

THE HUMBLE
 A D D R E S S
 OF
Tobias Bond, and Benjamin Welch,
 FLYING MERCURIES, OR NEWS-BOYS,
 (*Vulgarly styled* PRINTER'S DEVILS)
 TO THE WORTHY CUSTOMERS OF THE
MARYLAND JOURNAL, and BALTIMORE ADVERTISER,
 JANUARY 1, 1780.

LET festive Mirth once more appear,
 And smile upon the new-born Year;
 May Pleasure reign without Controul,
 Around the cheerful flowing Bowl!
 So says poor BEN---and TOBY too,
 Who, if they have a Joy in View,
 Derive their flatter'ing HOPES from YOU. }
 And sure GOOD NATURE will agree,
 There is some Reason in their Plea;
 Remember, Sirs, thro' Frost and Snow,
 We bring you Tidings of the Foe;
 The earliest NEWS from France and Spain,
 And what's transacting on the Main;
 Shew what all Europe are about,
 Among the GREAT—who's IN or OUT,
 Who has this Place—or that Command—
 Of Battles fought by Sea or Land.
 Whilst at your Tea, or Coffee seated,
 Cur'osity is amply treated,

With all the Secrets of the Court,
 Vessels arriv'd at such a Port—
 Of Wives from Husbands run away,
 And horned Cattle gone astray;
 Of Paper-Warriors who smother
 The Cause of Quarrel with each other;—
 Or when the mighty Matter's told,
 Like vulgar Oyster-Women scold!
 Let this suffice—You see our Drift
 Is to request a NEW-YEAR'S GIFT:—
 Assist to raise our humble FEAST,
 You'll have this merry Thought at least,
 That by a Trifle of your Treasure,
 You give the very Devils Pleasure.
 Excuse these Lines, most worthy Masters,
 In Truth we are but Postasters;
 Laugh at the Verse—which we present,
 But pay for laughing—we're content.

* That comick Genius TOM WESTON, assuming our Character, plead so successfully, on a distant Theatre, that the generous Audience not only encouraged the dramatick Hard he recommended, but also "gave the Devil his Due." He concluded his Prologue thus:

Faith, Sirs, you shou'd have some Consideration,
 When ev'n the Devil pleads against Damnation.

Prologue to the FASHIONABLE LOVER.

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VIGNETTES OF MARYLAND HISTORY FROM THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION OF BROADSIDES

By RAPHAEL SEMMES

PART I. TOPICAL

The Society's collection of broadsides falls into two classes, those dealing with a certain subject, or topic, such as the agricultural and industrial development of the state, duelling and the code of honor, or transportation. These will be considered in this article. A second article will treat of political and military broadsides. A broadside, or handbill, usually implies a single sheet of paper printed on one side only. As, however, some of the most interesting sheets in the Society's collection are printed on both sides, these, too, will be considered as broadsides.

There are a number of broadsides, or handbills, in the collection which are of comparatively recent date, but in these two articles, with one or two exceptions, none printed after the end of the Civil War period will be discussed. Thereafter broadsides were no longer an important medium for disseminating information. One other limitation is observed. As the period considered covers nearly two hundred and fifty years, the two articles must of necessity be confined to a description of the broadsides, or handbills themselves, with scant references to the historical background. First to consider those broadsides relating to topics or subjects.

AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Agriculture

Broadsides describing the sales of land form a large part of the Society's collection. The oldest broadside (1769) gives the "Conditions of Sale of the Right Honourable Lord Baltimore's Manors & Reserved Lands." While they do not deal with the sale of lands, there are two broadsides for the year 1784 signed by Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Intendant of the Revenue, which give a summary and a comparative view of the assessment of lands in the counties of Maryland for the years 1781, 1782 and 1783.¹

One of the most interesting items dealing with agriculture is an early broadside, or handbill, containing a notice of an "Exhibition and Fair, under the direction of the Maryland Agricultural Society," to be held at the Maryland Tavern during the last two days of May, 1822. Charles Ridgely, of Hampton, was Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements. Among others who served on this committee were Henry Thompson, William Patterson, Lloyd N. Rogers, and John E. Howard, Jr. The handbill states the regulations governing the exhibition and warns that "the committee will make every endeavour to put down all gambling, rioting and unlawful proceedings. . . ."

¹ There is also a handbill (May, 1796) giving notice that the Commissioners of the Tax for Baltimore County would hold a meeting soon "for the purpose of hearing appeals, and making transfers. . . ."

The following handbills give notice of the forthcoming sale of land: Confiscated land for sale in four counties. Notice signed by Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Intendant of the Revenue. July 11, 1785 (photostat); 400 acres in Baltimore county, owner, John Gilliss, July 13, 1795; 200 acres in Harford county, owner, Lloyd Durham, July 19, 1802; 100 acres chestnut timber land in Baltimore county, owner Hamlet Gilliss, Mar. 19, 1816; 3001 acres in Frederick county, owner, C. Birnie, circa 1819 (Two broadsides describe this land which are similar but not the same. One mentions a new town to be called "Belfast."); 236 acres in Baltimore county, owner, Jeremiah Ducker, Sept. 8, 1829; Trustee's sale, 256 acres of land of a tract called "My Lady's Manor," trustee, P. H. Rutledge, Mar. 27, 1867.

There are other items regarding land sales. One is entitled "A Caution to Purchasers." It is signed by two men who acted as "attornies in fact" for the heirs of William Wood, deceased. Dated June 1, 1818, it warns would-be-purchasers of certain land on the north side of Baltimore Street to which, they maintained, they alone had title; there is also a broadside which contains a deed of cession of certain land on the west side of Jones' Falls by Samuel and Thomas Chase to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore. It is dated August 13, 1818.

There is one handbill, dated Dec. 24, 1853, printed in Liberty Town, in which Thomas Carr, constable, gives notice of the sale of tobacco by virtue of a distraint warrant.

Two broadsides, both published in 1824, relate to the Eastern Shore. One is entitled "A Brief Extract from the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Board of Agriculture for the Eastern Shore." This board had been organized by the Maryland Agricultural Society. The resolutions and report of the Eastern Shore society, accompanied by a printed form letter dated July 19, 1824, were sent to the farmers in the several counties of the Eastern Shore with the hope that they would form associations of from five to twelve members in order to aid the Maryland Agricultural Society in the improvement of farm lands on the Eastern Shore. Robert H. Goldsborough, Henry Holliday, Daniel Martin, Governor Samuel Stevens, Jr., and Tench Tilghman were the members of a committee who were active in promoting this affair. It is interesting to note that these men considered Negro slavery "an evil for the continuance of which we are not responsible until we can do it away properly and prudently." And this was in 1824!

Another item which the Society possesses is a notice of a "General Agricultural and Horticultural Establishment: comprising a seed and implement store, a general agricultural agency, and the Office of the American Farmer." All these, it appears, were located in the basement of Barnum's Hotel, in Baltimore, in connection with a stock and experimental farm, and a garden and nursery in the vicinity. The notice, printed in 1832 and again in 1833, gives the prices at which garden seeds could be bought.

Industry

A broadside, dated Sept. 1808, of the old "Baltimore Water Company," gives the conditions under which water would be supplied to a family applying for the same. Another, dated June 1, 1818, certifies that Wm. W. Taylor having paid the "Gas Light Company of Baltimore" the sum of one hundred dollars was entitled to one share of the capital stock of that company. Of interest, too, on the subject of industrial development, is a handbill printed in Baltimore in February, 1802, entitled "Rules to be observed by the Hands Employed in the Brick-Making Business. . . ." The duties of the moulder, the temperer, the wheeler and the off-bearer are given in detail.²

² The Society also has a bill rendered in Oct., 1816, by the Superintendent of Water Works for 174 ft. of pipe, etc., supplied at 50 cents a foot. Other items related to industrial development include a broadside dated Sept. 1, 1827, contain-

BOOKS, LIBRARIES AND NEWSPAPERS

Books

A handbill printed by Wm. Woody in March, 1839, throws light on the reading tastes of Baltimoreans of this period. The bookseller was Nathaniel Hickman. Among the books advertised for sale were Scott's prose and poetical works, Lamb's prose works, *Gil Blas*, Milton's prose, Hume and Smollett's *History of England* and Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

The Society has several advertisements of forthcoming books, the earliest of which is a photostat of a printed letter written by Frederick Green at Annapolis in May, 1785, announcing that he had undertaken to print for public use all the laws of the colony "from Bacon's Collection up to the present time." Another photostat of a broadside dated May 4, 1785, gives the terms and conditions under which the laws will be published. It also has a place for the signature of those wishing to subscribe to the volume when published.³

At Annapolis, in 1762, Jonas Green, printer, in a petition addressed to Governor Horatio Sharpe and the General Assembly, stated that although he had been acting as a printer for the past twenty-four years, he had not received sufficient remuneration for his services.⁴

According to an early broadside (Feb. 22, 1782), Mary

ing information about the Temascaltepec Mining Company operating in Mexico, but chartered in Maryland; advertisement of Valerius Dukehart, 101½ Baltimore Street, printed in March, 1832, giving the various items which he offers for sale; a photostat of an advertisement of a "Patent Platform Scales," and other kinds of weighing apparatus, which, in 1844, Jesse Marden offered for sale in Baltimore.

³ There are two other advertisements of forthcoming books, including "Proposals, by Elizabeth Chase, for publishing, by subscription, a translation of the *Punicks of Silius Italicus* by her father, the Rev. Thomas Chase, formerly rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore." Thomas Chase was the father of Samuel Chase. Subscriptions to this book, which was to cost \$2.50, were to be received by the publisher, Edward J. Coale, bookseller, whose office was opposite the Post Office, in Baltimore. It is interesting to note that the Society has this translation in manuscript form. It does not appear to have been published. The advertisement of the proposed publication of Thomas Chase's book has no date.

More successful in his efforts, however, was John Kilty when on Oct. 28th, 1806, he proposed to publish, by public subscription, "The Landholder's Assistant, and Land-Office Guide." This book, as the title indicates, is an exposition of how title to land might be acquired.

⁴ On May 26, 1859, Joseph Robinson published a broadside addressed "To the Convention of the P. E. Church of Maryland," in which he justified the price which he had asked for printing the Journal of the Convention.

Katherine Goddard, another printer, had her office in Baltimore at the Post Office, on Market (now Baltimore) Street, where, in addition to engaging in the printing business, she sold handkerchiefs, shirts, snuff, stationery, pictures, medicines, etc.

Two broadsides relate to Hezekiah Niles, who was for many years editor of Niles' *Weekly Register*. In one, addressed "To the People of Baltimore," dated Sept. 1st, 1831, and signed by Niles, the latter states his platform as candidate for the office of Elector of Senate. Niles promised to try to secure proper representation for Baltimore in both the Senate and the House of Delegates. This broadside also contains an account of the wide distribution of his *Register*, which, he says, is better known in New York than in Baltimore where it was published. The files of the *Weekly*, Niles said, could be found at nearly all the principal seats of government in the world. It had brought to Baltimore at least \$200,000. which had been expended in the city for labor and materials. The *Register*, he claimed, was free of any party affiliations.

The other broadside, or handbill, also published in 1831, is addressed "To the Working Men, Mechanics and others," and was signed by "A Laboring Man." This contains a plea to vote for Niles as an elector to represent Baltimore in the College of Electors of the Senate of Maryland.

Libraries

In Baltimore, during the year 1773, there was published a broadside entitled "Proposals for Establishing a Circulating Library in Baltimore-Town." This handbill points out the many advantages such a library of eight hundred volumes would have, including giving young people an opportunity of reading good books "under the eye of their parents and friends." The yearly subscription to this library, which was four dollars, could be sent either to William Goddard's printing office in Baltimore or to the Coffee House or Fountain Inn.

Newspapers

A broadside dealing with the freedom of the press was published in 1812. It is entitled "Sacred to the Memory of Gen. James M. Lingan, one of the heroes of '76 . . ." and is an elegiac

poem in Lingan's honor for his having died for the liberty of the press, when, on July 28th, 1812, he was killed by a mob. Another broadside (1819) addressed "To the Freemen of Frederick County," criticizes Samuel Barnes, one of the editors of a Whig newspaper, who was charged with having incited acts of violence which resulted in General Lingan's death. People of Frederick were told not to vote for Barnes or for William E. Williams, who, it was alleged, had said that "no poor man ought to have a vote."

"Freeman of Frederick County, Look at This!" is the title of one broadside, signed by John P. Thomson, and published on Oct. 1st, 1819. This is an attempt by Thomson, who was editor of the *Frederick-Town Herald*, to show that James F. Huston, postmaster at Frederick and a Democrat, had purposely delayed sending out the *Herald* on the eve of an important election. This, it was claimed, was "a shameful attempt to withhold . . . the benefits of a free press. . . ." In another broadside, dated August 27, 1831, addressed "To the Voters of Harford County," Thomas Hope, who signed it, threatened to sue the editors of the *Independent Citizen* for libel. Hope, who was a school commissioner for Harford County, had been accused in the newspaper of "fraudulent practices in the application and distribution of the School Funds. . . ." ⁵

At the end of the year it was the custom of newsboys to address an appeal for money to those to whom they had delivered copies of their newspaper during the year. The Society has many broadsides containing such addresses. The earliest two are the most interesting. One, dated Jan. 1, 1780, is called "The Humble Address of Tobias Bond and Benjamin Welch, flying mercuries, or newsboys, vulgarly styled printer's devils, to the worthy customers of the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser." The other is addressed to the subscribers of the same newspaper, but is of a later date, Jan. 1, 1785, and the newsboy's name is Caleb.

⁵ The Society's collection contains broadsides supplying information about the publication and price of newspapers, such as one printed in Cumberland in March, 1845, announcing a new Whig paper there to be called "The Independent." During the same year there appeared in Baltimore a broadside announcing a reduction in the subscription price of the "Christian Advocate and Journal."

Information about a newspaper is contained in a broadside published at Easton, Maryland, in January, 1837. It is entitled "Prospectus. To the Patrons of the Eastern-Shore Whig and People's Advocate and to the Public Generally." It was signed by Geo. W. Sherwood, who said that his newspaper, which was \$2.50 per annum, needed support.

In order to give some idea of these addresses, this one is quoted in full:

As life is said a stage to be,
 An humble Part's allotted me;
 And tho' I'm call'd a Printer's Devil,
 On New-Year's Day I'm very civil.
 Good masters all attend I pray,
 To what poor Caleb now will say;
 His Mistresses who are so kind,
 Will gratify his humble Mind.
 Caleb is proud to bring your News,
 Which you with Pleasure may peruse;
 To please you all is his Intent,
 For this his Time's in Labour spent:
 He chearful runs thro' Frost and Snow,
 That you the weekly News may know;
 Then let poor Cale your Goodness share,
 And you will have his New-Year's Prayer;
 A little Pittance from your Store,
 Will gain the Blessings of the Poor;
 A happy Year Cale wishes all;
 Then let on him your Bounty fall:
 He hopes to find all Parties willing,
 And will rejoice to feel—a SHILLING.

Newsboys probably received assistance in the preparation of their verses. One address states that the lines were written without any help by a lad of fourteen as though this was unusual. As he considered them suitable for his purpose, the carrier, in one instance, republished lines which had been written by Brantz Mayer.⁶

⁶ See "Address to the Patrons of the Western Continent by the Carrier, Jan. 1, 1849." There are these additional newsboy New Year addresses to their patrons for the following newspapers: *Baltimore Evening Post*, 1811; *Niles' Weekly Register*, 1814; *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 1814, 1817, 1831; *Baltimore Telegraph*, 1816; *Federal Gazette*, 1816, 1825; *Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser*, 1817, 1819; *Morning Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser*, 1820; *Baltimore Gazette*, 1827, 1829-1831, 1836; *Saturday Morning Visitor*, 1836; *Daily Republican and Argus*, 1846; *Baltimore Patriot*, 1846, 1855, 1859; *Western Continent* (verse by Brantz Mayer), 1849. There are also carrier addresses for the years 1828, 1875 and 1879, but the name of the newspaper is not given; also two of no date to the patrons of the *Leader* and *The Gazette*.

It is interesting to note that it was also once the custom of watchmen to solicit money during the holiday season. See handbill entitled "Watchman's Address on the Return of Christmas, 1846." The duties of a watchman are reviewed in a broadside dated Oct. 15, 1830, which is addressed "To the Voters of Baltimore." Lads who made a living shining shoes also asked for money at Christmas. See "The Boot Black Boy's Address to his Patrons."

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The Society has several broadsides relating to this subject. One notice offers one hundred and fifty dollars reward for the capture of Philip Cole, a mulatto, who stole between 300 and 400 dollars. The money was taken at the General Wayne tavern, located on the corner of Paca and Baltimore Streets. Cole is described as "slim in the face, high cheek bones . . . and a down look with a smile." This notice bears the date of October 2, 1844.⁷

Another broadside, printed in 1820, is about Morris N. B. Hull, a mail robber, under sentence of death. It contains an appeal to the citizens of Baltimore and recapitulates the facts that helped to extenuate the guilt of Hull. The author of the broadside, a man named Williams, explained that Hull, a youth of twenty, acted under the influence of Perry Hutton, an older man, and his partner in crime. For this reason Williams asks that Hull's death sentence be commuted to one of life imprisonment. Besides Williams' appeal, the broadside contains two letters, one written by Hull to his father which he signs, "from your guilty, afflicted, undutiful and imprisoned son," and the other is Hull's reply to the judge who sentenced him. In his letter to the judge the boy admitted the enormity of his crime and expressed a wish that he might be able to help the woman he had widowed and the children he had made fatherless. Williams' plea was in vain: both Hull and Hutton were hanged.⁸

There is one handbill in the form of a proclamation issued March, 1851, by Enoch Louis Lowe, then Governor of Maryland. It states that in view of four foul murders committed in Kent County, he, the Governor, offered a reward of \$1,000 "for the apprehension and conviction of the person, or persons, by whom the said murder was committed."

Another broadside relates to William Chase Barney, of Balti-

⁷ One notice printed in Baltimore at the office of the *Morning Chronicle* on Oct. 1, 1823, offers fifty dollars reward for the return of 218 dollars which was lost out of a wagon on the way to Washington. The money, according to the notice, was "deposited in a pair of saddlebags, and the remnant in a handkerchief; all of this was rolled up together in a mattress & left in a waggon." For a handbill referring to the theft of a horse, see text under heading of "Transportation by Land and Water."

⁸ For a discussion of this case see J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 398, 399. The blood test or blood ordeal was used in this case.

more. It was published in Philadelphia on Jan. 15, 1846, by T. Jones. In it Jones makes assertions to show Barney a swindler against whom people should be on their guard. He contended that Barney had swindled people not only in Baltimore, but also in London, Paris and Wilmington, Delaware. In the latter place, it was said, he had also seduced a young colored girl.⁹

DISEASE AND DOCTORS

Disease

Two broadsides refer to disease. One was printed on Nov. 18, 1800, and gives "extracts from an ordinance to mitigate the distress occasioned by the late prevailing fever." It is signed by James Calhoun, then Mayor of Baltimore. By the provisions of the ordinance a number of persons were appointed in each ward "to inspect into the condition of the poor therein, and grant recommendations or orders . . . to such of them as they shall discover to be really in want and who have not the means of subsisting themselves, to receive such articles or supplies as shall be provided at the public expense. . . ." Among the persons

⁹ The oldest broadside dealing with crime is in regard to the alleged high treason of Charles, 3rd Lord Baltimore. It is entitled "The Case of the Lord Baltimore." In it Charles alleges that he has been outlawed for high treason in Ireland for being in rebellion there against the government. The petitioner contends that as he has never been in Ireland he could not have been guilty of treason there. Charles said that since he is in ill health he cannot appeal to the King's Bench in Ireland to reverse the outlawry, he therefore asks that a bill be brought in the English Parliament to reverse it. Undated; *circa* 1651.

On May 4, 1794, there was published in Baltimore a broadside addressed "To the Citizens of Baltimore-Town," signed by Samuel Chase. In this Chase said that he had Captain David Stodder arrested because he had refused "to enter into recognizance, and with security" for his appearance at court to answer the charge against him of acts amounting to riot. Chase said that as he could not permit acts destructive of all order he had been compelled to do this.

In a broadside, dated Aug. 26, 1806, and addressed "To the Public," Robert Dodson refuted the charge made by one John Dawson that he had attempted to cheat him out of one and a half dollars per hundredweight on two hogsheads of tobacco.

Another broadside deserving mention contains "Judge Carmichael's Charge to the Grand Jury of Talbot County on Arbitrary Arrests." In this charge, which he gave at the November term, 1861, the Judge deplored the incidents where soldiers, with no pretense of authority but their arms, had invaded houses and dragged the inmates to prison. Such arbitrary, illegal, and false imprisonments, Carmichael claimed, were contrary to law. For expressing such opinions the Judge was dragged from the bench by Union soldiers and beaten. He was later imprisoned. See J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, 490, 491.

appointed in the various wards were Isaac Trimble, David Poe, Jesse Tyson, Robert McKim and others.

The other broadside relating to disease was printed in Baltimore on June 29, 1832. Issued by Archbishop James Whitfield, it was addressed to the clergy and laity of "our diocese." The Archbishop asked that the priests and laity should offer prayers to avert the cholera then raging abroad and which had recently appeared in America. For this reason he ordered a public mass to be celebrated on the Fourth of July.

Doctors

In a broadside addressed to "To the People of Harford County," by Dr. John Archer, dated August 31, 1826, mention is made of a meeting called to regulate the charges of physicians. Apparently the fees were actually reduced.

Dr. S. K. Jennings, "professor of midwifery and of the Diseases of Women and children in the Washington University of Baltimore," had a notice published in January, 1844, in which he stated that women desiring to consult him at his office might do so and he promised to make "the necessary investigation in the most delicate manner."

An undated handbill bears the title: "Take Notice! Two Ways only lead to this Shop, Charity or Money." It contains the following statement:

A Physician much employed, has no time to lose in idle conversation—tell your case clearly, and in as few words as possible—do not ask the same questions a thousand times over—listen to what you are told, profit by it, and let the Physician attend to those duties that are incumbent to his profession.²⁰

DUELLING AND THE CODE OF HONOR

Four broadsides, printed in the year 1833, relate to a duel. While duelling was prohibited in Maryland, it was not in the District of Columbia. Alexander Hambleton and Joseph R. Price, both of the Eastern Shore, were the men involved. It appears that at a political rally held in Trappe on the 21st of September

²⁰ A broadside published in Frederick on Oct. 2, 1837, contains an advertisement of lectures on phrenology to be given at the court house by Dr. Collyer, a pupil of the late Dr. Spurzheim.

Mr. Samuel Hambleton was making a speech in behalf of his candidacy for the legislature. Samuel was a brother of Alexander Hambleton. During the speech Price made some remarks which Alexander considered as an attempt to interrupt his brother and he so informed Mr. Price. The latter, resenting Alexander's interference, tweaked his nose not only once but twice. After suffering this indignity, Alexander challenged Price to a duel.

Plans were drawn up for the duel which was to take place in the District of Columbia, near Bladensburgh. The duellists were to stand eight yards apart facing one another. Charles A. Tilghman acted as the second for Price, while Edward O. Martin was Hambleton's second.

The question involved in the series of broadsides was whether Price, or Hambleton, had made a genuine attempt to meet the other in mortal combat. This depended in part on whether the ground chosen by Price's second was actually in the District of Columbia or not. The broadsides go into great detail and each antagonist endeavours to show that he did his part. Price called Hambleton "thou vilest of paltrons—thou most pitiable of cowards," in one broadside, while Hambleton in a handbill called Price "a scoundrel and a coward." Both contestants appear to have been satisfied with this exchange of verbal broadsides. It is doubtful if the duel ever took place.¹¹

There are broadsides regarding other controversies which did not result in a challenge to a duel. Two other Eastern Shoremen, Price Martindale and William Marsh Catrup, were involved in an acrimonious dispute. A broadside, published in 1806, probably at Easton, was addressed by Catrup "To the Public, Friends and Fellow Citizens." A number of persons are mentioned, including a Mr. Strut who was horsewhipped and another man who was sent to the whipping post. As for Martindale, Catrup said that he did not think that the public will take "the bare word of Such a d - n - d lying, mean, shuffling, infamous scoundrel as Price Martindale—that the very scourings of perdition could not turn out such another." Catrup concluded by saying that he was

¹¹ Of the broadsides which deal with this controversy, two are dated October 2, 1833. One is a signed statement by Edward O. Martin, Hambleton's second, and the other is a signed statement by Price. A third broadside is signed by Alexander Hambleton as the latter had decided to answer Price's account of the affair. The fourth broadside, dated Oct. 10, 1833, is signed by P. F. Thomas, who accompanied Mr. Price. All four broadsides are addressed "To the Public."

not afraid of Martindale or "any weapons that he would wish to make use of."¹²

The Society has a very large broadside dated Jan. 22, 1811, addressed "To the People of Calvert County," in which names were also called but no duel resulted. In this dispute James M. Taylor described the conduct of Samuel Turner as "ungentlemanly . . . cowardly and disgraceful," to which Mr. Turner replied that Dr. Taylor was the originator of "base and infamous falsehoods, a calumniator and no gentleman."

One of the most picturesque figures in colonial Maryland was Bennet Allen, an Anglican minister. He engaged in many quarrels, including one with Walter Dulany, which ended in a cane and fist fight, and another with Lloyd Dulany, a brother of Walter, which resulted in a duel.¹³

There are several broadsides which deal with a controversy between Luther Martin and Robert Lemmon. In view of Martin's irascible nature, it is rather curious that the dispute did not result in a fist fight or a duel. It appears that Lemmon had made public some correspondence which Martin, then Attorney General of the State, thought contained a slur on his character. Martin also resented being represented by Lemmon as a Tory. During the controversy a verse appeared which made fun of Lemmon. Dedicated to the "August and Venerable Robert Lemmon," it read:

Hail to the man, decreed by fate
To be a pillar of the State!
A pillar, tho' a rotten one,
For fools and knaves to rest upon . . .
A front incas'd with tenfold brass,
In ignorance a very ass . . .

James Ryan writing in behalf of Dr. Robert Lemmon said that the physician had been educated "in the most respectable seminary of learning in the city of Dublin," while Martin was born of "a low family."¹⁴

¹² See "Memoranda of the Annals of Talbot County," "Social Annals," No. II, pp. 94-96, collected by S. A. Harrison. In Maryland Historical Society.

¹³ Information regarding the controversy between Bennet Allen and Walter Dulany is contained in three broadsides all addressed "To the Public," one dated May 28, 1768, and the other two, dated Nov. 9, 1768. For an account of this quarrel and of his duel with Lloyd Dulany, see Josephine Fisher, "Bennet Allen, Fighting Parson," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vols. XXXVIII and XXXIX.

¹⁴ The following broadsides throw light on this controversy: "Queries to the Whigs of Maryland," Baltimore, Feb. 16, 1779; "To the Public," signed by

EDUCATION

The most interesting broadside which the Society has in this field is the act for founding Washington College, at Chestertown, on the Eastern Shore. This handbill was printed in 1782, probably in Philadelphia. Addressed "To the inhabitants of the Eastern Shore of Maryland," it discusses the advantages such an institution would give to the youths on the Eastern Shore who previously had to go to England or to a neighboring colony for their education. The broadside has the names of those who had contributed to the college.

Another dealing with education is the "Catalogue of the Faculty and Students of Dickinson College, Carlisle, December, 1811." While this was a Pennsylvania institution, a number of Maryland boys attended there as their names appear in the catalogue. Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney graduated from Dickinson College in 1795.

Of an early date is a circular printed by Matthias Bartgis & Son, in Frederick, entitled "Friendly Hints in Various Subjects." Advice is given to children as to how they should behave at home, in school and at church. Children were also admonished to be thrifty and were told that they could get cash, or books, for all

Robert Lemmon, Baltimore, Sept. 18, 1779; "Queries addressed to Robert Lemmon, Esq.," signed "A Friend to Justice," Baltimore, Oct. 22, 1779; "A pedantic PEDAGOGUE, suddenly metamorphosed into a GENERAL OF LAW . . ." signed by James Ryan, Baltimore, Nov. 4, 1779; two broadsides, both printed in Baltimore, and addressed to Martin and Lemmon by some one who signs "Cineas," one dated Nov. 17, 1779, and the other Dec. 27, 1779. While the following are not broadsides, they also relate to this controversy: "An Address to Robert Lemmon, Esq. by Luther Martin," Baltimore, 1779; "To the Public," signed Luther Martin, Baltimore, Aug. 19, 1779; "To Robert Lemmon, Esq.," signed L. Martin, Baltimore, Oct. 2, 1779. M. K. Goddard was the printer of all the items mentioned in this footnote.

The Society has four broadsides all published at Annapolis in 1788 which deal with a dispute in regard to the sale of a boat. Those involved were Captain Andrew Bryson and his friend and agent, John Davidson, and the firm of Yates and Petty. It appears that John Petty was ordered by the court to pay Captain Bryson a sum of money due him for the sale of the ship *Kitty*. Petty, however, refused to do so on the ground that Bryson's account was fraudulent. Petty even tried to have Bryson indicted by a grand jury but the case was dismissed.

When John Davidson, agent of Captain Bryson, published a broadside in the captain's defence, Petty took him to task for "his unprovoked, indecent, and virulent publication." Davidson replied in another broadside calling Petty "turbulent and vindictive . . . an addle-pate," who has "bespattered me liberally." All four broadsides are addressed "To the Public." Two were signed by John Petty and two by John Davidson. Printed at Annapolis by Frederick Green, they were dated July 1, 18, Aug. 18, Sept. 16, 1788.

the linen or cotton rags they had saved at Bartgis' Bookstore, in Frederick, or at his paper mill, five miles from Frederick. This broadside has no date.

For a number of years prior to the Civil War a Miss Diana T. Kilbourn conducted an academy for young ladies in Baltimore. The Society has a printed copy of the rules which the pupils were supposed to observe. From reading these regulations one can obtain an idea of the conduct expected of a young girl of this period, who, even when out of school, was not "to talk and laugh loud, or to behave in any manner unbecoming a modest, refined child or woman."

There are two broadsides relating to the Frederick Female Seminary. One of them, published about 1841, gives the "order of exercises" to be observed at the examination of this academy, and the other, printed four years later, is a memorial addressed to the General Assembly of Maryland by a number of citizens of Frederick in which they protest against any interference with the present administration of the school.

Two early handbills concern schools in Talbot County. Both are addressed "To the Voters of Talbot county." One of them, printed Oct. 2, 1830, is signed by "a land renter" who maintains that "the rich landholder must submit to be taxed, or the Primary School bill [for the education of the poor] must fall to the ground." The other broadside was printed ten years later (Sept. 30, 1840) at Easton and was signed by Samuel Hambleton, Jr. In this Hambleton defended his voting against the school law of the county on the ground that the bill contained a provision to tax income. Hambleton argued that "taxation should be laid on property alone, not on the income of a man; on the sweat of his brow."

FINANCES

Some of the oldest broadsides in the possession of the Society deal with this subject. One dated Jan. 30, 1777, and printed in Baltimore deals with bills of credit issued by the States. Another item (1784), published by Alex. Contee Hanson, is about the State debt. There is also a fiscal report for Dec. 24, 1784, submitted by Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Intendant of the Revenue. This is in the nature of a reply to Hanson. Another early broadside is a financial report presented in 1797 by William Marbury. Of a later date, Sept. 21, 1814, is a handbill addressed "To the

Citizens of Talbot," and signed by "A Friend to Justice." In this the writer points out how the people of the county have overpaid in taxes "the enormous sum of 1653 dollars and 20 cents."¹⁵

We wonder what the "Friend to Justice" would have thought of the taxes of today. Also striking another now unfamiliar note is a photostat of a handbill dated Sept. 22, 1786, and addressed by Legh Master "To the Worthy Electors of Frederick County." Master offered himself as a candidate for the Assembly from Frederick county and gave as one of his reasons for running for office that "in point of Fortune, I am Independent, therefore have nothing in view but the true Interest of the State, and this County." Master promised that if elected he would bestow his salary as an Assemblyman "in such manner as the Electors shall think most proper."

FIRE COMPANIES

Some of the most interesting broadsides which the Society possesses deal with the early fire fighting companies in Baltimore. The oldest, printed in 1792, is entitled "Articles for the Government of the Commercial Fire-Company of Baltimore." In order to protect their houses from fire a number of citizens mutually agreed to take certain protective measures. Among these measures were the purchase of two leather buckets, a bag and a basket. These articles, marked with the owner's name and also the name of the fire company, were hung near the front door of each dwelling house. Several members of the company were given keys to

¹⁵ While they cannot be classified as broadsides, the Society has the fiscal reports of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer for the years 1784 and 1785. There are also two items for the year 1786; the one dated Feb. 22 is a discussion of black money and continental state money, while the other, dated Sept. 23 is an article signed by "A Friend to Paper Money." For additional information about these items, see Joseph Towne Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 175. Information can be found in Wheeler about many of the broadsides under discussion. See also on the same subject, Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922).

There are other items dealing with financial matters. One is a copy of the Baltimore County levy for the year 1827, while the other is the letter George Mackubin, Treasurer of the Western Shore of Maryland, in answer to inquiries regarding the state of the finances. This letter is dated Aug. 10, 1836. There are also several broadsides which concern financial matters in places outside of Baltimore. One is entitled "Retrenchment," dated Dec. 6, 1844, and is about a meeting to be held in Liberty Town to consider the reduction of taxes; another is a broadside of the Frederick "Examiner," for Oct. 11, 1854, relative to corporation taxation. It quotes from the letter of J. V. L. McMahon. The Society also has a broadside containing a memorial of the citizens of Frederick asking for relief from taxation. This has no date. It is entitled "Please Read."

the engine house. Upon hearing the cry of "Fire," these members would pull the fire engine to the scene of the fire. Other members reported there with their buckets, bags and baskets. Any one neglecting to go to the fire might be fined.

Broadsides relating to fire companies have a list of the members of their respective companies. It was necessary to be elected to membership in a fire company and it was considered an honor to belong to one. The rosters of the fire companies contain some of Baltimore's most prominent citizens.

The Society has a number of broadsides, or handbills, of these fire companies, including the "Articles for the Government of the Union Fire Company in Baltimore," which were adopted on Feb. 1, 1803. According to the provisions of these articles, the company was divided into three divisions, the first two divisions being composed of young men whose duty it was to work the fire and water engines. The third division, composed of older men, was "to repair to the Engines in time of fire, and take possession of such property as may be in their power to save. . . ."

Two handbills relate to another Baltimore fire company. One is the "Constitution of the First Baltimore Hose Company," adopted in 1814. The other, dated Jan. 1821, contains a list of the members of this company who associated themselves "for the purpose of forming a Suction Engine and Hose Company. . . ." Among the officers were eight directors who were in charge of the fire fighting apparatus at the time of a fire. Directors were to designate members of the company as "hose guards, suction engine men, and hose carriage guards." At the time of a fire, "when the engine is placed and the hose spread, the suction engine men shall work the engine; the hose guards shall distribute themselves along the line of hose to protect it from injury or abuse; and the hose carriage guards shall take charge of the carriage."¹⁶

¹⁶ The Society has the lists of the members of the Washington Hose Company in 1816 and 1823 when Jesse Hunt was president. Hunt was later mayor of Baltimore. Besides giving the names of the officers of the company, the lists also contain the names of the directors, engineers, ax men, hose men, suction men, and hose carriage guards. In the collection are also the lists of the officers and men of the following fire companies: New Market Fire Company, 1843; Mechanical Fire Company, 1844 (photostat); Patapsco Fire Company, 1856. There is also another list of the Patapsco Fire Company of an earlier date which has an interesting drawing of the type of fire engine then in use. This company was instituted in 1822 and the Mechanical Fire Company in 1763.

Other items relating to fires or fire companies include a printed form, or notice,

Another interesting item is a handbill, or "brief," as it is called, issued by Governor Horatio Sharpe in May, 1766, which tells of a disastrous fire in Boston rendering over two hundred families homeless and objects of charity. In view of this catastrophe, Sharpe asks that the people of Maryland contribute "on this Occasion, towards alleviating the Miseries of the unhappy Sufferers. . . ."

GROWTH OF BALTIMORE

The Society has several broadsides which throw light on this subject. There is, for example, a petition of the inhabitants of Baltimore county (*circa* 1768) addressed to Governor Horatio Sharpe and the Upper and Lower Houses of the Assembly in which it is requested that the county seat, then in Joppa, should be moved to Baltimore. The petition sets forth the reasons for making this change. There are several copies of this petition in both English and German. Many of the copies are signed in longhand by those inhabitants of Baltimore county who favored this change.

One broadside contains a "List of Families and other persons residing in the Town of Baltimore . . . in the year 1752."¹⁷ The next item, in point of time, is entitled "Baltimore-Town, Committee-Chamber, Dec. 2, 1784." It seems that a committee of men met at the Assembly Room, in Baltimore, and recommended that the residents of the town be incorporated "in deed and in name." In order to obtain the opinion of the citizens on this recommendation, a meeting was called on December 9th at the Court House. It was not until 1796, however, that Baltimore received its act of incorporation from the General Assembly. A broadside, dated Jan. 16, 1797, contains a copy of this act.

Another handbill, or broadside, which relates to the growth of Baltimore is entitled "A Summary of all the monies received and paid by the Register, from Feb. 1, 1809 to Jan. 31, 1810, inclusive." While this broadside could be classified with matters deal-

to members of the Deptford Fire Company of Baltimore requesting attendance at the annual meeting on Jan. 2, 1837, for the election of officers. There is also a certificate of the Franklin Fire Company, instituted in 1809, which certified the election of a member to the company, and a certificate of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company, incorporated in 1807, stating that the house of George Macgill is insured against fire.

¹⁷ J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 49.

ing with finance, it is referred to here because of the information which it gives about Baltimore at this time. Mention is made in the summary of the oiling and winding of the town clock, of finishing the water tower, of the new mud machine, of stepping stones and flagstones, and of the maintenance of the city springs on Calvert Street.

Conditions in Baltimore about twenty-five years later are described in another broadside entitled "An Earnest and Direct Appeal to those Citizens of Baltimore, who vainly claim to be considered ORDERLY, and which the late lamentable events seems to require." This handbill, dated Sept. 7, 1835, points out how disorderly conditions in Baltimore really are: that habitual drunkards frequent the streets uttering blasphemous remarks; that trash and garbage remain in the streets without being collected; that persons go through the town on horseback, or in carriages, much too fast "and will seldom rein up, for the passage of old men, women and children."

There are two odes which commemorate important events in the history of the city. The words of one of them, written by John H. B. Latrobe, were sung by the public school children at the inauguration or dedication of Druid Hill Park on the 8th of October, 1860. The other ode was sung by high school girls at the laying of the corner-stone of the new City Hall, October 18, 1867. The author of this poem is not known.¹⁸

On that perennial controversy of Baltimore versus the counties the Society has three broadsides. One is addressed "To the Voters of Talbot County" (*circa* 1818?), and is signed by "A Plain Man," who states that "the Federalists say if the Democrats get the election, Baltimore will rule the state; but the Democrats say they are not half so fond of the Western Shore as the Federalists are." Another broadside, printed in 1819, and entitled "To the Polls! Freemen of Frederick County" contains the statement that "the Democrats openly declare that they wish the

¹⁸ Two broadsides, dated 1748, relate to the creation of Frederick county. In both these handbills the advantages of Frederick Town as the county seat of the new county is emphasized. Frederick's population was largely German at that time.

Another broadside printed over a hundred years later, that is, in 1853, contains an appeal to the voters of Baltimore county to make Towson Town the county seat of justice. Certain residents promised to give land for the erection of a court house and jail and J. Ridgely, of Hampton, promised to give forty acres of land for an alms house near Towson.

governor of the state to be elected by a general ticket. In other words, they mean to give the election of Governor to Baltimore. . . . Baltimore will rule the state!"

The third item (Sept. 27, 1836) is addressed "To the People of Maryland." In it the Democratic General Committee of Baltimore maintain that they believe "a representation for Baltimore equal to that which the largest county will be entitled, would be acceptable. . . ."

LOTTERIES

Broadsides giving notices of the holding of lotteries constitute an interesting portion of the Society's collection. The oldest is dated May 30, 1764, and it was printed at Annapolis. It mentions "A Lottery for disposing of a large and valuable collection of books, maps, etc." It is signed by William Rind, who was apprenticed to Jones Green, and, during the years 1758-1766 was Green's partner in publishing the *Maryland Gazette*.¹⁹ Another early item is a notice of a "Bridge Lottery" held at Elizabeth (Hager's) Town for the purpose of raising money to build a bridge over the Conococheague river. The notice is dated Mar. 12, 1790.

Of a later date, Nov. 1, 1817, is a broadside giving notice of a "Great Surgical Lottery," the highest prize offered being \$100,000. The notice states that tickets and shares could be obtained at Cohen's, 110 Market Street, Baltimore. One of the most picturesque lottery notices in appearance is a handbill dated Feb. 1823. It is an advertisement of Conine's who had a lottery office near the Marsh Market. It states that tickets for the State Lottery could be obtained there, and, in order to induce the public to buy tickets, it has the following verse:

Hark! hear you not Dame Fortune call,
 To bid you to her shrine,
 And beg you purchase, one and all
 A Ticket from Conine . . .
 There lives not one, who now would scorn,
 To be Dame Fortune's minion,
 For Fame blows thro' a golden horn
 Much louder than a tin one.

Another advertisement of Conine's, dated Mar. 8, 1825, announces Maryland State Lottery no. III. The highest prize was \$40,000. The payment of all prizes was guaranteed by the State.

¹⁹ Wroth, p. 85.

There are several other notices of lotteries, one dated Nov. 17, 1849, announcing a "33,000 dollars Grand Consolidated Lottery of Maryland," and the other, dated May 10, 1856, mentioning a "Maryland Lottery, to be drawn in Baltimore on the Havana Plan." This was an advertisement of Irwin & Company, who were agents for the sale of lottery tickets and whose offices were in the basement of Barnum's Hotel. There are also two notices of lotteries for the year 1853, published by C. S. McDonald & Company, lottery agents for the State of Maryland.²⁰

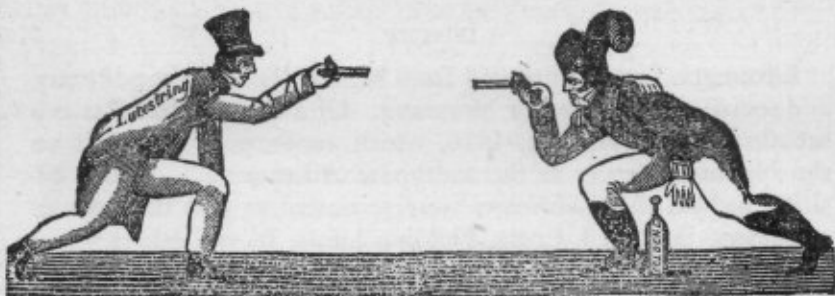
Different from the usual lottery was the "Coale Lottery." The notice, which was dated Sept. 1835, states that in view of the small amount of property left by the late Edward J. Coale, the Maryland State Legislature had authorized his widow to dispose of his property under the supervision of trustees. Among the objects offered for sale by lottery were a portrait of Washington, by "the elder Peale," which was valued at one hundred dollars, and a ring, presented to Coale by the Emperor Alexander, of Russia, containing 175 diamonds with a central oriental topaz. The ring was valued at \$1,000.

ORGANIZATIONS

Art

The Society has a stock certificate of the old Baltimore Museum, on Holliday Street, issued on May 14, 1816. Signed by Rembrandt Peale, the proprietor, it certifies that Jacob I. Cohen, Jr. is the owner of one share of stock in the museum. On the certificate Peale states that the reason for his issuance of the stock to Cohen and other well-to-do persons is that he hopes to give the institution "the extent and usefulness, which the liberal encouragement of the citizens of Baltimore so justly merits, more speedily and effectually than his own limited means will permit." Holders of shares of stock enjoyed, among other privileges, the right of free admission to the museum where there was a "Cabinet of Natural History and Miscellaneous Curiosities, together with the Gallery of Paintings."

²⁰ The Society has a number of lottery tickets. According to the provisions of the Constitution of Maryland ratified in June, 1851, no lotteries could be held in the State after April 1st, 1859. The Constitution of 1867 also prohibited the holding of lotteries.



FOR A CALL AT
Cozine's

No. 32 Market street, near the Marsh Market, Baltimore.

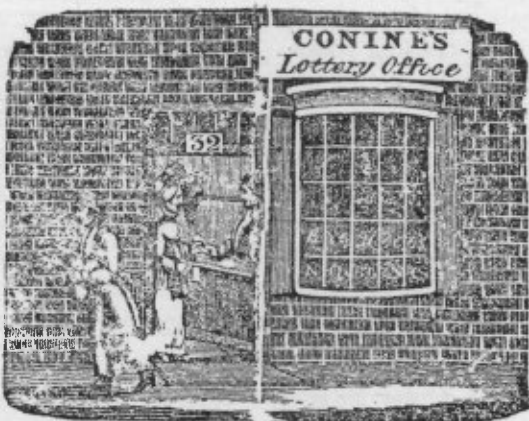
Hark! hear you not Dame Fortune call,
 To bid you to her shrine,
 And beg you purchase, one and all,
 A Ticket from COZINE.
 When doughty heroes used Cologne,
 Or dressed in Silken Coats;
 They shudd' against bullets was not known,
 A parcel of Bank Notes.

There lives not one, who now would scorn,
 To be Dame Fortune's minion,
 For Fame blows thro' a golden horn
 Much louder than a tin one.

The mad-cap wights who lately fought,
 To win a name in story;
 Were not aware that money bought
 A greater meed of glory.

For Fame has left the fields of strife,
 Leftvi toes show white shins;
 And call, on maiden, man and wife
 To woo her with COZINE.
 To buy, where blanks were never sold,
 She all her friends advises,
 And tells them, that with glittering gold,
 COZINE will pay the prizes.

THE
State
 LOTTERY
 now drawing
 presents a great
 CHANCE
 FOR
 HIGH PRIZES.



Prompt ap-
 plication for
 chances, is ad-
 viseable. No
 risk of a Blank
 until the Lot-
 tery is ended.

FEBRUARY 9 1823

ANNOUNCEMENT OF A LOTTERY BROKER

From the Society's Collection of Broadside.

Literary

Information can be gleaned from broadsides regarding literary, and social organizations of Maryland. Of a literary character is a broadside dated Feb. 22, 1830, which announced "Lectures on the Natural Sciences at the Baltimore Athenaeum." Those desiring to hear these addresses were requested to give their names to Messrs. Edward J. Coale, Fielding Lucas, Jr. and others.²¹

Two broadsides refer to the Society. One of them is entitled "Maryland Historical Society" and it was probably printed in 1844 as it refers to the recently organized society. It is a form letter from a committee of the Society, composed of Brantz Mayer, S. Teackle Wallis, and Frederick W. Brune, Jr. Besides asking the person to whom the letter was addressed to allow his name to be proposed for membership, the letter mentions the advantages to be gained by having such a Society and also describes what kinds of manuscripts and printed material the Society proposes to collect and preserve. The other broadside, also undated, is entitled "The Library Company of Baltimore." This refers to an agreement which this company had made in 1845 with the Maryland Historical Society by which "donations were obtained for the purpose of building the edifice that is now completed, and that belongs to the two societies jointly, by the title of the Athenaeum, under an act of incorporation from the Legislature." This broadside contains a list of the newspapers, magazines, etc. which could be found in the reading room. Chess tables were available "in the Conversation Room."²²

Social

The earliest broadside dealing with social organizations is dated Nov. 10, 1789. It is about the "Baltimore Assembly," of which the managers at this time were D. Harris, G. Buchanan, W. Van Wyck, W. Robb, R. Curson and D. Sterett. These men formulated rules to be observed at the dance because, so the notice stated, "the most minute Attention to every Sentiment of Polite-

²¹ There are two broadsides regarding lectures given on Ancient Egypt. One was probably printed in 1844; the second is dated 1845. The lecturer was George R. Gliddon.

²² Of a much more recent date (May 12, 1913) is a photostat of a petition which the members of the Maryland Historical Society addressed "To the Citizens of Maryland" asking contributions "to the extent of \$200,000 for a Building and Endowment Fund."

ness and Decorum is absolutely necessary. . . ." Dancing began at half past seven and lasted until one in the morning. "Gentlemen in Boots" were not permitted to enter the ballroom. According to the rules:

The Ladies will draw for their Places in the Dance; the drawing must be completed before Half past Seven o'Clock; any Lady coming after that Hour, and wishing to dance, will be placed at the Foot of either Set, as the Managers please.

There are other rules which had to be observed in dancing which it is difficult to understand without knowing more of the kind of dances customary at that time.²³

RELIGIOUS RECORDS

The Act of Toleration of 1649 was published in broadside form. Although the original of this broadside is now in the New York Public Library, the Society has a photostat of it.

Another item, but an original, is a printed form stating that one Martin Judah on Sept. 14, 1763, when appearing before the Maryland Provincial Court, had taken the oaths of allegiance, abhorreny and abjuration required in naturalizing a foreign Protestant. The applicant for naturalization was also required

²³ The Society has a photostat of the rules observed at a dance held by the "Amicable Society." The rules were similar to those governing the "Baltimore Assembly." This broadside was printed in Baltimore on Nov. 25, 1791. The Society also has a number of tickets of admission issued in the past to various entertainments or to meetings of literary and social organizations.

One humorous item should be mentioned. It is a broadside printed in 1843 entitled "Horn's Dying Speech." Horn's alias was Andrew Hellman. In his speech Horn tells how after a quarrel with his wife he struck her "and she was launched into eternity,—I hope her soul is safe."

The Society has a handbill printed in 1815 which is entitled "Encampment of Knight Templars no. I Maryland." This is a certificate of membership in this order.

There are several items regarding charitable organizations in Maryland. One, undated, concerns "A Plan of the Female Humane Association Charity School." This institution was for little girls between the ages of seven and fourteen. The broadside outlines the duties of the trustees, all of whom were women and also states what was expected of the children. Another item, also without date, is entitled "The Poor of the Third Ward." This is an appeal by the managers of the "Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor," for contributions from residents of the Third Ward to relieve the condition of the impoverished. A third item is a notice, dated Nov. 3, 1817, of a meeting of the Handelian Charitable Society.

While not about a charitable organization, there is another item about the poor of the State, and that is a handbill containing the "Rules of Frederick County Alms House, October, 1833." According to the regulations, inmates of the alms house could be punished by confinement in cells or the infliction of stripes.

to produce a certificate that he had recently received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a Protestant Church in Maryland.²⁴

There are a number of broadsides dealing with the various religious denominations. One gives the "Order of Performance at the Ordination of Mr. Jared Sparks, to the Pastoral Care of the First Independent Church of Baltimore, on Wednesday, May 5, 1819." This was the Unitarian Church. While pastor of this church, Sparks, regarding himself "as an apostle of liberal Christianity to the South, engaged in pamphlet controversy with conservatives. . . ." In April, 1823, much to the regret of his congregation, Sparks resigned as pastor of this church.²⁵

Methodists will find an account of "Abingdon and Cokesbury College," written by the Rev. J. W. Fleming, of interest.²⁶

²⁴ The following broadsides deal with controversies between Catholics and Protestants. One dated Oct. 4, 1788, and addressed "To the Roman Catholic Voters in Baltimore Town," is signed by Samuel Chase. Another such handbill has the heading "Facts! Facts!" and is signed by "Truth Teller." There is no date but the time was probably about 1824.

Those interested in the Episcopal Church will find only one item. Undated, it is "An Appeal . . . to erect at old St. Mary's City . . . a memorial church. . . ." This is signed by J. B. Gray, Rector of St. Mary's Parish.

²⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 431.

²⁶ The following items also relate to the Methodist Church. One is a broadside dated August 30, 1816, and addressed "To the Public." It is signed by "A Friend to Truth," who defends Governor Ridgely, a Methodist. Also the following: "Reply to the Baltimore Methodist Trustees," dated Jan. 2, 1827, and signed by John Chappell, Sen. Pres't.; a notice of the death of the Rev. Joseph P. Wilson, of the M. E. Church (1833); "Programma of the M. E. Sunday School Exhibition for Monday evening June 11, 1849 . . ." at Frederick, Maryland.

There are two broadsides about the Presbyterian Church. One is a "Pastoral Letter of the Members of the Second Presbyterian Church and Congregation of Baltimore, Maryland," written by Robert J. Breckinridge at Glasgow, Scotland, on June 19, 1836; the other is a small broadside written "To my Children," by the Rev. Samuel Hindman, of the Associate Presbyterian Church, not long before he died. The date of this is 1853.

One broadside dated Dec. 1891, contains a picture of the old Lutheran Church, in Sharpsburg, Washington County, Maryland, as it appeared after the Battle of Antietam.

Only one broadside is about the Quakers and that is entitled "A Testimony of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting, for the Western District, concerning our deceased friend, Elizabeth Thomas." It is dated Oct. 1838.

The Society has two handbills, or broadsides, which it is impossible to identify with any denomination. One is a "List of Members of the Bible Society of Baltimore, Sept. 1815"; the other is the "Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Female Sabbath School Society of Easton, Maryland." This was probably printed in 1829.

In the Society's collection there are a number of broadsides containing hymns or verses on religious subjects. Perhaps the most interesting of these is a copy of "The Christian's War Song . . . a Popular Camp Meeting Hymn." This was printed in Baltimore but no date of publication is given. Other hymns include: "Hymns for the Annual Meeting of the Sharp Street Baptist Sabbath School," circa 1836, by Stephen P. Hill; "Hymn to be sung at the Tenth Anniversary of

SERVANTS AND SLAVES

Servants

There are several handbills in the Society's collection regarding runaway servants and slaves. Two of the notices are about runaway servants. One, dated July 23, 1755, is a photostat of the original which is in a library in Philadelphia. In it Benedict Calvert states that a servant man, a brickmaker by trade, had run away from his plantation at the Woodyard in Prince George's county. It is said that the runaway speaks "very broad English, wears his own Hair, was born in Leicestershire, and is double-jointed. He had on and with him, a Fearnothing Jacket, with black Horn Buttons, two striped Flannel Jackets, two Osnabrigs Shirts, two Pair of Trowsers, a Pair of Shoes, several Pair of Worsted Stockings, and a Pair of Steel Buckles." Calvert promised to give a reward of "two pistoles and reasonable charges" to any one who captured this servant.

The other notice about a runaway servant is dated Baltimore County, Oct. 5, 1777. Forty dollars reward is offered for the capture of Samuel Phillips, a weaver by trade, who had run away from his master, William Goodwin. Phillips was described as having "grey eyes, short straight light hair, which has been cut off the top of his head, red beard, pale complexion, down look, is freckled, and most of his teeth are double." At the time he ran away it is said that he had on "an old black and white linsey under jacket, without sleeves, a country linen shirt, trousers and apron, old shoes tied with strings, and have straps and some iron nails in the heels, an iron collar, and a small shackle on his left leg, with a ring to it." Whoever returned this servant to him, the master, William Goodwin, promised ten dollars. If Phillips was captured thirty miles from home, an additional reward of

the Reformed Church Sabbath Schools, Second Street," no date; a "Centenary Hymn for the centenary celebration of the German Reformed Church in Frederick City, Maryland, on Whitmonday, 1847."

Among the religious verses are the following: "The Dying Saint," composed upon the death of Bishop McKendree, printed on silk in Baltimore in 1843; "The Old Town Clock," by Gen. Wm. H. Hayward. (This is about the sweet-toned bells of the Old Second Street Church); "Daniel in the Lion's Den"; "The Dying Christian"; "Children of Zion," *circa* 1825; "Good News" and "Lights Along the Shore" (two Baltimore imprints); a number of religious verses which were printed at the office of the Odd Fellow, Boonsboro', Maryland.

twenty dollars was offered, if fifty miles, thirty dollars, and if eighty miles, forty dollars.

Slaves

Three handbills give notice of runaway slaves. One, dated March 30, 1810, offered fifty dollars reward for a Negro man named Jack. The offer was made by Ananias Divers "near Wm. Patterson Esq's Mills, Gunpowder Falls." In another notice, dated Oct. 19, 1825, Thomas Snowden, Jr. offered one hundred dollars for a runaway Negro named Lewis. The third notice offered fifty dollars reward for a colored slave woman by the name of Easter. The offer was made by Jacob Woolery who described the negress as "rather between a mulatto and black, a short chunky, with thick lips and somewhat freckled in her face." At the time she disappeared she was wearing a light calico frock and an olive coloured cloth overcoat. Woolery offered twenty-five dollars reward if Easter was captured in the State and fifty dollars if taken up out of the State. This notice is dated Dec. 24, 1825.

A broadside, probably published in 1817, gives the "Constitution for the Government of the Maryland Auxiliary Society, for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States." The object of the Society, as stated in Article II, was "to promote and execute a plan to colonize (with their own consent), the people of color in our country, either in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient."

At Cambridge, Maryland, on Sept. 27, 1858, H. C. Grieves had printed a circular letter which he sent out to the counties of the Eastern Shore suggesting that a convention be held at Cambridge to consider the frequent escape of slaves, the evils of abolitionism, and what means should be taken to abate these evils.²⁷

One broadside, without date, has a "Sketch of the Life of Poor Old Moses," or Moses Johns, of Baltimore, who sold oysters during the winter and ice cream in summer. It was proposed that his tomb have the following epitaph:

He followed a shocking cold business;
He shelled out many an Oyster, and made many
An epicure shell out the cash;
At last Death shocked him and froze him to death.

²⁷ Data regarding the price at which slaves were sold can be found in a very large broadside dated Jan. 22, 1811, addressed "To the People of Calvert County," by James M. Taylor.

TAVERNS AND TEMPERANCE

Taverns

It is to be regretted that the Society has only two handbills of old taverns. One is a "Table of Rates," printed in Baltimore on March 30, 1779, by Messrs. Grant, McCandless and Stenson, who were the innkeepers. Wines, liquors and food were expensive; four pounds, ten shillings, for a bottle of madeira and two pounds, five shillings, for a quart of punch. A meal cost one pound, ten shillings. If any one "bespeak a bed," he must pay seven shillings, six pence for the same. Gentlemen were warned that they must take care of their own coats, whips, and spurs, as they would not be accounted for, if lost.

The other notice about a tavern is an advertisement of "Walter Slicer's Inn, Twelve miles east of Cumberland." On this handbill are given the distances from Slicer's Inn to Baltimore, Philadelphia and Winchester. This handbill has no date.²⁸

Temperance

The earliest broadside, or handbill, dealing with temperance is the "Song of the Sons of Temperance," by Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, which was sung at their jubilee in Baltimore on the 4th of July, 1845. The chorus of this song follows:

The draught we sing
No pain will bring,
Though thousand times we drain.

The draught referred to was, of course, cold water.²⁹

²⁸ According to an advertisement on a broadside printed on Feb. 22, 1782, George Mann gave notice that he was going to take charge of the Indian King, on Church street, in Baltimore, which had lately been kept by a Mr. M'Hard. From a notice dated Sept. 18, 1823, of an "Election . . . of four delegates to represent Baltimore county in the General Assembly of Maryland," we learn of the location of taverns in that county at that time. There were twelve election districts in the county and in each district an inn was named where the voting was to take place. The notice is signed by S. C. Leakin, Sheriff of Baltimore County. In Baltimore, at about the same time, 1824, John Barr kept the Washington Hotel, on North Gay Street. See handbill entitled "Take Notice, the Friends of Philemon Towson, etc." Sept. 2, 1824.

A broadside was published in 1874 entitled "List of Members of the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Maryland." The chief interest of this handbill lies in the list of hotels and boarding houses at which the members stayed during the session in Annapolis.

²⁹ There is also a large coloured certificate, dated May 20, 1850, of the Sons of

In a broadside, printed in Baltimore during 1778, a Dr. Thomas Bourk and William Frazier, both with the Army, reply to the charge that they had been drunk. They produced certificates of friends who testified that while both of them enjoyed the cup that cheers neither had ever been drunk while on duty. After completing his defence, Dr. Bourk took this parting shot at his calumniator, James Lloyd Chamberlaine, of Talbot county:

Farewell, General; your cowardice and infamous proceedings render you so contemptible in my eyes, that, hereafter, publish what you will, it will only meet with contempt from Thomas Bourk.⁸⁰

TRANSPORTATION BY LAND AND WATER

Roads

The Society has only one handbill which gives the rates which it was once the custom to collect at toll bridges. It is dated September 1817 and is reproduced herewith.⁸¹

While the following handbill more properly comes under the heading of "Crime and Punishment," it is considered here because of the information it gives about horse-drawn conveyances of many years ago. The notice, which is headed "Stop Thief. 25 Dollars Reward!" states that a sorrel mare had been stolen and that she was attached to "a Butcher Wagon with green body, blue shafts, and foot board, covered with white canvass; body resting on three springs, with iron axles, the nut on the right front wheel being smaller than the other three, no. 203." The owner of the horse who was William H. Weaver, a butcher, offered fifteen

Temperance stating that the Grand Division of the State of Maryland had made several men, naming them, a division of this temperance society. Next in date of publication is an item mentioning a meeting at Temperance Hall, North Gay Street, on August 29, 1853, where the delegates were nominated from Baltimore to secure if possible the passage of a "Maine Liquor Law." The evils of drink are emphasized in this broadside.

⁸⁰ This broadside was published on Aug. 18, 1778, by Mary K. Goddard. It is entitled "A Letter to James Lloyd Chamberlaine, Esq., of Talbot County," and is signed by William Frazier.

⁸¹ The Society also has two old hand painted sign boards giving rates of toll. In the collection is another handbill, dated April 25, 1860, giving notice that an omnibus will be run on the Hillen Road between Bayne's Cross Roads, on the Joppa Road, and Baltimore. The fare between these two points was twenty-five cents.

Information about an old drawbridge in Baltimore over Jones' Falls is contained in two broadsides. One has the title "Samuel Chase and Thomas Chase—Deed of

RATES OF TOLL

IN BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT,

September Term, 1817,

License is granted to Dennis A. Smith, proprietor of a Bridge over Patapsco River, at the place where Norwood's Ferry was heretofore established, to keep the said Bridge as a Toll Bridge, with proper gates and bars to secure the same, and to ask, demand and receive as toll for passage of said Bridge the following sums of money, to wit:

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| For all four-wheel Carriages, driver included, | 25 cts. |
| For all two-wheel Carriages, driver included, | 20 cts. |
| For Man and Horse, | 6$\frac{1}{2}$ cts. |
| For each Stage Passenger, | 3 cts. |
| For each Foot Passenger, | 3 cts. |
| For each Horse without a rider, | 6 cts. |
| For Cattle, each, | 3 cts. |
| For Sheep and Hogs, each, | 1 ct. |

Test: WM. GIBSON, Clerk.

TOLL RATES AT NORWOOD'S FERRY BRIDGE

From the Society's Collection of Broad-sides.

dollars for the mare and wagon, and ten dollars for the conviction of the thief or thieves.⁸²

Railroads

The most interesting handbill of a railroad, although the Society has only a photostat copy, is a notice of the old "Newcastle and Frenchtown Rail-road." To quote from the notice which was printed at New Castle, June 1, 1833:

PASSENGER CARS, propelled by a locomotive engine, leaves the Depot, at New Castle, for Frenchtown, every morning, upon the arrival of the Steam-boat from Philadelphia, at about half past eight o'clock, returning leaves Frenchtown at about half past ten o'clock.

Another train of PASSENGER CARS departs from New Castle, for Frenchtown, every evening, (except Sunday) upon the arrival of the afternoon boat, from Philadelphia, at about six o'clock, and on return arrives about nine o'clock.

Fare over the Road. 50 cents
Do., for excursion over the road and back. 50 cents.

R. H. BARR, Ag't.

This notice has a picture of the locomotive and train on which one took passage in those days.⁸³

Cession, &c. to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore." The deed was made in 1818. The other broadside, dated July 26, 1847, is signed by Thomas N. Neilson and is addressed "To my Fellow Citizens of Baltimore."

The Society has a copy of the "Constitution of the Maryland Society for Promoting Internal Improvement." This organization was interested in "all matters connected with the construction of roads, canals, and other facilities of domestic commerce." On the same subject is another broadside dated Aug. 13, 1830, and addressed "To the Voters of the Eastern Shore of Maryland."

⁸² This notice, which has no date, describes the sorrel mare that was stolen as having a "blaze face, long tail, heavy mane and fore-top, being nearly blind on account of having Moon Eyes."

About one hundred years ago Samuel Lyons, a veterinary surgeon, who lived on North Exeter Street, printed an advertisement in which he stated that he would "respectfully inform the citizens of BALTIMORE and its vicinity, that he now offers his services in the treatment of all the diseases incident to that noble animal the HORSE, as well as to CATTLE, the knowledge of which he has acquired by years of patient and laborious study. . . ." This broadside contains an account of the various diseases of the horse and how they could be cured. A picture on this advertisement shows how it was customary to truss up a horse for an operation.

One other item should be mentioned and that is a broadside dated March 4, 1836, entitled "An Ordinance to regulate the Inspection of Beef and Pork." This gives the duties of the inspector and his deputies.

⁸³ The original of this broadside is in the American Antiquarian Society. Broad-sides giving information about other Maryland railroads can be found in the

Steamboats

A handbill, dated Baltimore, May 15, 1829, advertises the steamer *Columbia* of the Baltimore and Potomac Steam Packet Company. This boat left Baltimore on Saturday of each week for Alexandria, Washington, and Georgetown, returning to Baltimore on Wednesday morning. This ship, which was "upwards of 400 tons burthen," could accommodate one hundred passengers.

Another item about boats is a broadside giving both a picture and an account of the explosion of the steamboat "Medora" on the Patapsco river. The picture and the account appeared in "Dixon's New York Polyanthos," on April 12, 1842. The drawing of the explosion as well as that of the steamer *Columbia* are quaint indeed.³⁴

Society's collection. One, dated Nov. 9, 1840, addressed "To the Citizens of Baltimore" has data about the Swatara and Good Spring Creek R. R. Co. See pamphlet entitled: *Charter of Swatara and Good Spring Creek R. R. Co.* (Baltimore, 1840).

There are three items which deal with the old Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad. One, printed at Annapolis on Feb. 29th, 1848, is a petition of the citizens of Cecil and Harford counties to the "Chairman of the Committee of Internal Improvements" in favor of permitting the railroad to have a drawbridge over the Susquehanna river; another, dated May 10, 1850, is addressed "To the Honourable the Mayor and Members of the City Council of Baltimore" and refers to the relations of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad with the York and Cumberland Railroad. The last item is a broadside issued by "The Sun" on July 5, 1854, containing an account of a railroad accident on the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad near the Relay House.

The Society has an interesting lithograph of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad during the winter of 1852 when freezing conditions made it possible to lay the tracks across the ice on the Susquehanna river at Havre de Grace.

A number of Baltimore & Ohio handbills, or posters, give information about the tariff rates on coal, lumber, livestock, merchandise and other freight. There are posters for the following dates: Jan. 24 and 26, March 31, 1863; Oct. 1, 1864; May 17, 1865; Mar. 19, 1866 and Mar. 18, 1867. There is also a broadside entitled "A Few Reasons in Support of the Annexed Plan for a 'Maryland State Bank' whose specific object shall be the completion of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad from the point of its present termination to the Ohio River." This broadside was published about 1854. The Society also has a copy of the "Centennial Gazetteer of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad" published in 1876. Although the latter is not a broadside, it is mentioned here for its interesting drawings of the old Deer Park Hotel and of the Queen City Hotel, in Cumberland.

Also relating to railroads is a broadside containing an advertisement of a "Snow Plough for rail and common roads." This handbill shows two drawings of the plow which was patented in April, 1859, by Willard Rhoads, of Baltimore.

³⁴One broadside is entitled "An Act to Incorporate the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, 1839-1840." This company was organized to navigate not only the Chesapeake Bay, but also the Atlantic seaboard and any rivers emptying into that ocean.

Canals

The earliest item on this subject is a broadside, dated July 4, 1825, entitled the "Chesapeake and Ohio Canal no. 3," and addressed "To the People of Baltimore." This gives the advantages which would result from having this canal. In another small handbill, dated Sept. 12, 1826, Jesse Talbot, a candidate for Congress advocated this canal in his appeal "To the Voters of Baltimore City and County."

The advantages of building canals, including the Susquehanna canal, is the subject of a broadside signed "Jefferson," and addressed "To Stephen Watters, Esq." This broadside was probably printed in the year 1826. The same subject is referred to in a broadside dated August 31, 1826, which is addressed "To the People of Harford County," by John Archer.

The Society has two old bills of lading, dated May 14 and Aug. 25, 1836, which show the shipment of goods on Hand's Line from Philadelphia to Baltimore via the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.³⁵

³⁵ Of a later date, April 1, 1866, is a handbill, or poster, giving the "Rates of Toll on the Susquehanna and Tide-Water Canals. . . ."

Mention has been made in this article of the fact that the Society has only two broadsides referring to taverns and only one about toll rates. There must be more in existence. The Society would be grateful if members of the Society, or others, would donate any such broadsides on these or any other subjects.

LETTERS OF SEVERN TEACKLE WALLIS, 1816-1894

By FREDERICK DOWN SCOTT, S. J.

Soon after the death of Severn Teackle Wallis, just fifty years ago last April, a Memorial Society was formed to perpetuate his name. His literary writings were republished,¹ and a statue erected in Washington Place. Speeches of tribute were delivered and recorded in the minutes of the various organizations, to which he belonged; especially in those of the Maryland Historical Society, of which he was President from 1892-1894. In the years that followed, those who knew him well, wrote in affectionate admiration of his eminence as a lawyer, humorist, and public figure in the city of Baltimore.² To increase familiarity with the character of such an illustrious citizen, it has seemed fitting to edit some of his unpublished letters. For it is through the knowledge of his personal letters, which were not meant for the public eye, and yet are of historical import, that a very significant indication of his vigorous and cultured character can be seen.

Mr. Wallis was born in Baltimore on Sept. 8, 1816, being the second son of Philip Wallis and Elizabeth Teackle. Both of his parents came of families long-settled upon the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay. At the age of twelve, he entered St. Mary's College, Baltimore. Nine years after graduation in 1832, he returned to give the commencement address and receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The death of the Rev. Alexis Elder was the occasion which Wallis took to express his feelings towards this institution, now a Seminary:³

¹ *Writings of Severn Teackle Wallis*, Memorial Edition, 4 vols. (Baltimore, Murphy, 1896).

² W. C. Bruce, *Seven Great Baltimore Lawyers* (Baltimore, 1931); Bernard Steiner, "Seven Teackle Wallis," *Sewanee Review*, Jan.-April, 1907; Charles Morris Howard, "Personal Recollections of S. T. Wallis," *Daily Record* (1939).

³ St. Mary's Seminary MSS, Baltimore.

Jan 24, 1871

My dear Fr. Dubreul:

A notice of the funeral of Fr. Elder, which I have just read in the Sun, has given me the first sad tidings of his death. I can not restrain the expression of my deep regret, that I should, thus, have lost the opportunity of seeing his remains deposited in the Calvary, where he sleeps among so many of my kindest and best friends. He was the only survivor of the large body of devoted men, who had charge of St. Mary's, when I entered the College in 1828, and was the last immediate link between me and the most cherished associations of my life. I have abundant and grateful memories, besides, of his encouraging kindness to me, from my childhood up, and the highest appreciation of his sturdy, simple, and associable nature. After so long a life of faith and purity and duty done, I trust that he has gone to a great reward.

Two months later he helped the Seminary in a professional matter concerning the sale of some of its property beyond Paca St. On March 22, he wrote: "I will do the best I can for those wretched but unreasonable people, consistently with the rights and interests of the Seminary. I have been dogged and persecuted by them, even more than you have, and have almost lost charity as well as patience." Incidentally, Mr. Wallis's brother, Samuel, died while a student at the College and was buried there Aug. 4, 1835.

Immediately after leaving college, Wallis studied law in the office of the celebrated William Wirt. We are fortunate in having preserved some very concrete advice of this law-mentor, which definitely influenced the habits of Wallis's life. On Aug. 25, 1833, Mr. Wirt wrote in part:

The fashion of the day calls upon you to cultivate this great, powerful, and wide-sweeping habit of thinking, and to go for strength and not for beauty. As connected with it, you must begin forthwith and persevere in treasuring up all sorts of useful knowledge. Mr. Jefferson was only sixteen years old when he began to keep regular files of newspapers, and to preserve every pamphlet on any public subject, which issued from the press. But beside these *collectanea*, there is a great field for personal observation, which must depend on your own sight and memory, and such minutes as you may choose to make of them in your private diary or common-place book.⁴

Upon the death of Mr. Wirt, Wallis continued his studies under John Glenn, later Judge of the U. S. District Court. All

⁴ J. P. Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt* (Philadelphia, 1850), II, 354-357.

through his life he maintained an intimate friendship with the Glenn family. Judge Glenn died in 1853, leaving a very valuable law library. His son, John,⁵ was not a lawyer. Hence, he informed Wallis of his intention to dispose of the books. Wallis, therefore, wrote to him on Sept. 30, 1853:

The books which I said to Wilkins a few days ago, that I should like to have the use of till you disposed of your library were—Mason's, Garrison's, Sumner's and Story's Reports—being all of Judge Story's decisions and amounting to some 12 or 13 volumes in all. They are a valuable and important part of a good library—so much so that their absence might interfere with the value of the collection if sold as a whole. I only mention them to you, therefore, because you helped me so kindly last evening to do so. You will very readily understand, I am sure, how my indisposition to permit you to deprive yourself of what I know to be valuable to you, is entirely compatible with a perfect appreciation of your kindness and total absence of all unwillingness to reserve it.⁶

The Judge's older son was William Wilkins.⁷ He was one of the proprietors of the *Daily Exchange* from 1854-1861, when it attacked the rising Know-Nothing Party through the vigorous editorials of Wallis. He was imprisoned in 1861, when his paper was suppressed by the government.⁸ The intimacy of their friendship is best established by the following very jovial Christmas greeting of 1854.⁹

I am delighted with the picture, which is beautiful, in any light, and especially in that of your kindness, (no "half-light" at all) in which at this moment I particularly see it. I suppose I ought—but I cannot find it in me—to regret the expression of my liking for it, in your presence, which has made you deprive yourself of so capital a work of art, in its time. I have no hope that I shall be able to help you out, in like way, should you ever put on your wishing-cap, before me, but I trust that some fairy will do it for me, and that all good things and pleasant (such as will not be hurt by the fall), will come tumbling down the chimney, whenever the notion may take you to want them.

⁵ John Glenn, Feb. 20, 1829-Mar. 30, 1896; with D. C. Gilman, he founded the Charity Organization Society, now the Family and Children's Society.

⁶ MS in the possession of Philip Wallis, a grand-nephew of Mr. Wallis, of Philadelphia.

⁷ William Wilkins Glenn, July 20, 1824-June 24, 1876; educated at St. Mary's College; lawyer; visited England during Civil War; member of the Wednesday Club.

⁸ Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press during the Civil War," *Md. Hist. Magazine*, XXXVI (June, 1941), 154.

⁹ MS in the possession of John M. Glenn, son of the addressee, of New York City. Wallis wrote on June 5, 1882, to congratulate him on passing the bar examination and to invite him and his friends to dinner.

By the by—you are a philosopher—does it not occur to you that our fairy mythology must have been sadly modified, if our ancestors had used furnace-flues or other calorifers of our day? Think of a fairy gift, or the blessed dame that sent it, coming out through a register, or landing in the middle of an air-tight. Imagine St. Nicholas emerging from a Latrobe-stove, or Cinderella's friend, with her wand, metamorphosing pumpkins, from the top of a range.

The subject is interesting and grows on one, but the sheet of paper does not. It leaves me room, however, without any supernatural machinery, to pledge you a happy Xmas.

Sincerely yours,

S. T. Wallis

It was, no doubt, due to his thorough knowledge of Spain and its language, as well as to his proficiency as a lawyer, that Mr. Wallis was selected by the Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, on September 22, 1849, for an important mission to Madrid. He was instructed by the Commissioner of the General Land Grant Office, Mr. J. Butterfield, to find manuscript material, which covered the question of a large Spanish claim, known as the Duke of Alagon Grant. This grant was alleged to cover the greater portion of the Peninsula of Florida. Ejectment suits had been instituted on the part of the grantees of the Duke against those who derived their title from the United States. In addition to this special case, the Department desired to procure all information in the archives of Spain and especially of the Council of the Indies. This information would throw light on the system of Spain in the granting of lands from the earliest up to the latest period in such of her former colonies as were then in the American Union, or which formed part of the U. S. territory. Besides this, any authoritative books, whether legal, political, or historical were sought. They would furnish facts that would likely prove useful in the future settlement of private titles, and in the future management of the public domain, which the government had recently acquired.¹⁰

Before sailing for Europe, Wallis wrote to the Solicitor of the Treasury, Ransom H. Gillett, from whom he had, also, received instructions: ¹¹

¹⁰ Commissioner of G. L. O. to Wallis, Sept. 29, 1849; General Land Office letters concerning private land titles. National Archives.

¹¹ Wallis to Solicitor of Treasury, Oct. 6, 1849, MS, National Archives.

A day or two ago, I was called upon by Charles F. Mayer,¹² one of the counsel of the Hackley claimants, and himself largely interested in the title. He called to ask, whether it would fall within the scope of my duties to confer with him in reference to certain evidence, likely to be required in the trial cases under the Alagon grant. I told him that my duties were altogether confidential. He excused himself by saying that he had called under the hope of being able to save trouble and delay on both sides. There were certain facts, he said, of historical notoriety—such as the contents of the Spanish Constitution and the dates of its several promulgations and annulments—which, strictly speaking, would require formal proof, perhaps; but which could not be the subject of any disagreement. These the claimants were desirous to admit, and have admitted without further trouble. I replied that I had no authority to act in reference to any such matters.

I clearly inferred from Mr. Mayer's conversation, that the claimants are not in possession of strict proof, in regard to the matters referred to, and it may be desirable to furnish them no facilities by admissions, so that the government may be in possession of a good ground on which to force the claimants to a continuance, should any untoward impediment prevent the arrival of evidence from Madrid, in time for the trial of the cases.

Due to Wallis's diligent and thorough investigations, the evidence did arrive at Washington in time. The following in his report of March 27, 1850, to Secretary Ewing. This is only one of his communications to the different Offices involved, but it portrays best the manner and difficulties of his research. The other reports are mere routine. The substance of his findings is given in the following, and in his final report of April 1, 1850.

Mr. Barringer, by today's mail, encloses to the Solicitor of the Treasury, at my request, documents 19 and 20, being the Royal Orders and Cedula relating to the grants of Don Pedro de Vargas. These two documents complete the series contemplated by my instructions. I have procured duplications of them, which I shall retain, until I reach home.

The Minister of Grace of Justice, without any regard to courtesy or punctuality, postponed, until day before yesterday, the conclusion of the certificates which he had been so long preparing. He returned me, likewise, the Journals and Decrees of the Cortes, which he had had ready three months in his possession, informing me that I must go to the Keeper of the Archives of the Cortes for their authentication. In consequence of this, I shall probably be compelled to delay my departure for a week longer, as we are in the midst of the Easter solemnities, during which there is, if possible, less activity than usual in the public offices. The delay will not, however, be without fruit, as it may enable me to procure from the Widow Azaola some interesting portions of her husband's correspondence with Hackley.

¹² Charles F. Mayer, Oct. 15, 1795-Jan. 4, 1864; Baltimore lawyer and state

Yesterday I forwarded to Mr. Burton, U. S. Consul at Cadiz, to be sent to you, a box containing the works of which a list is enclosed. To all of them, except the merely historical works, I have already referred in my communications to you. Independently of the great historical merit of these last, they are valuable as containing maps, some of which (those of Florida) indicate the boundaries of the ancient *Intendencias* and may be of great service in determining jurisdiction in very old grants. The works themselves are so rare and desirable, that I shall be happy to be allowed to take them, should they not seem, to you, important for the purposes of the department.¹³

Another event of still greater national importance, the Civil War, summoned Mr. Wallis from the seclusion of his private law practice. His election as a delegate to the special session of the State Legislature on April 24, 1861, provided the only public office he ever held. The political events of this session, which preceded his arrest by the government on Sept. 12, 1861, have been amply related by himself.¹⁴ His fourteen months imprisonment at Fort Warren, Boston harbour, caused him great physical suffering. Yet we find him trying to help the other prisoners by reading poetry to them, protesting by letters to the authorities about their great inconveniences, and distributing some thousand dollars' worth of clothing, which had been sent him by a friend.¹⁵ A further description of his life is found in a letter to his sister, Elizabeth, dated Nov. 17, 1861:

I had your letters of the 12th and 13th night before last night. Yesterday I wrote to Mr. Pizarro. I am suffering still with my teeth and neuralgia. If the tooth-ache continues till night, I shall try the forceps again. It is hard to lose old friends, but one can not lose sleep and all sorts of comfort. The weather continues clear, but cold and windy all the time, so that I cannot take exercises without great annoyance and pretty certain neuralgia.

The box, I suppose, will be here tomorrow. The removal or rather the release of one fellow prisoner, Mr. Williams, leaves only eight of us now in this room. You may very well imagine the latter number of occupants to be quite enough for a room 17 by 20 feet. You will therefore appreciate the relief which even the small amount of room thus lessened gives us. Mr. Williams will probably call and see John or yourself. He has

senator; as senator, he framed and had passed many laws governing the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co.; brother of Brantz Mayer.

¹³ Wallis to Sec. of Interior, Mar. 27, 1850; Lands and R. R. Divisions, National Archives.

¹⁴ *Writings*, Memorial Edition, II, 117-298.

¹⁵ F. K. Howard, *Fourteen Months in American Bastilles* (Baltimore, 1863), p. 13; *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Ser. II, vol. I, 714-715, 730.

been my room-companion since the second day after my arrival at Fort LaFayette, and can tell you all about me.¹⁶

The Mr. Pizarro referred to was Don Jose Antonio Pizarro, Spanish Vice-Consul at Baltimore. He had taught Wallis Spanish, while a student at St. Mary's. With him Wallis maintained a warm and lasting friendship until his death on July 3, 1877.

After his own release from Fort Warren, Nov. 27, 1862, Wallis returned to Baltimore to resume his law practice. Four months later Chief Justice Taney wrote: "I thank you for your birthday letter. Your approval of my conduct is most grateful to me; I know it is sincere, and comes from one who has had the best opportunities of knowing me, and who has himself given a bright example of public and private virtue amid severe trials." Hence, when the Maryland Legislature voted to erect a statue to Taney, following his death in 1864, Wallis was naturally on the committee to see to its erection. As chairman, he wrote to the four other members of the committee on Oct. 24, 1867:

Allow me to submit for your consideration the selection of Mr. Rinehart,¹⁷ the distinguished Md. sculptor, now in Rome, as the artist to whom the work should be entrusted. Mr. Rinehart is a native of Carroll Co. and learned his trade as a practical stone-cutter in this city, where he developed artistic ability, which induced some liberal gentlemen to furnish him with the means of prosecuting his studies abroad. Although there but a few years, he has executed many works of very great merit and is now fully recognized as a sculptor of genius and great promise. I have several of his compositions, which I am sure it will give you pleasure to see. His employment will not only secure to us a work of art, which will be creditable to the State and worthy of its object, but will afford us an opportunity of encouraging and rewarding the talent of our own citizens. I have assurances, besides, that it will secure to us private contributions from gentlemen, who know Mr. Rinehart's abilities.

Very truly yours,
S. T. Wallis¹⁸

G. Frederick Maddox
James T. Earle

Henry Williams
Geo. M. Gill

On May 12, he requested Mr. William T. Walters "as one of Rinehart's earliest friends, to transmit the hope of the committee,

¹⁶ Severn Teackle Wallis Papers, Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore.

¹⁷ William S. Rusk, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor* (Baltimore, 1939).

¹⁸ MS (copy) Wallis Papers, Peabody Institute Lib. Here, also, are three letters of Rinehart to Wallis concerning this statue.

that his engagements may not interfere with his acceptance of the commission." When the statue was unveiled in the Senate chamber at Annapolis, Dec. 10, 1872, Wallis was chosen to deliver the address. Later, in 1887, Mr. Walters himself donated a replica of this statue, which was erected in Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore. There is a very long letter of Wallis to Walters printed in the *Sun* of Feb. 8, 1887. It deals with the absence from the ceremonies of Mayor Ferdinand C. Latrobe of whom Wallis had spoken very harshly in a previous campaign. Since Wallis was scheduled to speak on this occasion, Mr. Latrobe felt justified in not being present.

As Wallis was already, in 1874, the author of many fine poems when Richard Malcolm Johnston¹⁹ first tried his hand at this literary form, he wrote to Wallis for a criticism of a poem entitled, "Wind of Winter Night." The following letters of Wallis to Johnston reveal a keen insight into the quality of the contemporary poetry of his day. Johnston published his poem in the *Southern Magazine* for March, 1874.

Jan. 25, 1874

I have not returned your poem before, because I hoped you would drop in, when I could tell you more intelligibly than I can write, what I wanted to say about it. I have not changed my opinion about its spirit, pathos, and absolute naturalness—as contradistinguished from what they call 'realism' nowadays.

On the contrary it has touched an old thing, or more, which I have supposed to be quite dried up, but have found to be this just a little—moist we will say—yet. I think, however, that you have not done it justice in some of your versification. I did not notice this, as you read it, because you read it well enough to bridge over, altogether, the occasional gaps that I seem to see in the measure, as I read it to myself. I am perhaps a little strict in my notions, for I never agreed, altogether with Poe's theory of measuring feet by the ear, without regard to actual measurement, and counting them, too, by the sound, without regard to actual numbers. I like as much accuracy—mechanical, if you call it so—in the versification and metre, as can be had. I am not reconciled to what is styled the 'freedom' of modern verse, in the hands of even the best masters. I tell you this frankly, in order that you may criticise my criticism. But I would, at the same time, ask you to go over the poem, particularly the latter part with a *detective* purpose, and see whether you do

¹⁹ Francis T. Long, "The Life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland, 1867-1898," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, vols. XXXIV-XXXVI (1939-1941).

not think I am, to some extent, right. I shall be glad to compare notes with you, when you have done so.²⁰

As the poem was published in March, the suggestions of the following letter arrived too late. It is worth quoting, however, as it contains a fine testimony to Wallis's love of social intercourse.

April 11, 1874

I received your note of yesterday and enclose your poem as requested. You will find a pencil-mark here and there, making a *grace* as to a syllable, or what has struck me as a chance of improvement. I am sorry I had no opportunity of outlining to you what I meant to suggest by them. That I have *no leisure* is unfortunately a fact, which, somehow or other, seems fated to be an unsurmountable one, and I never feel it half so annoyingly as when it interferes with my enjoyment of the social intercourse, which I desire more and more as the opportunities for it grow rarer and rarer. I should have been delighted to talk with you about your verses, as well as about other things, and I beg you to believe that I have felt, a good deal more than you, the disagreeableness of being compelled to lose the occasion you were kind enough to give me.

Your poem touches me very much, as I told you before. It recalls some things which perhaps everybody would not have occasion to remember—but I do not think poetry ever evokes these things, unless it is—poetry. Not knowing which of my little books you may desire to see, I send them both

In the fall of 1890 Johnston sought letters of introduction to the friends of Wallis, who lived in Bel Air, Harford Co., Maryland. The occasion was, no doubt, a public reading of some of his Georgia "cracker" stories, because in a brief note of Oct. 18th, Wallis wished him "clear weather and a good audience." The following letter is the reply to Johnston's inquiry:

215 St. Paul St.

Oct. 11, 1890

I have but few acquaintances in Belair, the most of those whom I knew well having passed to the . . . country.

It gives me pleasure, however, to make you acquainted with two or three, who may be of use to you, and whom you will, at all events, be glad to know. William Farnandis, the most cultivated of the three, is unfortunately very deaf, but he will, I am sure, be glad to serve you. Col. [Edwin Hanson] Webster I do not know at all intimately. He was a Maryland Unionist (converted) during the war and afterwards collector of this Port [Baltimore]. He is a man of form and a gentleman. Mr.

²⁰ This and the following two letters are from the R. M. Johnston Papers, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

Williams is a very fine young fellow, a promising lawyer and quite clever.

Wishing you sincerely a pleasant and advantageous visit to the "rural district," I am

Very truly yours,

S. T. Wallis

Mr. Wallis was quick to realize the important cultural value of the erection of the Johns Hopkins University, in 1876, to the city of Baltimore. As President of the Atheneum Club, he invited Dr. Gilman and his faculty to be guests at a reception at the Club on Feb. 4, 1878.²¹ Again, on Oct. 15 of this same year, while in the court-room, as an attorney for A. W. Perot & Co., he wrote President Gilman:

It has become very desirable to my colleague and myself to have an analysis of the Demerara Sugar seized by the government made by Prof. R. L. McCulloh [of the University of Louisiana], who will be a witness for the defense. It could not be made as satisfactorily in this city, of course, as in your laboratory, but I presume that Prof. McCulloh would have some hesitation in seeking your permission for that purpose.

The University, being assured that it would be showing no partisanship by granting this request, gave its assent. No doubt it was to acknowledge Wallis's sincere interest. that President Gilman invited Wallis to deliver the seventh Annual Address, scheduled for Feb. 22, 1883. Wallis humbly replied on the fifteenth: "What I shall be able to say to you on the 22nd., at all worth saying, I do not at present see, so that you will please consider me as rather seeking to have as little time as you can arrange, left for my part of the performance." On April 13, he wrote asking for more copies of his address, which had been printed at the suggestion of Dr. Gilman. He had sent out all his own copies, so that he didn't even have one for himself. "You would be gratified to see how frequently my correspondents, in acknowledging copies I sent them, express their warm solicitude for the welfare of the University and their appreciation of the good it is doing and must do." Seven years later, June 5, 1890, he had to refuse to take part in the Commencement due to ill health, but wrote: "Please accept the expression of my sincere regret that I can not obey the impulse, which I always feel, to be

²¹ The excerpts and letters quoted here are from the Daniel C. Gilman Papers in the Johns Hopkins University Library. See also Fabian Franklin, *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman* (N. Y., 1910), pp. 378-478, for another letter of Wallis on his notions of a library.

of use to the University, in whose prosperity I have so deep and abiding an interest." This formal association with the University led to a very intimate one with its President. Witness the following very human document:

Feb. 16, 1891

Dear Dr. Gilman:

I venture to carry out my threat of sending you, for your library, the very curious little book, which Verstegen calls, "A restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities." I have had a good deal of fun out of it, now and then, during the long years that I have owned it. I dare say that you will find its quaint pedantry, half-learning, and credulous good faith accordingly entertaining. It has its serious merits, which, as a man of letters, you will appreciate, although its 'etymologies'—as the author calls them—are not quite up to the Johns Hopkins' standards of philology. I avail myself of the opportunity, as I wished to do, at the time, of expressing to you the great satisfaction with which I met you as a brother trustee of the Peabody Board.

Mr. Wallis's reluctance to hold political positions did not restrain his eloquent pen and voice from expressing his deep convictions on political questions. His own words best express the sense in which he is to be regarded as a "Reformer":

No one is less disposed than I to quarrel with party discipline and organization in their proper sense and legitimate and honest application. Indeed, without them, we all know that party existence could not be maintained. But the moment that they are deliberately and plainly perverted from their true purpose; the moment that the party is merged in the organization and the organ usurps the name and functions of the party, and commands instead of serving, the safety of the party no less than its integrity, demands revolt.²²

The party in question here was the Democratic party. To fight successfully the "Ring," Wallis demanded something more practical than the fruitless slogan—"Reform within the Party." His opinion was: "I know no better or surer mode of breaking up the Ring than that of defeating its nominations all the time."²³ To this end he contributed frequently to the *Civil Service Reformer*, a paper which he founded together with Mr. C. J. Bonaparte in 1885.²⁴

Fortunately, we have two other documents of his written just

²² Wallis to J. Hall Pleasants, Mar. 21, 1885, Wallis Papers (copy), Peabody Institute Lib.

²³ Wallis to J. V. L. Findlay, Oct. 29, 1886, *ibid.*

²⁴ S. T. Wallis, *The Spoils and the Spoilers in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1887).

one year after the reform movement had begun in Baltimore.²⁵ They let us in, as it were, on the inside of the political maneuvers of those days:

Pavilon Hotel
Sharon Springs, Aug. 13, 1883

My dear John:

I am obliged to you for the little glimpses of politics you give me. Keyser²⁶ told me positively that he would not accept a nomination for any office. This was after the conversation, in which you told me he wished to be present. My decided conviction is that he would very much like and prefer to be Mayor, but that he feels as if to take the place, would seem to convict him of self-seeking in the reform movement. This, I allow, has been painfully mismanaged and abortive, and has practically come to grief, by distrusting its own strength, misrepresenting its purposes, and making truce with the devil. I feel every day more and more like taking a hand in the *mêlée*. I have advised Allison²⁷ to remain in the field, primaries or no primaries, and I am quite ready to take up his canvass, as soon as the time comes. If it is once thoroughly understood that he will run, he will be nominated. If he is not nominated and will run, the Republicans will support him and not nominate. He will be elected like a flash. I am booked for that fight, at all events, and if I could overcome my repugnance to being a candidate for anything, I would make things a little more "mixed" by announcing myself for Attorney generalship. I think I would at least damage these existing arrangements, if I did nothing more.

The story behind the following letter began on Feb. 19, 1883, when J. Monroe Heiskell was appointed fire marshal to take the place and perform the duties of the Fire Commissioners. Mr. Heiskell was the first and only incumbent of the office of fire marshal. The creation of the office occurred during the term of William Pinkney Whyte, as Mayor, and was involved in the political contests of the time. Political feeling ran high. It was charged that the old Board of Commissioners were conducting the Fire Department as a political machine, and graver charges concerning the methods of contracting for supplies were also freely

²⁵ Wallis to John Glenn, Aug. 13 and 22, 1883, MSS in the possession of Philip Wallis.

²⁶ William Keyser, Nov. 23, 1835-June 3, 1904; business man; never a candidate for a public office; 1883, Chairman of Democratic City Committee; 1885, in Reform League, of which he was president at the time of his death.

²⁷ Maj. Richard T. Allison, 1823-1909; born June 6 near Louisville, Ky.; practiced law in Baltimore; Paymaster of U. S. Navy; served in Confederate army during Civil war; clerk of Superior Court; died at Rockford, near Phoenix, Baltimore Co., Apr. 10.

made.²⁸ Later, in the fall, Mr. Heiskell was chosen by the Independent Democrats to run for Mayor. When Wallis lays stricture on Mr. Keyser and Mr. Summerfield Baldwin, he is not considering them as running for office, but as using their influence. Yet, it is strange that he should have done so, because both of these men were later very prominent in the reform movement. This letter is a sequel to the last one cited:

I agree with you that Allison does not stand the remotest chance, if he goes into the primaries, but my advice to him—Hurst²⁹ and I had a very full consultation on that matter—is to stay where he is, upon the nomination which he has accepted from the citizens and the bar, and run, nomination or no nomination from the party.

I am pretty well satisfied that in some shape or other, our friends Keyser and Baldwin have their understanding with Gorman,³⁰ and that the latter will consequently manage things in the main. It would be to smash such arrangements, and not to further them, that I should like to be young and strong enough to go personally into the fight. For I consider such a result as the reduction of last fall's movement³¹ to a pitiful absurdity. I have had no knowledge of Keyser, personally, except since the movement of last fall began, and very little since then. I have been disposed to accept him as a straight forward man, and still desire so to regard him. But I cannot help feeling some doubts as to the entire frankness of his communications to me, when he voluntarily assumed to be frank. And then there is poor Heiskell, who, is a very honest fellow, whom I have advised and served in every way possible for the last fifteen years, and supposed to be absolutely loyal in his intercourse with me. I see that he has been letting out the idea in "interviews," that in dealing with the Fire Board affairs he acted under my advice. His object being of course to relieve Whyte of the responsibility of the proceedings, which resulted in making him chief mourner. Now I never saw Heiskell but once on the subject—the day before the disclosures were made in the Sun—and then he came to beg me to advise him as to whether or not it was his duty to make his discoveries public. I advised him without hesitation to do so, telling him at the same time that before he took a step he ought to state the whole case to Whyte, to whom he told me he had not mentioned the subject. Now, I perceive, he says that he never spoke to Whyte about it. Only the difficulty and reluctance I have in believing a gentleman, in his relation to me, to be guilty of a positive lie, prevents me from believing,

²⁸ Clarence H. Forrest, *Official History of the Fire Department of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1898), pp. 106-107.

²⁹ John E. Hurst, Oct. 21, 1832-Jan. 6, 1904; business man; prominent in reform movement.

³⁰ Arthur P. Gorman, U. S. Senator and for many years leader of Democratic Party in Maryland.

³¹ The New Judge Fight; the Independent ticket won on the issue of freeing the judiciary from political control.

now, that he came to see me at Whyte's suggestion, at the beginning. When I reflect that he had made the discoveries shortly after going into office, and did not think of disclosing them till after Gorman and Whyte had quarreled, my habit as a lawyer of sifting evidence renders it hard for me to keep faith in Heiskell unbroken—and yet I cannot consent, as yet, to surrender it. I have occasion to know from a close personal friend of Whyte's that he is "suffering great mental anxiety," and his suggestion of the technical deference that the repeal of the Fire Board ordinance repealed the penalty, satisfies me that he fears to meet the issue of fact.

But, I wonder, after all, why I bother myself during my holiday, or indeed at any time, with all or any of these things. Perhaps you wonder why I bother you, which would be quite natural I confess. Doubtless it is because disgust is like sorrow, which Hood says is like ale—that it is bettered by being poured "from one vessel into another."

In 1845 Mr. Wallis wrote a poem, entitled "The First Grave." It was dedicated to the memory of an infant, who was the first person to be buried in the Greenmount Cemetery. There, too, he was laid to rest following his death on April 11, 1894, after a full life spent in the generous service of his friends, and in the civic interests of his city and state.



ELIZA LAW
(MRS. LLOYD NICHOLAS ROGERS)
(1797-1822)

Miniature on ivory by unidentified artist, painted in 1814. Courtesy of the owner, Mrs. Wilfred P. Mustard, granddaughter of the subject. Inscribed on back by Mrs. Eliza Custis: "Picture of my darling child but not very like her." Photo by Frick Art Reference Library.



JULIA CALVERT
(MRS. RICHARD HENRY STUART)
(1810?-1888)

Unfinished portrait painted in 1833 by Sully. Courtesy of the owners, the Hunter family of Winchester, Va., grandchildren of the subject. Miss Calvert was a bridesmaid at the wedding of her cousin, Mary Custis, to Robert E. Lee. Courtesy of the Clarke County Historical Association.

MADAME GRELAUD'S FRENCH SCHOOL

By LUCY LEIGH BOWIE

During the colonial period "female education" was often a matter of small importance. In many families the daughters got a smattering of the three R's in a catch-as-catch-can fashion but were carefully trained in needlework, deportment, and dancing. If they had access to a varied library, some attractive results were achieved with their "natural intelligence unhampered by education"; and if there was a tutor for the boys, they fared better for they could then study with their brothers, progressing as far as the tutor in question could or would advance them.

Schools for girls began to appear in the federal period. By the 1790's they were calling them "Ladies' Academies" and "Female Seminaries."¹ They increased in number despite the disapproval of the older generation who disliked the publicity of young girls having "Commencement Days," "Exhibits" and "Marching to Church." However, as late as 1809 there was a lack of really desirable schools for young girls in Maryland. A search of the old records reveals little concerning these early private schools, and only a few private papers remain to give us an insight into the lives of our ancestors as school girls. However, papers which have come into the writer's hands refer to Madame Grelaud's² French School in Philadelphia, located at 105 Mulberry Street, which was extensively patronized by the leading families of Maryland and elsewhere. Philadelphia was the largest city in the United States at that time and the only one that could boast of a cosmopolitan society. Obviously this was an advantage in the location of a finishing school³ where many of the pupils came from plantation homes.

The information handed down by Madame Grelaud's pupils is that she was a native Frenchwoman and a refugee with the best

¹ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (1854), I, 289.

² Sometimes printed "Greland," the script "u" being mistaken for an "n."

³ This term is of a later vintage, but it describes exactly the kind of school that Madame Grelaud opened.

connections. It has been said that her husband had a position with Stephen Girard, who was always kind to refugees. Her three sons Titon, Arthur, and John all became supercargoes on ships that belonged to Girard.⁴ When Madame Grelaud opened her school in the first decade of the nineteenth century, she was a widow. She must have had immediate success for when the United States bonds to finance the War of 1812 were put on the market in February 1813, Deborah Grelaud invested \$6,000 in them through Girard's Bank.⁵ She is believed to have been a Huguenot, and her Biblical first name lends weight to that belief. The majority of those that are known to have been her pupils were Episcopalians, but there were also Roman Catholics and Sephardim Jews.

The first pupil connected with Maryland that we have any record of was Eliza Law,⁶ who became Mrs. Lloyd Nicholas Rogers of Druid Hill, Baltimore. Her father, Thomas Law, placed her with Madame Grelaud on his way to Vermont in 1810. His wife was Eliza Parke Custis, a granddaughter of Martha Washington. The Peter girls, Columbia⁷ and America, were entered also. They were the daughters of Thomas Peter of "Tudor Place," Georgetown, D. C. Their mother was Martha Parke Custis, also a granddaughter of Martha Washington. Caroline Calvert joined her cousins in November, 1812.⁸ She was the daughter of George Calvert of "Riversdale," Prince George's County, a brother of the Eleanor Calvert who married John Parke Custis, Martha Washington's only son. Aside from these, who may be called the Washington connection, for it was so considered, the girls who attended the school at this period were: Matilda Edmondson,⁹ daughter of Horatio Edmondson of Talbot

⁴ Titon Grelaud, supercargo of the *Helvetius*, 1806-1807, and the *Rousseau*, 1809-1810. Arthur Grelaud, supercargo of the *Montesquieu*, 1810, and the *Voltaire*, 1815-1816. John H. Grelaud, supercargo of the *North America*, 1824. Harry Emerson Wildes, *Lonely Midas* (N. Y., 1943), pages 311-312.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶ Charles Moore, *The Family Life of Washington* (1926), p. 111.

⁷ Correspondence in possession of Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin: "I had not heard of Columbia's illness nor that her mother had gone to Philadelphia, how long does she mean to stay?" Columbia Washington Peter died December 3, 1820, unmarried. America Pinckney Peter married June 27, 1826, William George Williams, U. S. A. and died April 25, 1842. Kindness of Grace Dunlop (Ecker) Peter for genealogical record.

⁸ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1943, page 269.

⁹ Charlotte Matilda Edmondson married May 9, 1822, John Rousby Plater, son of the Honorable George Plater of "Sotterly," St. Mary's County, Maryland.

County, Maryland; Miss Magruder, who seems to have been a daughter of Denis Magruder of "Mt. Lubentia," Prince George's County, Maryland;¹⁰ and Miss Russel, "daughter of Mr. Jonathan Russel" who was then in Paris.¹¹ Two of Stephen Girard's nieces were also placed with Madame Grelaud; Antoinette Girard entered the school in 1809 and left at the close of the term in August, 1812. Her younger sister, Caroline, was entered in November, 1812, and left in 1814.¹²

The school year began October 1st and lasted until August 31st with the month of September for vacation.¹³ Each girl was required to bring with her a silver mug and teaspoon marked with her initials. They seem to us rather old for silver mugs and nothing is said of the traditional napkin ring. Perhaps it was still the fashion at that time to use the edge of the table cloth as a table napkin. An exaggerated formality was the fashion of the day. According to the books on behavior then prevailing, the pupils were *supposed* to address the principal of the school as "Honored Madam," to stand in her presence until told to be seated, and not to speak unless spoken to.¹⁴ The pupils were never allowed to use each other's first names even when nearly related, but were always required to say, "Miss Smith," "Miss Jones," and so on. It will be seen later how they discarded this formality when teachers were not present to enforce the rules. In a limited degree, the girls were allowed to participate in "the events of the great world" as it was called. In fact, such participation may have been considered a part of their education.

It was a very expensive school, \$500 a year;¹⁵ and that charge for tuition was considered a remarkably high sum, as at that period board at a good hotel cost less than \$200 a year; but they had the best instruction in French, drawing, music, and dancing, and parents were "quite satisfied with Madame Grelaud's School." Mrs. George Calvert, a highly cultivated woman with a

¹⁰ Information kindly furnished by, Mr. C. Baltimore Calvert and Mrs. W. Beall Bowie of "Mt. Lubentia."

¹¹ Warden Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Correspondence of Eliza Parke Custis, September 8, 1814.

¹² Wildes, pp. 197, 307-308. Antoinette Girard married John Hemphill of Wilmington, Delaware, April 14, 1814, died September 3, 1871. Caroline Girard married first, John Buckley Haslam, June 23, 1822, and secondly, Franklin Peale.

¹³ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1943, p. 269.

¹⁴ This was the time of the Regency when "Deportment" was held in exaggerated importance. America reflected the English fashion, in theory at any rate.

¹⁵ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1943, p. 269. Wildes, p. 346.

European education,¹⁶ thought so well of it that her daughters, each in turn, were educated there. Eliza Parke Custis wrote with enthusiasm of the success of her daughter's (Eliza Law's) education.¹⁷ "She draws very prettily, indeed very well—plays and sings sweetly and will be a very good musician." The atmosphere must have been distinctly artistic for Caroline Girard won recognition both by her painting and her music.¹⁸ Matilda Edmondson would at once be noticed by the elegance of her carriage, and there remains today a letter in schoolgirl French¹⁹ as evidence that she made good use of her advantages.

There do not seem to have been many restrictions. The girls were not allowed to go into debt;²⁰ they could accept invitations and go to parties "under proper care,"²¹ and to the theatre. Play tickets were \$1; carriage hire was 50 cents; and in June evidently for a long summer drive the cost was \$1.50; a [horseback] ride 50 cents; a visit to the dentist cost \$1; hair cutting, 25 cents; a bath ticket was 34 cents; and washing for three months cost \$7.²² In 1814, two dozen pairs of long white kid gloves and ribbons were ordered for Eliza Law from Paris. No dresses were ordered "because young girls all wear the same frocks."²³ These frocks were straight, narrow and short-waisted and were worn with coalscuttle bonnets.

The spring of 1814 was a period of anxiety and uncertainty on the Atlantic seaboard. The British Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, was blockading the coast from the Delaware Bay to the Charleston harbor. His marauding expeditions in the Chesapeake and the Delaware desolated the helpless towns of the waterside. No one doubted that Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia would be attacked. Under these circumstances, Mr. George Calvert decided to go to Philadelphia and bring his daughter home. There was some question of Miss Magruder also returning with him, but it is not known how that matter was settled. The main

¹⁶ "Calvert-Stier Correspondence," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June and September, 1943.

¹⁷ Warden Papers, Correspondence, Eliza Parke Custis, November 9, 1814.

¹⁸ Wildes, p. 258, 261.

¹⁹ Correspondence in possession of L. L. B.

²⁰ Correspondence in possession of Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin.

²¹ Warden Papers, Letter of Eliza Parke Custis, November 9, 1814.

²² Entries, account with Madame Grelaud. Unsorted papers in Girard College Library, 1809-1810. Kindness of Mr. H. E. Wildes.

²³ Warden Papers, Correspondence of Eliza Parke Custis, September 8, 1814.

roads were closed for safe travel, so Mr. Calvert had to go by way of Lancaster and cross the Susquehanna at Wright's Ferry. The roads were so bad that it was impossible to know when he would reach Philadelphia.²⁴ At home Caroline Calvert had a summer of continuous excitement. The British troops landed and marched through southern Maryland to the battle of Bladensburg (the Calverts' Post Office town). They then went on to Washington and set fire to the Capital City, which was only a few miles from the Calvert seat, "Riversdale."

Because of the threat to Philadelphia,²⁵ Madame Grelaud decided to remove her school to Germantown for the duration of the war. Eliza Parke Custis hastened from Washington and stayed with the Lears²⁶ in Germantown so as to be near her "beloved child" (Eliza Law), in those uncertain times; but they passed a peaceful summer in their semi-rural retreat. Peace was declared that fall, and Madame Grelaud brought her school back to Philadelphia in November.²⁷ She then located at 89 South 3rd Street, where she lived for ten years.²⁸ Caroline Calvert returned to school that same month and remained until the end of the school year in August, 1817.²⁹

In 1824 or '25, Madame Grelaud bought a house in the next square at 102 South 3rd Street³⁰ and moved into it the first of May. She was still educating girls of the Calvert family, and the record is continued by a letter from Julia,³¹ fourth daughter of George Calvert. It was written to a schoolmate, Eliza Leigh,³² who had recently returned to her home in St. Mary's County. It reads:

²⁴ Correspondence in possession of Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin.

²⁵ Warden Papers, Correspondence of Eliza Parke Custis, November 9, 1814.

²⁶ Tobias Lear was secretary to Washington when he was President of the United States. He was married three times. His second and third wives were both nieces of Martha Washington. At this time his wife was Frances Dandridge (Henley) Lear, and so was a near cousin of Eliza Parke Custis.

²⁷ Warden Papers, Correspondence of Eliza Parke Custis, November 9, 1814.

²⁸ Philadelphia Directories.

²⁹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1943, p. 271. Caroline Maria Calvert born July 15, 1800, married June 19, 1823, Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia; died November 25, 1842.

³⁰ Philadelphia Directory and Julia Calvert's letter, presently.

³¹ Julia Calvert was born at "Riversdale" about 1810. Married May 7, 1833, Dr. Richard Henry Stuart of "Cedar Grove," Virginia. Died June 8, 1888.

³² Eliza Caroline Leigh, born June 25, 1810. Daughter of Honorable John Leigh of "Woodbury." Married Dr. Charles Llewellyn Gardiner of "Bramley" St. Mary's County, August, 1830. Died December, 1874.

Philadelphia April 26 [1824 or '25]

My dear Eliza

It is as you may easily suppose with great regret that we part from our sweet school fellow and *sister* Henrietta Kerr³³ her loss will never be replaced by any person whoever she may be or amiable either all my best friends will leave school very soon H. Kerr-V[irginia] T[ayloe]³⁴-C[aroline] D[ugan].³⁵ Oh I must tell you the news Isabella Bell is married She is now Madame Herara Anita and Candelaria³⁶ seems to be delighted with the thought of having a brother in law. Johnston³⁷ is as cross as ever always getting in a persons light. Emma Chesnut³⁸ is mending her clothes Dea's'³⁹ are looking on with eyes and ears open Sparks⁴⁰ is ding donging at Washington's march Goldsborough⁴¹ is talking as fast as her tongue can carry her V[irginia] T[ayloe] and C[aroline] D[ugan] are busily employed dressing H[enrietta] K[err] for a party, the rest are stepping about the floor. You may remember that Mr. J. Grelaud was expected when you were here and I suppose you heard of his arrival in this through the school he is called Prodigy I think he is quite enamoured with *H. Kerr* I believe the girls here adore him with all their hearts and he is nothing great after all on examination. . . . We expect to be out of this old house next week if nothing particular happens to prevent it Mrs. G bought it for her self so we shall get a scolding for every little cut or scratch that is found on it Holla! that will be nice wont it. I intend to carry some of the few ornaments that are on the chimney piece here as a rememberince of the nasty old place. . . . *Here* in Augusta Johnston coming with her usual sweetness of temper saying *You* LITTLE DEVILS you why don't you hush your tongues here she is praising up her sisters as usual and quarreling with us because we cannot or will not agree with her We gave Mrs. Grelaud a beautiful cake three pyramids high and a beautiful basket of Sugar Candy on the top the old lady seemed very much pleased at our attention but the best of the joke was that Johnston, Harden⁴² and Tayloe would not put in for it and

³³ Henrietta Maria Kerr, daughter of Honorable John Leeds Kerr of Talbot County, Maryland, U. S. Senator from Maryland; married General Tench Tilghman of Talbot County, a grandson of Col. Tench Tilghman of Washington's staff. She was the mother of Tench Tilghman and Col. Oswald Tilghman of Easton. Her married daughters were: Mrs. Richard Burroughs, Mrs. Alexander Stewart Marye, and Mrs. Thomas Shreve.

³⁴ Virginia Tayloe was a daughter of Col. John Tayloe, whose home was the famous "Octagon House," Washington, D. C.

³⁵ Caroline Dugan was the wife of General Plesanton of Philadelphia.

³⁶ Isabella Bell, Madame Herara Anita, and Candelaria is unidentified.

³⁷ Augusta Johnston, unidentified.

³⁸ Emma Chesnut, unidentified.

³⁹ The Dea's' are unidentified.

⁴⁰ Miss Sparks, unidentified.

⁴¹ Margaretta Goldsborough, eldest daughter of Nicholas Goldsborough of "Otwell," Talbot County, Maryland. She was the second wife of Henry Hollyday of "Readbourne," Queen Anne's County, Maryland.

⁴² Miss Harden, unidentified.

they were not a little mortified when they knew that she found it out did you ever see such meanness however to come to end of my story she sent one night a large piece for each of us and they refused to take any *CONSCIENCE THUNDER STRUCK THEM* She lost 20 dollars of her sisters she pretends that she does not care any thing about it but *we all very well know* that she is frightened out of her wits that you my dear Eliza are sensible of Well I am sleepy and I have been gaping and looking at the lamp for ideas but I see no ideas—but smoke don't you see it (here is an impressionistic drawing of a lamp smoking) Oh do give me joy I have begun a new head lately You diable If did not congratulate me I will beat you My fingers are so tired I can hardly drag the pen along as you can see by the writing *howsomeever* I shall continue if I have to write with my Toes poor things they are pretty stiff also with cold as well as fatigued. every body is calling for paper to write to Eliza Leigh Henrietta Kerr has this moment gone out of here dressed for a ball she looks beautiful So good bye Eliza Leigh so good bye. Gale ⁴³ has the gales [and is] squealing after me to tell you how Henrietta Kerr is dressed well she is dressed in a white frock and pink baux coral necklace and earrings pink ribbon to her belt tied before well what do you think of her

Good bye child Yrs Julia
Calvert

It was addressed:

To
Miss Eliza Leigh
Leonard Town

Above the address was written " read this first you hear "

The pupils known to have attended Madame Grelaud's school in addition to those already mentioned were: Miss Dabney, who was a pupil between 1820 and 1825 and was undoubtedly a Virginian; ⁴⁴ Miss Minis from Savannah, Georgia, who attended during the same years; ⁴⁵ Sally Harris of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, and Miss Chase of Annapolis, daughter or granddaughter of Samuel Chase, the Signer. The last pupil of record was Elizabeth Black, daughter of Judge James Black, of New Castle, Delaware. She married Col. John Charles Groome of Elkton, Maryland and was the mother of James Black Groome, Governor of Maryland, United States Senator, and Collector of the Port of Baltimore.

⁴³ Henrietta Maria Gale was the ten year old daughter of Honorable Levin Gale of "Brookland," Cecil County, Maryland.

She probably left school at the age of 17 in 1833. The school was still in existence and listed in the Philadelphia Directory of 1849 as "D. Grelaud, female seminary," but no record has been found relating to this period. Good schools had been opened everywhere by that time and doubtless Maryland girls were being educated nearer home.

⁴⁴ Miss Dabney probably belonged to the line of Benjamin Dabney of "Bellevue" on the York River, King and Queen County, Virginia.

⁴⁵ Miss Minis of Savannah, Georgia, was a daughter of Isaac and Dwina (Cohen) Minis.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, page 260, September, 1943)

THE ELECTIONS OF 1864 AND THE REVIVAL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The elections of 1864, state and national, were epochal in Maryland. They gave Lincoln's opponents a chance to register their hostility to Negro enlistments, armed interference at elections, and other Republican policies that had aroused much bitterness among conservative Unionists in Maryland. George Vickers wrote to Bradford that the Lincoln Administration had brought "chagrin, mortification and sense of injury" to the public mind.¹ He expressed a fear that many conservative Unionists would absent themselves from the polls in the fall elections because they were "so callous and dissatisfied" at the practises of the administration. Vickers said that if the Unconditional Unionists should alienate the Unionists "and the Democrats bring out a very strong man, and they usually rally at the sound of the Bugle, our success might well be questioned."²

The Democratic party, in fact, was staging a comeback in Maryland. It had never been dead in Southern Maryland but it had been totally suppressed in the rest of the State by Federal troops since 1860. In 1864 it was reorganized at Annapolis under the leadership of ex-Governor Thomas G. Pratt, Judge Richard B. Carmichael, Colonel John F. Dent, Oliver Miller, Oden Bowie, Daniel Clarke, Colonel James T. Briscoe and others. A committee was appointed in February, which later merged into a State Central Committee, to advance the interests of the Democratic party in the State. Oden Bowie, later Governor of Maryland, was made

¹ Vickers to Bradford, January 22, 1864, Bradford MSS.

² *Ibid.*

chairman of this Committee and A. Leo Knott was named secretary.³ The Committee had some of the most distinguished citizens of Maryland as its members. It attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the legislature from authorizing a state convention, believing that the sentiments of the people would not be truly expressed. The Democrats desired to place themselves in full accord with the National Democratic party, asserting that it was the only safeguard of the rights, liberties, and interests of the people. These had been seriously menaced and they desired to erase the proscriptive features and political disabilities that had been imposed on the people of the State by the Republican party, and which they believed a new constitution would saddle upon them permanently.

On June 11, 1864, Secretary Knott issued the first official call of the Democratic party since the war began. Democratic voters were instructed to send five delegates from each of the city wards to a Baltimore City convention. This convention was called to choose a delegate to represent Baltimore in the Democratic State Convention, called under the same authority to meet in Baltimore on June 16. Both the city and state conventions were fully attended. Dr. John Morris, prominent physician of Baltimore, presided over the former,⁴ while Colonel Oden Bowie was chairman of the state convention. A delegation was chosen to represent Maryland at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago on August 27. The nomination of General George B. McClellan was unacceptable to many in the Maryland delegation because of his connection with the arrests of political leaders in Maryland early in the war, but the State Democratic Convention ratified McClellan's nomination by a unanimous vote on September 29.⁵

The Unionists, meanwhile, were holding a convention in Baltimore to choose delegates to the National Republican Convention. The *Baltimore American* urged that only consistent and enthusiastic supporters of President Lincoln be chosen, and that those under the influence of Henry Winter Davis be kept off the ticket. "Mr. Davis has devoted his whole time in Congress to embarrassing

³ A. L. Knott, *A Biographical Sketch*, pp. 11-31.

⁴ *Ibid.* Among those present were William Kimmel, Albert Ritchie, J. A. L. McClure, Edward J. Charsty, Jr., John T. Gray, Joseph S. Heuisler, Augustus Albert, J. Q. A. Rolson, John Stribble, Dr. Milton N. Taylor, Jesse Morrison, William Black, George F. Thompson, James E. Carr, Robert Renwick, William H. Perkins, James R. Brewer, and Samuel I. Smith.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

the Administration, and his followers here are known to be equally embittered in their opposition to the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, though exerting themselves as pretended friends, to obtain place and power and office." ⁶ The *American* said that Davis' supporters had already obtained control of the State Central Committee, and would endeavor to be placed on the Lincoln Electoral Ticket. And, if successful, they would do all in their power to cripple Lincoln. There were two contesting delegations from Baltimore. Henry W. Hoffman, Collector of Customs and Chairman of the State Central Committee, was said to have "usurped the power" of giving credentials to one delegation.⁷ The other set of delegates was elected by the Union City Convention, and according to precedent of twenty years, said the *American*, was entitled to represent the city wards. They "were regularly elected by a Convention called by the only recognized power in the City to call such meetings." Except in 1861, when political organization was confused, the city convention transacted the Union business of the city.⁸ Just how this situation was straightened out is not clear.

After Lincoln was renominated by the Republican Convention in Baltimore in June, the *American* said that

The wishes of the people have been duly respected and faithfully represented. . . . The nomination of Mr. Lincoln is nothing more than what all loyal Unionists expected and had a right to expect. It was simply an affirmation of their recognition of his distinguished merit. The popular affection for the President is a healthy sign. . . . Let us be animated by a spark of the wonderful, and overpowering enthusiasm and unanimity with which the Delegates were carried away yesterday . . . and the result next November will not be a doubtful one.

The nomination of Andrew Johnson . . . for the Vice Presidency, is not merely a concession to the fact that Tennessee is still an integral part of the Union, and that her people have suffered for their loyal adherence to the Union as the people of no other state have suffered, but it is a just tribute to a patriot who stood firm in defence of the right when all around him were faithless to their trust. . . .⁹

The *American*, although representing the majority opinion in Maryland, overlooked the growing strength of the Radical Repub-

⁶ *Baltimore American*, June 8, 1864.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Baltimore Sun*, June 9, 1864.

⁹ *June 9, 1864.*

licans, who nominated John C. Frémont at Cleveland for President. The Radicals in Maryland were led by Henry Winter Davis. Montgomery Blair was the spokesman for the conservative Republicans who desired the reelection of Lincoln. His activities in Maryland in 1864 were not as widespread as in 1860, but he made several speeches in the early months of the campaign. In general, the Radical Republicans met an unfriendly reception in Maryland and after September, 1864, the Lincoln forces gained strength.

But the Radical Republicans outside Maryland were not so easily squelched. On September 2 Governor Bradford was the recipient of an interesting communication from three New York editors: Horace Greeley, of the *Tribune*, Parke Godwin of the *Evening Post*, and Theodore Tilton, of the *Independent*. It read as follows:

The undersigned have been requested by a body of influential Unionists to communicate with the loyal Governors for the purpose of eliciting replies to the following queries:

1. In your judgement, is the re-election of Mr. Lincoln a probability?
2. In your judgement, can your own State be carried by Mr. Lincoln?
3. In your judgement, do the interests of the Union party, and so of the country require the substituting of another candidate in place of Mr. Lincoln?

In making these queries, we give no opinion of our own, and request yours only for the most private confidential use.¹⁰

Bradford replied that it was too soon after the nomination of the Democratic candidates to answer the first two questions with any degree of accuracy, but he thought he could "safely answer them both in the affirmative." He believed that the masses of the people were unwavering in their devotion to the Union and would regard all propositions for an armistice as a "practical surrender of the Union cause," and therefore refuse their support to any man who was a candidate on such a platform. In answer to the third question, Bradford said he believed

that if Mr. Lincoln can *not* be elected, no other candidate presented at this period of the Canvass in his place *can*, and more especially so far at least as this State is concerned, one brought out under the auspices of the leaders most conspicuous in their objection to Mr. Lincoln.¹¹

General McClellan formerly had many friends in Maryland but his military record turned many of them into opponents. Some

¹⁰ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (1908), 176-178.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

said that it had become dangerous even to advocate his election in Baltimore. The "loyal public will not tolerate McClellanism in Baltimore, and many of the counties, because they look upon it with treason to the Republic."¹² And "if the government will deal more rigidly with the traitors in the Fifth District, the vote will be increased to six to one. The barbecues and public speaking have been assigned for nearly every day throughout the State from now till election day."¹³

McClellan, however, was not without support in Maryland. United States Senator Reverdy Johnson announced his support of him on September 14, 1864. Johnson said that he had opposed Lincoln in 1860 because he believed him unequal to the duties of the Presidency. And the manner in which he had met those duties in the past four years had confirmed him in those views. He believed that, through Lincoln's poor management, the Union was "even more effectually broken now than it was when his administration commenced."¹⁴ Johnson thought that Lincoln, with the troops and resources at his disposal, should have long since suppressed the rebellion. But despite his "honesty of purpose," Lincoln had named one incompetent military officer after another, and then allowed them to engage in "vandal excesses," burning private homes and depriving people of their means of livelihood. Johnson thought that swapping horses in the midst of a stream was not generally a good practise, but "we should cast aside a spavined and thin horse, and secure a sound and active one." He praised McClellan's character, his refinement, his civil and military attainments, and above all his "perfect loyalty"; he would never "at all hazards" agree to surrender the Union.

A Union meeting in Baltimore denounced Johnson but admitted that those who knew him best were not surprised at his desertion to the Copperheads.

A political trickster at all times, he has betrayed all parties that put him in power, and now his adhesion to the enemies of his country will only have the effect of forever damning him in the estimation of the

¹² Letter of "W. G. S.," a Baltimore correspondent to the *New York Tribune*, reprinted in *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, September 12, 1864.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Johnson made his announcement to a committee arranging a McClellan ratification meeting at Washington for September 17. *Baltimore Sun*, September 21, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, September 21, 1864. The *Baltimore American* did not publish items of this character.

very few who believe him worthy of the confidence of the Union men of the nation.¹⁵ [The meeting resolved that Johnson, a] leading member of the Democratic party, as once of the Whig party, . . . had been remarkable during his whole political life, for his Southern predilections.

He had betrayed North as well as South, for he first sanctioned the military rule of Lincoln and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

The *Baltimore American* rallied to Lincoln's defense. It claimed that McClellan was responsible for some of the interference and outrages in Maryland that Johnson laid at the feet of Lincoln. McClellan's instructions to General Banks at the time of the 1861 elections were cited as an illustration of this point. Since Johnson had supported Lincoln prior to 1864, the *American* asked: "Has he discovered that no more counsel fees are to be made out of the present administration, and that gratitude forms no part of duty when equivalent is rendered for value received?"¹⁶

Maryland was to elect a governor and lieutenant governor in 1864 as well as presidential electors. Bradford's term as governor ran until January, 1866, but the new Constitution of 1864 stipulated that his successor and a lieutenant governor should be chosen in November, 1864. The *Baltimore American* began at once to boost Thomas Swann, leader of the conservative Unionists, for Governor. Since the conservatives had cooperated in the framing of the new constitution, this journal felt justified in supporting their leader. It characterized Swann as "a man of energy and determination, one who has already given an earnest of his life executive ability, one whom we know will add life and vigor to the laws under the new era that is beginning to break upon us; who can and will do much for State improvement as he has done for the improvement and prosperity of our City."¹⁷ Other possible candidates for Governor on the Union ticket were Judge Hugh Lennox Bond of Baltimore and Henry Howe Goldsborough of Talbot County, each of whom had a sizeable following.¹⁸

The State Union Convention met in Baltimore on October 18. It ratified the nominations of Lincoln and Andrew Johnson and

¹⁵ *Baltimore American*, October 1, 1864.

¹⁶ October 1, 1864.

¹⁷ *Baltimore American*, September 22, 1864. Henry Winter Davis, formerly the *American's* ideal candidate, was now on its blacklist because of his opposition to Lincoln.

¹⁸ *Baltimore Sun*, September 28, 1864.

chose presidential electors. The convention declared its determination to stand by Lincoln's administration "until this . . . rebellion has been crushed out, and every Rebel made to bow in submission to the Constitution and laws of the land, and every foot of territory brought under the dominance of the Federal Government."¹⁹ The following candidates were chosen for State offices: Thomas Swann of Baltimore for Governor; Dr. Christopher C. Cox of Baltimore County for Lieutenant Governor; Alexander Randall of Annapolis for Attorney-General; and Robert J. Jump of Caroline County for Comptroller. Swann was nominated almost without contest, the other two possible candidates, Judge Hugh L. Bond and Henry H. Goldsborough, withdrawing their names. Daniel Weisel of Washington County was nominated for Judge of the Court of Appeals for the district composed of Allegany, Washington, Frederick, Howard, and Carroll counties. For Congress the incumbents in the First, Second, and Fourth Districts, John A. J. Creswell, Edwin H. Webster, and Francis Thomas, respectively, were nominated.²⁰ Colonel Charles E. Phelps was named for the Third District while Colonel John G. Holland was selected for the Fifth District. The Union newspapers of the State, led by the *Baltimore American*, supported these candidates heartily. The *Frederick Examiner* said: "It is enough to say, that as a whole, the ticket embraces 'nominations fit to be made,' and is one well calculated to initiate the new era of prosperity in which Maryland is about to enter."²¹

The Democratic State Central Committee met in Baltimore on October 28, chose its presidential electors and placed a full state ticket in the field. Judge Ezekiel F. Chambers of Chestertown was nominated for Governor; Oden Bowie of Prince George's County for Lieutenant Governor; Isaac Nevitt Steele of Baltimore for Attorney General; Colonel William P. Maulsby of Frederick for Judge of the Court of Appeals; and A. Lingan Jarrett of Harford County for State Comptroller. Benjamin G. Harris, the incumbent, was renominated for Congress from the Fifth District. At first no nominations were made for Congress in the other four districts, but it was finally decided to run a full ticket and Hiram McCul-

¹⁹ *Baltimore American*, October 19, 1864.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ October 26, 1864.

lough, William Kimmel, A. Leo Knott, and Andrew K. Syester were accordingly nominated from the first four districts. The Democrats also nominated a full ticket for the State legislature and for local offices.²²

The perennial question of military interference came to the forefront again as the election drew near. George Vickers urged Governor Bradford to issue a proclamation protesting against such interference, but Bradford considered this "both unnecessary and inexpedient." He did not believe there would be any interference.²³ On November 4, Governor Bradford directed the attention of the judges of election to the fourth section of Article I of the new Constitution. It provided that "the Judges of Election, at the *first election held under this Constitution, shall* and at any subsequent election *may* administer to any person offering to vote," the oath of affirmation prescribed for voters. There had been a question whether this section applied to the 1864 election. Some thought that the first election meant that of October 12-13 in which the Constitution had been ratified. But Bradford declared that the November 8 election was the first, since the October election had been held before the Constitution was "adopted or proclaimed, and before the time prescribed by its own provisions for it to go into effect."²⁴

About one third of the election judges of Baltimore City held a meeting and decided unanimously to administer the oath to all voters. This oath, however, was not to be taken as conclusive evidence of loyalty. Citizens were to be sworn to give true answers to any questions the judges might ask. A second and more largely attended meeting of the judges was held at the same place on November 7 to decide whether or not they had the right to commit for perjury, a question much discussed at the time. The judges decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the individual judge and to keep a list of rejected voters for future action.²⁵

²² *Baltimore American*, October 28, 1864; *Baltimore Sun*, October 28, 1864; A. L. Knott, *A Biographical Sketch*, p. 16; Frank R. Kent, *The Story of Maryland Politics*, pp. 9-10.

²³ George Vickers to Bradford, October 28, 1864, and Bradford to Vickers, November 4, 1864, Executive Letter Book, pp. 602-605.

²⁴ Proclamation found in *Baltimore American*, November 4, 1864. See all issues of November 5 and 8, 1864.

²⁵ *Baltimore American*, November 8, 1864. The *Baltimore Sun*, November 5, 1864, and Knott, *A Biographical Sketch*, pp. 22-29, discuss the various phases of the subject. The latter denounces the application of the oath to voters as an

The election as a whole was a peaceful one. Few arrests were made, but many persons of questionable patriotism refrained from voting.²⁶ Maryland soldiers in the field were allowed, as they had been in the vote on the constitution in October, to cast their votes in this election.

Lincoln carried Maryland by a majority of 7,432.²⁷ His overwhelming majority over McClellan in Baltimore City, where he polled 14,834 votes to 2,766 for McClellan, won the Maryland election for him, for he had a minority of the popular vote outside the City.²⁸

The Union Republicans made a clean sweep of the chief state offices. Thomas Swann defeated Ezekiel F. Chambers for the governorship by a vote of 40,579 to 32,068.²⁹ Other Republican nominees for state offices polled approximately the same majorities over their Democratic rivals. The *Baltimore American* asserted that since the Union, or Republican, vote has been larger than that cast for the Constitution on October 12-13, a gain had been made for the cause of Unionism and emancipation.³⁰

The Democrats showed real strength in electing two of their candidates to Congress. John A. J. Creswell, Unconditional Unionist, was defeated for reelection in the First District by Hiram McCullough, Democrat, by a vote of 9,677 to 6,307. The *Baltimore American* pointed out, however, that Creswell had polled more votes than his District had cast for the Constitution. The First District was normally a Democratic stronghold. Creswell's victory in 1863 had been due largely to military interference and

attempt of the Republican party to maintain its power in the State, and characterized the judges' decision to ask questions of the voters as "inquisitions into his mind and conscience," and an act that "outraged all law and every sentiment of justice."

²⁶ *Baltimore American*, November 7, 1864.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1864. Lincoln's total was 40,171, including 2,799 soldiers' votes. McClellan had 32,739 votes with only 321 soldiers' votes included.

²⁸ A "Distinguished gentleman since high in the Councils of the Republican party and the country" reported to A. Leo Knott some time after the election that the Democrats actually carried the State in this election, and also defeated the Constitution in 1864, "but that the imperious necessity of the war . . . required the defeat of General McClellan and the success in a non-seceding Southern state of a Constitution which abolished slavery." See *A Biographical Sketch*, pp. 29-31. Knott, it is recalled, was a Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third District, but a former Unionist.

²⁹ *Baltimore American*, January 11, 1865. This is the vote as declared by the legislature on January 10. Swann was inaugurated in January, 1865, but did not take office until January, 1866. See also F. R. Kent, *The Story of Maryland Politics*, pp. 9-10; W. S. Myers, *Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1909).

³⁰ November 29, 1864.

his defeat in 1864 would indicate that there had been less interference in his behalf. Harris defeated Holland in the Fifth District by a vote of 8,839 to 3,389 for the second Democratic victory. Union candidates won by comfortable majorities in the other districts. Webster defeated Kimmel in the Second, 9,541 to 4,102; Phelps trimmed Knott in the Third, 9,313 to 1,753; and Thomas was reelected in the Fourth by a vote of 11,899 to Syester's 7,551.³¹

The Democrats secured a majority of two in the State Senate, electing thirteen members to eleven for the Republicans. But the Republicans had fifty-two members in the House of Delegates to twenty-eight for the Democrats. Baltimore City was unique in that it did not return a single Democrat to either House.³²

Fortunately for the Unionists, William H. Holland, Democratic Senator-elect from Dorchester County, resigned on November 15 because of the pressure of private affairs.³³ A special election was held on December 23 to fill the vacancy, and Thomas K. Carroll, Unionist, was elected.³⁴ This created a tie vote in the Senate between the Union and Democratic members. Lieutenant-Governor Cox was in a position to cast the deciding vote.³⁵ On February 14,

³¹ *Baltimore American*, November 29, 1864.

³² *Baltimore Sun*, November 11, 1864; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, IV (1864), 506. The membership was as follows:

Senate:

Unionists from Allegany, Baltimore County, Baltimore City (3), Carroll, Caroline, Cecil, Frederick, Talbot, Washington. Total—11.

Democrats from Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Dorchester, Harford, Howard, Kent, Montgomery, Prince George's, Queen Anne's, Somerset, St. Mary's, Worcester. Total—13.

House of Delegates:

| <i>Unionists</i> | | <i>Democrats</i> | | |
|----------------------------|----|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Allegany | 5 | Anne Arundel | 2 | Prince George's 2 |
| Baltimore County | 5 | Baltimore County | 1 | Queen Anne's 2 |
| Baltimore City | 18 | Calvert | 1 | Somerset 3 |
| Carroll | 5 | Charles | 1 | St. Mary's 1 |
| Caroline | 2 | Dorchester | 2 | Worcester 3 |
| Cecil | 4 | Harford | 4 | |
| Frederick | 6 | Howard | 2 | 28 |
| Talbot | 2 | Kent | 2 | |
| Washington | 5 | Montgomery | 2 | |

³³ *Sun*, November 18, 1864; *Baltimore American*, November 18, 1864. Charges were made that Holland resigned because of intimidation by Unionists.

³⁴ *Sun*, December 12, 1864; *Baltimore American*, January 6, 1865.

³⁵ Cox was Maryland's first Lieutenant Governor, his position having been created by the Constitution of 1864. He was elected on November 8, to take office in January, 1865.

the Senate unseated, by a vote of 11 to 10, Littleton Maclin, Democratic Senator from Howard County, on the ground of disloyalty. His Republican opponent, Hart B. Holton, was declared elected.³⁶ Samuel A. Graham of Somerset County contested the seat of Levin L. Waters, Democratic Senator from that county, on the same grounds, but the case was postponed until the next session,³⁷ and was never decided.

The Unionists, or Republicans as they were now called, had in a period of months, aided by the Federal government, elected a state convention, framed a new constitution, abolished slavery in the State, made changes in the State government, helped to reelect Lincoln, and carried most of the State elections. They were naturally optimistic over their future. The strength of the reorganized Democratic party was not to be discounted, however. Its control of the State Senate and its victories in two Congressional Districts were important steps toward its return to power in Maryland. One of the Democratic leaders expressed his party's comeback as follows: "Thus was the Democratic party of Maryland after an interregnum of four years resuscitated, and started again on a career, which though marked in its earlier stages by trials and defeats, was destined in the end to be crowned with success."³⁸ In spite of test oaths, partisan election judges, and the supporting influence of the Federal army, the Democrats had indicated that the Republican control of Maryland could be shaken and possibly broken in the near future.

The newly elected legislature assembled on January 5 to hear Governor Bradford's biennial message. Bradford recommended that "some other time and tribunal than the day and Judges of Election" be provided, to determine who was entitled to vote under the new laws and regulations. He asked for full cooperation in perfecting the new free labor system in order that the rich natural resources of the State might be developed. The legislature was urged to iron out immigration problems and to encourage immigrants who were previously discouraged from settling in Maryland because of the slavery system.³⁹

³⁶ *Maryland Senate Journal* (1865), pp. 115-117. For the testimony, see *Maryland Senate Documents* (1865), Documents E, G, and H.

³⁷ *Maryland Senate Journal* (1865), p. 342; *Maryland Senate Documents* (1865), Documents F, I, and L.

³⁸ Knott, *A Biographical Sketch*, p. 31.

³⁹ *Maryland House Documents* (1865), Doc. A; *Sun*, January 6, 1865; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, January 6, 1865.

The Baltimore *Sun* called the message the "ablest of the many State papers that have emanated from our present patriotic Executive."⁴⁰ The *Frederick Examiner* praised Bradford's "statesman-like ability" and said

we cannot refrain from congratulating the people of Maryland that, in the midst of the civil disorders which have so sorely affected us, it has been our good fortune to have at the helm so steadfast a patriot and able statesman as the present incumbent of the gubernatorial chair, to guide the ship of State through the dark clouds and mists which have enveloped us ever since the announcement of the rebellion. To this judicious administration are we deeply indebted for the brilliant prospects of the future, and when we shall have reaped the full fruition of our desires in the realization of the splendid career looming up before us, the conspicuous and noble part he acted in bringing about the grand result, will be reverted to with emotions of pride and heart-felt gratitude.⁴¹

The Legislature of 1865 ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The House of Delegates passed it by a large vote, but the Senate gave a strict party vote of 11 to 10.⁴² Two important laws were also passed by this legislature. One removed all but two disabilities imposed on the colored population under slavery.⁴³

The second important bill provided for the registration of voters in the State according to the requirements of the new Constitution.⁴⁴ This act, famous in Maryland's political history, formed the basis for most of the political strife during the remainder of the war. It provided that the Governor appoint three citizens "most known for loyalty, firmness and uprightness" as registers in each ward or election district. He was also to appoint three men to register the sailors and soldiers of the State. The registers were to enroll the names of all voters upon registration books. From these lists, entry on which was indispensable in order to exercise the right of suffrage, the registers were to exclude all disloyal persons. They

⁴⁰ January 6, 7, 1865.

⁴¹ January 11, 1865. Despite Bradford's prominence in Maryland during the Civil War, he is generally not a well-known figure. James Schouler, for instance, assumes that Governor Hicks was in office throughout the war. *History of the United States*, VI, [1894] 48.

⁴² *Maryland House Journal* (1865), pp. 120-122, 145; *Maryland Senate Journal* (1865), pp. 69-70; *Baltimore American*, February 2, 4, 1865; *Laws of Maryland* (1865), Resolution No. 5, pp. 406-407.

⁴³ This act passed both houses by large votes on March 24. *Laws of Maryland* (1865), Chapter 87, p. 136, Chapter 166, pp. 306-307.

⁴⁴ *Laws of Maryland* (1865), Chapter 174, pp. 322-330. Passed March 24, 1865.

might even refuse to permit persons who had taken the oath of allegiance to register. Ample powers were thus given the registers to exclude Southern sympathizers from registration.⁴⁵ This act was bitterly criticized throughout the State and was never effectively enforced.⁴⁶

Acts of lesser importance provided for taking the soldiers' vote,⁴⁷ and for the prohibition of the sale of spirituous or fermented liquors in the several counties during election day.⁴⁸ Several futile attempts were made by the legislature to pass an act requiring corporation officials, educators, and others to take the oath of allegiance as directed by the new constitution.⁴⁹ The legislature adjourned on March 27.

The Maryland Legislature from April to September, 1861, was composed primarily of Southern sympathizers ready to carry the State into secession. But after the arrest of its disloyal members in September and the election of loyal members in November, the legislature settled down in December, 1861, to follow a program of adherence to the Union. The legislature passed stringent measures curtailing the liberties of the people, and its loyalty was questioned with some justification, but on the whole the wartime Legislature acquitted itself creditably. Governor Bradford aided the Legislature greatly with his practical suggestions and recommendations. The Unionists carried the November, 1865, elections, and Governor Bradford called for a special session of the Legislature to meet on January 10, 1866, so that Governor-elect Thomas Swann might begin at once the process of "self-reconstruction" in Maryland.⁵⁰ Swann, although elected as a Union-Republican, was not in sympathy with the Radical Republicans who gained strength in Maryland in 1866 and sought to limit the elective franchise in order to hold themselves in power. Accordingly, Swann began to cooperate with the Democrats and was largely responsible for that party's come-back in Maryland.

⁴⁵ See Bernard C. Steiner, *Citizenship and Suffrage in Maryland*, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁶ Myers, *Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*, p. 18 *et seq.*

⁴⁷ *Laws of Maryland* (1865), Chapter 124, pp. 187-189. Passed March 23, 1865. Polls were to be opened in each regiment or company at the quarters of the commanding officer.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Chapter 191, p. 361. Passed March 24, 1865.

⁴⁹ *Maryland Senate Journal* (1865), p. 247; *Maryland House Journal* (1865), p. 39.

⁵⁰ For this story see Myers, *Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE JOHN BROWN RAID

Publication in these pages of the study of Maryland politics during the Civil War by Lieutenant Charles B. Clark has reminded several readers of family letters which describe the experiences of their forebears in those troubled days. From Mrs. Robert R. Henderson (née Louisa Patterson) of Cumberland comes a letter written by Mrs. Charles Buckner Thurston, of Cumberland, to her mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Gannt, of Washington, D. C., in which she gives news of the John Brown raid on Harpers Ferry. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Leiper Patterson, mentioned in the letter, were the parents of Mrs. Henderson, who were living at the time of the raid in the hotel at Harpers Ferry.¹

Cumberland
October 20th, 1859

My dearest Ma,

I expect you have been anxious to hear from me since the commotions that have arisen between here and Washington—The Harper's Ferry *Insurrection*.

The facts seem greatly exaggerated in the newspapers, as I learned from many who were present during the excitement, and the number of the insurgents did not exceed forty. Mr. and Mrs. Patterson and the children were at the Ferry at the time. Mrs. Patterson says that all was quiet until the Cumberland train arrived at one o'clock, when from the constant whistling she thought that the cars had run off the track, and aroused Mr. Patterson who got up, and finding everything soon quiet, again went to sleep. Shortly after the Clerk at the Hotel came running up and asked if Mr. Patterson had a pistol and said some men were trying to get into the house and that the guard was already killed. The men who were trying to get in were the affrighted passengers who had just arrived, and the town was already in the hands of the Insurgents, without a citizen being aware of it, so noiselessly had the villains gone to work.

¹ See the references to this family in this *Magazine* for March, 1941, p. 50.

Soon the Chief came to the Hotel, said that their object was *not murder*, and that no one should be harmed if they did not resist them, but many were shot even on the suspicion of resistance, and about forty men confined in the Armory with the Rebellionists.. This was the reason that the citizens could make no resistance, because their friends and foes were together, and it was impossible to attack one without endangering the other, besides the enemy fired at them from loopholes in the Engine House. They went, about day, to Mr. Lewis Washington's farm about three miles distant, took, tied, and brought him to town, with his negroes whom they made join them. Mr. Patterson says that the negroes were frightened nearly to death, and one old fellow whom they told they had come to free, said "This country was good enough for him." Mrs. Patterson saw poor old Mr. Beckham shot, who had gone out to look at them and was unarmed. Mr. Patterson was with the prisoner Stevens, who, he says, behaved with the greatest courage, and begged someone to blow his brains out, fearing being mutilated by the soldiers. He expressed no regret at dying, said it was "one life for many" and that he had been led to believe the blacks are a persecuted race, and supposed as soon as the first blow was struck they would rise to arms, and they had no intention of robbing the Armory except of *arms*, and that their sole object was to free the slaves of Maryland and Virginia. He was a splendid looking man.

I thought something from an eye-witness might interest you. Mr. Patterson says that the pikes were made at the North, and that he saw one numbered over *six hundred* on the handle. These were to arm the negroes as they came in. Mrs. Patterson says that Stevens had the likeness of a woman and child around his neck and asked to see it when he supposed himself dying.

We heard of the commotion at Harper's Ferry here on Monday morning, but it was supposed to have arisen from some enemies to the Railroad. The Colonel [Charles Mynn Thruston, father-in-law of the writer] proposed to raise a hundred and fifty men in one hour to go down and see the cause of the riot, if they would let him have a train of cars, but the Directors of the road were *afraid* to consent to it. The Colonel curses them as cowards and said he would have been the first there.

Mr. Patterson had just deposited \$400.00 in the Armory which was not touched. Was it not the most atrocious act of Abolitionism outrage?

With much love, my dear Mother,

Your loving child,

Rosalie

BOOK REVIEWS

The Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine: A Chronicle. Volume I: Early Years, 1867-1893. By ALAN M. CHESNEY, M. D. . . . Foreword by WILLIAM H. HOWELL, PH. D. . . . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. xviii, 318 pp. \$3.00.

The first of two volumes entitled *The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine—A Chronicle*, by Alan M. Chesney, merits a cordial welcome not only by physicians locally but by everyone everywhere who would learn in a most readable presentation of the conception and of the travail that gave to America the initiation of modern medical education.

As Doctor Howell indicated in his admirable foreword to the book, "It is a great good fortune that the task of compiling this history has fallen to the hands of Doctor Chesney for his connections with both institutions have been long and intimate." Thirty years of association as student, member of the Faculty and presently as Dean of the School of Medicine gave the author not merely personal acquaintanceship with many of the principals with whom he deals but an appraising and knowing interest in the birth and the evolution of the school and of the hospital alike. With the intellectual curiosity, thoroughness and balance of the scientific investigator, he has collated the true historical facts. With the style of one familiar with and adept in good composition, he has presented those data in an interesting narrative. The volume that has been published just subsequent to the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the School of Medicine presents the story from the incorporation of the University and the Hospital in 1867 to the dedication of the School of Medicine in 1893—the period during which "plans were made and principles and policies established that were to influence profoundly their future development." And an interesting story it is, telling in a facile style of the qualifications and aptitudes of the Trustees, of their prolonged and earnest efforts to choose the best consultants to guide them; of the cooperative endeavors of Doctor Billings, of skilled architects and of other professional advisers. In this volume, too, from papers hitherto literally buried in the Library of the University, the author gleaned the intimate details of the roles played by the men and the women to whose vision and work the fruition of the careful planning was brought about.

The well printed, well bound book is rich not only in facts concerning the School of Medicine, the Hospital and those who were concerned

directly with the creation and advance of them, but it presents as well an engaging picture of Baltimore of the period.

It is to be hoped that the second volume of this important historical work will be published in the near future, for with Volume One it will be read no more eagerly by all interested in the institutions than by any who would be informed of the history of medical education here and abroad.

CHARLES R. AUSTRIAN, M. D.

Album of American History: Colonial Period. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, Editor in chief; R. V. Coleman, Managing Editor; W. J. Burke, Associate Editor. New York: Scribner, 1944. xiii, 411 pp. \$7.50.

The *Album*, following closely after an *Atlas* and a *Dictionary of American History* from the same editor and publishers, is a collection of many hundreds of pictures with only a few lines of text to a page. Gathered from a wide search of libraries, private collections and the resources of local societies the pictures are remarkably varied. There are houses and barns and churches and forts, interiors and furniture and furnishings, arts and crafts and agricultural processes, barbers and dentists and surgeons in action, costumes and customs, newspapers and broadsides, musical instruments and time-pieces. In range and variety it is worthy of high praise both for interest and for historical value.

It would be pleasant to add that the book is also worthy of high praise for its editing, text, and mechanical execution but unfortunately there are serious faults to report. The first and one of the worst is the absence of an index, leaving the reader or student in search of an item or a topical grouping no resource but to plod through the entire volume. Organization of pictorial material is never simple and the help of a good subject index is always necessary. The *Album* is organized by colonies, by two sections for the eighteenth century, and the Revolution. "The Self-Conscious Era" is the title for the period from 1750 to the Revolution; it covers a group of interesting and valuable pictures but they do not appear to have anything to do with growing American self-consciousness.

Although a number of the illustrations are reasonably good for these difficult times, too many are disappointing and some are very bad. The Old Treasury (p. 183) and the Brice House (p. 317) in Annapolis, the latter a splendid old mansion of mid-eighteenth century, are hazy and viewed from unfortunate positions. Moale's Baltimore in 1752 is at the other extreme, much too dark.

Picture titles and text are seriously inadequate, not only too meagre but often careless and misleading or inaccurate. In most cases too little data and explanation are provided for study or full enjoyment of the illustrations, far less than is provided in *The Pageant of America*. The Salem witches on p. 113 are burned (the hoary error seems incredible) and on p. 128 they are hanged. In the latter note Giles Corey is pressed to death but with the implication that this was the punishment for witchcraft, thus

missing a chance to give the instructive facts about why this punishment was inflicted and why the victim chose to incur it. The item on Margaret Brent (p. 195), the reference to religion and politics in colonial Maryland (p. 194), the almost meaningless reference to the Toleration Act in Maryland (p. 179), the note on the North Carolina Regulators (p. 364), the misuse of "connivance" on p. 375, the queer explanation of the Mayflower Compact (p. 42) are examples almost at random of the misleading or inaccurate. The portrait of Benjamin Rush (p. 332) presents him as merely one of seven "great doctors" of Philadelphia, missing a chance to give at least a few lines about one of the most alert and versatile minds of his time. Too many of the pictures lack needed documentation, or chronological placement, or proper warning to the reader, as in giving Paul Revere's engraving of King Philip (p. 108) without a hint that it is the product of the artist's fancy. Did the editor-in-chief fail to scan the copy or proof sheets?

The *Album* reflects the current interest in pictures and in social and cultural history and its materials are fascinating and valuable. Hence its defects are especially deplorable. In content it supplements *The Pageant of America* but the latter is superior in the quality of its reproduction and its scholarly care of editing. With all its deficiencies the *Album* will probably circulate widely and be genuinely useful but it is earnestly to be hoped that subsequent volumes will receive the benefit of adequate editing and improved format.

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL.

The Johns Hopkins University

Observations on American Art: Selections from the Writings of John Neal (1793-1876). Edited with Notes by HAROLD EDWARD DICKSON, PH. D. (Pennsylvania State College Studies, No. 12.) State College, Pa.: 1943. xxvi, 115 pp. 75 cents.

John Neal receives passing mention in literary histories as a novelist of Byronic extravagance; in the literature of art he exists as little more than a faint shadow. A *retrouvé* of recent research, he now emerges from unjust obscurity a vivid figure of Yankee perspicacity, "the first to attempt anywhere a history of American literature," and the "first real milestone" in American art criticism, an enlivening and irritant force of a somewhat Mencken-like effectiveness.

Neal's observations on American art, written during the years 1823 to 1869, are a compound of signal good sense and much indiscriminate if lively chatter. It is the matter of the former sort that Professor Dickson has gathered together, in part from dim sources, and prefaced with a comprehensive, pointed, and very readable introduction which brings Neal's contribution into sharp focus in relation to the background of his times. The period of Neal's principal interest extends, roughly, from

1815 to 1830—years witnessing a considerable expansion in the outlook of American art, notably in the rise to honor abroad of such as West, Copley, Rembrandt Peale, Allston, and Morse, the acclaim in periodical literature of the achievement of American artists, and the professional encouragement given them by the instituting of annual exhibitions. As Professor Dickson points out, this was a generation to whom the fine arts meant principally painting followed by the associated graphic arts. Neal is no exception in having little to say of sculpture and architecture, though his remarks herein are both amusing and informative. Of particular interest to Baltimoreans are his judgments of the Washington and Battle Monuments, and his editorship from 1816 to 1818 of the *Portico*, vehicle of the Delphian Club. The selections deal at greater length with the more prominent names, like those just mentioned, with briefer attention bestowed upon some fifty odd others of lesser renown. Neal was thus no rival to his encyclopedic successor Dunlap, "the American Vasari," whose *History* appeared in 1834. Among the less luminous names, Neal has the honor of "discovering" Codman and Tilton, and another first is to be credited to him, we learn, his being the earliest praise of Poe as poet.

The body of Neal's comment resolves into penetrating sketches of artistic personalities (including a Leacockian parody on Audubon), and equally acute estimates, which have stood the test of time to a remarkable degree, of their creations. He had a keen eye, or "instinct," for what was genuine and what false or seeming fair, an adequate wit with which to debunk those who "had come to declaim, not to criticize," and his awareness of the sublime in art was conditioned by a shrewd sense of fact and plausibility. A prodigious student, self-taught, his remarks on occasion show evidences of age-old theory. The "general nature" of contemporary neo-classical portraiture had to be well supported by the "particular nature" of actuality and experience in order to satisfy his forthright scrutiny: ". . . how difficult it is to *copy* nature; how easy to *imitate* her." And in landscape "there is not a painter alive who dares to paint what he sees, as *he sees it*; nor probably a dozen with the power to see things as they are." Intermingled in his airy jargon are many a pungent comment and quotable passages of epigrammatic force.

Thanks to Professor Dickson's admirable presentation, here is a character who has been restored to his rightful place in the annals of American art. The effectiveness of the *Observations* is greatly enhanced by a list of condensed statements on the artists mentioned in the text, by an index, and by fourteen felicitous illustrations of works discussed by Neal.

EDWARD S. KING

Archives of Maryland, LIX: Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1764-1765 (28). Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society. J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1942. lxxiii, 482 pp. \$3.00.

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1764-1765 is Volume LIX of the Archives of Maryland, a series of colonial records published under the auspices of the Maryland Historical Society and of inestimable value to the student of American history. It is the fourteenth volume in the series to be ably edited by J. Hall Pleasants. His introduction not only provides a useful guide to the material in the text, with references to further information to be found in other volumes of the *Archives*, but also contributes to the understanding of the political history of this period. There is an interesting section on the members of the Assembly, giving the political affiliations of those in the Lower House and listing the number of lawyers who had received their training in the Inns of Court in London. The most avid student could not demand more intelligent and sympathetic aid from an index which is particularly generous in listing all the possible 18th century variations in the spelling of proper names. The Appendix contains seven rare contemporary documents which throw further light on the two most important events of these sessions, the increasingly bitter quarrel between the Proprietor and the people of the Province and the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress.

Many of the Proceedings and Acts of the Assembly in the two sessions covered in this volume illustrate the long struggle for power between the Proprietor, represented in the Province by the Governor and the Upper House, and the people of Maryland, represented by the majority of the members of the Lower House. Each proposed piece of legislation was scrutinized by the Upper House to see whether it would in any way diminish the Prerogative; an instance of the care with which they guarded the interests of the man who had appointed them to their well-paid posts was their refusal to agree to an act providing for the regulation of a market in Baltimore Town until the Lower House allowed the market employees to be chosen by the county justices. The Lower House, on the other hand, was able to prevent the Proprietor's increasing the amount of revenue he obtained from the Province by refusing to pass a bill to maintain correct standards of weights and measures until the provision that one-third of the fines for its violation should go to Lord Baltimore was removed.

The most able statements of the two points of view are contained, it seems to me, in the arguments presented by both Houses on the question of the payment of the salary of the Clerk of the Upper House. Tradition obviously was on the side of the Proprietary party who maintained that payment should come from the taxes as it had in the past. They stated that

The Use of Precedents must be perceived, when the Inconveniencies of Contention, which flow from a Disregard of Them are considered, . . . When we reflect, that the Intercourse and Privileges of the Members of Political Bodies, the Measures of Justice in Contests of private Property, the Prerogatives of Government, and the Rights of the People are regulated by them.

There is moreover a Reverence due to antient Establishments, adopted & confirmed by subsequent uniform Usage and a Modesty to be observed in opposing the Sentiments of Those, who have occupied the stations we are now placed in, with at least an equal Reputation of Ability, Integrity, and vigilance for the Public Good.

The answer of the Lower House was

. . . We should not have thought Precedent a Shrine at which the Rights of the People Comon Justice and the Principles of the Constitution ought to be sacrificed.

A tendency of the two Houses to disagree on the fundamental question of the relative importance of human rights and property rights appears in the arguments presented on a bill for the relief of "certain languishing prisoners" in jail for debt and in the "Act to prevent the Navigation on Potowmac River Monocacy and great Conicocheague Creeks being obstructed."

There is a brief reference in this volume to another group in the Province which was later to play an important part in helping to supply the requisite amount of disrespect for precedent and property rights necessary to bring about a successful revolution. It was composed of the frontiersmen in the back country whose threat to march to Annapolis "Armed with Guns and Tomahawks . . . to settle the Disputes betwixt the two Houses of Assembly in Relation to their passing the Journal . . ." caused consternation among the members of both Houses.

It may at first appear surprising that the conservative Upper House supported the Lower House in the measures adopted to bring about the repeal of the Stamp Act. But Mr. Charles Albro Barker in *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* has pointed out that the Stamp Act was regarded as infringing on the Proprietor's Prerogative while Dr. Pleasants quotes in the introduction a letter from Governor Sharpe in which he explained to Lord Baltimore that if he had not summoned the Assembly for the purpose of choosing representatives from the Province to attend the Stamp Act Congress he was "convinced the Members would have been obliged by their Constituents to meet here even if I had not called them."

JOSEPHINE FISHER

Chesapeake Cruise. Edited by NORMAN ALAN HILL. Baltimore: George W. King, 1944. xv, 356 pp. \$5.00.

"Mint Julep—Place mint leaves in 12 oz. glass with teaspoon of sugar and $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of water; muddle well until mint essence is extracted. Pack glass with shaved ice and, keeping outside of glass dry, jiggle until it frosts. Add 4 oz. brandy or whiskey and top with sprigs of mint dusted

with powdered sugar." I quote from the Appendix of *Chesapeake Cruise* (p. 333). Brandy or whiskey!

One would have expected in this book, a tale of "Four Old Men in a Boat" cruising in Maryland waters, a clear and uncompromising stand in favor of Rye. But no, Kentucky Bourbon, Maryland Rye, peach brandy, Cognac, rum—what you will. No choice is made in this most important matter; the editors have completely avoided making a selection.

Unhappily, the same apparent lack of any principle of selection is noticeable throughout *Chesapeake Cruise*. The book could have been, in my opinion, much better if the editor and his associates had selected the material more carefully and more strictly. Omission of most of the corny anecdotes, the poetry, and a few of the photographs might have been advisable. True and ardent lovers of the Chesapeake, the editors have gathered together an amazing amount of detailed information about tide-water towns and historic homes, cruising and fishing, history and legend, and the Bay itself. I reproach them only for being too generous.

Chesapeake Cruise is the story of an imaginary trip of about a thousand miles made by "Four Old men" in a thirty-foot sedan cruiser down the Western Shore and back up the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay. From the Severn to the James, across the Bay, up as far as Havre de Grace, then back to Middle River, the Patapsco, the Magothy, and the Severn again, our history-minded sailors explore every river and many a creek, tie up at every yacht club, and visit scores of historic towns and estates. They eat well, sample a few beverages, and exchange stories, both extravagant and informational. The crew of the *Fanny*, on the many actual cruises that constituted the practical part of the research work for *Chesapeake Cruise*, must have had a wonderful time.

Aware of the limited popular interest in books which are mere records of amateur sailors' adventures (Philip Rigg's *Southern Crossing* is the only one I have ever been able to read twice), the editor of *Chesapeake Cruise* planned his book as a combination log and guidebook, almost as a traveler's and sportsman's handbook of the Chesapeake. In order to make the book a source of much of the information needed by a traveler, special supplementary chapters on historical background, scientific subjects, and sporting events are included in the text and in the Appendix. Many well-known authorities on the Bay country contributed special notes and articles, among them, to name a few, William B. Crane, Hulbert Footner, Dr. Hugh H. Young, Dr. R. V. Truitt, Dr. Matthew Page Andrews, and Richard D. Steuart.

For everyone having an interest in the "finest body of water in the world for the yachtsman," and especially for all those who have personal post-war plans for exploring the rivers and creeks of Maryland and Virginia, *Chesapeake Cruise*, in spite of its weakness in organization, is certain to prove entertaining and useful.

RICHARD CARL MEDFORD

Daniel Carroll, A Framers of the Constitution. By SISTER MARY VIRGINIA GEIGER. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1943. x, 210 pp. \$2.00.

Daniel Carroll (1730-96), one of the few signers of both the Articles of Confederation and the Federal Constitution, has been a comparatively unknown figure in American history. This is due largely to the prominence of his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and of his brother, Archbishop John Carroll. There has been, too, some confusion with the career of another relative, Daniel Carroll of Duddington. It is, therefore, appropriate that a full study of the man should be presented as a doctoral dissertation. The volume provides a reconstruction of Daniel Carroll's life on the basis of facts, using many original manuscript materials to supplement valuable printed sources.

The study is a solid, factual piece of work, well documented, and with full footnotes—not exciting reading, but a straightforward account written in clear style. It describes in detail the intricacies of the Carroll relationships and of Daniel Carroll's private and business affairs, then launches into a complete analysis of his work as a member of the Maryland House and Senate, the Continental Congress, the Constitutional Convention, and the first House of Representatives, and as Commissioner for the laying out of the Federal City. One gathers that every paper mentioning Daniel Carroll has been used somewhere, and quotations are supplied in numerous cases.

There are some minor errors which should have been caught. The inscription on the tomb of Eleanor (Darnall) Carroll, Daniel Carroll's mother, is misquoted (p. 11) to indicate that she died six years earlier than was the case. Eleanor (Carroll) Carroll, Daniel's wife, was Charles Carroll of Carrollton's first cousin, hardly "a distant relation" (p. 28); and she was her husband's second cousin, not usually regarded as a "very distant relation" (p. 31). Eleanor was the granddaughter, not the niece, of the Immigrant Charles Carroll (p. 39), and it was an uncle, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, who was particularly interested in her welfare (see p. 29). The author might be accused of overemphasizing Daniel Carroll's generous intentions (p. 52), for it is evident, from his own language, that he expected to make money from his lands. In the discussion of the struggle for ratification of the Constitution in Maryland, John Francis Mercer is named as the "most outstanding" of the defeated Anti-Federalist candidates, yet he is not listed with the others in the previous summary (pp. 149-50).

Sister Mary Virginia's work raises one or two questions which might be worth further study. John Hyde, London merchant, is given as the source of Daniel Carroll's first land purchase (p. 13), and in view of the fact that Capt. Charles Ridgely and others bought tracts from Hyde and his colleagues, it is interesting to wonder what part the merchants across the sea played in the establishment of Maryland's large estates. The

account books of several Maryland firms are cited for items purchased by Daniel Carroll (pp. 37-38), and the question naturally arises as to why he bought from them exactly the same sort of articles he was importing from England and advertising for sale in his store.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Fifty Years in a Maryland Kitchen. By MRS. B. C. [JANE GILMOR] HOWARD. Completely revised by FLORENCE BROBECK. New York: Barrows, 1944. 234 pp. \$2.50.

Upon Mrs. Benjamin Chew Howard's famous cook book, *Fifty Years in a Maryland Kitchen*, first published in Baltimore in 1873 and now a "collector's item," Miss Brobeck has performed an adroit face-lifting operation intended to fit it to the needs of the stream-lined young housewife of today in her gay electric kitchen. It is a work involving piety and considerable toil, and it is hard luck that it should make its bow to the world at a moment when, thanks to food rationing, scarcity of servants, and other heavy trials, it is difficult or impossible to give many of the recipes a fair test. The final appraisal of the revised book, therefore, cannot be made until the return of days of leisure and abundance—an era whose dawn most of us are having difficulty in predicting.

In her sprightly preface Miss Brobeck rightly contends that in Mrs. Howard's book are to be found most of the recipes on which Maryland's reputation for good living is solidly based. However, she adds, "the author was sometimes guilty, with the overflowing larder on which she could draw, of using twice as many eggs as necessary, of adding cream when milk would have done as well, of calling for two or more fowls instead of one lone hen . . . and like all gifted 'natural' cooks of those days she cared little for accurate measurements, knew nothing of regulated ovens and wrote down a great many ingredients in obviously wrong amounts."

In substituting precision for vagueness, in giving exact weights and measurements, and in preferring the clock to intuition, Miss Brobeck has done an excellent piece of work. It is open to doubt, however, whether her premise that two eggs can do the work of four, or that milk can successfully pinch-hit for cream, is a sound one. The excellence of old-time Maryland cooking depended on the lavish use of prime materials of the finest quality. Cut down on these, and you purchase digestibility and economy at the cost of succulence and richness.

This opens up the question whether a revival of the Maryland *haute cuisine* can be successfully brought about at all. Mrs. Howard's best recipes were based on two other factors beside cheap and abundant food-stuffs: the willingness of the cook, or cook-mistress, to devote endless time and toil to the work of preparation, and the existence of diners with keen and discriminating palates capable of rising to appreciative enthusiasm for a culinary *tour-de-force*.

Everything in this slap-dash, cold-storage age of ours militates against these conditions. Whether there are servants or not, the artistic preparation of food depends on whether the mistress of the house herself knows how to cook and likes it. This calls to mind the groan of distaste given by a young woman who picked up a well-worn copy of the old cook book we are discussing. "'Fifty Years in a Maryland Kitchen!'" she exclaimed. "Can you imagine a more devastating description of a mispent life? I doubt if a recital of the story of Mrs. Howard's full and rewarding life would have caused a reversal of the young woman's judgment—certainly not the fact that she brought up a family of twelve children. If this represents the attitude of the present-day housekeepers, the stuff of which our meals are made will be determined, in the last analysis, by the Greek cafeteria proprietor, not by Mrs. Howard, and we shall gradually be drafted into the vast army of those who, knowing the better, have preferred the worse.

J. G. D. PAUL

Through the Years at the Eastern High School. By a Committee of the Faculty. Baltimore, 1944. 237 pp. \$2.00.

A hundred years ago come next November, Baltimore's Eastern and Western High Schools first opened their doors to a handful of wide-eyed young "females," pioneers in the publicly supported education of girls in the United States. This year, 1944, both schools are observing their centennial; and the book under review is a part of Eastern's contribution to that observance. It traces the progress of the school "through the years," bringing into the story a wealth of detail and collateral material which makes it a valuable addition to Baltimore's educational history.

The writing of the book has obviously been a real labor of love on the part of the authors: pride in the institution and its achievements blossoms out on every page. The style is informal and eminently readable; while the great mass of available material has been judiciously sifted and skillfully woven into a continuous narrative. Many pictures of people and places accompany the text, and complete statistical data are supplied in an appendix. In the appendix, too, are listed some 13,000 graduates of the school from 1853 through 1943—by years through 1890, and alphabetically thereafter in deference to feminine unwillingness to be "dated." A really ingenious compromise.

All in all, the book is a credit to the industry and editorial skill of the authors.

Eastern started its career on November 27, 1844, in three rooms in the second story of a house on the corner of Front and Fayette streets. David Ring was its first principal and sole teacher; and thirty-six pupils were enrolled. The enrollment increased rapidly, and new and successively larger buildings had to be provided at intervals. For thirty-six years (1870-1906) the school's home was the big building on Aisquith and

Orleans streets. In 1906 it moved into what was then the best school building in the city, at Broadway and North avenue. The present huge building on 33rd street was occupied in 1938. By 1939 the enrollment reached its peak of 2,391 pupils.

The first public commencement was held in October, 1853, with seven graduates from a three year course. The largest total number of graduates in any one year was 548 in 1942.

ERNEST J. BECKER

New Viewpoints in Georgia History. By ALBERT B. SAYE. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1943. vii, 256 pp. \$2.50.

When a publisher announces that a book offers a new approach and interpretation in the field of American history, the average reviewer immediately regards the assertion as a personal challenge to prove the claim is in error. In this case the challenge lies not only in the publisher's "blurb," but also in the title of the book. The present reviewer, whether average, or above or below par, feels no such ink-thirsty urge; in fact, having seen, in recent years, new interpretations of the colonial beginnings of at least two States of the original thirteen, he asks himself: "Why not Georgia?" and he goes further to question his own qualifications for reviewing a book based upon a deal of material he has had no opportunity to study, even though he was commended for the job by reason of some research which led to the modification of the treatment customarily accorded Georgia by certain American history text-books.

In short, the reviewer believes that the author of *New Viewpoints* has offered something worthy of careful consideration for further changes of treatment. Having but a limited space for comment, with unlimited limitations in first hand study, he would quote an intriguing part of the claim for the contents of the book in reference to the so-called charitable aim of the founders or projectors of the colony which, says the statement: "Soon extended wide enough to include not only the poor and unemployed of England in general, but also persecuted Protestants in foreign states as well," that, "only a handful of released debtors were ever sent to Georgia (a dozen would be a fair estimate)" and that, "the British Government, which from an interest in the defense of the frontier of South Carolina furnished four-fifths of the money spent by the Trustees, opposed migration at this time and permitted Oglethorpe's project to be carried out not because of, but rather despite, the prospect of poor and indigent persons being sent from England."

Granted that these new viewpoints in Georgia history are based on authentic sources and that the conclusions are justified, the volume may be said to lack that qualification for good narrative best expressed by the late Lord Tweedsmuir—the perhaps ornamental quality of readableness that can accompany historical writing. Hence one hopes that the author, who has done this tedious and difficult delving, will, in time, be so good as to popularize his findings.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

George Fitzhugh, Propagandist of the Old South. By HARVEY WISH. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1943. xiv, 360 pp. \$3.00.

This survey of the creed of an ante-bellum Virginia editor, sociologist and spokesman for Southern reactionaries is based on articles and editorials in periodical and newspapers, chiefly in *DeBow's Review*, during the years 1849-1872. Glancing briefly at biographical detail, the author notes Fitzhugh's descent from William Fitzhugh, founder of this well-known Virginia family, but devotes most of his attention to the economic and sociological preachments of his hero. As a sort of opposite number to William Lloyd Garrison, Fitzhugh might have received a word-portrait.

How this apparently influential writer gained circulation for his ideas, extreme even for a Southerner of his day, gives rise to wonder. A sample from his book, *Sociology for the South; or, the Failure of Free Society* (1854) explains his outlook: "We would not exchange our situation for the countless millions of paupers and criminals who built up and sustain the cowardly, infidel, licentious revolutionary edifice of free society." Mr. Wish has rescued from oblivion a bigot whose doctrines long since arrived in the limbo of the forgotten—at least in America.

J. W. F.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England.* By CLARENCE GOHDES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 191 pp. \$2.50.
- Writings on Early American Architecture: An Annotated List of Books and Articles on Architecture Constructed before 1860 in the Eastern Half of the United States.* By FRANK J. ROOS, JR. Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1943. viii, 271 pp. \$2.75.
- Social Planning by Frontier Thinkers.* By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1944. 94 pp. \$1.00.
- The Prohibition Movement in Alabama, 1702 to 1943.* By JAMES BENSON SELLERS. (Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Vol. 26, No. 1.) Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1943. 325 pp.
- The Centenary of the Cincinnati Observatory, November 5, 1943.* (Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.) Cincinnati: Published by the Society and the University of Cincinnati, 1944. 63 pp.
- Peter Melendy: The Mind and the Soil.* By LUELLE M. WRIGHT. (Iowa Biographical Series.) Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1943. 360 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

LEARNING THE HARD WAY

The centennial anniversary of the Morse telegraph, which has lately been observed, affords occasion for circulation of an article from *The Sun* of February 5, 1875, discovered by Mr. Louis H. Dielman, former editor

of this Magazine. This incident, as stated, was brought to light by publication of Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore*, which appeared in 1874.

ANECDOTE OF THE TELEGRAPH—A DEMOCRATIC REMINISCENCE

Hon. Hendrick B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, writing to Col. J. Thos. Scharf, in regard to some notice in his 'Chronicles' of Mr. Polk's nomination to the presidency of the United States at the Democratic convention held in Baltimore in 1844 says:

"In connection with this fact I wish to state to you an anecdote concerning the telegraph. At that date, May 29, 1844, the only telegraph in the United States was from Baltimore to Washington. I was president of the convention. We nominated Silas Wright as Vice-President of the United States, and the convention directed me to notify him of his nomination and learn if he would accept it. I sent a dispatch, and he answered immediately that he declined the nomination. The convention, however, refused to consider the information as authentic. They could not be made to understand this way of communication, and adjourned the convention over to the next day to enable a committee to go to Washington by rail, where Mr. Wright was, and get at the truth of the fact! So we adjourned over, and on the next day the committee came back with the same answer we had received by the wire! And so incredulous were the great majority of the body that after the final adjournment most of us went to the telegraph office to see the wonderful invention, and even when the wires were put in motion at our suggestion many of the delegates shook their heads and could not but think the whole thing a deception."

Pyburn—My great grandfather, Ennis Pyburn, was born in Maryland, and left there prior to 1810. He was living at or near New Madrid, Missouri, at the time of the great earthquake in the early part of the nineteenth century. Can any reader inform me in what county in Maryland he was born or lived.

A. M. PYBURN,
Slattery Building, Shreveport, La.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. RAPHAEL SEMMES is a Maryland historian whose books, *Captains and Mariners* and *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*, are rated among the definitive works in their field. ☆ Now teaching at Loyola High School, FREDERICK DENT SCOTT, S. J., is in studies for the priesthood. He is a native of Baltimore and a graduate of Georgetown University. ☆ Miss LUCY LEIGH BOWIE, of the Prince George's family of that name, is a resident of Baltimore since her recent retirement from a research assistantship in the War College. ☆ CHARLES BRANCH CLARK of Ellicott City, now a first lieutenant of Marines in the Southwest Pacific, completed his study of Civil War politics a few years ago in partial fulfillment of requirements for the doctorate in history at the University of North Carolina.
