'd the Bacchanalian Mansion,
Before the Host had gave him Sanction.
And meeting with young Politicians,
Dull antiquated State Physicians;
Replenishing their thirsty Souls
With Lemon Punch, in flowing Bowls.

⁴ William Eddis, *Letters From America* (London, 1792), p. 112.

⁵ John Entick, *Present State of the British Empire* (London, 1774), IV, 438.

Not waiting long for Invitation;
 At Fire Side took up my Station;
 As others did; were grown profuse,
 Inspir'd by the potent Juice,
 On the Proceedings of that Day,
 Whilst some at Dice pass'd Time away . . .⁶

Card playing was also a common entertainment in the taverns and in private homes. Packs of cards are frequently listed in inventories of estates and in merchants' invoices of the times.

Dancing was a favorite pastime, an organized dancing assembly being held several times a year at Annapolis and occasionally in some other communities. In 1763 a lottery was held to raise money for building a ballroom in Annapolis. Announcements of dances and of dancing teachers are not infrequent in the columns of the *Maryland Gazette*. Eddis remarked that the young people of Annapolis celebrated every possible holiday by dancing:

Besides our regular assemblies, every mark of attention is paid to the patron Saint of each parent dominion; St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David, are celebrated with every partial mark of national attachment. General invitations are given, and the appearance is always numerous and splendid.⁷

Horse racing was an equally popular entertainment in the Southern colonies.⁸ Horses were, of course, a necessity in the fields as well as a means of transportation. Nearly every planter had at least one and by 1692, they had become so plentiful that an act was passed by the Maryland Assembly, "Restraining the unreasonable Increase of Horses in this Province."⁹ Hugh Jones wrote:

They are such Lovers of Riding, that almost every ordinary Person keeps a Horse; and I have known some spend the Morning in ranging several Miles in the Woods to find and catch their Horses only to ride two or three Miles to Church, to Court-House, or to a Horse-Race, where they generally appoint to meet upon Business; and are more certain of finding those that they want to speak or deal with, than at their Home.¹⁰

Governor Ogle brought over with him from England a thor-

⁶ Ebenezer Cooke, *Sotweed Redivivus* (Annapolis, 1730), B. C. Steiner, *Early Maryland Poetry* (Baltimore, 1900), p. 41.

⁷ Eddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

⁸ Francis B. Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922).

⁹ Thomas Bacon, ed., *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1692, Chapter LXXX.

¹⁰ Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

oughbred horse, *Spark*, which had been given to Lord Baltimore by the father of George III. Later he imported a mare called *Queen Mab*. Governor Sharpe owned a fine black race horse which he called *Oihello*. Wealthy planters from the adjoining colonies brought their prize horses to the Maryland races. One of the best known horses from Virginia was *Tom Jones*, bred for Colonel John Tayloe from a horse of the same name belonging to Sir Marmaduke Beckworth.¹¹ The earliest and one of the finest pieces of Maryland plate known was presented as a prize for a horse race.

Races were held in the spring and fall and were usually followed by dances or performances at the theatre. In November, 1771, Eddis wrote:

Our races, which are just concluded continued four days and afforded excellent amusement to those who are attached to the pleasures of the turf; and, surprizing as it may appear, I assure you there are few meetings in England better attended, or where more capital horses are exhibited.¹²

In the evening, after the Annapolis races were over, the sportsmen and their families gathered at the theatre to enjoy the entertainments given by the Old American Company.¹³ The earliest recorded theatrical performance in Annapolis was in 1750. In 1760 a theatre was built and the following performances were presented that season:¹⁴

ANNAPOLIS THEATRE—SPRING, 1760

DAY	DATE	PLAYS (<i>two each evening</i>)	
Monday	March 2	Orphan	Lethe
Thursday	March 6	Recruiting Officer	Miss in Her Teens
Saturday	March 8	Venice Preserv'd	Mock Doctor
Monday	March 10	Richard III	King and the Miller
Thursday	March 13	Provok'd Husband	Stage Coach
Saturday	March 15	Fair Penitent	Anatomist
Monday		(?)	(?)
Thursday	March 20	Stratagm	Lethe
Saturday	March 22	London Merchant	Lying Valet
Monday	March 24	Busy Body	Mock Doctor
Thursday	March 27	Revenge	Lying Valet

¹¹ *Maryland Gazette*, May 3, 1764.

¹² Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 108.

¹⁴ From announcements in *Maryland Gazette*. There is reason to believe that this list is incomplete because during April and May the weekly paper which was issued on Thursday advertised only that evening's performance. Probably handbills were distributed announcing the other performances.

DAY	DATE	PLAYS (<i>two each evening</i>)
Saturday	March 29	Bold Stroke for a Wife (Recess for Easter Holidays)
Monday	April 7	Othello
Thursday	April 10	Constant Couple
Thursday	April 17	Provok'd Husband, or a Journey to London.
Thursday	April 24	Constant Couple
Thursday	May 1	Douglass
Thursday	May 8	"Comedy altered from Shakespeare by Lord Lansdown called The Jew of Venice, or, the Female Lawyer"
Monday	May 12	Gamester (this was the last performance of the season)

Damon and Philida
Wonder Honest Yorkshire-
man
King and the Miller
(Masons of Annapolis walked
in procession in the costumes
of their order. Mrs. Douglas
spoke a Masonic Epilogue.)
Honest Yorkshireman
Virgin Unmask'd
Lethe

The Old American Company also performed in Chester Town and Upper Marlborough and went on an annual circuit from Williamsburg to Philadelphia and occasionally to New York. In 1772 the first recorded performance was given in Baltimore.¹⁵

A new theatre building was erected at Annapolis in 1771 with the help of subscriptions from Governor Eden and other interested citizens. When Eddis left England to take office in Maryland, he felt that he was leaving behind him all opportunities for cultural recreations:

My pleasure and my surprise were therefore excited in proportion, on finding performers in this country equal, at least, to those who sustain the best of the first characters in your most celebrated provincial stages.¹⁶

The planters were learning how to enjoy life through sports and cultural entertainments. The frontier line had passed beyond the first range of mountains by the end of the colonial period and a class of relatively prosperous planters, merchants and professional men living in the tidewater region had created for themselves a society modeled upon that in the mother country. Gradually the crudeness of pioneer life became less apparent and those who had inherited or earned fortunes began to learn the difficult art of enjoying and profiting from their leisure. Thus,

¹⁵ J. T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790*, partially unpublished thesis, p. 125. The best history of the early American theatre is George C. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1888-9). There is no available history of the early Maryland stage.

¹⁶ Eddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

the characteristics of that Southern culture which reached its high point during the first half of the nineteenth century may be found in Maryland at the close of the colonial period.

The history of social clubs in the American colonies is a subject on which a full study is needed. The colonial social club was, of course, a close counterpart of the social and literary clubs in the mother country, so well described in *The Spectator*. The sudden and large increase of clubs in London and the other English towns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a phenomenon which has yet to be fully explained by social historians. The rise of the middle class was an important contributing factor in their growth. The Civil War, in addition to helping to liberate the middle class, placed a new emphasis on the necessity of discussion of conflicting opinions. During the Restoration period social clubs and coffee shops became a striking characteristic of English urban society, a characteristic which was to continue through the following century. The anonymous author of *The Coffee-Houses Vindicated* (1675) summed up the social significance of the London club and coffee house when he wrote:

To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally than here; among such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects according to their respective abilities?

The South River Club, though its date of establishment is unknown, is generally said to be the earliest Maryland club, and, so far as is known, is the oldest social club still in existence in the United States. It was a purely social meeting place where planters from the surrounding district could assemble once or twice a month. Members took turns in providing the dinners, and the minute books of this ancient club supply a record of the dates of the meetings and the names of the persons responsible for the food.¹⁷ There is no record of the topics discussed during dinner or of what went on afterward. There is a brief notice in the *Maryland Gazette* that the South River Club celebrated the victory of the Duke of Cumberland over the Jacobites at the

¹⁷ Photostat from the original records is at Maryland Historical Society.

Battle of Straghallan-Moor in 1746 by drinking toasts and firing salutes from cannon.¹⁸

The Western Branch Club was an early social club in Prince George's County. The only record of its existence is a deed dated April 30, 1730, by which the managers or trustees received one thousand square feet of land on which their club house was standing.¹⁹

There was also a club at Chester Town in Kent County as early as 1746. A disgruntled member of this organization turned to Jonas Green, the publisher of the *Maryland Gazette*, for advice, asking especially for a copy of the constitution of the South River Club:

Mr. Green, I am a Resident in this Town, and a Member of a club here, which hath always been esteem'd and approved of; yet of late, there hath indiscernably crept in amongst us a Medley of disagreeable Members, who rather spoil than improve Conversation . . .

When Clubs (consisting of Knots of Men rightly sorted) meet together, to hear and impart News, communicate Thoughts, and improve one another by Conversation, they pass away their spare Hours agreeably, and to good purposes; but the Intention is wholly frustrated by an *Omne Catherum*, who are neither capable of improving, or being improved.²⁰

He wrote that he was credibly informed that there were clubs in almost every county on the Western Shore, "well regulated, and sorted like Birds of a Feather (especially that antient one of *South River*.)" The suggested rules for clubs published many years later in the *Maryland Gazette* on December 26, 1771, would doubtless have answered his query:

RULES FOR CLUBS

- 1—There shall be no more than Five Members
- 2—No Wit, or Pretender to Wit shall be admitted
- 3—No conceited Person shall be admitted
- 4—The Club shall not sit longer than Two Hours
- 5—One Hour of the Two shall be spent praising each other
- 6—The Three First Rules shall be irrevocable

By far the best known of the early Maryland social clubs is "The Ancient and Honourable Tuesday Club," the origin of which the talented secretary in mock-historic vein, traced far back

¹⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, July 22, 1746.

¹⁹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIX (1924), 198-199.

²⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, March 24, 1747.

into the distant past.²¹ Actually, it was organized on May 14, 1745, by eight men living in and around Annapolis who met at the home of Dr. Alexander Hamilton. Meetings were held fortnightly in members' homes and a member was delegated to arrange for the evening meal. The attendance at meetings varied from six to eight, depending upon the number of members in town at the time. Gentlemen from neighboring colonies or from more distant parts of Maryland were invited to the meetings if they happened to be in Annapolis. Many visitors were made honorary members with the privilege of attending meetings whenever they passed through Maryland. Benjamin Franklin was invited to attend a session of the club during his stay in Annapolis in 1753.

In 1748 Jonas Green, the local printer, was made a member and shortly after his election was called upon to deliver a speech in honor of the occasion. He expressed his pleasure in being elected to the society and, with the eyes of a new member, went on to describe the club:

. . . I have the best reasons in the world to be satisfied with this good society, as I find everything in it that is sociable and agreeable, and besides, I find we eat and drink well, hence must flow good humor, and as a consequence of this we must sleep well,—and the society seems to be settled on so firm a basis, that nothing but death can separate the members of it one from another.²²

Several years later he was called upon to deliver an oration proving "This Here Club to be a Club." He gave a concise summary of the characteristics of an eighteenth century social club:

. . . We meet, converse, laugh, talk, smoke, drink, differ, agree, argue, Philosophize, harangue, pun, sing, dance & fiddle together, nay we are really and in fact a Club.²³

²¹ It seems fairly certain that Dr. Hamilton, in his humorous mock-history of the Club, had his tongue in his cheek when he described a series of forerunners of the Tuesday Club, including the Tuesday (or Whin-Bush) Club of Lannerie in Scotland (founded in 1440), the Royalist and Redhouse clubs in Annapolis founded by George Neilson, and the Ugly Club. There is no supporting evidence for the existence of any of these clubs except the fact that a George Neilson was listed among a number of Scottish political prisoners sent to Maryland in 1716. See *Maryland Historical Magazine* I (1906), 59-65. Dr. Charles A. Barker in his *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 56-57, accepts the clubs mentioned by Hamilton as authentic.

²² Manuscript Minutes of the Tuesday Club at Maryland Historical Society (12 April, 1748).

²³ Manuscript Minutes of Tuesday Club (16 June, 1752).

These descriptions of club life show the evening entertainments of the Tuesday Club. Each member was expected to speak on a subject selected by himself. Typical of the subjects chosen were the following:

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Date</i>
"Omnia Vincit Amor"	William Thornton	1 April 1746
"Cheerfulness"	Samuel Hart	15 April
"Government"	Rev. John Gordon	15 April
"Charity"	Rev. John Hamilton	29 April
"Wisdom"	Charles Cole	8 July
"Clubs"	Dr. Alexander Hamilton	14 May
"Trade and Traffic"	William Cumming	27 May
"Prudence"	Capt. Robert Gordon	10 June

Unfortunately only the titles of the discussions are given in the minute book and there is no way of knowing the exact nature of the talks. The members soon became tired of these formal programs, preferring impromptu discussions and arguments. Frequently they held mock trials of a culprit who had sinned against their constitution or who had not treated Charles Cole, the President, with the proper respect. When the Rev. Thomas Bacon visited the club in his capacity of honorary member there was usually an evening of music. Frequently the group of prominent planters and professional men who made up the membership of this club sat around the fire telling riddles and jokes. On these occasions Jonas Green distinguished himself by his risqué stories which were one of the distinctive achievements which helped to win for him the characterization in the Minute Book as "Jonas Green, Poet, Printer, Punster, Purveyor and Punchmaker General." Dr. Hamilton recorded at a meeting in 1753, in the presence of the Rev. James Sterling, who was then visiting in Annapolis, that:

[an] Abundance of learned discourse passed in Club this night Concerning the prodigies of nature in which were told stories of Bulls with two heads, monsters as yet unheard of, of monkeys, salamanders, camelions and Squrells which sailed over arms of sea with nothing for a barge but a fragment of Bark, and no other sail but a bush tail, spread out to the wind.²⁴

The club had its own seal and each member had a silver badge

²⁴ Manuscript Minutes of the Tuesday Club (21 August, 1753).

cast in London with a special inscription engraved on it. President Cole sat in a specially designed chair which raised him several inches above the level of the common members. On the table, within easy reach of all lay a tobacco box; a picture of one of the meetings was drawn on all four sides and on the top, a Negro's head served as a handle. By far the most interesting object on the table was the Minute Book in which the names of all members present and the proceedings of the evening were carefully recorded by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary. Two volumes of these minutes have been preserved, both containing wash ink sketches of the members.²⁵ Hamilton's colorful records of these meetings were thoroughly enjoyed by the families and friends of club members. On one occasion the Secretary left the minute book on the table and on returning to the room found that some of the members' wives were busily at work expurgating certain passages of which they did not approve. The minute books were read and reread many years after the club was disbanded. During the Revolution, Frederick Green, a son of Jonas Green, advertised in the newspapers that he had lost or loaned his copy and requested its return. More than one reader of these minutes of the Tuesday Club has gained an entirely new outlook on colonial society in discovering this group of "breached and powdered Annapolitans" entirely at their ease in an atmosphere filled with tobacco smoke and the fumes of hot Jamaica rum.

Charles Cole, the President of the Tuesday Club, was an Annapolis merchant. Little is known about him except in his role as presiding officer. He suffered grievously from the gout and was often unable to attend meetings in person. In such cases he instructed the Secretary, who was visiting him at the time in the capacity of physician, as to which member was to preside, authorizing him to draw up the necessary letter of appointment. Hamilton protested against having to make out certificates for deputy presidents so frequently and finally persuaded Jonas Green to print a form for that purpose.²⁶ Although members of the club waged a constant battle to limit the constitutional powers

²⁵ At the Maryland Historical Society and in Manuscript Division of Library of Congress. The *History of the Club* written by Dr. Hamilton is in the Johns Hopkins University Library.

²⁶ Tuesday Club Minutes, 21 March, 1749. Twenty-six copies were printed. No copy is known.

of their President, they held him in high regard for in 1752 they asked Mr. Hesselius, probably John, the son of Gustavus, to paint a full length portrait of him.²⁷

When Cole died in 1757, his personal property was worth slightly less than two hundred pounds and he owed money to Benjamin Tasker and Daniel Dulany. Among his possessions were the following:²⁸

An old flag	One Tuesday Club Badge 7s6d
Three Old Wigs	One St. George's Cross 10s
A silver Hilted Sword Belt & Cane	One Quarto Bible 10s
	A parcel of Books £3

Unfortunately, Jonas Green and the other appraiser did not list the titles in the "parcel of Books" he owned.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton has already been mentioned in a previous article on the reading interests of physicians.²⁹ In his *Itinerarium* he mentions reading Shakespeare and Fielding during his stay in Philadelphia and attending book auctions while in Boston.³⁰ As historian and secretary of the Tuesday Club, author of the *Itinerarium*, and prominent colonial physician, his career deserves a full length biographical study.³¹

He was born in Scotland in 1712, the son of Dr. William Hamilton, professor of divinity and principal of the University of Edinburgh. His cousin, Dr. Robert Hamilton, was a professor of anatomy and botany in the University of Glasgow and perhaps it was from him that he acquired an interest in medicine. He finished his medical course in 1737, and arrived in Maryland the following year.

He was related to Gavin Hamilton, a successful bookseller and printer in Edinburgh from 1733 to 1766.³² The latter's mother wrote:

Gavin pushes a Brisk Trade. He had a plea to defend before the Court of Session against the Booksellers of London who pursued him for reprint-

²⁷ Tuesday Club Minutes, 10 October, 1752.

²⁸ Inventories of Estates, LXVII, 97-101.

²⁹ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 298-299.

³⁰ Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, edited by A. B. Hart (St. Louis, 1907), pp. 137-138.

³¹ Best biographical sketch, written by Hester Dorsey Richardson, will be found in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 170-171.

³² *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726-1775* (Oxford, 1932).

ing English Books which they alledged were their property & having gained it he is pushing this new Scotts trade with vigour & success & hopes in a little time to export more books than he imports . . .³³

Like the other Scottish and later the Irish and American booksellers and publishers he opposed the monopoly of literary power held by the London booksellers by means of the Copyright Law of 1710 and the interpretation which the Courts placed upon it.³⁴ It is possible that Dr. Hamilton purchased his books from Gavin Hamilton instead of buying them from London booksellers.

During his early years in Edinburgh, Alexander Hamilton had been a member of a club which met every Friday evening for drinking "two penny ale" and smoking tobacco.³⁵ This pleasant memory may have influenced him in inviting a group of friends to his Annapolis home in 1745 to organize the Tuesday Club. His official title was Loquacious Scribble, Esq., and he well deserved it for his mock-heroic history of the Club and for the humorous style in which he wrote the minutes.

In 1747 he married Margaret Dulany, a daughter of Daniel Dulany, described by Jonas Green in a notice of the wedding as "a well accomplish'd and agreeable young Lady, with a handsome Fortune."³⁶ Hamilton was subject to frequent illnesses, and in fact his long journey through the Northern colonies in 1744, described in the *Itinerarium*, was taken in order to get a change of climate. In his letters to his mother he complained that he was coughing blood and probably his death resulted from consumption.

He died in May, 1756, and although no inventory was made of his library, his obituary notice written by Walter Dulany, his brother-in-law, shows that he was a great reader.

In his Conversation he was instructive, full of Vivacity, & most peculiarly engaging. He had exquisite Parts & was very assiduous in his Studies, by which means he became accomplish'd in all the Refinements of Polite Literature . . . His talents were happily adapted to every Branch of Science & his active Soul cou'd never be satisfy'd with Superficial Enquiries or rest 'til he had a Compitent knowledge of his Subject, His reading

³³ Mary Hamilton to "Sandie" (19 July, 1749). *Dulany Papers*, V, 9. At the Maryland Historical Society.

³⁴ For a discussion of early American book piracies and their relation to Maryland bookselling see *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 122-125.

³⁵ Hamilton letterbook in Dulany Papers at the Maryland Historical Society.

³⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1747.

was various & well digested & calculated to instruct & please all who had ye pleasure of his Acquaintance, for he was not only deeply vers'd in ye Mysteries of his Profession, but accomplish'd in all the Refinements of Polite Literature.³⁷

His brother, the Rev. John Hamilton, was a clergyman in Maryland and was elected an honorary member of the Tuesday Club with the privilege of attending meetings whenever he was in Annapolis. He was a musician and when he died in 1759, he owned a brass bassoon which was valued at one pound. His estate was valued at four hundred and thirty pounds and he owned "a Library of Books Chief Divinity mostly old" which was worth four pounds.³⁸

The Rev. John Thornton of Kent County was also an honorary member of the Club, his name being recorded in the minutes when he visited Annapolis. He died in 1754 and although his estate was appraised at nearly one hundred and fifty pounds, he owned only five shillings worth of books.³⁹

Another clergyman belonging to the Tuesday Club was the Rev. John Gordon. As rector of St. Anne's Parish in Anne Arundel County from 1745 to 1749, he was able to attend nearly every meeting of the club. In 1746, he delivered a sermon on the occasion of the defeat of the Jacobites which was published later that year by Jonas Green.⁴⁰ Another sermon, on "Brotherly Love Explain'd and Enforc'd" delivered before the Masons in Annapolis, was also published.⁴¹ He later became rector of St. Michael's Parish in Talbot County and after the Revolution received an honorary degree from Washington College.

Robert Gordon, perhaps a relative of this clergyman, was one of the founders of the Tuesday Club. He came to meetings regularly and contributed his bit to the entertainment. Nothing is known of his other interests. When he died his personal property was worth over eight hundred pounds and he owned "a parcel of books" which Jonas Green appraised at six pounds.⁴²

The Rev. Alexander Malcom of Queen Anne's County joined

³⁷ Manuscript obituary notice in Dulany Papers, V, 11.

³⁸ Inventories of Estates, LXV, 56-62.

³⁹ Inventories of Estates, LVIII, 252-3.

⁴⁰ L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), No. 117.

⁴¹ Wroth, No. 141.

⁴² Inventories of Estates, LVIII, 282-285.

in 1749. When his inventory was taken in 1763 he owned "A large Library of Books wherein there is many very old, and Useless, such as french Spanish &c." which was valued at fifty-two pounds. The total value of his property was about four hundred pounds.⁴³ It would be interesting to know the titles of the books in foreign languages which the appraisers considered "useless."

The Rev. Thomas Cradock was an honorary member of the Club and attended several meetings. He was born in England in 1712 and came to Maryland in 1744. The Governor appointed him rector of St. Thomas's Parish in Baltimore County and he held this position until his death in 1770. He published two sermons and a *New Version of the Psalms of David*.⁴⁴ Cradock conducted a small school and boarded the boys in his home. His curriculum was largely in Greek and Latin.⁴⁵

From the names of members of the Tuesday Club which have been mentioned it might seem that the social gatherings were largely made up of clergymen. This was, of course, not the case. Among the members there was at least one other physician than Dr. Alexander Hamilton. He was Dr. John Key of St. Mary's County. Nothing has been discovered about his medical career and practically all that is known of him is that when he died in 1756, his estate was worth nearly six hundred pounds and he owned medical books valued at seventeen pounds. Philip Key, perhaps a relative, was an honorary member and attended meetings whenever he could leave his store in St. Mary's County to go to Annapolis. When he died in 1764, his property was worth nearly six hundred pounds and nearly fifteen hundred pounds was owing to him. In his home he had a walnut bookcase containing books worth a little over twelve pounds. On the walls were several pictures done by local artists. He sold books in his store and the stock on hand when he died consisted of: ⁴⁶

13 Bibles	2 Spelling Books
17 Psalters	6 Histories
1 Prayer Book	4 Primers
1 doz. Testaments	6 Horn Books
	13 doz. Question do.

⁴³ Inventories of Estates, LXXXIII, 249-254.

⁴⁴ Wroth, Nos. 122, 189.

⁴⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, May 5, 1747.

⁴⁶ Inventories of Estates, CII, 84, 101, 124.

There were several lawyers in the Tuesday Club, including Stephen Bordley, John Beale Bordley, William Cumming and James Calder.⁴⁷ William Cumming of Annapolis, one of the founders, died several years before the organization was disbanded. An inventory taken in July, 1752, showed that he owned over thirty pounds' worth of law books. He also had a "Tuesday Club Meddal Struck in Honour of Charles Cole Esqr President of the Ancient Tuesday Club in the City of Ahnapolis." His entire estate was worth a little over three hundred pounds.⁴⁸

James Calder of Kent County was an honorary member, seldom able to leave his practice to attend meetings. He died in 1775 and an inventory was made that year which disclosed that he owned a bookcase, valued at two pounds. The contents were not described at that time but two years later an additional inventory was made in which he was credited with a collection of law books worth fifty pounds. His whole estate was worth more than a thousand pounds.⁴⁹

Daniel Campbell of Dorchester County was a merchant, and, like Philip Key, sold books in his store. There were fourteen small "pamphlets of the presbyterian Catechism" and three Testaments in stock when he died in 1764. There is no record of his having books in his home for his personal reading.⁵⁰

John Raitt, an Annapolis merchant, was the only person on record to have the distinction of being blackballed by the Tuesday Club. Dr. Hamilton put up his name for membership, but several members voted against him. He was apparently a wealthy man in comparison with most of the members of the Club. His property was worth over twenty-five hundred pounds and he had a long list of debtors. He owned a violin and books worth ten pounds.⁵¹

The wealthiest man connected with the Tuesday Club was Daniel Dulany, probably the elder of that name, of Annapolis. He was educated for the bar at Gray's Inn and held the offices of Attorney General and Commissary General in Maryland. He was the author of *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland*

⁴⁷ The reading interests of the Bordleys are mentioned in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 289-297 and XXXVII (1942), 309-310.

⁴⁸ Inventories of Estates, LIII, 18. One of the medals is owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

⁴⁹ Inventories of Estates, LIX, 183.

⁵⁰ Inventories of Estates, LXXVI, 323-328. ⁵¹ Inventories of Estates, LXIX, 1-6.

to the *Benefit of English Laws* (1728), one of the most important documents in the constitutional history of the colony.⁵² Although he probably lived in Annapolis, he seldom attended meetings. Some idea of the extent of his land holdings can be gathered from his inventory which listed personal property at Island Point Plantation, Price's Plantation, Middle Plantation, New Design, Drum Point, Wollmans, and Great House Plantation.⁵³ At the latter he had the following books:

Down Medicum or a Suplyment to the new London Dispensary	Body of Laws of Maryland
Malcoms Book keeping	Hows living Temple Vol 2d
Winter Evenings Conference	Debtor & Creditor made easy
Hows Works	Muscipula or the Mouse Trap a Poem Latin and English
Hebrew Lexicon Buxford (?)	1 old Bible
Self Dedication by Wm Harris	a Treatise on Architecture

In the dining room of his house in Annapolis the appraisers found the following volumes:

A History of the World folio	Burnetts Reformation of the Church
Drydens Virgill do	Sherlocks future Judgment
The Bible with the Comon prayer	History of England by Question and Answer
Nelsons Festivals and Whole Duty of Man	Tate and Broadleys Version of the Psalms
Blackmore on the Creation	History of Tom Jones in his Married State
Nelsons livly Oracles	Bates Sermons
Do government of the Tongue	
Do Art of Contentment	
Do Ladys Calling	

In his study the following were found:

Ricants Lives of the Popes folio	Moheirs Works
Works do	Echerds History 1, 3 & 4 8 vo
Bacons Works 4 Vols do	Chilturn & Val farming 8vo
Priors Do 2 do do	Horse Husbandry
Latin Bible 1do do	Spectators 3, 5 & 6
Rapins History 2 do	Plutarchs Lives 2 vols
English Bible do do	Dulanys life of David 2 do
Littletons Dictionary 1do 4do	Philosophical Transactions abridged
Homers Iliad by Pope 6 vol.	Bayley's Dictionary
Do Odesseys 5 vol.	

⁵² Wroth, No. 42. See St. G. L. Sioussat, *Public Services of Daniel Dulany, the Elder*, *Johns Hopkins Studies*, XXI, No. 7.

⁵³ Inventories of Estates, LXXXIV, 32-70.

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| Plowden | Do on the Immortality of
the Soul |
| Domets Civil Law | Sherlock on Providence |
| Universal History 8 do | Dulanys Poligamy |
| Coke upon Littleton | Deleves Journal 1 vol. folio |
| Puffendorfs Law of Nature | Burmans do 2 vol. Quarto |
| Jacobs Law Dictionary | Religious Phylosopher 2 v do |
| Cooks Reports | Montigue Essay 1 octavo |
| [?] History | History of Europe from
1000 to the Treaty |
| Locks Works | History of Europe 1710 do 1711 |
| Chambers Dictionary | Prideaus Connections |
| Echards History of England | Universal Dictionary |
| Gordons Tacitus | Baxters Life |
| Moderina Statute | Wallers Poems |
| Pharmacopea Extemporanea | Porters Antiquities |
| Do Officinatis | Polibius History |
| Pranis Medica | Raleighs History 2, 3 & 4 |
| Lucs Veneria | Proceedings agst Sachaverell |
| Lixceen [?] Physico | Miscellanea |
| Memoirs Farqhar | Dulanys Revalation |
| New State of England | Grotius |
| Locks Posthumous Works | Lodiards Continuation of
Rapin |
| Geographical Dictionary | Art of Husbandry |
| Pools Annotations in the Bible
1700 | A Treatise of Husbandry |
| Do on do 1733 | Account of Denmark |
| Malcolius New System | Juliens Arts |
| A Paraphraise on the Evangelist | Treatise of Government |
| Divinity of our Saviour by
Sherlock | Overeys Remarks on Swift
Testament |
| Essay on health by Chine | Connors History of Ireland |
| Art of Thinking by [?] | Inssaits [?] History of England |
| Clarks Atributes | A Parcel of Books being 105
in all |
| Hudibras | 95 French Books |
| Paradice Lost | Hows Works |
| Paradice regained | |
| Sherlocks Sermons | |

In a chest in his store the following books were found:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 6½ Dozen of Harry 8th Cards & | 1 Dos Arithmetick |
| 8 Packs Highlanders | 12 Testaments |
| 1 Book Langleys Architect of | 5 Spelling Books |
| Prices of Work | 7 small Books |
| | 3 Crosbys Marriners Guide |

His library shows him to have been a man with wide interests. He probably had a large collection of law books, which he may

have given to his son Daniel Dulany, Jr., before his death as they were not listed in his inventory.

Among the members who were probably planters was James Hollyday of Anne Arundel County. When he died in 1771, his nearest relative whose signature was required on the inventory had to make his mark. His property was worth two hundred pounds and he owned a parcel of books worth less than three shillings.⁵⁴

Captain William Rogers and Edward Dorsey, both of Anne Arundel County, were also probably planters. Rogers had a parcel of old books worth only fifteen shillings and his whole estate was valued at less than sixty pounds. Dorsey's property was worth four hundred pounds and his books were valued at one pound. Colonel John Addison of Prince George's County, an honorary member, was worth nearly twenty-five hundred pounds and owned a bookcase containing books to the amount of nine pounds.

To conclude this survey of the members without referring to Jonas Green, the Annapolis printer, would be doing injustice to the Tuesday Club. As far as is known he was the only representative of the artisan class in the Club. That he was admitted at about the same time that John Raitt, the wealthy Annapolis merchant, was blackballed suggests that in this group of congenial spirits good nature and wit counted for more than wealth. As the official poet of the Club, he composed the anniversary odes. The members were so pleased with one of these poems that they ordered Anthony Bacon, their London plenipotentiary, to have it inserted in one of the English literary magazines. After a vain effort to carry out these orders Bacon wrote back:

. . . one of the publishers (Edward Cave) of the said magazines (of the Gentleman's viz) told the said plenipo, in a gentleman like manner, that he chose not to publish anything in his magazine but what would be understood by the generality of people, and what was of public utility, but I would ask this grave and profound Gentleman, whether in his publications hitherto, he has kept strictly to this formal declaration, and whether several of his love songs are of any public utility, or whether his rebuses, riddles, anagrams, puns and conundrums with which he mightily abounds, are understood by the Generality of people, or Indeed by any Sort of people, but the Idle fools that compose them . . .

⁵⁴ Inventories of Estates, CVII, 208; CX, 158.

The publisher of the *Universal Magazine* distorted his face into "a very Contemptuous leer" and told Bacon that the author of the poem was a fool. After Hamilton had read this letter aloud, Green arose and said that he was glad that the poem was rejected because Colley Cibber, the Poet Laureate, might have done what Pope did to Edmund Curll, the London stationer: "That is have poisoned me, under the mask of friendship with a Glass of old hock, as a whet before Dinner, knowing I am naturally fond of whets."⁵⁵ Jonas Green's inventory does not mention the books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers which must have been lying around his home and printing office.

This survey of the libraries of the members of the Tuesday Club has revealed that all of them owned books and usually the value of the library depended on the size of the estate though that was not always true. An effort has also been made to show that the members of this well-known social club represented the moderately well-to-do professional men, planters and even artisans at the middle of the eighteenth century.

(To be continued)

⁵⁵ Minutes of the Tuesday Club, 20 October, 1751.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND NEAR THE LEONARD CALVERT HOUSE

By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

In the exploration of St. Mary's City it sometimes happens that an isolated finding occurs which appears to have no relation to any other specific known portion of that buried town. While searching for the remains of Governor Leonard Calvert's house, *East St. Mary's*, in the Governor's Field, the writer in 1940 accidentally stumbled upon a refuse pit, probably seventeenth century in date, containing a number of interesting artifacts which shed light upon the accoutrements of the early colonists of Maryland. The pit was completely excavated, and a record made of its contents.¹

At this date the Calvert dwelling still eludes discovery; but its traditional location is close to the pit in question. A large frame house, it was built soon after the Governor's Field was patented in 1634 to the first Governor, Leonard Calvert, brother of the second Lord Baltimore.² Whether some of the objects thrown into the cavity came from this historic mansion is not known. There is always the possibility that they came from it.

The location of the find is about one hundred twenty-five feet south-south-east of the first State House, known as the Smith's Town House, and about sixty feet from the boundary between the Governor's Field and the Chapel Land. The walls of the trench are of hard sand and clay, the floor of sand and gravel. In shape roughly triangular, the pit has its long sides running in the same east-and-west direction as do those of the Smith's Town House. It is not large, nor deep, but is ample enough to contain two graves.³ Inasmuch as animal bones, some of which were charred, came from nearly every part of the cavity, and the earthenware recovered was already in fragments before it was thrown

¹ Work done under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C., 1940.

² H. C. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 213.

³ The length of the pit is 9' 7"; width varies from 4' 8" at one end to 5' 3" at the other. The walls go down vertically 3' 7" to the floor.



Fig. 1 Clay pipes, branding-iron "K," Indian spearhead, ornamental plaster, green glass button, quarrel and calme.



Fig. 2 Yellow glazed pitcher (center) and fragments of china and earthenware from St. Mary's City.

in, the probability is that the pit was used for refuse and not as the mud cellar of a building.

In the rich fill of earth which the trench contained there were uncovered charred timbers, oyster shells, as well as the bones and earthenware noted above. As may be seen by the inventory below, the principal objects from the excavation present a good cross-sectional view of the equipment of the early settler in this section of the country. A fragment of quarrel, or leaded diamond window pane (Fig. 1) from a casement, is the second such piece of glass found in Maryland. Since quarrels were generally employed in America before 1685, and very seldom after 1700, it would appear that the date of most of, if not all, the artifacts recovered is seventeenth century. As a counterpart to the quarrel, there was discovered a strip of lead calme, the first of its kind brought to light in the State. Such calmes held the quarrels in place in the early casements.

Other objects of note came from the pit. There is a green glass button with raised points and traces of silver paint upon it (Fig. 1). Probably used for spirits or ointment, a yellow glazed pitcher was found, decorated with incised designs purporting to be swan and peacock (Fig. 2). The vessel is without a handle and has its foot marred by what seems to be premeditated chipping, as if some child had once-upon-a-time amused itself by making mutilations. The crude earthenware bowls (Fig. 3) are marked on the outside with shallow ring groovings, and have been pieced together by the writer. There is a front door foot-scraper and a garden hoe and shovel. An inhabitant of the city whose name began with "K" possessed the branding-iron with that letter pictured in the illustration (Fig. 3). Such irons were often used for branding cattle or hogsheads of tobacco. The bit of plaster with the incised leaf pattern decorated the wall of a house. These comprise by no means all the artifacts. There follows the complete inventory:

1. *Hardware*

Branding-iron with letter "K," 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " long, $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick; handle gone.

Hoe, 8" wide; tip of handle welded, probably fitted wooden handle.

Shovel blade, 8" long, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ " wide, $\frac{1}{8}$ "- $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick; handle gone.

Footscraper, $7\frac{3}{4}$ " long.

Strap-hinge, originally about 18" long.

Pintle, $3\frac{5}{8}$ ".

Second quarrel found in Maryland, $\frac{1}{32}$ " thick.

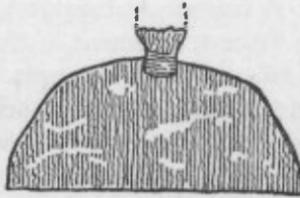
First calme found in Maryland, $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide, nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick.

Lead channel, $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide, originally 11" long; use unknown.

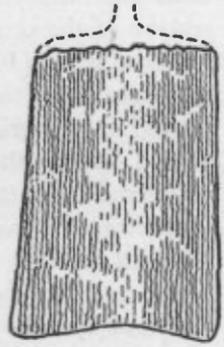
Iron handle lifter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ".



FOOTSCRAPER.



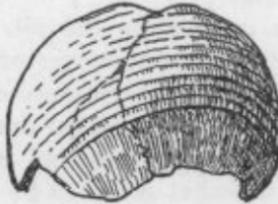
HOE.



SHOVEL.



HASP.



EARTHENWARE.



QUARREL CALME.



BRANDING-IRON.



STRAP-HINGE.

H.C.F. 1942.

Fig. 3 Part of the archaeological find from St. Mary's City

Hasp, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Bridle bit.

Spikes and nails.

Iron bands (barrel hoops?)

Brass strip.

2. Ceramics

Yellow glazed pitcher, decorated with *sgraffito* swan and peacock designs (?), the bodies of which appear to have been painted in brown slip; handle gone; foot probably intentionally chipped; $3\frac{3}{4}$ " high, $2\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter.

White scalloped dish, 3 fragments.

Yellow slip earthen ware, with dark orange stripes, three fragments.

Chocolate-brown glazed earthenware cup, with mottled effect of black and yellow; handle gone.

Stoneware cup or jar fragment, with face of Indian or African in relief on blue and gray field; originally $2\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter.

Crude earthenware bowls, some marked on exterior with shallow rings; 9" to 11" diameter.

About thirty other kinds of earthenware and china.

3. *Plaster*

Fragments having incised markings of leaf or palmette.

Fragments attached to red clay base or undercoat, upon which are wood lath markings.

Fragments from corners of a room or rooms.

4. *Brick*

44 orange or red English brickbats.

2 yellow English brickbats.

1 glazed English brick, glazed on all sides.

19 orange or red Dutch brickbats and 2 bricks.

3 yellow Dutch brickbats.

2 porous "floor brick" or tiles.

The red Dutch brick have countersunk edges due to the mould they were made in, and measure $7\frac{3}{8}$ " by $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ".

A fragment of yellow Dutch brick is (?) by $3\frac{1}{8}$ " by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ".

A fragment of yellow English brick is (?) by 4" by $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". One of the "floor brick" is (?) by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ".

5. *Miscellaneous*

Green glass button, painted with silver, $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter, $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick; metal back gone.

Grindstone, with charred marks, $1\frac{3}{4}$ " thick at edge, thicker at center.

Indian flint spearhead.

Bottle fragment, colonial type.

Pipe bowls and stem fragments, with fleur-de-lis designs.

Animal bones, some of which are cow bones.

Cow teeth.

Oyster shells.

Charcoal and burnt timbers.

THE WEDNESDAY CLUB

A BRIEF SKETCH FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES

By OTTILIE SUTRO

The Wednesday Club—a name that recalls glamorous days of old—was an amateur music and dramatic club which played an integral part in the cultural and social life of Baltimore and helped to raise it to a high artistic level. Its members were among the socially élite; the participants in its soirées were remarkable in that some ranked with the foremost professionals of the day. A few ultimately adopted stage careers, and others turned down good contracts. Small wonder that the Club's fame spread far and wide, reaching beyond the seas to Europe, and that prominent men and women came great distances to attend its entertainments.

The Club's origin evolved from unique gatherings held by Otto Sutro in his bachelor quarters, 1858-1869, the first of which was given on his birthday, Wednesday, February 24, 1858, to reciprocate innumerable invitations and courtesies. Being out of the ordinary, the evening was extraordinarily enjoyed, guests sought their host's consent to come often, and ere long formed the habit of dropping in every Wednesday. The reunions grew in size and popularity, and the habitués had a rollicking good time after participating in the best music. Those taking part were the town's finest amateurs, among them James Gibson, Jr., Frank Gibson, George B. Coale, Henry C. Wysham, B. W. Chase, Archie B. Coulter, Sam Davis, William M. Pegram and Leonce Rabillon; and artists endowed with good voices, Dr. A. J. Volck, John R. Robertson, W. A. Walker, besides the ardent patron of music, W. Wilkins Glenn, and the music enthusiast and wit, William Prescott Smith; and many others, participants as well as listeners, too numerous to enumerate here. In friendly rivalry they brought interesting compositions or recitations, old or new, known or unknown, for the first and serious half of the evening. Native creators of music and verse were especially sponsored, their works performed and received enthusiastically. With refreshments the fun began, at ten, followed by what was soon dubbed "the Circus" due to the comical, clownish feats introduced by the friends

who vied with each other in mirth-provoking numbers. Foremost among these was a "Cat Trio" as sung by Allman, Jim Gibson and Sutro. A regular feature and climax was Verdi's "Anvil Chorus" in which all joined, with coal scuttles, andirons, tea-kettles, tin pans, any and every old thing wherewith to make noisy substitution for anvils. This hilarious scene was chosen by John R. Robertson to immortalize the gatherings; drawn from life about 1863 and reproduced many times. With the singing of "So Say We All of Us" at the stroke of twelve, the friends parted. Each New Year's Eve there was an all-frolic reunion, when fun ran riot.

During Civil War years the evenings were never interfered with by the military commandants, even under martial law, proclaimed in June, 1863, when social clubs were ordered closed and their members forbidden to convene.

Hostilities over, the friends who had fought on either side returned and resumed their *bon camaraderie* in reunions merrier than ever. New arrivals, too, lent lustre regularly, distinguished visitors more fleetingly, to the evenings at 67 North Charles Street. Of the former, the most prominent was Innes Randolph, whose inimitable satire on Italian grand opera has come down to us. Conceived for these reunions, a sketch was drawn at the time by W. A. Walker. Years later Dr. Volck made his remarkable illustrations with which "The Grasshopper" was published by Otto Sutro and dedicated to the Wednesday Club.

When Mr. Sutro announced his intention to discontinue the evenings after his marriage, October, 1869, William Prescott Smith conceived the idea of converting the gatherings into a club. Nine of the foremost habitués met at their host's and the ten then elected themselves a permanent board of governors with Mr. Smith as president. W. Wilkins Glenn was chosen vice-president and treasurer; Henry C. Wysham, secretary; and James Gibson, Jr., John O'G. Allmand, Henry Verdebaugh, C. W. Brush, R. Courlaender, A. B. Coulter, and Otto Sutro completed the board. The name was a foregone conclusion, Wednesday Club; the *raison d'être*, a continuation of Sutro's gatherings, he presiding. Aside from this it was determined to give major soirées once a month each season, to which ladies would be invited either to take part or to attend as guests. These were to be musical programmes, supplemented occasionally by dramas as soon as an appro-

priate club-house could be secured. The constitution, drawn up and signed November 20, 1869, the Governors invited one hundred kindred spirits to become members. Mr. Glenn generously donated rooms in the former Glenn residence on Charles Street above Fayette—famous as figuring in the raids and pilferage of Bank Riot days in the thirties. Here Governors' meetings and Wednesday reunions were held, soirées taking place at Raine Hall on a stage not equipped for theatricals.

Such unprecedented success did the young club have that many eminent men applied for membership. At this juncture, faced with the problem of amending the constitution to admit them and finding an adequate club-house for the planned dramas, Prescott Smith was approached with proposals of a merger by George W. Dobbin, last president of one of the closed war-time clubs, the "Allston Association." It was Judge Dobbin's wish to revive the old association on a larger scale, which he thought could best be accomplished through amalgamation with the already happily launched Wednesday Club.

The Allston owed its existence to the fervently patriotic enthusiasm of the gifted painter Francis B. Mayer, in whose studio colleagues, their friends and patrons met for conviviality and to discuss means of awakening the public to greater appreciation of the worth of American artists. This was in 1858-59, the same winter in which the musical element congregated at Sutro's, indicating a general awakening to aesthetic things.

Mr. Mayer and his friends soon decided that their aims could best be attained by means of a club and the name "Allston Association" was chosen in honor of the well-known American artist, Washington Allston. A constitution was drawn up according to usual club regulations, except that ladies were admitted as auxiliary members, art exhibitions were held and assistance given native artists. Curiously enough the first president of this Club was also named Smith—Samuel Smith; and the board of directors, consisting of twelve men subject to annual election, included several artists, Frank B. Mayer to the fore. Among the amusements scheduled were alternating lectures and musicales on Tuesday evenings. On Saturdays more general attendance took place. The Association flourished and did splendid work until frustrated by over-zealous militarists in 1863. Unlike the Maryland and other Clubs it remained somnolent after the war.

Though members of the Wednesday Club voiced opposition to the merger, Prescott Smith and Judge Dobbin soon convinced the majority of its advantages. The former's proposal to select a permanent Board was turned down as was one for electing members of each board fifty-fifty. He and his Board thereupon accepted the Allston's with the proviso that as soon as practicable a general meeting be called, and board and constitution revised to meet Wednesday Club preferences. Under the terms of the merger the weekly gatherings under Sutro's jurisdiction were guaranteed, as was the broader plan for the soirées. Thereupon Mr. Glenn turned over his premises for the use of the combined clubs and on June 18, 1870, the enrollment of members began with many amusing little tilts at the start. Old Allston members flocked in and the membership of the two was about equal until, after a few months, the Association moved to St. Paul Street above Monument and thence to West Franklin Street (later Mme. Lefèvre's School), when the Wednesday Club contingent gradually became outnumbered two to one, and pledges made in good faith were lost sight of with shifting boards. Only three or four desultory soirées took place each year. The weekly reunions, however, were kept up though never quite the same as in Wednesday Club or bachelor Sutro days.

On the point of breaking away and resuming their independence upon more than one occasion, the Wednesday Club governors were deterred first by the sudden death of their esteemed president, Prescott Smith, and then by renewed promises anent soirées and an adequate club-house. The latter materialized in 1875 with the purchase of the beautiful Howard mansion, corner of Franklin and Charles Streets, from the erstwhile Union Club. But no sooner installed than the old refrain of inadequate rooms wherein to give dramas and musicales was again raised.

Wednesday Club governors then "stood not on the order of going" but withdrew. They adopted, however, a good-will attitude which precluded ill-feeling. The original Club was quickly reorganized, the constitution but slightly altered with governors augmented to twelve. Judge Dobbin, who had long since espoused their cause, became president and John Curlett vice-president. Messrs. Courlaender, Coulter, Allmand and Verdebough resigned because of increasing personal duties. and those chosen in their place were John McKim, Frank Frick, James M.

Drill, F. P. Clark, Dr. J. J. Chisolm, and Fred M. Colston. Four of the original board only retained their posts: W. Wilkins Glenn, James Gibson, Henry Wysham and Otto Sutro.

Rooms over Needle's Linen Store on Charles Street above Lexington were secured and after inviting one hundred—mostly the original crowd—to membership, enthusiastically they launched their long cherished plans. For the first major soirée in March, 1876, extracts from the Merchant of Venice and Sullivan's "Cox and Box" were chosen.

With this first performance such a triumph was scored that the Club's fame spread meteorlike and increased with each succeeding soirée. Applications for membership grew apace, necessitating amendments to the constitution and larger Club quarters, which were found in the Monumental Assembly Rooms, corner of Centre and St. Paul Streets. 'Mid the general rejoicing, sorrow crept in through the illness and death of the Club's great sponsor and friend, Mr. Glenn, who had retained health and strength long enough to help bring about the Club's reanimation.

His successor on the board was another old friend, George B. Coale, who, be it noted, distinguished himself as Shylock in the first soirée. Other gifted actors were added to the roster as active members, and the list of complimentary ones became more comprehensive, embracing non-member men in the chorus, in the orchestra, and quite a few professional soloists, who were glad to perform side by side with the gifted amateurs. From eight to ten soirées were given each season, chamber music, various soli, small choral works and portions of larger ones being performed as well as many delightful comedies and dramas. Upon one occasion the Wednesday Club assisted at some musicales given by the Allstons in their beautiful Club gardens. That Association subsequently became amalgamated with the Athenaeum Club and retained its fine club-house under the latter title to the end of its existence.

The Allston Association, thus submerged, was soon forgotten; whereas the Wednesday Club bloomed forth in steady progressive worth, with performances that so enchanted the "divine little Lotta," when present upon several occasions as a guest of the McKim-Reeds, that she expressed a desire to act with them. That evening was like a gala grand opera opening. Lotta packed the

house and brought it down. For all of the Wednesday Club—in fact all Baltimore—adored her.

The year before she played was outstanding in that most of Dr. Volck's sketches of the Wednesday gatherings and *soirée-plays* were then made (1878); at least these are the ones that have come down to us and for which we are everlastingly grateful. Through his genius the Club lives for us again, and we see it as did our fathers, as generations hereafter may see and rejoice in it.

The Club soon outgrew the Monumental Assembly Rooms. Its prestige, the increasing number of applications for membership, and the many prominent people from out of town who sought invitations, necessitated a club-house with up-to-date stage facilities.

A site situated on the east side of Charles Street between Biddle and Preston was ultimately given preference, as was architect George A. Frederick's design for the house. The first move, however, was to incorporate the Club, hitherto deemed unnecessary, and with the stock oversubscribed, building operations began.

Completed in December, 1879, the eagerly awaited opening was held the 30th, inaugurating not only the new club-house, but the golden period of the Club's existence as well. The handsome Renaissance building was universally admired as was its remarkably well-equipped stage; and also, the magnificent mantel created for the large club-room by Dr. Volck, declared by long odds to have been his masterpiece.

In December with deep regret governors and members saw Mr. Wysham depart for California. He had been a universal favorite and much admired. Mr. Gilmor Meredith was installed in his place on the board. The temptation is strong to mention all the men and women who built up the Club's renown, but nothing is more tedious than glancing through long lists of names. Suffice it to mention here only those whose reputation is outstanding. Actors—John McKim, Clymer Whyte, George B. Coale, Alfred Sumner, Alex. Godby, W. M. Pegram, R. R. Brown, Innes Randolph, Bob Jenkins, Frank Redwood, and Carrell Lucas; musicians and singers—Henry Wysham, Frank Gibson, Bill Emory, Giuseppe Martine, Edward Reuling, Dr. B. M. Hopkinson, Stephan Steinmueller, Carlos Sanchez, and Sidney Lanier. Delightful reminiscences have been gathered about all of them.

The women equally remembered are: Actresses—Mrs. Willie Reed, Mrs. Charles Dennison, Miss J. Chesney, Miss Bessie McIl-

vain, Miss Janie Shriver, Mrs. Isabel Dobbin, Mrs. B. M. Hopkinson, Miss Esther A. Brown, Miss Mary Ransom (Mrs. Charles James), Miss Charlotte Rogers (Mrs. Mustard), and above all, Miss Mary Coale (Mrs. Francis T. Redwood). Musicians and singers—Mrs. James Lindsay, Mme. Weiller, Miss Elise Baraldi, Mrs. Fred Colston, Mrs. Willie Reed, Mrs. Otto Sutro, Miss McIlvain, Miss Elise Gelston, Miss Katie Dickey and others.

Even longer is the list of great men who were the Club's guests Wednesday evenings, quite a tabulation of "Who's Who" of the day in music, art, drama, belles lettres and science.

As for the dramatic performances, it was the excellent presentation of minor, even insignificant roles, that made them outdistance professional ones which adhered to the star-system with many an incompetent. In the matter of *mise-en-scène*, too, Club productions stood on a pinnacle, for scions of society lent furnishings, treasures and heirlooms to enhance them. Again detailed lists of plays and compositions are omitted as too long.

Operettas and plays sketched by Dr. Volck were: Mendelssohn's "Son and Stranger," Thomas Barnes Rhodes' "Bombastes Furioso," Sardou's "A Scrap of Paper," Henry C. Byron's "Our Boys," Charles Smith Sheltnam's "A Lesson in Love," S. Theyre Smith's "Cut Off With a Shilling" and "A Happy Pair," W. S. Gilbert's "Sweethearts." Among major musical works given were: Gade's "Erlking's Daughter," Haendel's "Alexander's Feast," Schumann's "Paradise and Peri," Mendelssohn's "Elijah" and Bruch's "Lay of the Bell." Besides these Arthur Sullivan's comic operas "Cox and Box," "Trial by Jury," "Pirates of Penzance" and "Iolanthe" were performed.

There is no doubt that the permanence of the Club's organization was responsible for the progress, poise and assurance attained by the amateurs. Each group of governors was assigned certain duties: four were the executives who looked after its affairs and finances, four had charge of house regulations and refreshments, and four had control of soirées. To the latter alone the artistry of achievement was due. They were James Gibson, John McKim, Henry Wysham,¹ and Otto Sutro. The first two had charge of the dramas; the last two of the musical programmes; and all four, of the operettas, working always in harmonious accord.

¹ Frank Frick replaced Mr. Wysham after his departure.

It is astonishing that the Club with its many members existed and thrived through the years without a ripple of argument, much less discord. It would have been miraculous had this continued with the admission of men to whom music and art were minor considerations. Due to unexpected expense—increase in building the club-house and repairs later on—no dividends on the stock could be paid. In addition unexpected overcrowding of the hall gave rise to complaints which were freely aired in the newspapers. In the end it turned out to be nothing more than a tempest in a tea-pot, and the Club with its soirées went serenely on for three more years.

In 1885 Judge Dobbin felt the necessity to curtail his activities and resigned the presidency, Mr. Curlett succeeding him in office. Mr. Drill was simultaneously transferred to Pittsburgh by the Northern Central R. R. and the two vacancies were ably filled by Messrs. George S. Brown and William C. Pennington, whose son Harper was one of the principal artists of the Club.

The governors had repeatedly sought to diminish the membership and organize along early lines, offering to buy the stock of retiring members. This was the more imperative because leading actors and musicians found it increasingly difficult to spare time toward preparing so many soirées. Substitutes of their calibre were lacking, and it became necessary to give fewer entertainments.

To attain this purpose a general meeting was called, at which the former disputants gained the greater number of votes, refused to comply and decreed that the club-house be sold at public auction for the benefit of the stockholders. This occurred December 22, 1886. In order to prevent the proud club-house from falling into unworthy hands, Mr. Curlett purchased it and later sold it to Mr. Albaugh for a like sum, when it became known as Albaugh's Lyceum Theatre.

Thus Wednesday gatherings and soirées ceased at the peak of achievement, like a candle that is snuffed out by a sudden gust of wind. But their fame has endured to this day and will be kept alive through the room devoted to it by the Maryland Historical Society, where objects pertaining to the Club or its earlier days in Otto Sutro's rooms are assembled.² From the latter there are

²The Otto Sutro—Wednesday Club Collection, assembled by the Misses Rose L. and Ottilie Sutro, is exhibited on the third floor of the Society's home. The room was opened on February 24, 1943, the one hundred and tenth anniversary of Mr. Sutro's birth and the eighty-fifth of his original bachelor evening.—EDITOR.

a few pieces of furniture of Baltimore handicraft, including a hand-carved book-case, and drawings of that period by John Robertson, W. A. Walker and A. J. Volck.

The Wednesday Club sketches shown are the work of Dr. Volck, gifts in the name of Mr. Carrell Lucas, and loans from others. A copy of the "Wednesday Club Parade" was given by Mr. Philip S. Straus. The book-shelves contain old magazines of art and drama belonging to the Club and in the book-case are objects used at Mr. Sutro's bachelor reunions or at the Wednesday Club. The most important of the latter is a silver "cup of welcome," filled to the brim and drained by all the great men entertained at the weekly gatherings. A large silver pitcher illustrative of the earlier reunions, designed by Leonce Rabillon, was a wedding gift "To Otto Sutro from his friends."

There are also albums containing photographs of the governors, the artists and most of the principal participants in the soirées. As an aside, the bonnets from Mrs. Sutro's trousseau and other items indicate the styles at the time the Club was organized in 1869. It is impossible to specify all gifts and donors in detail. They are indicated in the room itself, a shrine to the gifted men responsible for the Club.

THE WARDEN PAPERS

By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 314, September, 1941, where the author described the general contents of this collection of papers, which are owned by the Society.)

David Baillie Warden served as secretary and consul at Paris under three American ministers and one might expect his correspondence with them to be unusually revealing. As a matter of fact, the letters received from the superior officers do contain interesting items, but the papers are too few to throw light on any important matters. Cordiality is the keynote of the twenty letters written by *General John Armstrong* (1758-1843) from 1804 to his departure from France in 1810. The first letter, addressed to "The Reverend D. B. Warden at Kingston Academy" in August, 1804, tells him to apply for citizenship at the court in Kingston, to get passports in New York, and to follow to Paris as soon as possible. Other epistles are those sent to Warden while the Minister was absent on trips to Bourbon l'Archambault, Moulins, Lyons, Geneva, and Amsterdam. They give directions for the conduct of the office, with particular instructions as to letters from the French government and the Department of State. They discuss ways and means for American seamen from condemned vessels to get home. In August, 1808, Armstrong tells Warden he has been appointed consul to replace Skipworth, and when there is difficulty getting the official papers from Skipworth the General directs Warden to write a clear explanation of the affair to be sent to President Madison. A short time later, the Minister describes plans to continue his trip to see Burgundy in the vintage season, and comments on Lyons as an example of the poverty and palsy which characterizes French manufactures. The final letter in 1810 says that Alexander McRae is to fill Warden's post while he goes back to America to work for the permanent appointment.

The twelve letters, 1810-12, from *Joel Barlow* (1754-1812) are very formal, in contrast to Armstrong's more friendly ones. All are brief and deal with matters of official routine; two are in the third person, and two are in the handwriting of a clerk with the Minister's signature. There are four short notes from Mrs.

Barlow during November and December 1812, while Barlow was away on the mission which ended in his death in Poland.

The correspondence from *William H. Crawford* (1772-1834), eight letters written in 1813-14, relates almost entirely to the controversy which resulted in Warden's removal from office. In August 1813 he sends a strong criticism of the conduct of the quarrel between Warden and William Lee, saying that representatives of the United States cannot expect to be treated with respect if they do not behave better. He decides that Warden interfered wrongly in the case of the prize vessel *Maria* and he intends to send the entire correspondence to the Department of State. The next May he removes Warden by order of the President giving Warden's assumption of title as Consul General and the Lee affair as causes for the action. On June 8, 1814, a long letter tells Warden he is entirely wrong in refusing to leave office, and in August a formal communication requests Warden to transfer to his successor all papers of an official character before his accounts are settled.

As the more or less generally recognized dean of Americans in Paris, Warden received countless letters introducing people who travelled abroad for pleasure or for study, and he was asked to do something for each of them. His ability to satisfy every request—whether it was to show the sights of the French capital, to obtain admission to meeting of the Institute or to the porcelain works at Sevres, or to assist in the general orientation of students—made him a very popular person, and his assistance was long remembered by the recipients of his kindnesses.

Several of the gentlemen whose correspondence has been discussed included in their letters introductions of friends bound to Paris for specific purposes. Joseph Cabell presents his nephew, Dr. James L. Cabell (1813-89), who goes to complete a medical education begun at the University of Virginia and in Baltimore, and the uncle asks Warden to help the younger man gain access to Parisian hospitals. Cabell also introduces Dr. Tucker and asks the former consul to aid him in the purchase of French books on civil engineering. DuPonceau introduces Dr. Nicholas H. Julius (1783-1862) of Berlin, who is on his way home after an examination of American penitentiaries, and Dr. Robert Hare (1781-1858), a professor of chemistry who wants to meet his "Brother Chemists." Dr. Mease recommends Mr. Caldcleugh, who goes

to live in Paris a while before settling to the practice of law. Sparks introduces Prof. John Farrar (1779-1853) of Harvard, Daniel R. Goodwin (1811-90), professor of modern languages at Bowdoin, and Francis Bowen (1811-90), instructor of moral and intellectual philosophy at Harvard. In 1837 he sends to Warden young Charles Sumner (1811-74), who "goes to Europe for the purpose of improving himself by observation & study." Ticknor, after his return to Boston, introduces Benjamin A. Gould (1787-1859), a scholar who has resigned from the classical school to travel for instruction and pleasure, and Dr. G. Henry Lodge, who goes to Paris to avail himself of the ampler opportunities in medical education.

These were representative of the types of people submitted to Warden's attentive care. A closer study of this division of the correspondence casts some light on the interest of early nineteenth-century Americans in the European background. A number of those who crossed the Atlantic did so, naturally enough, for general purposes. One of these was Henry Brevoort, Jr., whom Washington Irving (1783-1859) introduces in 1812 as "one of the dearest friends I have, with whom I have been for years on terms of the closest & most confidential intimacy." Five years later General Winfield Scott (1786-1866) introduces William C. Preston (1794-1862) and praises him for attainments in science and literature. In 1844 Preston introduces Dr. Francis Lieber (1800-72), "one of the most learned gentleman of our country." Another general traveler was William Clarke (1751-1818), Scots advocate, whom Gilbert Meason of Edinburgh says is "going to Paris to see as much as he can in the shortest time." Joel R. Poinsett (1779-1851) in 1819 introduces the Pringle brothers, Edwards and William, and afterwards Edward Pringle introduces a third brother, Robert, with the comment that Warden did so much for him on his European tour he wants Robert to share in the benefits of such able guidance. Dr. David Hosack (1769-1835) of New York commends many friends to Warden's hospitality, including Mr. Ives who wishes to see what is interesting in Europe before he settles down, J. J. Ambler of Virginia who desires general improvement, and Prof. Carter, Mr. and Mrs. Gibbs, William Graves (young merchant), and David Gardner (Recorder of Troy), all of whom wish to "make the Tour of Europe." Ambler in turn introduces his brothers, Dr. R. C. and

Philip St. George Ambler, "who propose to pass some time in Europe for the purpose of general improvement." One of Warden's women correspondents, Anna Bridgen, introduces John Kane who travels with his wife and her sister "in pursuit of such refined pleasures as may be enjoyed by well educated young people in the possession of an handsome fortune." Dr. John W. Francis (1789-1861) of New York sends to Warden a Mr. Thompson with the comment, "I as is usual with all American's give him a letter to you—." Others who received similar passports to Parisian circles included Lieutenant Levy (U. S. N.), Myron N. Stanley ("a highly respectable merchant" of Baltimore), Humphrey Atherton (lawyer of Philadelphia), Professor Simms (Randolph-Macon College), Professor Frederick Hall (1780-1843), Francis Smith (1806-76) (member of Congress from Maine), the Right Rev. Dr. Richard P. Miles (1791-1860) (Roman Catholic Bishop of Nashville), and George H. Stuart (merchant of Philadelphia).

The largest group of people who were given introductions to Warden were medical students, some of them physicians of experience who wished to learn new methods, others recent graduates who planned additional studies before starting regular practice. Many doctors in the United States recommended pupils and colleagues, and of these Dr. Hosack of New York was the most prolific, sending among others Dr. Alexander H. Stevens (1789-1869), Dr. Valentine Mott (1785-1865), "one of the first surgeons of this day," and Dr. George Common, a private and deserving pupil. Dr. Hosack's son, Dr. Alexander E. Hosack (1805-71), recommends to Warden's "friendly notice" Dr. Charles B. Gibson, son of the professor of surgery at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. John W. Francis introduces Dr. Rumsey and remarks that Paris is chosen (1824) instead of London or Edinburgh because of the actual advantages and the courtesies received. He also sends Dr. Joseph M. Wood, who goes to attend lectures, and Dr. Gunning S. Bedford, who wants to meet the savants of the French metropolis. Dr. James A. Washington introduces Dr. Josiah C. Nott (1804-73) of South Carolina, who sails with his wife and two students. Dr. William James Macneven (1763-1841) also sends a note about Dr. Nott, "the greatest Surgeon" in the United States, who goes to relax after too much toil and monotony. Physicians in all sections followed

the example of those in New York. Dr. John D. Fisher (1797-1850) of Boston, Dr. C. Wistar Pennock of Philadelphia, Dr. J. T. Ducatel of Baltimore, Dr. Robert H. Cabell of Richmond, and Dr. L. A. Dugas of Augusta, Georgia, all recommend members of the medical profession.

People in other walks of life had a share in the introductions of doctors. Joel R. Poinsett writes from Mexico asking Warden's attention to Francis Johnson, son of an old friend, who goes to pursue medical studies, and from Charleston he performs the same service for Lewis Gibbs, apologizing for sending so many young students. General Winfield Scott introduces another young man, Dr. Griffith, and Gulian C. Verplanck (1786-1870) writes concerning his brother who wishes to complete studies in anatomy and surgery. Three citizens of Philadelphia added to the list of those recommended to Warden's interest. Robert M. Patterson (1792-1881), industrialist, introduces Dr. William E. Horner (1793-1853), Caspar Wistar's successor as professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Joseph Cloud, son of a chemist in the U. S. Mint, and Dr. George J. Janeway, his nephew, who founded a dynasty of physicians in New York. J. Francis Fisher (1807-73), publicist and historical student, introduces his cousin, Dr. James Logan Fisher. Alexander D. Bache (1806-67), physicist, introduces Dr. McMillen, recently (1841) on the staff of the army in Florida. Col. Sylvanus Thayer (1785-1872), the military engineer, asks Warden's help for Dr. George C. Shattuck (1813-93), who is about to start his important studies on typhus fever. Dr. Charles T. Jackson (1805-80), Boston chemist and geologist, also writes about Shattuck, who "will of course desire to see the great men of the Institute & some other public institutions to which your introduction will admit him."

Scientists other than medical men were among those who sought Warden's help during visits to Paris. William H. Keating (1799-1840), mineralogical chemist, introduces a scientifically interested young gentleman, William M. Smith. Anthony Morris (1766-1860), merchant, recommends Charles Ellet, Jr. (1810-62), who is interested in civil engineering, a subject which has become (1830) important in the United States. Gulian Verplanck writes concerning Charles Anderson, also going to study civil engineering. Metallurgy had its students, including F. W. Lincoln, manager of a copper refinery at Canton, Massachusetts, who is

introduced by Dr. Jackson, and Edward Grub, who is sent to Warden by Thomas G. Clemson (1807-88), the mining engineer. Dr. Jackson asks assistance for Mr. Gardner, consul at Palermo, and Nicholas Brown (1769-1841), Boston merchant, who want to see the porcelain works at Sevres and the Gobelin tapestry manufactory. Another Bostonian, one of Warden's last visitors, was William Ward, a wholesale druggist who wanted to meet the makers of chemical products and hoped to get a good man to superintend his works. A caller of a slightly different cast was the Hon. Ogden Hoffman (1793-1856), lawyer and member of Congress, who, Dr. Francis says, wishes to see the garden of plants. Dr. John Croghan introduces the son of the ornithologist Audubon, and J. P. Chazal of Charleston describes John Beile's desire to collect data on rice growing. The collegiate world was represented by Professor Farnum of Washington College, introduced by Dr. Henry Vethake (1792-1866), economist, and president of the institution. Dr. A. G. Smith sends to Warden Dr. T. Locke, professor of chemistry in the medical college of Ohio, who is interested in apparatus and laboratories. Clemson introduces Professor William P. C. Barton (1786-1856), of the department of botany at the University of Pennsylvania, and John Bachman (1790-1874), the naturalist, recommends Professor Litton of the department of experimental philosophy at the University of Tennessee.

Literary figures who carried letters of introduction to Warden included John Howard Payne (1791-1852), sponsored by R. G. Beasley in 1815; James Fennimore Cooper (1789-1851), recommended by Col. Thayer in 1826, and William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), introduced by Theodore Allen in 1834. Newspaper editors among the crowd of visitors were Joseph T. Buckingham (1779-1861) of Boston, sent by Albert Gallatin (1761-1849), the financier and diplomat, and Merit M. Robinson of Richmond, introduced by Moncure Robinson (1802-91) the civil engineer. John Locke (1792-1856), the Cincinnati scientist and inventor, introduces Mr. Flack, an intelligent bookseller of the Ohio metropolis. The Rev. Dr. Stephen Olin (1797-1851), Methodist clergyman and college president, is the subject of encomiums by Dr. Fred Hall as a giant in both body and intellect, and Dr. Albert Smith calls Hiram Powers (1805-73), the sculptor, "one of the greatest men of the age" as he goes in 1837 to study in Italy.

Interesting figures who applied to Warden for assistance represented still other fields of endeavor. Thomas H. Gallaudet (1787-1851) went to France and England for information on the management of institutions for the deaf and dumb, carrying letters from John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) and D. Sears, Jr. The New York Hospital sends Mr. Field in 1818 and Dr. Macdonald in 1831 to visit similar European institutions for the insane. The Rev. Dr. Wilbur Fisk (1792-1839), president of Connecticut Wesleyan, sent to Paris in 1835 for information connected with his college work, and the next year Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-67), newly appointed head of Girard College, visited Europe in its behalf. Among those headed across the ocean for reasons of health were John Hone, son of the famous New York mayor, Dr. Cyrus Perkins of Dartmouth, Lieutenant Slidell, U. S. N., Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia, and young Robert Walsh on his way to Italy.

Warden's long residence in Paris, his many connections there, and his willingness to help whenever he could do so made him a natural target for all sorts of requests, and the services he was asked to perform were many and varied. One of the most ordinary functions of this kind was the forwarding of letters from friends in America to correspondents in Europe and the reverse. People of every class and character did not hesitate to enclose under cover any number of epistles to be distributed, often at considerable expense to the accommodating agent. Dolly Madison (1768-1849), the President's wife, was among the first, asking Warden in 1811 to deliver to her brother a letter informing him of his appointment as secretary to Minister Barlow. Mrs. Catharine Cruger, Joshua Dodge, Sr., and Robert Patterson were a few whose letters deal entirely with such matters. The transmittal of letters westward was started in 1811 by Prince Alexandre Kourakin, and the next year William B. Astor (1792-1875) sent a letter from Göttingen where he was a student. Two gentlemen, LeRoy de Chaumont and George Parkman, asked Warden to get their letters from the police. Packages were among the articles sent the ex-consul, including a parcel from Archbishop John Carroll (1735-1815) for the Abbé Garnier and a similar bundle from the Frenchman LeGendre for Mr. Bowditch of Boston.

Books were got and sent to individuals and libraries in America. Warden's important assistance to Jefferson and Sparks has been

noted. In 1810 Robert Walsh (1784-1859) thanks him for selecting works and shipping them to Philadelphia. Nicholas Biddle (1786-1844), the financier and scholar, asks him to get *The Florentine Gallery* handsomely bound, as well as some late Italian airs for harp or piano. B. Henry Latrobe (1806-78), the civil engineer, expresses pleasure at receipt of a translation of Thomas' eulogium. Major John Mercer inquires for information on editions and prices of a work containing Michaux's botanical researches, and Alexander D. Bache asks Warden to get from M. Noriot a list of the best books on topography. John K. Kane (1795-1858), secretary of the American Philosophical Society, John Vaughan, and Bache all express appreciation for the despatch of books, journals, and reports requested. The Pennsylvania Library of Foreign Literature and Science asks Warden to buy works in French, including current literature such as memoirs, poems, biography, travels, romances, etc.

Intercession to expedite business with French officials was another task which Warden was called on to perform. J. Bancroft asks in 1812 to have certain papers pushed through the Council of Paris so his detention may be as brief as possible. William S. Coles writes the same year from Ostend that he was carrying dispatches from London when he was put in prison and wants Warden to procure a passport. Anne Cuvier applies for a passport for Mme. Junker, and Dr. J. P. C. McMahon asks Warden to be a witness to a notarial act before his departure. W. D. Patterson wants a certificate showing American citizenship, and James Swan (1754-1830), financier and agent of the French Republic, sends frequent appeals for aid in getting out of confinement. James Pillans (1778-1864), the Scottish educational reformer, left some maps at his hotel and requests that they be forwarded or replaced. Joseph Priestley (1768-1833), son of the scientist, asks Warden to present to the French government a petition regarding property invested in French funds.

One of the most frequent calls on Warden's time was the request for tickets of admission to séances of the Institute, to art galleries, to libraries, and to special exhibitions. Dr. Robert Baird (1798-1863), Presbyterian clergyman, expresses thanks for tickets for his party. Hugh S. Legaré (1797-1843) says he was much interested in the sessions of the Institute and would like to see more of the learned world during his next trip. Leonard Woods,

Jr. (1807-78), president of Bowdoin College, desires admission to the Institute when a new member is introduced. T. J. Townsend wants to be present at a public sitting of the Academy of Sciences. G. T. D. Taylor asks Warden to get him two or three tickets to the opening of the House of Peers. Dr. S. Olin wishes to see the legislative bodies, but will be satisfied with a visit to the Gallery of the Luxembourg. Anna Bridgen aims to see the pictures in the gallery of Marshal Soult and enlists Warden's help. M. M. Robinson asks for a letter to the librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale. Edward Waln requests a ticket for the ceremony at the Hotel des Invalides in honor of Bellini. A man named Putland is interested in an exhibition of fruits, flowers, and plants.

Education was another field in which Warden assisted. General Mason of Analostan Island, in the District of Columbia, put his son John entirely in the care of the former consul and the latter placed the boy where he could study satisfactorily. Even after young Mason completed the first courses, the father asks advice as to whether John shall continue mathematics instead of civil law. Priestley consults Warden about putting two daughters and a son in school in Paris. Campbell P. White (1787-1859), congressman from New York, states the qualifications required of a French governess and tells Warden to decide on one for his family. N. Atherton inquires the addresses of a good Spanish master and a good dancing master for his daughters.

The great variety of services performed by Warden is shown by a survey of striking cases. C. D. Coxe, consul at Tunis in 1812, asks for an advance of money to relieve him from troubles caused by the Algerian disturbances. James Bankhead wants a sword with silver mounting and silver epaulets. E. & G. W. Blunt direct Warden to buy from Rossier four spyglasses. Capt. John R. Fenwick expects some good wines, gloves, stockings, and trinkets. J. R. Poinsett asks for some books, a good sabre hilt and scabbard, and a pair of colonel's epaulets. George Sampson requests a drawing of a lady in full dress and one in half dress to show his daughter the elegant fashions of the time. Albert Gallatin inquires for information concerning Baron Larey. Samuel F. Jarvis asks for letters of introduction in Italy, especially to friends in Rome. H. P. Van Bibber asks Warden to tell Dr. Taliaferro of Virginia he is in Paris. Major Henry Lee (1787-

1837) wishes an apartment near the Luxembourg, with eight specified rooms. Sir J. Byerley thanks Warden for sending the boy Pierre Delpruet; "he is not an Apollo that is certain but if you can recommend him for honesty sobriety & industry I will try him." Richard Biddle of London wants a copy of a manuscript in the King's Library in Paris and describes a method of transmittal. J. A. Ventress, a citizen of Mississippi writing from Berlin in 1831, asks Warden to send directions for a trip through Greece. J. J. Lloyd Whittemore presents one of the strangest requests, "to support the credit of Harvard University" because when he applied in Paris for exemption from the bachelor's degree, his A. B. and A. M. diplomas from Harvard were rejected.

Warden's literary productions received considerable comment in France, England, and America. He sent copies of his works on consular establishments, on the District of Columbia, and on the United States to important figures in the public life of all the countries, especially to high French government officials. These presentation copies may have been distributed to enhance the author's reputation, to increase his acquaintance and influence, or even to create a sort of propaganda. The collection of notes acknowledging the gifts and commenting thereon is not particularly revealing, but Professor Gilbert Chinard remarks that "as a collection of the great men of France at the time it is probably unique in this country." Among the thirty-nine Frenchmen who received Warden's consular treatise, one finds letters from Bertrand, Brulé, Calmalet, Prince Cambacères, Duc Decrés., Defermou, Fabbroni, Bishop Grégoire, Hottinguer, Lescalier, Mercier, Prévost, Riviere, G. B. Say, Svertchkoff, Talleyrand, Thouin, and Count Wintsingerod. The Chamberlain to the Empress Josephine, De Viel Castel, expresses eagerness to present a copy to her. General Walterstorff thinks the material presented will be extremely useful at a general peace when commercial relations will have to be fixed on a uniform basis. Ten more communications come from such scattered spots as Amsterdam, Glasgow, Hamburg, Liverpool, Naples, and Vienna, and several authorities—notably Bourne, Castilho Barreto, and Schwarz—offer assistance in further studies along the same line.

Next in chronological order are three letters, 1814-15, from Macvey Napier (1776-1847) of Edinburgh concerning Warden's article on America for the famous supplement to the fifth edition

of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the first departure from insularity to include eminent foreign contributors. There are two letters from Gilbert L. Meason of London about the publication of Warden's work on the United States. The first (1817) reports Longman's refusal to issue a large book on America and suggests trying Constable in Edinburgh. The second (1820) notes that Constable has lost £6-700 on the issue and goes on to comment that nothing except light reading succeeds; even Scott's novels are in abatement, and voyages and travels are on top. Joseph Priestley writes (1817) on the same general topic, remarking that the methods of publication are either to sell the copyright for £300 or to retain it and have an advance from the publisher. Among the notes of thanks for gifts of copies of the work on the United States are communications from Botta Cuvier, Noyer, Pichon, Talleyrand, and Frances Wright.

In addition to buying books and journals as agents for libraries and societies, Warden often presented these institutions with copies of his own works and with odd volumes which came into his hands. The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia was a frequent recipient of such gifts, including Calect's *Tables of Logarithms*, a volume on a voyage to Thebes, an atlas of ancient and modern history, works on agriculture, female education, and hospitals, and a large group of pamphlets. Harvard College, through J. F. Kirkland, president of the corporation, and Josiah Quincy, president of the college itself, renders thanks for scientific treatises, Greek and German works, and various pamphlets. The Institut de France received additions to its collections in the historical and scientific sections, and the Academie Royale was supplied with the transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The Literary Society of Caen, the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and the Society of Antiquaries in London all express appreciation of Warden's donations.

It would be surprising if there were not among the Warden Papers some letters dealing with the sale of the two large libraries collected in Paris. The mass of correspondence with Isaiah Townsend on the subject has been discussed. The remaining items are few and routine, but they do cast some light on Warden's method of procedure. He compiled catalogues of his collections and distributed printed copies to all who he thought might have influence in the purchase of the libraries. Evidently the first such issue was

made in May 1820, for in that month Sir John Byerley says he will have it mentioned in the English journals, but he fears no individual will put out £2-3000 on one project and no public library possesses sufficient funds. A few days later, L. M. Reveliere-lépeaux promises to call the matter to the attention of all connoisseurs, and G. B. Say says he will mention it during his public lectures. The second catalogue must have gone out in 1832, for in that year both Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard, and Augustus de Morgan of London acknowledge receipt of copies. Nine years later, in 1841, Benjamin F. French of New Orleans offers to purchase the books for \$3000 as a basis for a free city library. The offer was not accepted, and in January 1844 Lydia H. Sigourney (1791-1865), the authoress of Hartford, inquires the price, thinking the new athenaeum should have it. Three months afterward, Dr. Charles Brooks (1813-83), the Unitarian clergyman, writes from Boston that he thought he had a sale to the Atheneum at Providence, but the business fell through and "I am out of all patience at the stupidity of our people in these matters." By May the negotiations with the New York State Library had begun, and George Bancroft (1800-91), the historian, hopes the deal will be successful. In July and August, Robert Walsh, the journalist who was consul general in Paris and who represented the New York authorities, sends several inquiries about the pecuniary value of the collection. Finally, in April 1845, Peter Wendell, the chancellor of the board of regents, officially notifies Warden of the purchase of the library and gives the text of the bill authorizing that move.

Warden's wide range of interests is shown especially well in his correspondence on scientific subjects. There are letters on silk culture and the growth of tobacco, and Dr. F. Wurdemann of Charleston discusses at length in 1836 grape culture and wine making in the United States. The same year, Jesse Buel (1778-1839) of Albany describes a recently incorporated school for practical and theoretical agriculture and says he prints 25,000 copies of the *Cultivator*, the journal he conducts. Dr. John Croghan of Louisville says in May, 1839, that he would ship nuts from the buckeye tree if it were the proper season. In 1840 Henry Pinkus of Philadelphia sends a pamphlet on a new system of farming and tells how one Samuel Cliff pirated the method under the pretense of promoting it.

Dr. William J. MacNeven, professor at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York and owner of the first chemical laboratory in that city, writes often on matters concerned with chemistry. At different times he wants chemical journals, a syllabus of lectures at German universities, and a chest of reagents. In 1824 he asks Warden to find a young man who will serve as chemical assistant to carry on tests on minerals, with abundant laboratory space and \$400 a year. W. D. Patterson inquires for details regarding artificial soup. Dr. John Campbell White of Baltimore is interested in distilling potatoes and making farina, and Dr. Thomas Cooper (1759-1839), professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and one of the outstanding scientists of the day, wants a supply of iodine and potassium. In 1827 Dr. Sheldon requests Warden to allow M. de Mirbel to consult a copy of Lovell's register of thermometrical observations in the United States, and in 1841 Benjamin Peirce of Cambridge asks for a report on Espy's theory of storms.

Mineralogy was another field covered, and there are letters from the agriculturist Buel, the painter Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), and several lesser figures on the subject of rocks and stones. In 1820 Dr. Felix Pascalis (c. 1750-1833), the French-born physician who practiced in New York, introduces Ezra Weeks, who carries a group of mineralogical specimens to trade with the Parisian savants. Later, in 1841, Warden is instrumental in shipping to Francis Markoe, Jr., secretary of the National Institute in Washington, a small collection of minerals gathered by the French Ministry of Public Works. Somewhat akin to these matters are archaeological remains, and the diplomat Poinsett comments in 1834 on mounds in the Mississippi Valley, while Dr. John C. Warren of Boston writes in 1840 concerning skulls found in Peruvian mounds.

Warden's medical correspondents naturally discussed some things connected with their profession. In 1808 William Sinclair of Baltimore recommends the work of Dr. John Crawford, a candidate for the prize offered by the Emperor Napoleon for the best treatise on croup, and two years later Crawford himself discusses his ideas on the seat and cause of disease, saying he remains undiscouraged in spite of the fact they are considered visionary and extreme. Dr. John Campbell White, also of Baltimore, thanks Warden for a medical dictionary and a stethoscope. Dr.

A. G. Smith of Louisville describes medicine in Kentucky and tells about some interesting operations, concluding with proposals for a medical journal in that part of the world. Robert J. Tennant of Belfast inquires the method of election of the professors in the French medical schools, and Dr. Richard Harlan (1796-1843), the Philadelphia physician whose principal field of investigation was vertebrate paleontology, expresses interest in Cuvier's anatomy. A letter from A. Spencer of New York reports the dispatch of a gallon of Balston mineral water, and one from M. Delambre of the Institut de France also concerns water with medicinal qualities.

Miscellaneous scientific topics ranged over wide grounds. Dr. Edward Miller (1760-1812), one of the first professors at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, speaks in 1808 of the great changes to come from the extension of knowledge of electricity. Dr. John Bullus of New York is engaged in the manufacture of powder and in 1812 he wants from France an assistant who is a good refiner of saltpetre and who knows how to make powder with little expense. In 1820 George W. Murray, likewise a citizen of New York, says he was persuaded by the Frenchman Isnard to change the system of making white lead and to adopt that used at Clichy. He spent \$25,000 and after three years still has inadequate works. He asks Warden to procure helpful information, and puts nine definite questions to be answered. Some time later, in 1838, Dr. A. D. Spoor of Troy asks Warden to see about getting a patent in France for a model of a stove for burning anthracite coal and coke. The next year R. Church comments on Fulton and his steamboat, saying it was after the successful experiment on the Clyde, but was an independent development. Other communications concern the dying of silk and an inclined plane.

General remarks on the development of science are interesting. As early as 1810, Richard Cheneviry speaks of the extraordinary spirit of scientific enquiry in England, and mentions the fact that the Royal Institution has raised £10,000 by subscription for its work. In 1824 William Cooper of New York asks Warden's assistance in establishing a close intercourse between the savants in Paris and the men of science in the American metropolis. Later, Joel Poinsett describes the establishment in Washington of a national institution for the promotion of science, and asks

Warden to help in the collection of geological and mineralogical specimens.

Warden received a number of communications on literary subjects. One of his prominent correspondents in this field was Henri Grégoire (1750-1831), Bishop of Blois, who sent more than a score of notes on a variety of subjects. Among the topics mentioned are the literature of the Negroes, the Quakers, the grand canal in New York, and the Protestant sects in France. In 1826 he comments on some of Warden's writings and suggests the insertion of critical notes to show comparisons of old with new orators. John Howard Payne's letters are much to the point. In 1815 he suggests a republication of Michaux's work on the trees of America with a translation by Warden. In 1836 he describes the start of his new literary venture, a magazine for the advancement of art, science, and belles-lettres, and asks Warden to act as literary agent in Paris. Three years later, Payne says he looked up Warden's work on Mexican antiquities and found it expensive. "This is the age for *cheap* literature; no other prospers," he remarks, possibly as a result of his own experience.

John Pinkerton (1758-1826), Scots antiquary and historian, wrote at considerable length during 1805-15. He is glad to hear "any striking literary news at Paris," and he asks for material and maps to be used in his work. He discusses the progress of his geography, mentions plans for an American edition, and says the finished product "is as much superior to the first [edition] as the first was found to be to other books of the kind." He comments on a quarrel with Humboldt and criticizes the naturalist as having "a strong dose of quackery," but wants his maps even if they have great faults. He speaks caustically of Malte Brun and the carelessness of his translators, and he thinks Warden's version of Grégoire's work not sufficiently interesting for publication. He believes American literature must have its infancy before it gains maturity, and he thinks the principal object should be to lure Europeans to settle in the United States.

Another view of the American literary scene is expressed by Mrs. Harrison Smith in 1828. She writes: "The estimation of an author at home, depends very much on his estimation abroad, which naturally excites the solicitude of authors to be known & approved on your side of the Atlantic." M. C. Paterson holds a more encouraging opinion, mentioning some of the productions

of New York men, including the *North American Review*, Dr. Jarvis' discourse on the Indians, Irving's *Sketch Book*, and Trumbull's poems. The newspaper field draws fire, however, from B. Irvine, who starts in 1815 to conduct the *Columbian* in New York, then returns to Baltimore and comments in 1817 on the degraded state of a press where all papers east of the mountains, except the *Aurora*, are under partisan influences. On the other hand, Dr. Niles lists with pride the papers printed in Boston in 1828: *Daily Advertiser*, *Boston Patriot*, *Boston Courier*, *American Statesman*, and ten weekly or half-weekly papers.

Several editors of papers and journals want Warden to serve as correspondent. One of the earliest is David Lyons of Belfast, who speaks in 1806 of publishing a periodical with Warden among the regular contributors. In 1835 J. B. Van Schaick of Albany suggests correspondence running to a column each packet with a payment of five hundred francs a year. Three months later, John Wilks asks Warden's support for a new paper, the *London and Paris Courier*, and wants his assistance in the conduct of the American section. Some writers, including Thomas C. Grattan (1792-1864) and Richard Biddle, send Warden copies of their works, hoping he may get them reviewed in the literary journals. Others wish to see their masterpieces in French, and Henry McCormac (1800-86), the Irish physician, goes so far as to list twenty-two corrections to be made if Warden finds a translator for his *Philosophy of Human Nature*. F. C. Gray of London asks Warden to make any necessary changes in a memoir of Dr. Bowditch, and Constantine Samuel Rafinesque (1783-1840), the naturalist, sends an essay to be offered for a prize at the Academy of Belles Lettres.

Many assorted volumes were showered on Warden as gifts from the authors or as material which might help in his own work. Helen Maria Williams (1762-1827), the authoress, sends translations of her rhymes and also a copy of *Letters* written in 1819. Robert Mohl of Tubingen presents a copy of the *Judicial Review* of which he is editor. Dr. Joseph Sargent of Worcester sends a history of Maine, a volume on American archaeology, and the ninth volume of Spark's *American Biography*. C. Monbret is responsible for a work on Birkbeck's voyage in Ohio and Illinois. Henry Carey (1793-1879), the Philadelphia economist and publisher, sends two copies of his work on political economy.

Even original source materials found their way to Warden's hands. General James Wilkinson (1757-1825) forwards some maps in 1811, and Dr. Wurdemann sends several pages of words from the Creek language copied from the journal of an officer at Fort Mitchell in Alabama. From Guatemala, Col. Juan Galinda transmits an original manuscript by Juarros. Joseph E. Worcester (1784-1865), geographer and historian, sends copies of the *American Almanac* as they appear each year.

Miscellaneous literary correspondents include Samuel B. Wylie (1773-1852), Philadelphia clergyman who had studied at Glasgow with Warden, who is interested in Oriental literature; Samuel Mitchell (1764-1831), medical teacher and member of Congress, who discusses works on military systems and statistics; and H. DeMontmorency-Morres, who wishes to contact another writer on his own subject, the topography of Ireland. These serve as one more indication of the amazing versatility of the Irish-American who lived in Paris.

(*To be concluded*)

BOOK REVIEWS

Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command. By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. Volume I, Manassas to Malvern Hill. New York: Scribner, 1942. lvi, 773 pp. \$5.00.

It took industry, knowledge, and ability in ample measures to produce this work; and the reviewer is confident that no one other than Dr. Freeman possesses the combined qualifications for the task which he plans to complete in three such installments. In this volume we find nearly eight hundred pages of narrative and descriptive exposition covering somewhat over a year's military operations centered in Virginia. There are forty-three chapters, not a few of which would tempt a commentator to expand after the manner of the reviews that adorned the pages of the British magazines in the days of Macaulay.

After the technical observation that Dr. Freeman has written the last, or certainly the latest, words on the campaigns in question, the reviewer's advice to the general reader taking alarm over an historical product of this magnitude is that he first consider the titles of the various chapters and select his units for reading, one at a time. Having thus tested the style, he is likely to start at the beginning and follow through. For reasons of his own this reviewer opened at the descriptive narrative of Stuart's first ride around McClellan, turning next to the author's analysis of "The Enigma of Jackson's State of Mind," which caused that usual thunder-bolt of war to begin his direct association with Lee very much as Longstreet continued it thereafter; that is, on the tardy basis which lost two opportunities to turn the tide at Gettysburg. That Lee, in a military sense, seemed ready to pardon the unpardonable and excuse the inexcusable in Longstreet's repeated disobediences may have been due to the fact that Longstreet fought when Jackson nodded as Lee took command at Richmond.

Dr. Freeman's exposition tends to confirm the belief that Jackson would not have been successful as commander-in-chief. The author goes further, however, and not only leaves Jackson's military reputation somewhat tarnished, but presents, in addition, a by no means pleasing portrayal of Jackson the man.

One regrets a sense of unbalance in the initial thumbnail sketches of Confederate leaders. In some instances these do the author injustice as well as the subjects thus briefly treated; for minor points of disparagement are thrown out of proportion. The bald statement in a sketch of one hundred and fifty words that General Stuart had "a loud, exhibitionist manner" creates at the outset a fundamentally false impression of a gallant soul full of humor and an almost boyish exuberance. Having editorially misinterpreted liveliness of spirit for sheer love of showing off, the author on several occasions in his narrative takes himself into Stuart's mind and unhistorically records with historical data that which he thinks Stuart was thinking with respect to the public impression this alleged exhibitionist

was making or was about to make. It is unfortunate that these blemishes of construction should have had a foreword spot in a volume that must have required Carlyle's "genius" to create; namely, "the transcendent capacity for taking trouble."

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By ELLEN HART SMITH. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942. 340 pp. \$3.75.

Miss Smith has written one of the most interesting and readable biographies dealing with an elder American statesman. She describes events in such a way that the reader does not realize he is delving into the tangled web of eighteenth century politics. Such things as Carroll's controversy with Daniel Dulany the Younger and the Conway Cabal are set forth so well that one enjoys the accounts as if they were stories. The matter of the opposition to Roman Catholics in public life and Carroll's success in rising above the obstacles it entailed is handled admirably.

The writer has drawn in the backgrounds of her narrative with unusual skill. Only in the next to last chapter, covering the period of Carroll's life after his retirement from official position, are there certain dull spots; and these may be due to the difficulty of relating Carroll to events in which he had no part. The Annapolitan scene during the periods of the Revolution and the Confederation is pictured with interesting detail, emphasizing the fact that the town was the cultural and social capital of the era.

Miss Smith's researches have included a wide variety of manuscript sources, and she admits in her Bibliography her dependence on the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Her style is clear and smooth, and even the side remarks of an editorial nature do not irritate the reader as such things often do. There are no sharp criticisms of anybody—see, for instance, the rather unconventional attitude toward Citizen Genêt (p. 252)—and there is no fulsome praise. The result is a well balanced historical study, not too solid and not too light, and written with considerable literary style.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Catalogue of Archival Material, Hall of Records, State of Maryland (Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 2). Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1942. 161 pp.

This is the first complete catalogue of manuscript materials in the Hall of Records of the State of Maryland. An Introduction by the Archivist, Dr. Morris L. Radoff, explains the purpose and method of the catalogue. The materials are arranged under eleven topical heads, such as "Executive," "Military," or "Church Records," and newspapers are included as a separate division. Wherever useful, each group of records is prefaced by a brief account of the office which created them, by pertinent comment on the history of the papers themselves, and by mention of the most important references on which these preliminary statements are based. Accession numbers are given after the sub-groups or individual documents. There is a Table of Contents but no Index.

An Index is omitted because "an index to records whose contents are not analyzed is of small value and such an index would have required an exorbitant expenditure of time and effort." Unquestionably, Dr. Radoff's decision was a wise one in so far as a detailed index is concerned, but the student may wonder whether the value of the work would not have been enhanced by a brief, name-place index. People interested in Harford County, for example, would have known at a glance that materials concerning Harford County shareholders in Maryland corporations may be found under TAX COMMISSION, *Miscellaneous*; those concerned with William and Mary College would quickly discover the *Alumni Gazette* of the school under MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS FROM PRIVATE SOURCES, Addison, Miss Virginia. Nevertheless, the quest for practicality which explains the omission of an Index is a striking virtue of the catalogue. Convention and uniformity, simply for their own sake, are avoided, and its intelligent plan achieves clarity and completeness in a minimum of pages.

In the last decade the importance of local history as the bedrock of our national history has been increasingly recognized. This catalogue brings new utility, and utility for many more people, to the productive workshop of local history at Annapolis.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

Princeton University

These Chesapeake Men. By GILBERT BYRON. North Montpelier, Vt.: Driftwind Press, 1942. 170 pp. \$2.00.

The truth that the best literary material is to be found, not far off but close at hand, has never been better emphasized than in Gilbert Byron's recent book, *These Chesapeake Men*. In these poems we are introduced familiarly to the broad Chesapeake, and to its tributary rivers and flat tide-water lands. Places seldom visited, and to many little more than names, leap into sudden prominence—St. Michaels, Crisfield and remote Tangier. We voyage in sailing craft of varied description—skiffs, shallops, schooners, sloops, bugeyes, dories—and touch at wharves where herons and kingfishers perch and where nets are drying. We hear the honk of geese overhead, as the old bridge-tender turns in his bed and listens in the dead of night. And with full sails set we skim over the azure waters with the salt breeze in our faces.

These are but the setting for the personalities which the poems reveal to us—sun-tanned captains of fishing boats, slow of speech but sound in sense; who in leisure hours sit in the sun, whittling, smoking, chewing and conversing. Everywhere there look out from the pages of the book men and women of strong and rugged individuality. And everywhere there is the tang of fish and crabs, as we voyage into bays and inlets among a population that draws its sustenance principally from the waters.

The book is reminiscent of Chesapeake history. We stand on decaying wharves and witness in imagination the trade of colonial days, when the laden ships departed for England to bring back luxuries for the wealthy owners of plantations. We live dramatically in the strife between the

dredgers and the State of Maryland over the right to exploit the oyster beds. And we are among the passengers on the crowded *Emma Giles* as she sails past Fort McHenry and Fort Carroll on her Sunday afternoon excursions.

In a brief review it is scarcely possible to dwell upon the charm of particular poems, but we mention as especially appealing "The Fisherman's Wife" which is reminiscent of Kingsley's "Three Fishers." And for sheer dramatic quality it would be difficult to exceed the climax of "Captain Billy and the Lady," wherein, after an argument in which she orders him to take his boat away from her landing, he bows and with extreme politeness says:

"You damn codfish aristocrat,
"You don't own the Chesapeake"

The water-colors by Jack Lewis, with which the pages are illustrated, add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume.

B. LATROBE WESTON

Maryland's 117th Trench Mortar Battery in the World War, 1917-1919.

By HENRY D. STANSBURY. Baltimore: Maryland Chapter, Rainbow Division Veterans, 1942. 142 pp. Illustrated.

Perhaps this is as good an account as can be found of the process of making a soldier. In straightforward and, praise God, honest language Mr. Stansbury tells how 189 (counting replacements) carefree and decidedly unpredictable boys were converted into a seasoned fighting unit. What kind of soldiers they made is revealed by the record: participation in four important actions; 4 killed, 34 wounded; and 17 citations—nearly ten per cent of the roster!

The brilliant record of the Battery is too well known to need praise at this late date. What this book vividly reveals is the point of view of the average soldier as he prepares for battle and takes his part in it. Here are no heroics and no glossing of the realities. Some of the yarns are tops. An account that rings true on every page, it does credit to the writer as well as to the famous Battery. Thanks to the excellent sketches of Clinton C. Davidson, the atmosphere of the War days is doubly recreated.

JAMES W. FOSTER

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Gosney Family Records, 1740-1940, and Related Families. By GEORGIA GOSNEY WISDA [n. p., n. d.] 325 pp.

The First Air Voyage in America [Jean Paul Blanchard, 1793]. By CARROLL FREY [With Reprint of Blanchard's] *Journal of My Forty-fifth Ascension*. Philadelphia: Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1943. 60, 27 pp.

The Interpretation of History. By JACQUES BARZUN, HAJO HOLBORN, HERBERT HEATON, DUMAS MALONE and GEORGE LAPIANA. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943. 186 pp. \$2.50.

NOTES

EXHIBITIONS OF THE SOCIETY

In addition to the various permanent exhibits, installed in the gallery, library, print room and the sixteen rooms and halls of the old building, the Society has held during the winter three displays of interesting material. The McKim Collection, gathered principally from the recent donations of Mrs. W. Duncan McKim with important items previously received from Mrs. Emilie McKim Reid and Mr. William Power Wilson, will remain indefinitely on view in the first floor room where it was installed in 1942. In connection with these portraits, articles of furniture, silver and china, received from three branches of the McKim family over a period of 20 years, it is of interest to note the receipt some months ago of a related item from another source. Among the portraits given in 1941 by Mrs. W. Duncan McKim was one of Isaac McKim, who, in 1833 built the super-Baltimore clipper *Ann McKim*, which astounded the world by her elegance of construction and speedy performances. She was built at Fells Point by Kennard and Williamson, from whose records the Society received in 1942 time books covering the very years of the vessel's construction, and consequently furnishing data not previously available regarding this ship. These books were presented by Mr. B. F. Williamson, as previously reported, through the good offices of Mr. Marion V. Brewington.

The various portraits and other paintings, diaries and account books, presented from time to time during his lifetime by Mr. H. Oliver Thompson and others received as a bequest under his will, were exhibited during the month of February in the large gallery and attracted much attention. They comprised 50 portraits and miniatures of the Oliver family of Greenmount—also a large pastel of the Greenmount residence—and of the Oliver family of Clifton, now Clifton Park. One of the account books of Robert Oliver's business dates from the spring of 1781 and includes a transaction in connection with supplies furnished Lafayette for his troops when they passed through Baltimore on the way to the South. This was the occasion when the ballroom in which the Marquis was entertained was turned overnight into a sewing room in order to furnish clothing to his ill-clad men. Lafayette's letter of thanks (see Scharf's *Chronicles*) mentions his particular obligation to the ladies whose hands had literally helped to clothe his army.

Portraits of Washington and the Berkley Collection of Washington prints, together with portraits of Washington's Revolutionary associates and letters of Washington, all from the Society's collections, were featured on February 22nd when the buildings of the Society were open from 3 to 6 P. M., and for a week thereafter.

Memorabilia of Otto Sutro and of the Wednesday Club which he founded, gathered by his daughters, Misses Rose L. and Ottilie Sutro, were presented to the Society on February 24 and are on view in a room on

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

December 14, 1942. The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held this evening. Mr. Marye read a list of a very interesting group of articles which has just been bequeathed to the Society by Mrs. Mattie M. Key, of Washington, D. C.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Miss Dorothy M. Banks	Mrs. Harry E. Houck
Dr. W. H. Harrison Bixler	Mr. Frederic C. Lane
Mrs. William J. A. Bliss	Mr. Jerome K. Meyer
Mr. W. L. Brann	Mrs. Malcolm N. Oates
Mr. Lloyd A. Brown	Mr. G. Harvey Porter
Mr. John E. Dempster	Mr. Arthur P. Sewell
Mr. Joseph Fax	Mr. M. J. Sullivan
Mr. T. H. Hanford Hopkins	Mr. D. Stuart Webb

The death of Dr. Walter R. Steiner, in November last, was reported.

Mr. John H. Scarff reported briefly on the valuable gifts, relating to the McKim family of Baltimore, presented to the Society by Mrs. W. Duncan McKim of Washington. The items included portraits, silver, china, and miscellaneous articles of uncommon interest which were displayed on the first floor of the Society's building.

Judge Samuel K. Dennis, the speaker of the evening, was presented by Mr. Griswold. Judge Dennis, well known to the members, gave a most interesting talk entitled "Eastern Shore Worthies." This address embraced sketches of the most noted personalities who were born or lived on the Eastern Shore. A rising vote of thanks was extended to the Judge for his delightful talk.

January 11, 1943. At a regular meeting of the Society President Radcliffe was in the chair. The following were elected to membership:

Active

Miss Edith Miller	Mrs. Emily R. Williams
Mr. John O. White	Mrs. John A. Crane
Mr. Harry E. Karr	Mrs. Bruce Wylie
Mr. Jules Chodak	Mrs. A. Brown Caldwell
Miss Dena Cohen	Mr. Charles P. Crane
Mrs. George L. Radcliffe	

Associate

G. W. Crist, Jr.	Mrs. Forrest Close
Lt. Col. H. C. Harrison, Jr.	Mrs. W. Duncan McKim

Mr. James E. Hancock took the chair and accepted the nominations for the officers, chairmen and members of the various committees, to be elected at the Annual Meeting on February 8.

Mr. Edward D. Martin, President of the Star Spangled Banner Flag House Association, extended an invitation to the members of the Society to be present at a Memorial Service, marking the 100th anniversary of the death of Francis Scott Key, at St. Paul's Church, Sunday, January 17, 1943.

The following deaths among our members were reported: Dr. Nicholas L. Dashiell, on January 8, 1943; Dr. Elmer B. Freeman, on December 15, 1942; Norman Bentley Gardiner, on December 16, 1942; Charles Cox Hopper, on January 11, 1943; Mrs. Harris H. Horner, on November 15, 1942 (associate); Mrs. Frank E. Jennings, on June —, 1942 (associate); Dr. Howard A. Kelly, on January 12, 1943; Mrs. Edwain S. Martin, on October —, 1942 (associate); E. McNeal Shannahan, on November 18, 1942.

Mr. Griswold introduced Major General Milton A. Reckord, who gave a most timely and interesting talk on "Maryland's Contribution to the War Effort." A vote of thanks was given General Reckord for his able summary of Maryland's participation in the present conflict.

February 8, 1943. The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening, President Radcliffe presiding.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Miss M. Virginia Gillette	Mr. Jerome Sloman
Mr. William T. Childs	Mr. Elias H. Nuttle
Mr. Thomas W. Pangborn	Mr. G. H. Poudar
Mr. Neal A. Sibley	Mr. John McC. Mowbray
Mr. Richard A. Froehlinger	Mr. Gustav Herzer, Jr.
Mr. Charles T. LeViness	Mr. Morris A. Mechanic
Mr. Louis N. Phipps	Mr. William Calvert Steuart
Mrs. Johnson Garrett	Mrs. Gordon Johnston
Mr. Lee L. Dopkin	Mr. S. Marvin Peach
Mr. W. Brewer Joyce	Mr. Charles H. Wagner
Mr. Roy B. White	Senator Wilmer C. Carter
Mrs. Ford K. Brown	Dr. Leslie N. Gay
Miss Catherine C. Gaule	Mrs. Joseph F. Betterley
Mr. James H. Grove, Jr.	Mrs. George H. Rowe
Mrs. Walter C. Bacon	Mr. John Kennedy
Mrs. George Zouck	Hon. James E. Boylan
Mr. Arunah S. A. Brady	Mr. Randolph Mordecai
Miss Florence J. Kennedy	Mrs. William F. Bevan
Dr. James Graham Marston	Senator Millard E. Tydings

Associate

Mrs. Otis W. Swainson

Mrs. Palmer Hall Cushman

Life Member

Mr. Charles P. McCormick

The following deaths were reported: Hon. Carroll T. Bond, on January 18, 1943; Mr. Maxwell Cathcart, on January 15, 1943; Mr. William Ingle, on January 15, 1943; Dr. John Donaldson Murray, on January 29, 1943; Mrs. George Washington Slocum (May A. Turner), on February 2, 1943; Mr. James Price Winchester, on January 27, 1943.

The President announced that the nominees for membership numbered 150 the largest group on record at a meeting of the Society, and stated that this was due to the very able efforts of Judge Dennis who alone nominated 110 new members. Judge Henry D. Harlan's motion that the sincere thanks of the Society be extended to Judge Dennis for the very remarkable achievements in his personal campaign for new members was carried.

The guest speaker, Miss Josephine McC. Fisher, gave a delightful and interesting account of "Bennett Allen, the Fighting Parson." The thanks of the Society were extended to Miss Fisher by a rising vote.

Dr. Pleasants gave a brief talk on the H. Oliver Thompson Collection of portraits and miniatures which are on display as a special exhibit in the main gallery.

February 8, 1943. The Annual Meeting was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair. On request of the President Mr. James E. Hancock presided during the election.

The Secretary was instructed by vote to cast the ballot for the list of officers and members of standing committees as previously nominated. The names of those elected were then announced (printed elsewhere in this issue of the Magazine).

Mr. Radcliffe resumed the chair and gave a sketch of the activities of the Society during the past year, and referred to the plans for the current year.

REPORTS FOR 1942

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

The first year of operation of the new central steam service in lieu of the worn-out coal burning furnace has given complete satisfaction, though the increase in cost will for several years exceed the annual expense of the old system. The allotted funds were insufficient to cover the year's expenses, but this is largely offset by the saving of the wages of a furnace man, budgeted in the general expenses of the Society. No other unusual expenses were incurred.

Budget Allowance.....		\$2,000.00
Heating	\$1,268.35	
Charge for installation paid as monthly interest	633.49	
	1,901.84	1,901.84
Insurance		158.50
American District Telegraph.....		448.56
Water Rent.....		41.50
Light		207.06
Miscellaneous repairs.....		94.90
Janitor supplies.....		100.49
		<u>\$2,952.85</u>

G. CORNER FENHAGEN, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

Among interesting additions to the Society's large collection of portraits and objects were the following:

Doll which once belonged to Hannah Ann Smith (1821-1899), daughter of Mathew & Catherine Marsh Smith (Quakers). Hannah Ann (Mrs. James Edmondson Atkinson of Easton) was grandmother of the donor, Mrs. Philip Gardner.

Portraits of William Baker (1750-1815), and his wife, Anna Burneston (1756— of Frederick) married in Baltimore September 11, 1780. Gift of Miss Sophia Anna Graves, through Miss Anna Melissa Graves.

Photograph of Thomas Marsh Forman, of Rose Hill, Cecil Co. and of his second wife, Martha Browne Ogle (1788-1864), great uncle and aunt of the donor, Miss Mary Forman Day.

Silver candelabra, walnut bookcase, and Governor Ritchie medal, gifts of Mrs. Julius Friedenwald.

Two views of "Melville Park," presented by Miss Florence Van Rensselaer.

Portraits of Dr. Edward Yerbury Goldsborough, and of his wife, Margaret Schley Goldsborough. Gifts of Mrs. Richard M. Duvall.

From Mrs. W. Duncan McKim the following additions to the large collection of portraits and silver presented last year: 43-piece dinner set with green band and crest of McKim family in colors; silver coffee, cream and sugar, pitcher, bowl, butter dish, salts and peppers, 3 trays, serving dish and cover, 2 candlesticks, and 44 pieces of table silver, all McKim family pieces; Birkhead family silver, consisting of 6 each of serving spoons, dessert spoons, teaspoons, large old Colonial spoons; 7 silver mugs belonging to the McKim children, childrens' knife and fork sets; 2 rare glass vases and other pieces.

Bequeathed by Mrs. Mattie M. Key were, among many items: silver urn presented in 1830 to Purser Gwinn Harris upon his retirement from the Navy; silver card tray with Key coat-of-arms; alabaster clock; bed warmer; quilt and sampler made by Marie Louise Harris Key; pudding dish; 2 bowls; 2 cut glass decanters with silver coasters; glass bowl presented to Susan Ruth Harris Maddox when at Barnum's Hotel about 1856; mahogany card table with carved legs; hall light which belonged to John Francis Harris of Baltimore; Adam chair; portraits of Joseph Harris, 1773-1855; Benjamin Gwinn Harris, 1806-1895, his son; Martha Elizabeth Harris, his son's wife; and Susan Ruth Harris Maddox, their daughter.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

Important additions to the MS collections were received during the year. The more notable ones were the following:

- Account book of the treasurer of Washington Academy, Princess Anne, beginning in 1784, kept by Col. George Handy, and three other account books, presented by Miss Caroline M. Crisfield.
- Diaries of James H. McHenry, 1840-1890, and three scrapbooks, presented by Mrs. Gaylord Lee Clark.
- Four account books of the Kennard and Williamson shipbuilding firm of Fells Point, and part of a diary of J. J. Williamson, from Mr. Bernard F. Williamson.
- Plats of Col. John Eager Howard's city property as divided after his death, deeds, account books and other papers relating to the estate; correspondence between F. S. Key and John Randolph of Roanoke; letters of Roger Brooke Taney; Bibles of Charles Howard, and Elizabeth Maynadier; from the estate of Charles McHenry Howard.
- Bible of John Eager Howard, from Miss Mary Howard Lloyd.
- Account book of Baltimore merchant, 1756-1760, from estate of Mrs. A. B. Bibbins.
- Letter of Thomas Jefferson, 1791, from Mr. L. Manuel Hendler.
- Miscellaneous MSS from the Misses Corner.
- "Chronicles of the U. S. S. *Lanakai*," by Commander Kemp Tolley, from Lt. Col. O. T. Tolley. The latter also presented a transcript of the vestry records of St. James P. E. Church, My Lady's Manor, 1821-1875.
- Original MS of *The British Invasion of Maryland*, by W. M. Marine, from his daughter, Miss Harriet Marine.
- Papers relating to the McAll Mission and French Relief in World War I, from Miss Lucy T. Latane.
- Business papers of Fielder C. Israel of Baltimore, anonymously presented.
- Papers of the Merryman family from Miss Laura Merryman; Brewer family from Dr. Charles Brewer, of Bradenton, Florida; McKim family from Mrs. W. Duncan McKim (additional), and Duncan McIntosh from Mrs. Christopher Johnson.
- Letter of Edward Cockey to Major Micajah Merryman furnishing a list of militia men in Baltimore County, from Miss Claris T. Crane.
- "Nathaniel Ramsay and Descendants" by Caldwell Woodruff, M. D., from the author.
- Anna Ella Carroll papers (additional), from Miss Katherine Cradock.

A lot of miscellaneous bound volumes were received from Mrs. McKim and single volumes came from many individuals.

- Mr. Arthur D. Gans presented 11 numbers of the Hagerstown almanac, 1864-1915; Miss Jane James Cook gave the Civil and Military Lists of Rhode Island, 1647-1850; Mr. Raphael Semmes presented two volumes printed here by Enoch Story in 1774 and 1775, and other books; 63 local imprints were given by Mr. Francis Old; and pamphlets and circulars totalling 32 pieces from collection of John Henry Alexander, came from Mr. Eugene A. Alexander.
- Additions to the Dielman Collection of Baltimore Sheet Music totaled 360 items.

GENEALOGICAL BOOKS AND PAPERS.

- Data concerning Nicholas Gassaway and descendants, from Mrs. John P. Wright.
- The Ancestry of William Clapton of York Co., Va., from Mrs. William Whitehead Erwin.
- Genealogy of the Descendants of John Kirk, by M. S. Roberts, from Maurice E. Skinner.
- Burgess genealogy, by Dr. B. H. Burgess, gift of the author.
- The Early Robossons of Anne Arundel Co., from Ray Robosson.

- James-Denison Genealogy, from Miss Jane James Cook.
 Data on the Ensor family of Baltimore County, from Mrs. Edith Read.
 Copies of the wills of Samuel Stringer Coale, 1798, and Thomas Coale, 1796; from Lt. Col. Joseph I. Greene.
 Forbes and Fowle families, 1610-1741 (MS bound), from the estate of George Forbes.
 Robert Colgate the Immigrant and associated lines, gift of Norman B. Gardiner.
 The Bibb Family of America, 1640-1940, gift of the author, Charles W. Bibb.
 Vinton Family chart, from James Vinton Blake.
 List of tombstone records of St. John's Church, Long Green, from Mr. Michael O. Jenkins.
 Genealogical notes of the late Dr. Christopher Johnston, from Mrs. Johnston.
 Strobridge, Morrison and Strawbridge families, from C. H. Strawbridge.
 Briscoe Lineage, from J. W. Harrison.
 Wainwright and related families, from Emerson B. Roberts.
 Copies of records of private burying grounds throughout the State, from Mrs. Thomas S. George.
 Henry Sater's descendants, by Iva Sheffer, gift of Rev. J. David Cook.
 Koon-Coons Families, from Mrs. C. C. Bovey.
 Henning, Hitzelberger and allied families, from Rev. Charles S. Jones.
 Daniel Cox Hopper family Bible, gift of the late Charles Cox Hooper.
 Courtney Family Chart, from Mrs. Ernest Helfenstein.
 Cooley Genealogy, from M. E. Cooley.
 Birth, marriage and death records of Harford County, gift of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver.
 William Grant Cook and his descendants, gift of Wm. Grant Cook.
 Very large collection of manuscript records of Maryland families, from Mrs. Harris H. Horner.
 The Maryland Logsdon Family, from Edwin C. Welsh.
 Gosney Family, by Mrs. Georgia Wisda.
 Lineage of the Anglo-Norman Péché of England, presented by Mr. Edwin Peck.
 The Family of Captain John Mills, presented by William Carroll Hill.
 Holland Family Notes, presented by Mrs. Otis W. Swainson.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman*

COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES AND LITERARY ENTERTAINMENT

The Society was fortunate in having an interesting and stimulating series of addresses during the year. The speakers and their topics were:

- January 12, "Errors of an Amateur Historian," by Mr. Hamilton Owens, Editor of the *Baltimore Sun*.
 February 9, "The Names of the Great Lawyers on the Frieze of the Supreme Bench Court Room," by former Judge Henry D. Harlan.
 February 26, "Sailing in the Wake of Columbus," by Samuel Eliot Morison, Professor of American History at Harvard University.
 March 9, "Mysticism and Magic During the Colonial Period and Later," by Dr. Henry Ridgely Evans.
 April 13, "The Work of the Federal Court of Maryland," by Hon. W. Calvin Chesnut, Judge of the United States District Court.
 May 11, "Early Days of The Johns Hopkins Hospital," by Dr. Lewellys F. Barker.
 October 12, "Tall Tales of Maryland," by Miss Katherine Scarborough, feature writer of the *Baltimore Sun*.
 November 9, "Some Maryland Items in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress," by Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussat, Chief, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

December 14, "Eastern Shore Worthies," by Chief Judge Samuel K. Dennis of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City.

Mr. John H. Scarff gave a brief sketch of the McKim Collection of portraits, silver, china and other objects recently presented by Mrs. W. Duncan McKim.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION

During the past year the fifty-eighth volume of the *Archives of Maryland*, edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, was published. It contains the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland for the years 1762-1763. This is the twenty-seventh volume that has been published dealing with Assembly affairs. The entire cost of this volume was \$4,943.84. The State appropriation for 1941 was \$4,133.00, the difference between the two figures having been made up from funds accumulated from sales of the Archives in past years.

The Society's quarterly, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, which is edited by Mr. James W. Foster, completed its thirty-seventh year. The four issues total 465 pages. A statement of the income and expenses of the *Magazine* follow:

Budget allowance.....		\$2,000.00	
Subscriptions and sale of single copies.....	\$234.91		
Advertising revenue.....	356.19		
Sale of Joshua Johnston reprints.....	23.00		
Contributions to illustrations in Magazine..	186.30		
	\$800.40	800.40	
		<u>2,800.40</u>	\$2,800.40
Expenses:			
Printing (4 issues).....	\$2,160.00		
Postage	105.55		
Editor	150.00		
Index	55.00		
Commission on advertising for 1941.....	100.00		
Engravings and illustrations.....	230.59		
Envelopes	67.22		
J. Johnston post card announcements.....	29.95		
	\$2,898.31		\$2,898.31
Debit balance.....			\$ 97.91

RAPHAEL SEMMES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

January 1, 1942:		
Life Members.....	18	
Associate Members.....	166	
Active Members.....	1060	
	<u>1244</u>	1244
New Members, 1942:		
Associate	19	
Active	80	
	<u>99</u>	99
		<u>1343</u>
Members lost during 1942:		
Died	36	
Resigned	49	
Dropped	20	
	<u>105</u>	105
		<u>1238</u>
December 31, 1942:		
Life	18	
Associate	169	
Active	1051	
	<u>1238</u>	

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE,
Chairman

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1942.....		\$ 4,506.28
RECEIPTS:		
Dues from Members.....	\$ 5,850.00	
Income Peabody Fund.....	987.50	
Income other than Peabody Fund.....	4,172.60	
Income Athenaeum Fund.....	2,931.52	
Income Audubon Fund.....	205.00	
Confederate Relics.....	50.00	
Publication Committee.....	398.84	
Library Committee.....	110.26	
Magazine Account.....	401.56	
General Account.....	629.13	
	<u>15,736.41</u>	15,736.41
Securities:		
5,000 American Tel. & Tel. 5½% 1943 Called..	5,000.00	
1,000 Baltimore 2nd School Loan Matured....	1,000.00	
7% Distribution on 2,000 Mortgage Securities Corp Series "B" in liquidation.....	140.00	
	<u>6,140.00</u>	6,140.00

Endowment Funds:

Florence C. Chesnut Bequest.....	925.00	
Mary B. Redmond Bequest.....	454.11	
M. Ella Hoopes Bequest.....	1,000.00	
Chas. C. McCormick, Life Member.....	100.00	
		2,479.11
		\$28,861.80

EXPENDITURES:

General Account:

Salaries	\$ 6,796.43	
Trustees	1,051.01	
Trustees—Heating.....	1,901.84	
Office	180.06	
Treasurer	233.50	
General	1,731.38	
Special	569.40	
		12,463.62
Magazine Account.....	2,184.00	
Library Committee.....	393.42	
Publication Committee.....	714.31	
Securities Purchased.....	8,515.79	
		24,271.14
Balance on Hand December 31, 1942.....		\$ 4,590.66

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDITS:

Bequests:

Florence C. Chesnut.....	\$ 925.00	
M. Ella Hoopes.....	1,000.00	
Mary B. Redwood.....	454.11	
Life Member Chas. C. McCormick.....	100.00	
\$5,000. American Tel. & Tel. 5½%—1943 Called.....	5,000.00	
1,000. Balto. City 2nd School Loan Matured.....	1,000.00	
7% Distribution on \$2,000. Mortgage Sec. Corp. Series " B " in liquidation.....	140.00	
		\$8,619.11

PURCHASED:

\$5,000 American Tobacco Co. 3% Deb. 1962.....	\$5,014.59	
(\$1,000 Account of Audubon Fund)		
2,000 U. S. Treasury 2½% 62-67.....	2,001.10	
1,500 U. S. Victory 2½% 62-68.....	1,500.10	
		8,515.79
Uninvested Funds for Year Ending Dec. 31, 1942.....		103.32
Less Overdraft, Dec. 31, 1941.....		116.94
Overdraft, December 31, 1942.....		\$ 13.62

STATE OF MARYLAND—ARCHIVES ACCOUNT

Balance on Hand, January 1, 1942.....		\$5,828.79
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RECEIPTS:		
State of Maryland.....	\$3,334.29	
General	132.28	
	<hr/>	3,466.57
		<hr/>
		\$9,295.36
EXPENDITURES:		
Paid Lord Baltimore Press.....	\$2,149.40	
General	726.80	
	<hr/>	2,876.20
		<hr/>
Balance on Hand, December 31, 1942.....		\$6,419.16
State of Maryland Appropriation for 1942.....	4,133.00	
Paid to Society.....	.	3,334.29
Paid Direct to Lord Baltimore Press.....		798.71
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$4,133.00	\$4,133.00

For reasons of economy the list of members of the Society has been omitted from this issue. It will be published as a separate pamphlet and will be sent *upon request* to members who desire to receive it.