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HIGHLIGHTS IN
THE HISTORY OF
A Maryland Institution

IN 1913 Hutzler Brothers Co. acquired the land of 226 to 232 N. Howard Street, consisting of three properties, all subject to leases of different lengths. In December, however, Hutzler's was able to use the first floor of 228 N. Howard Street as its Men's Furnishings Shop, although this was entirely separate from the main building. About a year later, when the second floor lease expired, this section of the building was used as a Doll Department, giving access to the second floor of the Clay Street building.

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TENCH TILGHMAN—MARYLAND PATRIOT

By HOMER BAST



By the summer of 1776 George Washington's secretarial staff had been depleted. Official correspondence lay unanswered, and essential administrative paper work was at a standstill. Colonel Robert Harrison was the only aide performing these irksome but vitally important duties of the Commander-in-Chief. The staff was small for the needs of the General, and until an aide could be found, various persons assisted in this phase of the work.¹ Learning of Washington's need, Captain Tench Tilghman,

¹ E. S. Whiteley, *Washington and His Aides-De-Camp* (New York, 1936), 5-24. This volume is a popular and entertaining narrative about the aides serving with Washington during the Revolution. The life of Tilghman, one of these thirty-two gentlemen, is briefly sketched. It is regretted that there are no references to the author's source materials. For the only secondary source yet published on this Maryland patriot, see *Memoir of Lt. Colonel Tench Tilghman*, published anonymously, (Albany, 1876), an eulogistic biography containing in an appendix some of the Tilghman diaries and letters. It was copyrighted by Oswald Tilghman (1841-1932),

stationed with the Continental army in New Jersey, volunteered for service. In spite of his Loyalist connections,² he was accepted and joined Washington's staff on August 8, 1776.³

The new aide, the eldest son of James⁴ and Ann (Francis) Tilghman, was born on December 25, 1744, at "Fausley" on Fausley Creek a branch of the Miles River, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.⁵ A great grandson of Dr. Richard Tilghman,⁶ who

great grandson of the subject, and was included by him with the appendixes in the *History of Talbot County* (1915), on the title page of which Oswald Tilghman gives the authorship, Dr. Samuel A. Harrison. The latter's wife was Belle, younger daughter of Dr. Harrison, whom he married in 1884. Their son, Colonel Harrison Tilghman, a member of the Society, has kindly reviewed this paper before printing.

²The political opinions of Tench Tilghman's family caused him much embarrassment and many anxious moments during the conflict. His father believed implicitly in the royal authority of the King over the colonies and publicly advocated the continued connection with England. In addition, the aide's young brother, Philemon, was serving with the British naval forces operating against the colonies. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, February 22, 1777, Tench Tilghman to ———, February 27, 1778, *Memoir*, 17: 151-153.

³Washington to John Sullivan, May 11, 1781, J. Sparks, ed., *Life and Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1858), VIII, 38; F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1914).

⁴James Tilghman was born on December 6, 1716, the fifth of the six sons of Richard Tilghman II of the Hermitage, and Anna Maria Lloyd, his wife. On September 30, 1743, James Tilghman married Ann, daughter of Tench Francis of "Fausley," Talbot County, Maryland, at Christ Church, Philadelphia. From 1762-1763, James Tilghman served in the Maryland Assembly. Moving to Philadelphia the next year, he was elected councilman. Through sheer ability he soon became well known, attracting the attention of Governor John Penn, who appointed him in January, 1767, to the Pennsylvania Proprietary and Governor's Council. Two years later Tilghman was chosen secretary of the Land Office. Designated as one of the commissioners to negotiate with the Indians at Fort Stanwix in 1768, James was selected in 1774, to treat with Lord Dunmore on the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary line. Returning to Maryland during the Revolution, James Tilghman lived until August 24, 1793. He is buried at St. Paul's Church in Kent County. "The Tilghman Family," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 281, 369; E. S. Delaplaine, "Life of Thomas Johnson," *ibid.*, XIV (1919), 56, 176; J. B. Linn and W. H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, 1879-1890), second series, IX, 733, 625; *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 1771-1776* (Philadelphia, 1854), II, 281; X, 180-181.

⁵"The Tilghman Family," *op. cit.*, 369; G. A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), 255.

⁶Dr. Richard Tilghman, the son of Oswald Tilghman, a member of the Grocer's Company of London, was born on September 3, 1626. Through his cousin, Samuel Tilghman, a ship captain, the Doctor early became acquainted with the new world. On January 23, 1657, Richard was issued a warrant by Lord Baltimore for 1000 acres of land on the Tred Avon Creek. Fulfilling the requirements for patent validation, Tilghman and his family embarked on the "Elizabeth and Mary" for Maryland in 1661. Two years later, on July 28, 1663, he purchased and settled on the 400 acre "Hermitage" in Kent County (now Queen Anne's). On May 1, 1669, he was commissioned high sheriff of Talbot County, a position he held for two years. At his death in 1675, he left some 187,289 pounds of tobacco and 8200 acres of land. "The Tilghman Family," *op. cit.*, 184, 280; J. T. Scharf, *History*

came to the colonies in 1661, Tench was also the grandson of Colonel Richard Tilghman,⁷ a leading citizen of Maryland in the early eighteenth century. First attending school in Easton, Tench Tilghman later was instructed privately by the Reverend James Gordon, rector of the St. Michael's parish. In May, 1758, at the age of fourteen young Tilghman entered the College of Philadelphia.⁸ Here he pursued a graded course of higher studies and acquired a broad foundation of liberal culture. Following three years of instruction from the best masters in college, he graduated in 1761.⁹ After a brief mercantile apprenticeship, Tilghman joined an uncle, Tench Francis, about 1763, in the formation of the Francis-Tilghman Company of Philadelphia.¹⁰ Unlike many of the partnerships founded to finance a single trading venture, this was a permanent one that lasted until the Revolution. With connections abroad the firm engaged in foreign transactions as well as local business. Notwithstanding the fluctuations in value of paper money, the Barbary pirates and the British administrative regulations, the business was financially successful. The Francis-Tilghman Company was loyal to the colonies in the period prior to

of Maryland (Baltimore, 1879), I, 120-124; "First Land Grants in Maryland," *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, III (1908), 167; Hanson, *op. cit.*, 231; P. G. Skirven, "Pioneers of The Eastern Shore," *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 410; W. H. Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1884 —), II, 244; Tilghman family clippings found in the Maryland Historical Society.

⁷ Colonel Richard Tilghman II of "The Hermitage," born on February 23, 1672, acquired most of his father's possessions. He was elected representative from Talbot to the Maryland Assembly from 1698 to 1702. In 1711, the Lord Proprietor appointed him to the Council, a position he retained to his death. Continuing his political ways, Colonel Tilghman was designated in 1722 to fill the post of Chancellor of the Province and Keeper of the Seal. An ardent Anglican churchman, Tilghman advanced the money to erect the second Chester church in Kent in 1697. In addition, he was named in 1723, as one of the Board of Visitors for the encouragement of learning and the establishment of the first public school in Queen Anne's County. At his death Tilghman left 10,000 acres of land to his eight children. Hanson, *op. cit.*, 231; "The Tilghman Family," *op. cit.*, 281; Calvert Papers, *Maryland Hist. Soc.*, No. 275; H. D. Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1928), II, 236-237; *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 52; IX, 228.

⁸ *University of Pennsylvania Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College, 1749-1893*. When Tench entered college his grandfather, Tench Francis, assumed the direction of his education. This guidance lasted for only a short time because Francis's health broke down from overwork, and he passed away following a lingering illness. Hanson, *op. cit.*, 296.

⁹ "List of the Southern Graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, 1757-1783," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, first series, VI (1898), 217.

¹⁰ Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, June 10, 1782, *Memoir*, 122-126; Willing to Morris, February 12, 1778, T. W. Balch, *Willing Letters and Papers, 1731-1821* (Philadelphia, 1922), 66.

the conflict. Both members of the firm signed the Non-Importation Resolution and continued thereafter to support the boycott of English goods at the request of the colonies.¹¹ As the controversy with England became more intense, political alignments were formulated. Although his father was strongly loyal to the crown, Tilghman did not openly support either side until the battle of Bunker Hill. Then, seeing no hope for compromise, and becoming convinced "that no terms were to be expected except blind submission," he took the side of the colonies.¹² In order to actively participate in the conflict, Tilghman terminated his business connections in the early summer of 1775, and enlisted as a lieutenant in the "Ladies Light Infantry," a Philadelphia military unit.¹³

Before Tench Tilghman was called to active military duty, he served the colonies in a diplomatic capacity. At the outbreak of the war, Congress was anxious to negotiate a treaty with the Six Nations in order to enlist their neutrality in the conflict. Late in the summer of 1775, a Congressional commission was created to confer with the Indians at Albany. Tilghman was appointed secretary-treasurer of this commission through the influence of his uncle, Colonel Turbett Francis. The commissioners were vested with powers to treat with the Indians, to preserve peace and friendship and to prevent their participation in the war. A speech to the Six Nations was formulated by Congress to be read at the meeting, and an appropriation of \$750 was designated for entertainment.¹⁴ The commissioners left New York on August 5, 1775. They arrived at German Flats on August 13th. Here the Indians were informed of the purpose of the Albany meeting and were invited

¹¹ P. Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-1846), fourth series, I, 905; Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, April 28, 1777, Morris MSS. All the Morris MSS used in this paper may be found in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

¹² Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, February 22, 1777, *Memoir*, 151-153.

¹³ *Memoir*, 14-15. At this time owing to the differences between the Governor and Assembly, Pennsylvania was without a militia or any organized military force whatever. In spite of this, volunteer military associations were formed in the neighborhood of Philadelphia during the summer of 1775. The military unit with which Tilghman became connected was called the "Ladies Light Infantry" by those who thought well of the company and its objectives. By the Tories and others who had little respect for its military efficiency, it was known as the "Silk Stockings."

¹⁴ *American Archives*, fourth series, III, 473-496. The commissioners appointed were General Philip Schuyler, Philip Livingston, Colonel Francis and a Mr. Dewer. W. H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations* (Philadelphia, 1933) gives an excellent account of the Northern Indian situation at this time.

to attend. In addition, the commissioners asked that runners be sent to Canada summoning the Indian tribes of that country to the parley. This the Six Nations refused to do. Rather than press the point, the preliminary meeting ended, and the scene of negotiations was shifted to Albany on August 19th. The tribes were slow in gathering, and it was not until August 25th that actual treaty discussions commenced.¹⁵ Even then many of the influential members of the Onondagas, Mohawks, Cayugas and Senecas were absent.¹⁶ In spite of the poor representation of the Indian tribes, the pipe of peace was smoked, and General Schuyler delivered the Congressional message. The Indians, in turn, promised their neutrality in the conflict and presented their demands for retribution of old grievances. The commissioners agreed that all questions pertaining to land disputes should be referred to Congress. On September 2, 1775, the conference was concluded, and the commissioners embarked for New York.¹⁷ Tench Tilghman's actual duties at this meeting have not been definitely ascertained. However, it would appear that as secretary he compiled notes on the daily activities of the conference and later incorporated them in the official report of the commissioners to Congress.

Sometime after the conclusion of the Indian mission, Tilghman became a captain in the "Flying Camp," an organization composed primarily of Pennsylvania troops in the Continental army.¹⁸ It was while serving at an advanced post in New Jersey that he was selected as secretarial aide and a member of Washington's official family.¹⁹ Though Tench Tilghman was rather unobtrusive, his duties were essential to the smooth and the efficient operation of headquarters. Not only was he intimately associated with everything of a confidential nature, but also he relieved the Commander-in-Chief of many incidental matters. The aide's most

¹⁵ Tench Tilghman's Journal, August 6-24, 1775, *Memoir*, 79-93; photostat copy in Maryland Historical Society. This private journal gives a detailed account of Tilghman's experiences and impressions with the commissioners.

¹⁶ *American Archives*, Fourth series, III, 473-496.

¹⁷ Tench Tilghman's Journal, August 24-September 4, 1775, *Memoir*, 92-101.

¹⁸ C. J. Stillé, ed., *Life and Writings of John Dickinson* (Philadelphia, 1895), I, 156; *Memoir*, 25; General Officers of the Pennsylvania Line, *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, X, 292.

¹⁹ Lafayette said of the staff, "He presented me to . . . his family then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilghman, his secretaries and his adjutants and other officers attached to the General for what is called a family." C. Tower, *The Marquis de Lafayette in the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1895), II, 180.

important duty, however, consisted in drafting correspondence and maintaining records.²⁰ There were documents acquainting influential men and legislative bodies with the army's desperate needs; dispatches that gave military information to field officers; permits for passports; letters undertaking the difficult task of securing supplies and correspondence with officers concerning their new orders and commands. In addition to these duties, he signed bills of credit, gathered information from prisoners and deserters, interviewed officers on official business, received visitors and assisted the General constantly at headquarters and in the field.²¹

Shortly after Tench Tilghman joined the official family, he undertook the task of assisting the New York assembly in obtaining information relative to enemy operations. Unable to meet permanently in any one place, the New York convention adopted unusual methods in learning of these movements. The convention's committee of correspondence, through Colonel Duer, asked the Marylander to write a daily letter from headquarters telling all incidents of interest or service to the convention. Accepting the task with the approval of Washington, Tilghman carried on this correspondence from September 22nd to October 21, 1776.²² At this time the letters were interrupted because of the military activities that followed. The aide's dispatches to the New York assembly, written in the midst of the campaign, chronicle very minutely the history of this short period. In the summer of 1777, the Pennsylvania council, knowing of Tilghman's letters the previous year to the New York convention, pleaded with him to supply them with essential military information.²³ Because of the press of official duties, a regular letter was out of the question.

²⁰ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 7, 1776, *Memoir*, 142-143. The General's requirements for his secretarial aides were severe and exacting. Not only must the officer be able to write a good letter quickly, but also he must be intelligent, methodical and diligent, with a knack for understanding the many different matters coming before headquarters. J. C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States* (New York, 1857), I, 173.

²¹ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, August 13, August 18 and September 3, 1776, *Memoir*, 130-135. The aides had little time for pleasure. As for high living, that was banished from the army and from the General's family in particular.

²² William Duer to Tench Tilghman, ———, George Washington to James Tilghman, June 5, 1786, *Memoir*, 119-122, 128. The New York committee was composed of William Allison, R. R. Livingston, Henry Wisner and William Duer.

²³ Timothy Matlack to Tench Tilghman, October 13, 1777, *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, III, 134.

But, occasionally, Tilghman did pass on to the councilmen a summary of events from the field.²⁴ What news he imparted was received with appreciation by the Pennsylvanians.²⁵

During Tilghman's first year with the General, he participated in the Battle of Long Island, the skirmishes of Kip's Bay²⁶ and Harlem Heights, the retreat across New Jersey, and the sparkling victories at Trenton and Princeton. At Long Island, when the British broke through the American lines, Tilghman assisted Washington in extracting the colonial troops by moving them across the river to New York under cover of darkness. Both men were fortunate to escape in the last boat. Secrecy had been the keynote to success, and few other than Tilghman were aware of the strategy until the escape movement was underway.²⁷ With the establishing of a relatively strong position on Harlem Heights, the aide hoped further fighting might be avoided.²⁸ This was merely wishful thinking, however, for the enemy soon attacked with overwhelming forces. Although outwitting the British by skillful maneuvering, Washington, fearing enemy reinforcements, sent his aide to recall the Americans.²⁹ It was here that Tilghman animated the troops by his gallantry before the enemy.³⁰

²⁴ Tench Tilghman to President Wharton, October 15, 1777, *ibid.*, first series, V, 674.

²⁵ President Wharton to Tench Tilghman, October 17, 1777, *ibid.*, second series, III, 137. In this letter President Wharton contended the people "have no expectation of a regular correspondence with you but they cannot forebare expressing a wish that you will give a line on such interesting events as deserve particular notice. These expresses are intended to gain the intelligence necessary to keep up the spirits of the people and excite them if it be possible to some degree of vigor."

²⁶ It was here that two brigades of New England troops ran from a small party of British regulars. Previously, Washington had done all in his power to convince them there was no danger. The General laid his cane over some of the officers who started the panic. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 16, 1776, *Memoir*, 137.

²⁷ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 134-135.

²⁸ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 137. "The General is determined to avoid a battle for more reasons than one." Tilghman, too hoped that the campaign would waste away without any bloodshed. Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 9, 1776, *ibid.*, 135-136.

²⁹ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 138-139. Writing of this engagement Tilghman remarked, ". . . We find their force was much more considerable than we imagined when the General ordered the Attack. . . . The prisoners we took, told us, they expected our Men would have run away as they did the day before, but that they were never more surprised than to see us advancing to attack them. The Virginia and Maryland troops bear the Palm. They are well officered and behave with as much regularity as possible . . ."

³⁰ W. B. Reed, ed., *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 238.

The colonials needed a military success to bolster their spirit. A favorable opportunity came toward the close of 1776. Howe had scattered German mercenaries across New Jersey to protect his gains. At Trenton his flank was exposed and open to a surprise attack. It was the moment for a brilliant military stroke. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington, with Tilghman at his side, led some 2400 ragged colonials across the Delaware nine miles above Trenton and crushed the Hessians with a lightning blow.³¹ Following this victory, Washington evaded the retaliating forces of Lord Cornwallis for several days. But just before the British closed in, the American General delivered another unexpected blow against their rear at Princeton, January 3, 1777. At the conclusion of the campaign, winter quarters were established at Morristown, a strategic point from which enemy actions could be observed.³² The engagements over, Washington's aide could truthfully say that in the field he was on horseback from sunrise to sunset. The year had come and gone, and Tilghman was not found lacking.

With the cessation of hostilities³³ Tench Tilghman settled down to a winter of hard work. Immediately, he was faced with formulating dispatches, answering correspondence, procuring supplies,³⁴ running errands and making preparations for the summer campaign. In a letter to Robert Morris, the aide said: "Winter quarters is to us what the stoppage of navigation used to be to you, rather an increase in business in the way of paper, pens and ink."³⁵ Harrison's constant sickness threw on Tilghman the brunt of the secretarial work. The tremendous volume of correspondence made it impossible for him to leave headquarters for even a short visit

³¹ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, December 27, 1776, *Memoir*, 148-149.

³² Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, January 11, 1777, *ibid.*, 150. Not only had the spirit of the Americans been revived through the victories of Trenton and Princeton, but also adequate supplies had been captured for the winter. Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 2, 1778, no ed., *Collections of the New York Historical Society* (New York, 1868-1923), XI, 435.

³³ Occasionally a skirmish developed in which the results were indecisive. "The enemy came out yesterday from Amboy in a manner so much more formidable than usual that we expected a general attack, but our advanced parties gave them so warm a reception that they made a retreat and reached their quarters about sunset. The whole day was spent in skirmishing." Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 24, 1777, Morris MSS.

³⁴ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, January 17, 1777, Morris MSS.

³⁵ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 2, 1778, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XI, 435.

home. In spite of the enormous amount of work, he still found time, however, to record the ideas, discussions and debates of the official family as they talked of daily events, the state of the nation and the proposed plans for the coming campaign.

By the spring of 1777, considerable speculation had arisen among the staff regarding British plans in the coming months. Two possibilities were anticipated; either a strike was to be launched at Philadelphia or a junction made with Burgoyne in the north. In an effort to learn of Howe's intentions, Tilghman was sent to question the British prisoners and deserters. The aide learned from this important source that the English planned to attack Philadelphia.⁸⁶ The accuracy and reliability of the information was validated when the enemy transports and supporting fleet appeared in the Chesapeake Bay. Warned of Howe's plans, Washington hurriedly left Morristown for Philadelphia to block this threat to the Capital. On September 11, 1777, at Brandywine, where they engaged a superior force, the Americans were defeated with severe losses. Two weeks later the British occupied Philadelphia. On October 4th, this time at Germantown, Washington again attacked the enemy. Here the colonials, bewildered by fog and short of ammunition, withdrew unmindful of the leadership and bravery of Tilghman, who had actively participated in the battle.⁸⁷

While Colonel Tilghman was waiting for Howe's next move, he learned of the brilliant American victory at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. Immediately realizing its significance with regard to the French alliance, he wrote Morris urging him to send the news to Europe "by every available means."⁸⁸ For the first time Tilghman had grounds for his enthusiastic confidence in the outcome of the struggle. This attitude was not to last for long. Just before Christmas, 1777, Washington established winter quarters at Valley Forge. Here the army was to face its most critical period.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Tench Tilghman to Colonel Henry Jackson, June 18, 1778, Morris MSS.

⁸⁷ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, October 6, 1777, *Memoir*, 160-161. Commenting on the battle at Germantown, Tilghman remarked: "Had the day been clear, everything was in our Hands, but one of our Columns pressing down were mistaken in the fog by General Greens for the enemy, while ours mistook his Troops in the same Manner. This unluckily made both halt, and quickly occasioned both to retreat, without any real Cause. The enemy, taking advantage of cessation of the pursuit, rallied their men and got up a Reinforcement . . ."

⁸⁸ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, October 18, 1777, Morris MSS.

⁸⁹ Tench Tilghman to ———, January 18, 1778, Morris MSS. With the army

In the solution of many of the pressing problems, Tilghman assumed an active role. The procurement of supplies and construction of adequate living quarters needed immediate attention. Men starved and froze because Congress had no money. Throughout the fall Washington's aide had written many letters and dispatches to Congress and the commissary department pleading for flour, food, cattle and clothes. In spite of his efforts few supplies had been received from this source. In such an emergency drastic methods were used. General Greene was dispatched with orders to secure food by any means at his command. Captain Lee was detached to Delaware and Maryland with the same orders, and Tilghman was sent into New Jersey. In a few days the army had been supplied. Greene returned with "every animal fit to slaughter." Lee found flocks of fowl in the marsh meadows of Delaware, and Tilghman collected abundantly in New Jersey.⁴⁰ By January the army was settled in substantial shelters, and the logistic battle had been won.⁴¹

Even though these questions were settled there were others of an equally serious nature. With the army in winter quarters, many officers came to headquarters to resign their commissions. Conspicuous among these men were those who complained of the inadequate pay. There were also others who gave no reason for their request, contending only that they did not wish to remain in the service under any circumstances. Some of the officers were satisfied with furloughs. Others were persuaded to stay by promises of additional compensation in the near future. On previous occasions Tilghman, who served for much of the time without pay, had also complained bitterly about this same problem, as well as the other difficulties and hardships confronting the soldiers. Contending that good officers were essential and must be retained in the service, he hoped that until additional pay could be provided they would refrain from accepting bribes and graft. As a partial

at Valley Forge, Tilghman contended that the country was completely defended. Sometime before the middle of January the British attacked in force, but small American parties extended along their line prevented them from doing any damage. Following this skirmish military operations ceased entirely for the winter.

⁴⁰ J. Marshall, *Life of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1804), III, 368-372.

⁴¹ Tench Tilghman to General ———, January 18, 1778, Morris MSS. Tilghman commented on this condition, "Our men have all got comfortably covered in their huts and better quarters are not in the World. I mean as to warmth and I believe will turn out so as to health."

solution for these ills, he advocated the reorganization of the army. In addition, he urged his friend, Morris, to support this movement in Congress.⁴²

The terrible winter of 1777-1778 brought not only cold, privations and sufferings, but also the intrigue of the Conway Cabal. Because of the indiscretion of Conway and Wilkinson, Tilghman, along with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, discovered and publicized the movement.⁴³ Through penetrating, vituperative and revealing letters to high government officials, the aide made the facts known. Crying out bitterly against Conway, whom he declared to be at the bottom of "these scurrilious attacks," Tilghman played an important part in unearthing the conspiracy, which for a time Washington never suspected. Public opinion favored the Commander-in-Chief, and in the spring of 1778, the Cabal collapsed.⁴⁴

The Americans left Valley Forge in the early summer of 1778. Previously in need of training and drill, the army had been improved during the winter through the efforts of Steuben and the aides. In fact, the Maryland patriot was overjoyed at the increased efficiency and excellent morale of the troops, remarking that "Not one of the men is a soldier till he puts his gun to his shoulder and then he's a wonder."⁴⁵ On June 18, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia and begun their retreat across New Jersey toward New York.⁴⁶ At last Washington had a favorable opportunity for an offensive. Unfortunately, the insubordination of General Charles Lee⁴⁷ cost the Americans an easy

⁴² Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, February 2, 1778, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XI, 433-435; Tench Tilghman to Major James Taylor, April 4, 1778, Morris MSS.

⁴³ L. A. Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York, 1918), 161-172.

⁴⁴ Tench Tilghman to General ———, January 18, 1778, Morris MSS. According to Tilghman in this letter, nothing had affected his Commander-in-Chief as much as "this dirty underhanded dealing."

⁴⁵ Leonard, *op. cit.*, 156-157.

⁴⁶ Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, June 12, 1778, *Memoir*, 170-171. By this time the entry of France into the war was a reality. British troops were being withdrawn from the mainland and transported to the West Indies. The French fleet under Count d'Estaing threatened to cut off the supplies of the British army in Philadelphia, thus necessitating evacuation of the city.

⁴⁷ The case of Lee was, indeed, a strange one. Lee was an ex-British army officer of experience, who had joined the Americans. During 1776, he became a military idol of his adopted country. Even Washington's staff paid homage to him, Tilghman writing, "You asked if General Lee is in health and our people bold. I answer both in the affirmative. His appearance among us has contributed not a

victory at Monmouth on June 28th. As both armies moved northward in nearly parallel lines, the Commander-in-Chief planned to engage the British rear. On June 27th, Lee, commanding an advanced American division, was ordered to attack the English the following morning. As the main body of troops advanced in support of Lee, Tilghman received word that Lee's force was retreating. Riding ahead to investigate, the aide discovered the truth of the rumor. Nothing definite could be ascertained, however, until Lee appeared. Under questioning, he claimed that he disagreed with the plan of battle, and, consequently, refused to engage the British. To support his contention Lee cited the contradictory intelligence reports of the enemy's strength and the confusion resulting among the colonials from disobeyed orders. Through Tilghman's timely suggestions Washington finally extricated his troops. At Lee's court martial somewhat later, Tilghman was an important witness. With Washington at Monmouth, Tench Tilghman knew the facts and that testimony counted heavily against the defendant.⁴⁸ Lee later complained that Washington's mind had been poisoned by "some of those dirty yearlings who will forever insinuate themselves near persons in high offices."⁴⁹

After the battle of Monmouth plans were formulated with d'Estaing for a joint land and sea attack on Newport. Deserters had informed Colonel Tilghman that the British quartered there were short of supplies and in a critical position. The moment was propitious for the beginning of Washington's plan to drive the enemy from the port cities during the summer of 1778. Before the necessary coordination could be attained, the French fleet was damaged in a storm.⁵⁰ This, coupled with d'Estang's timidity,

little to the latter." Later Lee was captured and held prisoner by the British. In a letter to Morris in 1777, Tilghman expressed his fear that Lee, smarting under a prolonged detention, might divulge secret information. Eventually through the efforts of Congress, conditions were arranged for his release. This matter of prisoner exchange was a complicated and difficult business. The correct number of privates to exchange for officers was a delicate point. The Americans needed their officers, but it was a bad policy to pardon too many privates. Added to this was the interference from state legislatures and Congress. All the evils of the system particularly manifested themselves in this instance. W. Irving, *Life of Washington* (New York, 1859), II, 383; Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, March 2 and April 8, 1777, October 10, 1780, Morris MSS; Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, September 25, 1776, *Memoir*, 139-140.

⁴⁸ Tench Tilghman's testimony at the court martial proceedings of General Lee, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, Lee Papers, III, 79-82.

⁴⁹ Whiteley, *op. cit.*, 77.

⁵⁰ Tench Tilghman to Richard Peters, August 2, 1778, Morris MSS. In this

caused a cancellation of the plans, and Washington went into winter quarters. Distributing his forces around New York, the General set up his headquarters at Middlebrook.⁵¹ Tilghman was immediately faced with the usual secretarial duties. These were soon interrupted, however, for the General designated the Marylander to accompany him to Philadelphia for a conference with Congress. Reaching the Capital on the evening of December 22, 1778, the party stopped at the home of Henry Laurens. Having entertained the enemy the previous year, the City was celebrating the American return with equal zest. However, after the trials and tribulations of headquarters, the industrious, conscientious aide felt out of place in the Capital's wealthy society. In a letter to his friend, James McHenry, Tilghman said: "I suppose you think we must be by this time so wedded to sweet Philadelphia that it will break our hearts to leave it. Far from it my friend. I can speak for myself and I am pretty certain I can answer for all when I say that we anxiously wait for the moment that gives us liberty to return to humble Middlebrook." Philadelphia, undoubtedly, answered well for a person with plenty of money and much leisure time. But for Washington and Tilghman, who were in neither of these positions, the situation was different. Again in a letter to McHenry, the Marylander said: "We seem to work hard and yet we do nothing in fact we have no time to do anything and that is the true reason why dinner at 5, tea at 8 or 9, supper and rye all night is the round."⁵² Unable to endure the artificiality of the Capital following the termination of the conference, the aide requested and was granted leave to visit his father in Chestertown, Maryland.⁵³

During the winter of 1778-1779, it became clear that no impor-

letter Tilghman commented, "I do not think it requires a prophet to pronounce that matters are very bad with the British."

⁵¹ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, October 24, 1778, Morris MSS.

⁵² Tench Tilghman to James McHenry, January 25, 1779, James McHenry MSS, Library of Congress. Continuing this letter, Colonel Tilghman said: "Does not the republic go on charmingly . . . But even Americans are a sharp people and we are in more senses than one and if we do not keep a sharp lookout we shall be little better for the profusion of money and no small quantity of blood had been spent. All cry out that nothing but economy can save us and yet no one allows that he or she is extravagant. I will not touch upon politics. They are too valuable to trust to paper and wax. You shall hear much when we fill the sociable Bunks again where all is under the secure lock and key of friendship"; Whiteley, *op. cit.*, 92-93.

⁵³ *Memoir*, 46-47.

tant offensive operations would be undertaken by the British in the North. Clinton, while retaining enough troops in New York for defensive purposes, had dispatched large forces southward. Washington, on the other hand, with insufficient men, equipment and supplies was compelled to adopt a policy of watchful waiting. In such a situation the staff could plan only skirmishes or indecisive raids. The summer of 1779, therefore, passed without a major incident. Winter found the Americans encamped at Morristown, once again suffering from the intense cold and short rations. Meanwhile, Tilghman's secretarial work and the other duties had lessened considerably with the shift in fighting. With leisure time he had occasion to write many letters deploring the course of Congress and the ineptness of its exertions in waging war.

Because of these indiscreet letters and the known sentiments of members of his family, Tench Tilghman was exposed to criticism and misrepresentation. Attempts had been made throughout the conflict to arouse misgivings in Washington's mind regarding his confidential aide. But the General refused to believe the mutterings against one who shared his troubles and difficulties. In fact, the Commander-in-Chief, in recommending Tilghman for the permanent commission of Lieutenant Colonel, wrote that he was a "zealous servant, a faithful assistant and one of the most deserving men in the army."⁵⁴ During the war years an intimacy and fatherly affection had developed in Washington for Tilghman.⁵⁵ The Commander-in-Chief was not influenced by the slanderous remarks made against his aide. On one occasion Joseph Reed wrote Washington that he was alarmed over a letter of Tilghman's censuring Congress for their prosecution of the war.⁵⁶ In defending himself Colonel Tilghman claimed high Pennsylvania officials had unjustly criticized his character, integrity and

⁵⁴ Washington to John Sullivan, May 11, 1781, Sparks, *op. cit.*, VIII, 38. On Friday, May 25, 1780, it was resolved by Congress that Tench Tilghman receive the commission of Lt. Colonel to take rank from April 1, 1777. W. C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-1935), XIX, 244.

⁵⁵ "There is a Gentleman there [in Maryland] . . . who I know to be as worth a man in every point of view as any that lives." George Washington to Augustine Washington, June 30, 1784, M. D. Conway, ed., *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society* (Brooklyn, 1867-1889), lxvi, lxxi.

⁵⁶ Joseph Reed to Washington, July 15, 1780, J. Sparks, ed., *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), III, 23-24.

fidelity. He contended that no man had devoted more time nor sacrificed more than he had in the war.⁵⁷ The Marylander's spotless military record, his intense loyalty and devotion and the high esteem with which he was held by Washington silenced most of the agitation.

By 1781, the financial condition of the country had reached a low ebb. The army was unpaid and Congress bankrupt. In this period of crisis Robert Morris was appointed Superintendent of Finance. Congratulating him, Tilghman wrote that he had "scarcely known any public event to give so much satisfaction." The Colonel was confident that with a foreign loan and under his friend's good management conditions would improve.⁵⁸ Shortly after Congress had turned to Morris for guidance, the Bank of North America was chartered. The Superintendent asked Washington's aide to solicit subscriptions for the Bank among army personnel. Tilghman proved to be an unprofitable agent. An unpaid army had little money to assist with this business. Nevertheless, he did obtain promises from the troops to support Morris's proposals.⁵⁹ This was not the first time there had been mutual assistance and understanding between the two men. Throughout the war they had kept up a brisk correspondence. Besides personal letters there were long detailed discussions on activities at headquarters and in Congress, problems facing the army and the state of affairs of the colonies.⁶⁰ A friendship, having begun during the days before the Revolution, ripened and matured during these troublesome times.

⁵⁷ Tench Tilghman to Morris, December 22, 1780, *Collections of New York Historical Society*, XI, 454-458; W. G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (New York, 1891), I, 113, maintains that "every man during the Revolutionary Period who exerted himself zealously and with self-forgetfulness for the cause, suffered for it."

⁵⁸ Tench Tilghman to Morris, May 17, 1781, *Collections of New York Historical Society*, XI, 458-459. In this letter Tilghman said, ". . . the task you have undertaken is arduous but I trust you will be supported by every friend of this country in whatever you may think fit to recommend . . . a little of the true circulating medium Gold or paper struck upon a solid foundation is only wanting and that I think you will be able to create."

⁵⁹ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, June 24, 1781, *ibid.*, XI, 463-464.

⁶⁰ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, January 17 and March 2, 1777, Robert Morris to Tench Tilghman, October 10, 1782, Morris MSS. In a letter that showed Morris's esteem for Tilghman the former said, "I am entirely pleased to find that my sentiments on what was necessary to be done so entirely coincide with yours . . . For my own part I am not much concerned about the opinions of such men while I have in my favor the voice and the good added to the fair testimony of an approving friend."

With Cornwallis in an exposed position at Yorktown in 1781, the opportunity for a master stroke was perceived. Believing this was the moment for which they had long waited, Washington and Tilghman made one of their numerous trips to Newport to confer with Rochambeau.⁶¹ Here the details of the Yorktown campaign were formulated. The plans worked to perfection. The allied armies marched through New Jersey to the head of the Big Elk River, where they embarked for Yorktown. At the same time the French fleet appeared in the Chesapeake Bay. During this period and in the days that followed, Washington received many dispatches from De Grasse. Because of their confidential nature, Tench Tilghman had been one of the two men designated by Lafayette to translate them. It was an honor to be thus selected.⁶² But then, too, it was another task for the already overburdened aide to perform. His duties, however, were not to keep him much longer for the war was rapidly drawing to a conclusion. On September 28th the Allies moved forward without interruption. Two days later these forces occupied the outer enemy defenses about Yorktown.⁶³ On October 19, 1781, the British army under Cornwallis capitulated to the combined French and American forces.

At Yorktown the highest honor was given to Tench Tilghman. He was selected by Washington to carry the news of the surrender to Congress. The letter to Thomas McKean contained, besides an announcement of the victory, laudatory remarks about Tilghman and word that "he will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my letter."⁶⁴ Leaving Yorktown by sail in the early morning of October 20th, Colonel Tilghman made the 245 mile trip to Philadelphia in approximately four days.⁶⁵ A number of factors accounted for

⁶¹ Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, May 17, 1781, *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, XI, 458-459.

⁶² Tower, *op. cit.*, II, 435.

⁶³ Diary of Tench Tilghman kept during the Yorktown campaign, *Memoir*, 103-107.

⁶⁴ Washington to the President of Congress, October 19, 1781, Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, VIII, 182-184. Washington wrote: "Colonel Tilghman, one of my aides-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these dispatches to your Excellency . . . His merits which are too well known to need any observations at this time have gained my particular attention and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your Excellency in Congress."

⁶⁵ "B. Howell Griswold, Jr., "Tench Tilghman and His Journey," unpublished paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, April 28, 1932, generously loaned the author.

this delay. An entire night was lost by the "stupidity of the skipper on Tangier shoals," and a whole day crossing in the calm from Annapolis to Rock Hall. Once at Annapolis the aide found that a letter from Count De Grasse to Governor Lee had gone to Congress with information of the surrender. This made him more anxious than ever to reach Philadelphia, as he "knew both Congress and the public would be uneasy at not receiving dispatches from" the Commander-in-Chief.⁶⁶ Arriving in Rock Hall on the Eastern Shore of Maryland during the late afternoon of the 22nd, Tench Tilghman proceeded to Newton-on-the-Chester (Chester-town). Here a tremendous celebration commemorated the event.⁶⁷ Continuing, Tilghman reached the capital in the early morning of the 24th. Riding immediately to Thomas McKean's home on High Street, he knocked so violently that he was questioned as a disturber of the peace. Soon the news was known throughout the city. A watchman, in proclaiming the hour, added "and Cornwallis is taken." Congress assembled early to hear the letter Tilghman had brought from Washington. Somewhat later a committee, consisting of Randolph, Carroll and Boudinot, questioned Tilghman on the campaign details.⁶⁸ Although Congress had no money to meet the Colonel's expenses, each member personally contributed one dollar to reimburse him. In addition, that body directed the Board of War to present to Tilghman a horse properly caparisoned and a dress sword, as "testimony of their high opinion of his merit and ability."⁶⁹

After recovering from a severe attack of "intermittent fever" suffered on the way to Philadelphia, Colonel Tilghman obtained

⁶⁶ Tilghman to Washington, October 27, 1781, Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 434-435. "Early on Monday Morning an express arrived in town with the agreeable and very important intelligence of Lord Cornwallis and his army having surrendered on the 19th inst. We impatiently await the arrival of his Excellency General Washington's Dispatches . . ." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 24, 1781.

⁶⁷ *Maryland Journal*, November 13, 1781. ". . . This great event was no sooner announced to the public than a large number of worthy citizens assembled to celebrate this signal victory . . . , which was done with a decency and dignity becoming firm Patriots, Liberal Citizens, and present members of the community. Amidst the roaring of canon, and the exhibition of bon-fires, illuminations etc., the gentlemen (having repaired to a hall suitable for the purpose) drank" thirteen toasts.

⁶⁸ J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), 245; *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 25, 1781.

⁶⁹ E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), VI, 248-249.

permission to visit his family in Maryland. Little secretarial work remained to be done at headquarters, and the aide thought it a convenient time to take a much deserved rest. He proposed to remain away until Washington sent word that he needed him.⁷⁰ While on this leave of absence time passed pleasantly. He even became negligent with his correspondence to the General, who wrote him in July, 1782: "Take your own time to accomplish it, or any other business you may have on hand—at the same time, I must be allowed to add, that you have no friend that wishes more to see you than I do."⁷¹ At headquarters the Colonel's absence and infrequent letters led to considerable speculation as to his whereabouts. There were rumors that he had forgotten his friends, that he was dead, or that he was married. Although contradicting the first two suppositions, Tilghman said nothing of his marriage. In fact, at this time he belatedly began the courtship of his cousin, Anna Maria Tilghman, whom he had met in 1779. The wedding, once delayed on account of the death of her brother-in-law, Charles Carroll the barrister, finally took place on June 9, 1783.⁷²

An event showing the esteem with which Tilghman was held in Congress occurred during the summer of 1783. Robert Livingston had resigned as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in June of that year. This necessitated the appointment of a successor. It was a most important decision to make, particularly as definitive peace treaty negotiations with England were still under way. In an effort to fill this vital position, the members of Congress brought forth the names of several candidates, who, in their opinion, would make excellent secretaries. Those nominees selected were General Schuyler, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, Jonathan Turn-

⁷⁰ Tilghman to Washington, October 27, 1781, Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 434. In this letter Tilghman commented: "I am too much attracted by duty and affection to remain a moment behind when I think my presence can render any service for assistance to your Excellency." Tilghman never returned to active duty. He resigned his commission on December 23, 1783, the same day as his chief, before Congress then sitting at Annapolis.

⁷¹ Washington to Tench Tilghman, July 9, 1782, January 10, 1783, *Memoir*, 110-114.

⁷² Hanson, *op. cit.*, 255; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II, 256; Tench Tilghman to Matthew Tilghman, June 10, 1782, *Memoir*, 122-125. Tilghman's wife was the younger daughter of the Honorable Matthew Tilghman. She was an intelligent, capable and gracious lady, endowed with a keen sense of judgment. Devout in matters of religion, Mrs. Tench Tilghman was passionately attached to the Episcopal Church. *Ibid.*, 46-47.

bull, Jr., George Clymer and Colonel Tench Tilghman. Immediate action on this appointment was deferred by Congress because of the withdrawal of Schuyler, Jefferson and Clymer.⁷³ Ultimately, however, John Jay, fresh from his experience abroad, was selected as secretary. Failure to secure this appointment was in no way a reflection upon Tilghman's ability. Even to be nominated for the secretaryship was high praise.

Meanwhile Tilghman had begun negotiations for a return to the mercantile business. Plans once underway rapidly materialized during the fall of 1783 despite the problems involved. With the import-export field too extensive for his limited capital, Tilghman realized the need for large credits and foreign connections. Instinctively he turned to Robert Morris, who at the same time was anxious for an associate in Maryland. By January 1, 1784, Tilghman had established a trading house in the thriving port of Baltimore with Morris as his partner. According to the articles of partnership the two men agreed to import foreign manufactures and export tobacco. Moreover, the stipulations embraced the ownership of vessels, as well as the operation of a general exchange and banking business. The partners invested £2500 each with the profits to be equally divided. Tilghman received, in addition, £400 annually for his work in Baltimore.⁷⁴

In an attempt to find markets for future trading speculations, Tilghman sent circular letters to leading European mercantile houses announcing his partnership with Morris and indicating the trading possibilities of his firm. In cordial and informative replies the foreign merchants told of the trading conditions in their countries and expressed the hope that the new Baltimore house would send them shipments of wheat and flour. From Gibraltar came word that flour was urgently needed.⁷⁵ The Bordeaux firm of French and Nephew emphasized the vast possibilities awaiting American trade in France. Bayonne and L'Orient had been made free ports and all duties had been lifted from brandies. There were numerous opportunities for trade in tobacco, grain, wine,

⁷³ Burnett, *op. cit.*, VII, 190-191; G. Hunt, ed., *Writings of James Madison* (New York, 1900), I, 475.

⁷⁴ *Memoir*, 51-52.

⁷⁵ Livingston and Turnbull to Tench Tilghman, August 1, 1784, Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society. There are many letters in this collection from European trading firms. It is the only available source for the study of Tilghman's mercantile activities.

brandies and silks.⁷⁶ Cathalan of Marseilles wrote that the market in that city was particularly inviting for the best Philadelphia and New York wheat, Indian corn, barley, Carolina rice and kidney beans. Tobacco also was bringing an excellent price. In return for these imports the firm promised to ship to Tilghman and Company woolens, linens, wine and brandies, fruits, oils and soap. In Germany harvests were small, and the prices of all agricultural products were good. Bram and Collet assured Tilghman of excellent markets and prices for corn and beans, promising to pay for the products in specie or with exports of silks, glass and coal. Letters from Cadiz asked for American wheat. De Lanard and Company of Barcelona quoted prices on their imports from America, while Gregory Turnbull and Company of London offered Tilghman the service of their house in Spain. John Kennion wrote from Liverpool that he was overstocked with James River and Maryland tobacco, and the wheat market was not as profitable as it might be. James Burn of London was rather pessimistic in regard to any kind of profitable commerce because of Tilghman's high prices and the British restrictions.⁷⁷ Almost universally the replies from continental firms to the Baltimore merchant's circular letter indicated that the war-time European markets were still there. On the other hand the return of peace had brought an influx of American products into England, thus eliminating at the start any profitable intercourse with the Marylander. In 1784, therefore, with the exception of Great Britain, trading conditions throughout Europe were favorable for a thriving two-way commerce. There were demands on every side for the grains and tobacco of America, and Mr. Tilghman was prepared to supply them.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ French and Nephew to Tench Tilghman, October 26, 1784, Tilghman MSS. "Nothing can be more detrimental to commerce in general than false notions and such is the case we find with several of our American friends and correspondents who are led away with the idea that many oppressive regulations exist in France . . . Seeing so few arrive . . . at our ports we shall most assuredly use every exertion for our friends."

⁷⁷ E. Cathalan to Tench Tilghman, January 25, 1785; Bram and Collet to Tilghman, August 23, 1784, "Should you want to dispatch us a cargo we think will render a good account, we can remit the amount to such places as you may direct"; Bullers and Matthew to Tilghman, August 10, 1784; James Duff to Tilghman, August 1, 1784; De Lanard to Tilghman, February 4, 1784; Gregory Turnbull to Tilghman, July 28, 1784; John Kennion to Tilghman, July 3, 1784; James Burn to Tilghman, July 9, 1784. Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

⁷⁸ Through the efforts of Morris, Tilghman was one of those enterprising merchants who first entered into the China trade by assisting in the financing of the

After turning to the development of European markets, Tilghman found conditions in America unsuitable for foreign speculation. By the summer of 1785, American inflationary prices on wheat and rice had advanced to such a point that he refused to engage in many foreign trading ventures. To make matters worse, reports were received that harvests in Spain, France and Italy were again plentiful. This caused a rapid falling of prices. From England, Harris of London and Fox and Sons of Liverpool concurred with Tilghman's supposition that prices were too high for profitable speculation. Mediterranean trade also suffered from the depredations of the Barbary pirates. Writing to Valentin-Riers and Company of Barcelona in 1785, the Baltimore merchant contended that a cargo to the Mediterranean was out of the question at this time. In the early part of that year, one of his vessels had been captured by the pirates and her cargo sold to the complete loss of the firm. The only optimistic note for foreign trade in 1785 came from Germany. Here crops were in poor condition, and Maryland tobacco was in great demand.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, in spite of such conditions, Tench Tilghman shipped several cargoes of wheat and tobacco to Europe. At home he continued to do a considerable amount of coastal shipping to New York and Norfolk. Although temporarily prohibited from engaging in wide business undertaking, he was preparing himself for the future and gaining experience through these small beginnings.

The partnership with Robert Morris might have caused Tench Tilghman much embarrassment if he had lived to see the financial destruction of his partner. Even though the Baltimore firm kept independent accounts, he would most certainly have come under suspicion because of the association with his partner. Morris's operations as Superintendent of Finance and the conduct of his mercantile business at the same time involved him in scandals. It is, indeed, difficult to discover just where his private affairs ended and government activities began. Tilghman was drawn inadvertently into the scheme of this high finance when Morris,

Empress of China to Canton in 1784. Tench Tilghman and Company Profit and Loss Account, Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

⁷⁹ Livingston and Turnbull to Tilghman, October 8, 1785; Charles and Company to Tilghman, June 1, 1785, August 3 and October 5, 1785; Fox and Sons to Tilghman, June 8, 1785; Valentine Riers and Company to Tilghman, May 21, 1785; _____ to Tilghman, November 7, 1785. All letters in Tilghman MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

in the spring of 1785, entered into a contract with the Farmers General. This agreement gave Morris a monopoly of the American tobacco trade with France. Although arousing the antagonism of the Virginia dealers, it was an excellent opportunity for Tench Tilghman and Company. Being a partner of Morris, with headquarters in the tobacco country, it would be only natural that the Baltimore merchant should assist in fulfilling the contract for 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco. In fact, in September, 1785, Tilghman was asked to prepare a cargo of tobacco samples for shipment to France for examination. Meanwhile, Morris was attempting to regulate the price of tobacco, thus controlling the export as well as the exchange. The method used in accomplishing these ends was one the Philadelphia merchant had found successful before. By holding his gold rate higher than his own notes, Morris hoped to put his notes at a premium over specie in the purchase of tobacco. Tilghman was a partner to this scheme, acting as Morris's agent in Baltimore. In January, 1786, Tilghman learned that complaints had been raised over the quality of tobacco he had shipped to France the preceding September. This, coupled with its scarcity and high price, proved detrimental to the successful operation of the tobacco enterprise. On several occasions in his correspondence with Tilghman during this period, Morris took pains to remind his partner that he was relying implicitly on his honor in carrying out such transactions.⁸⁰

While actively engaged in establishing the foundations of his mercantile business, Tilghman continued his friendship and association with Washington. When the latter retired to Mount Vernon, the former aide became his agent for every kind of business transaction. Not only did Tilghman sell the products of Washington's farm, but he also purchased the articles for domestic and plantation use, including china for the table and clothing for the family. In addition, he contracted for carpenters and masons; he hired servants from the immigrant ships; he attempted to secure the services of a tutor and secretary and he even signed contracts for his former chief.⁸¹ There was no business too trifling for

⁸⁰ Summer, *op. cit.*, II, 157-170. For an excellent account of the tobacco politics see F. L. Nussbaum, "American Tobacco and French Politics, 1783-1789," *Political Science Quarterly*, XL (1925), 497-516.

⁸¹ There are many letters in the Washington MSS, Library of Congress, and Tilghman MSS in the Maryland Historical Society dealing with the business relations between these men after the war.

Tilghman to perform. On numerous occasions Washington cordially invited him to visit his home.⁸² Although Tilghman hoped for an excuse to go to Alexandria, from which place he could easily proceed to Mount Vernon, business conditions required him to remain in Baltimore.⁸³

Another meeting between the two men never materialized. In the fall of 1785, Tilghman was confined to his bed "by a most severe nervous fever which kept" him "there nearly four weeks." By the middle of October, although far from well, he was again conducting his business.⁸⁴ Early in 1786, he was again taken with a "severe attack of hepatic abscesses." However, he expressed the hope that he "would soon be able to enjoy the approaching season."⁸⁵ Little work could be accomplished at this time, because of the pains in his side. On April 15th Tilghman wrote Washington, "I am still unable to leave my chambers, though I think I am rather better than when I wrote you last."⁸⁶ His condition suddenly took a turn for the worse and on April 18, 1786, Tench Tilghman passed away without a struggle.⁸⁷

His friends and comrades were outspoken in their "appreciation of his worth and their affectionate regard." Of all men George Washington had the highest praise for his former aide. In a letter

⁸² Washington to Tilghman, May 23, 1785, Tilghman MSS. In this letter Washington said, "Will you ever come to see me? You may be assured there are few persons in the world, whose visits would give me more sincere pleasure at Mount Vernon, than yours. Nothing . . . could increase the satisfaction more than bringing Mrs. Tilghman with you."

⁸³ Tilghman to Washington, May 30 and August 31, 1785, Washington MSS, Library of Congress. In 1784, when Washington became General of the Society of Cincinnati, he sent a badge of the order to his former secretarial aide. Tilghman wrote of this honor to Washington, "Accept my warmest and most gracious thanks for this distinguishing mark of your attention and regard. I had before received many proofs of your esteem. But I must confess you have by this last instance of your goodness made the most flattering addition . . . with a full conviction of having deserved it or it would never have been presented by the illustrious hands of him whose modest virtue . . . honor and true glory it was the object of him to consummate." Tilghman to Washington, June 7, 1784, Washington MSS.

⁸⁴ Tilghman to Washington, October 13, 1785, Washington MSS.

⁸⁵ Tilghman to Washington, March 19, 1786, Washington MSS.

⁸⁶ Tilghman to Washington, April 15, 1786, Washington MSS.

⁸⁷ Thomas Ringgold Tilghman to Washington, April 22, 1786, Washington MSS. Tench Tilghman was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, Baltimore. When it became necessary to break up the old churchyard at Charles and Lexington Streets his body was among those removed to the present cemetery at Redwood and Fremont Streets. His widow returned to Talbot County to make her home at "Plimhimmon," a property left her by her father near Oxford, where she is buried. A monument at her grave serves as a cenotaph to him, the inscriptions including Washington's estimate of him as quoted in this paper.

of consolation to Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, Washington said: "As there were few men for whom I had a warmer friendship or a greater regard than for your brother, Colonel Tilghman when living; so, with such truth I can assure you that there are none whose death I could more sincerely have regretted."⁸⁸ Washington again expressed his feelings in a letter to James Tilghman: ". . . none could have felt his death with more regret than I did, because no one entertained a higher opinion of his worth or had imbibed sentiments of greater friendship for him than I had done . . . that while living no man could be more esteemed, and since dead, none more lamented than Colonel Tilghman."⁸⁹

With the premature death of Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman, there passed away "one of the pillars of the Revolution,"⁹⁰ a Maryland patriot who had stood unswervingly for the colonial cause during one of the critical periods of American history.

⁸⁸ Washington to Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, May 10, 1786, Washington MSS.

⁸⁹ Washington to James Tilghman (the father), June 5, 1786, *Memoir*, 66-67.

⁹⁰ Washington to Thomas Jefferson, August 1, 1786, *ibid.*, 66.

VOYAGE OF VICENTE GONZALEZ IN 1588

By LOUIS DOW SCISCO

The voyage of a Spanish explorer from Florida to Chesapeake Bay in 1588 is known chiefly from reminiscent allusions to it in letters of Juan Menendez Marques, a colonial officer in Florida who accompanied the explorer. The voyage report made by Vicente Gonzalez and sent to Spain has not yet been found. In the Lowery collection in the Library of Congress is a document which, by its title, purports to be the missing report, but examination proves it to be merely an official brief, narrating one particular portion of the venture¹.

The idea of the voyage originated with the Duke of Medina Sidonia in Spain. All through the winter of 1587-88 the Spanish government was preparing the great Armada to be sent against England. Toward the close of winter the official in charge of preparations became seriously ill. The king thereupon selected the Duke of Medina Sidonia to be his successor. It was an unwelcome honor and the duke did his best to evade it, but on the king's insistence he took the position, which carried with it broad powers over all oceanic matters.

One of the first things that came to the duke's notice in his new position was the report that an English settlement had been made on San Juan Island near Newfoundland. Such a settlement would have been an efficient naval base for interference with the Basque

¹ The voyage escaped the notice of Barcia, the Spanish chronicler of Florida matters, although he mentions Gonzalez once or twice in other incidents. The earliest mention comes from the Buckingham Smith MSS in New York in 1859, but the document then published (and herein quoted) told nothing of the actual voyage. Details of the voyage itself first came to light when Ruidiaz published his *La Florida* in 1893. The voyage is of small importance in Florida history, and writers in that field since 1893 have dismissed it with the briefest mention. For Maryland and Virginia history the two Spanish voyages will always be important items introductory to the English occupation. That of Gonzalez has also some share in the history of Raleigh's colony in North Carolina.

fishermen on whose industry Spain partly depended for its food supply. Perturbed by the report, the duke ordered an expedition sent out from Florida against the new settlement. What happened thereafter is told by a letter sent to Spain by the governor of Florida.

In the month of February last, I gave Your Highness account of the manner in which I had taken the people, artillery, and ammunitions from Santa Helena to San Agustin, and of the erection of the great fort. After the completion, I sent Captain Vicente Gonzalez and a nephew of mine in a vessel, very fast of sail and oar, to go running the coast as high as the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, which is above the Bay of Santa Maria. He took thirty skillful men with him, that, should the English have settled in that direction, he might make discovery of whatsoever existed. He set out at a good time, in the beginning of June. I so directed, because the Duke of Medina Sidonia had written to me to be in readiness for the 15th of May, to undertake the voyage in person, following the shore as far as the island of San Juan, that we might know at once what there is on the coast, and that I should go thence to Your Majesty and relate what I had seen, for which purpose a royal order would issue, directing what should be done. Accordingly I got ready, awaiting the order until the 7th of June, and then, seeing that it did not arrive, and that the season was going by, I resolved to send one of the vessels in waiting, the one in which Vicente Gonzales set sail, with instructions to go as far as the thirty-ninth degree on discovery. I suppose it should have got back, and on my arrival at San Agustin I will give account to Your Highness of what appears, with which I will dispatch a vessel, should it be a matter of moment.²

The governor's mention of the Bay of Santa Maria refers to the Chesapeake Bay, which the governor himself had discovered in 1573 and had bestowed upon it the name which he now uses. The parallel of 39° which he sets as his limit is at Delaware Bay, and far short of the island of San Juan, which was supposed to be at 43° latitude.

Moreover the governor seems not to have told the home government all the circumstances of the beginning of the voyage. There had come to his ears a report of intrusive Frenchmen somewhere on the modern South Carolina coast and he merged the intended exploring force with an additional force, sending them both to attack the French. Apparently the combined forces sought the French in vain and then separated, one party returning to San

² Letter of Pedro Menendez Marques, July 17, 1588, in *Historical Magazine*, 1st series, iii, 275-276 (Sept. 1859).

Agustin, while Gonzales went onward. Of this the opening words of the so-called Relation are the evidence.

The captain Vicente Gonzalez says: That Pedro Menendez Marques, governor of the provinces of Florida, had news by way of the Indians of the coast of Santa Elena, that there was a fort of the French there, whither he ordered him to proceed with fifty soldiers and two lanchas, with all caution that could be, so that he might not fall into the hands of the enemy, and thus he did, coasting along the coast toward the Bacallaos.

Presumably the expedition sailed directly to Santa Elena, but there is no record of this. Nor is there any record of the separation of the forces, reducing the exploring party to thirty men as told in the governor's letter. The next actual glimpse of them is at Winyah Bay, sometimes called Georgetown Inlet, in South Carolina. This is told in one of Juan Marques's statements, where he is speaking of the harbors suitable for Spanish shipping.

. . . and in which latitude there can no doubt be found an excellent port, particularly at Cayagua, where any armed ships could with safety enter, in an altitude of thirty-three and one-fourth degrees, and where I have myself been in the past year of 1588.³

It probably was at Winyah Bay that Gonzalez had his talks with the Indian chief which are narrated at length in the so-called Relation. Gonzalez tried to learn where the chief obtained the ear pendants of beaten gold that he wore. The chief said they came from other Indian tribes living in the mountains of the hinterland, where gold was such a common thing that the people did not greatly value it. These mountains were distant a three-days journey. Gonzalez thought that New Mexico must be just beyond the mountains.

The explorers also learned here that somewhere to the northward there was a settlement of English much closer than at San Juan Island. Gonzalez had been inquiring of the Indians about a ship passage to the Pacific Ocean, the rumored existence of which had bothered Spanish minds for many years past. The Indians obligingly assured him that there was such a passage and the English had taken possession.

The English position, according to what the Indians have said, is established toward the north from this settlement, in a river where, the

³ Letter of Juan Menendez Marques, Jan. 5, 1608, in A. M. Brooks and Annie Averette, *Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, 1909) p. 79.

said captain Vicente Gonzalez holds it as certain, it extends to the South Sea, because in discussing with the Indians if there were any stream that passed to the other sea, they answered that beyond where they were was one which extended to the other sea; and so he holds it as undoubted that the Englishmen are there.

Stimulated by the news that the English were located somewhere beyond, the Spaniards sailed northward to find the ship passage and the alien intruders. Juan Marques writes, "Having by the year '88 gone on the discovery of the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan, and to obtain information of the settlement of the English, jointly with the captain Vicente Gonzalez,"⁴ but he tells nothing of what occurred there, nor does any other source. Definite knowledge is limited to the facts that the Spaniards made observation and then moved onward to Chesapeake Bay.

At this time there was on Roanoke Island a colony of about thirty English settlers brought there in 1587 by Raleigh's direction. After the ships sailed away in August of 1587 the fate of the settlement is a matter of speculation, for it left no record. Modern writers call it the lost colony. When English ships again reached the place in 1590 the colony had disappeared.

The report made by Gonzalez reached Spain in 1589. It is obvious that Gonzalez had found Raleigh's colony flourishing, for the news of its existence brought characteristic reaction from the Spanish government. It was arranged that the governor of Florida should assemble a squadron of frigates and galleys suitable for the small depth of water at the entrance to the English post. On these he was to take a force of seasoned soldiers from San Agustin. Proceeding then to the English harbor he was to extirpate the settlement and in its place to erect a fort for 300 men, of whom Juan Menendez Marques was to be the commander. For some reason this elaborate project was soon abandoned.

With the English ships that came in 1590 to Roanoke Island was John White, governor of the colony. He carefully examined the evidences of flight that he found, and one incidental comment reveals that the colonists must have departed soon after Gonzalez came. White says that the fleeing colonists buried his chest in which he had left his armor. After they left, the Indians dug up

⁴ Letter of Juan Menendez Marques, June 7, 1606, in Ruidiaz, *La Florida* (Madrid, 1893), ii, 498.

the chest and scattered the armor, and when he found it in 1590 it "was nearly eaten through with rust."⁵ Possibly Gonzalez attacked or threatened the English, scaring them into their flight.

Leaving the North Carolina coast behind him, Gonzalez moved onward to Chesapeake Bay. All the knowledge of this visit that is preserved comes from the letter of Juan Marquez. He is not concerned, however, with telling of the voyage as such. He is interested solely in giving news of an excellent place which may on occasion serve Spanish shipping. To do so he recalls what he remembers of the region which Gonzalez explored.

And in addition to the abovesaid, from the said bay of Santa Elena as far as the bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan, which is, at its entrance, in the height of 37 degrees, I offer to reveal harbors, should it be necessary, capacious for entering and allowing anchorage and repairing of vessels in them, even though they be of 50 tons burden; in particular in the said harbor and bay of Madre de Dios, which at its entrance is northwest-southeast, without any sort of reef or sandbank in all its mouth, nor outside of it; the passage from the sea as viewed having a depth of seven to eight fathoms and upwards, and of a width in its mouth of more than two leagues in my opinion; and entering within, it makes such a gulf that almost one loses the land from sight from one side to the other, and having entered a matter of three leagues in the direction of northwest, one arrives at the coast of the mainland, and there is another large harbor which in the mouth of it has three fathoms of depth and upwards; and thereafter, coasting the bay alongside of the mainland, in the direction of the north, there are admirable ports and important freshwater streams and well-seeded valleys and, to appearances, a fertile country, in particular from the height of 38 degrees, and upward to the height of 40 degrees.⁶

In describing the Bay thus, the writer seems to be mentally recalling the progress of the exploring party of which he was a member. Evidently he thinks that the Chesapeake is joined with the Carolina sounds, for he uses the name Madre de Dios both for the waters where the English colony lay and for the Chesapeake as well. He tells of the ship's entrance into the Bay with sounding line testing the depths as it goes. He recalls the movement northwest across the wide waters to Mobjack Bay. He indicates that the explorers then sailed northward along the Virginia shore to latitude 38° where lay the mouth of the Potomac. Be-

⁵ *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Colony in America* (Publications of the Prince Society) (Boston, 1884) p. 291.

⁶ Letter of Juan Menendez Marquez, June 7, 1606, Ruidaz, *op. cit.*, II, 502.

yond that part, following the Maryland western shore, they watched the land carefully, much impressed by the broad river mouths, *maravillosos puertos y rios dulces caudales*, and by the stretches of luxuriant vegetation, so different from the sandy shores of the Florida peninsula. One may suppose, however, that for some reason they turned back before they quite reached the head of the Bay, for had they gone on to the head they would have known that it was not as far north as 40° of latitude. Or perhaps this error was due merely to the faulty memory of Marques, who recalled well what he had seen of Maryland shores but did not quite remember correctly about the latitude.

It would be fitting, of course, to tell also about the voyage homeward by Gonzalez and his men, but the documents leave that part nearly a blank. Marques mentions only that they stopped at the San Pedro mission on the Georgia coast and saw the converted Indians engaged in religious ceremonies.

GERMAN SETTLERS IN EARLY COLONIAL MARYLAND

By DIETER CUNZ

Much has been written about the two most outstanding figures among the earliest Maryland immigrants from Central Europe: Augustin Herrman and John Lederer.¹ Through Augustin Herrman the first group of German immigrants was attracted to the Calvert Colony: the Labadists, a sect of nonconformists coming from Northwestern Germany and Holland. In 1683 they settled at the northern end of the Chesapeake Bay but after two generations disappeared from the stage of history.² Aside from these first harbingers of the German immigrant wave into Maryland, there is very little known about early German settlers around the Chesapeake Bay. This is the first attempt to collect minutely all the details on German people in Maryland before the beginning of the first mass immigration of 1730.

It is highly improbable that there were Germans on the first ships sent out for the colonization of the Calvert property, the *Ark* and the *Dove*. Heinrich Zschokke, a German-Swiss writer of the first half of the nineteenth century, declared in an historical novel, *Die Gründung von Maryland*, that in 1634 Lord Baltimore allowed a few German settlers to come from Virginia, but this is an invention of the romantic poet.³ In the first settling of the colony the Germans played only a very minor role. The colony of Maryland was the private property of a Catholic lord,

¹ For a bibliography on the investigations on John Lederer see: Dieter Cunz, "John Lederer, Significance and Evaluation," *William and Mary Historical Quarterly*, Second Series, XXII (1942), 184 f. For Augustin Herrman cf. the most recent monograph by Earl L. W. Heck, *Augustine Herrman* (Englewood, Ohio, 1941). The complicated question of Augustin Herrman's racial origin was treated in a special article, Dieter Cunz, "Augustin Herrman, Origin and Early Events," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXIV (1942), 5 ff.

² B. B. James, *The Labadist Colony in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899).

³ Cf. Erich Albrecht, "Heinrich Zschokke's Version of the Founding of Maryland," *American German Review*, VIII, vi (1942), 15 ff.

whereas the majority of German immigrants consisted of suppressed Protestants. They knew nothing of the sympathetic tolerance of the Calverts' religious laws; or, if they knew of them, they mistrusted them after their unhappy experiences under the ruling Catholic princes of Germany. Thus, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the Germans preferred other colonies—New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia. As private property rather than a crown colony, Maryland profited little from the organized mass shipments of German settlers arranged by the English government at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In spite of all this, a few isolated German settlers were to be found in Maryland toward the end of the seventeenth century.

The best known of them all is George Hack.⁴ He was born in Cologne, Germany, in 1623. He studied medicine at Cologne University, received his doctor's degree, and then emigrated to New Amsterdam. Here he gave up his practice in favor of commercial activities. Together with Augustin Herrman he opened a tobacco house, which soon began to flourish. By 1651 the firm of Hack and Herrman was one of the largest and most successful tobacco houses in America. In the tobacco markets of Maryland and Virginia it came into ever sharper competition with the Dutch West India Company. The Navigation Act of 1651, which excluded all non-English ships from trade with the colonies, put an abrupt end to the business, forced Herrman for a time into debtor's prison, and caused Hack to leave New Amsterdam. He settled in Northampton County, Virginia, and turned to his original profession of medicine. In the beginning of the sixties he must have moved to Baltimore County, Maryland, where we find his name in 1663 in the Acts of the General Assembly.⁵ He died, probably in 1665, before he achieved naturalization. Two sons were born to him, George Nicholas, who became the father of the Virginia branch of the family; and Peter, who founded the Maryland line of Hacks.⁶ As early as 1647 a John Hack is named in connection with a court and testamentary business.⁷ A certain Sepherin Hack

⁴ *Dict. of American Biogr.*, VIII, 70. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, V, 256. *William and Mary Historical Magazine*, VIII, 237.

⁵ In the *Maryland Archives* his name often occurs. In 1662, for example, we read of a "Lycense to Dr. George Hack to transporte 20 barreles of Come out of this Province." (*Archives*, III, 459).

⁶ O. A. Keach, "The Hack Family," *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, VII, 235 ff.

⁷ *Archives*, IV, 332.

was killed by Indians in Maryland in 1661.⁸ We do not know whether John and Sepherin were members of George Hack's family, but it is possible. In later times the name often appears as Heck. The original form lives on today in Hack's Neck, Virginia, and in Hack's Point, Cecil County, Maryland.

It is endlessly difficult to establish the nationality of settlers in these early times. The names help very little and are even often misleading. We read often of a Christian Geist of Annapolis; from his name he might well be considered German, but we learn from his naturalization papers that he "was born under the King of Sweden."⁹ Settlers with English sounding names such as Greening or Rayman, on the other hand, turn out to be German. Edward Beckler could have been a German by his name; if so, he was the first German in Maryland, for his name appears in a document of 1637.¹⁰ We certainly will not err in considering as German James and William Leisler, who appeared as witnesses in a court process in 1664, although we do not know whether they were relatives of the famous Jakob Leisler of New Amsterdam.¹¹ By the orthography of his name a certain Peter Meyer may have been German; but we may dismiss him briefly, for we know of him only that in 1663 Governor Philip Calvert gave him a "Passe to depart this Province."¹² A certain Hans Dering, who is mentioned in a document of 1663, was certainly German; and in the case of John Sicks (1663) the note "Subject of the Royall Empire of Jermany" leaves no doubt about his origin.¹³ John Stump, a Prussian, came to America about 1700 and bought a piece of land in Cecil County near present-day Perryville, Maryland.¹⁴ That a certain Michael(a) Hacker, who is mentioned in connection with the case of a runaway slave and is identified simply as "spinster," was a German is a possibility, but it cannot be proved.¹⁵ We read (1683) of a Simon Stein, "a servant,"¹⁶

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 414, 432.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 146, 265; XXXVIII, 288. It would naturally still be possible for Christian Geist to have come originally from Germany. After the peace of Westfalia (1648) great parts of northern Germany (Vorpommern, Bremen, Verden, Wismar) were under the rule of the Swedish king.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 22.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 269.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 471; III, 489.

¹⁴ *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), 518, 547. Stump was a cousin of the Prussian Baron Friedrich von Trenck, who played a part in the family history of Frederick the Great. The name seems originally to have been Stumpf.

¹⁵ *Archives*, IV, 165.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, 456.

and (1718) of a Philip Eilbeck of Kent County—both indubitably German names. Philip Eilbeck was in a pitiable situation. We find his petition "That he has Been a Prisoner for Debt in Kent County almost Two years and haveing nothing whereby he Can discharge His body from Prison nor any likelyhood of Being Discharged—prays that an Act may Pass in his favor."¹⁷ In spite of the unhappy state of the "Languishing Prisoner," the General Assembly moved with no particular speed. His name occurs again and again in the Acts, and we never learn what was finally done for the unfortunate man.¹⁸ The servant Stein and the prisoner Eilbeck were undoubtedly not unusual cases among the few Germans in the colony at this time. Certainly there were many Germans among the poor people, but it is just their names that appear only by exception in historical documents. In the upper classes German names are as good as nonexistent. Only once we read of a William Blankenstein, who with a few other prominent fellow citizens sent a letter of congratulations to the new King William III in London in 1689.¹⁹

Naturalization documents are the only sure sources, for there we do not have to depend upon the German sound of the names. Before 1730 we have around a dozen naturalizations where it is expressly stated that the new citizen was "a Native of Germany," "born in Germany," or born "under the Dominions of the Emperor of Germany." After the naturalizations of Augustin Herrman, George Hack, and John Lederer followed in the next few decades those of Lawrence Christian and Martin Mugenbrough (1674), "borne in Germany";²⁰ Albert Greening and John Oeth (1721), "born under the Dominion of the Emperor of Germany and their Children now Residents in Ann arundel County";²¹ Joseph Lazear of Prince George's County with his children Joseph, Thomas, John, Elisabeth, Mary, and Deborah (also 1721);²² a surgeon, Francis Rudolph Bodien of Kent County (1727);²³ John Woolf, an Annapolis cobbler with wife and

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXX, 131.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XXX, 157, 158, 196, 211, 230, 234, 283.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 147. Blankenstein's naturalization is mentioned in the *Archives*, VII, 343, 345, 362, 400, 405, 406, 420, 444.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 400.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 297; XXXIV, 280, 287, 291, 303, 312, 316, 329, 330.

²² *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 288; XXXIV, 146, 147, 156, 160, 189, 207, 227, 265.

²³ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 403, XXXVI, 14, 15, 17, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66.

child; ²⁴ John Samuel Mynskie with wife and daughter "born in the Province of Brandenburg in the Kingdom of Prussia" and now a blacksmith in Annapolis; ²⁵ the already mentioned William Rayman of Annapolis, "borne in Germany under the Dominion of the Prince Palatine of Rhyne" (1728); ²⁶ and finally Christian Peters from Cecil County, "a Native of Germany" (1729).²⁷

When the two first Labadists, Danckaerts and Sluyter, came through Maryland on their initial trip in 1679, they met, probably in Kent County, on a farm "a person who spoke high Dutch"—by which we may understand German. The two travelers speak of him again a little later on. "We also found here the person who spoke high Dutch, and of whom we have before said a word. We were able to converse with him, but my companion could do so best. He resided on this plantation, and was a kind of proctor or advocate in the courts."²⁸ Danckaerts is the author of the diary; by "my companion" is meant Sluyter, who came from Wesel in the Rhineland and was therefore able to talk the better with the man "who spoke high Dutch." We learn, however, nothing about this German, neither his name nor from what part of Germany he originated.

In the older literature about Maryland and Delaware we read here and there of a German, or, more exactly, of an "Austrian," who settled on the Eastern Shore about 1680, one Cornelius Commegys.²⁹ Commegys possessed vast holdings in Maryland as well as in Delaware, and played a not unimportant role in the history of the seventeenth century. "Commegys from Vienna," as he was always called, was however, not a German. He was a Dutchman who came from the little town of Vianen in South-Holland. The similarity between the words Vianen and Vienna no doubt caused the confusion of the local historians. The Commegys family are

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 406; XXXVI, 24, 25, 38, 55, 63, 69, 75.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 407; XXXVI, 24, 25, 38, 55, 63, 69, 75.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 422; XXXVI, 130, 131, 140, 212, 223, 224, 225, 233, 234, 263. The German spelling of the name was probably Reimann.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 424; XXXVI, 314, 316, 322, 387, 396, 398, 401, 404, 446.

²⁸ *Danckaerts' Journal*, edited by B. B. James and J. F. Jameson (New York, 1913), 118, 122.

²⁹ Francis Vincent, *History of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1870), 465. Vincent says (p. 464) that, when the English took over Delaware, many Dutch and German families moved to Maryland. "They were, no doubt, brought there by the influence of Augustin Herrman." That is quite possible. Unfortunately Vincent gives us no proof.

discussed in detail in Danckaerts' diary, and designated there as natives of Holland.³⁰

We may make particular mention of two outstanding Germans who lived in Maryland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, even if for only a few years: Justus Engelhardt Kühn and John Peter Zenger. The name of Justus Engelhardt Kühn occurs in the Maryland Acts for the first time in the year 1708.³¹ We know nothing of Kühn's youth, of what part of Germany was his home, nor of when he came to America. Indeed we know little of his life, and the little that we do know is restricted to the last nine years.³² His naturalization papers make it clear that he was a German and a Protestant. Apparently he came to Annapolis in 1707 or 1708. Shortly after he settled there he married, and in 1714 the Acts record the birth of "Thomas, Son of Jost. Engl. Kiihn and Elisabeth his wife." In April, 1717, he became Churchwarden of St. Anne's in Annapolis. Not much later he abjured the Stuarts and declared his loyalty to the new English royal house of Hannover. He must have died a few months later. The administrator of his estate was none less than Charles Carroll, "The Settler" (1660-1720). Happily some of Kühn's pictures have been preserved. They not only give evidence of his artistic ability, but show that he was the favorite of the highest social stratum of the province. All the paintings that we possess from his hand are portraits of members of the Digges, Darnall, and Carroll families, the best names of the time in Maryland.³³

John Peter Zenger was born in Germany in 1697 and came to New York as a boy of thirteen. He was one of a group of emi-

³⁰ *Danckaerts' Journal*, 121. "Commegys was from Vianen, and had had a Dutch woman for a wife, who taught her children to speak the Dutch language; they therefore had a kind disposition towards Hollanders."

³¹ For all that we know of J. E. Kühn we are indebted to the excellent study of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn, an Early Eighteenth Century Portrait Painter," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XLVI (1936), Pt. II, 243-280. It is the only essay that we have on him. The name Kühn is often garbled in the Acts, appearing as Kiihn, Kyhn, Kitchin, Ketclin; but the two first names Justus Engelhardt identify him wherever he is mentioned.

³² *Archives*, XXXVII, 235, 261, 283, 288, 289, 292, 321, 327, 369, 370.

³³ We have ten of Kühn's pictures, three portraits of children and seven portraits of adults. Dr. Pleasants has pointed out that Kühn was the first painter in America who introduced a negro slave into a portrait (Portrait of Henry Darnall III). All pictures are reproduced in the essay by Dr. Pleasants, who also gives exact information concerning the history of the pictures and the genealogy of the subjects. Three of Kühn's portraits hang in the Main Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society.

grants from the Palatinate backed by Queen Anne.³⁴ Since the father had died enroute and the mother was destitute, the children had to pay off the costs of their voyage by several years of service. Subsequently John Peter Zenger settled in Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland. In October of 1720 the Assembly granted naturalization to J. P. Zenger "being an alien Borne in the upper Palatinate on the Rhine."³⁵ His name appears frequently in the Archives of the years 1720-21, for early in 1720 he had applied as a trained printer for the job of printing the laws of the province of Maryland. In April, 1720, we read:

Petitioner has the Liberty of printing the Bodys of Laws of each Sessions for the sev.ll Countys as also one for the Prov.ll Court One for the Upper House and one for the Lower House of Assembly And that he Bind the same with Leather And be Allowed for Each Body Seven hundred pounds of Tob.c. . . .³⁶

Unfortunately none of these printed volumes of laws is extant. We may be sure, however, that Zenger continued to print the Maryland laws for some time, for in August, 1721, the General Assembly decreed that John Peter Zenger should print the laws of this session also "as usual."³⁷ In spite of this auspicious start in Maryland, Zenger returned to New York in 1722. As is well known, his real activities began there. As editor of the *New York Weekly Journal* he became famous as one of the first American protagonists of freedom of the press.³⁸ That, however, does not belong to the history of Maryland.

Without question others of the group from the Palatinate settled in the colony of Maryland, but we have no definite information about them. Only once in the *Archives of Maryland* is express reference made to this group. On October 27, 1710, the House of Delegates passed the following decree: "This House being

³⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 648. I. D. Rupp, *A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants* (1876), 444.

³⁵ *Archives*, XXXVIII, 277; XXXIV, 19, 20, 21, 31, 56, 79, 81, 83, 93, 110, 112.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 501, 557, 588, 639.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 255. Cf. Lawrence C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), 50 ff. Charles A. Barker, in his book *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940) (p. 167), has pointed out this act as an early omen of the revolution. In contrast to the custom of the esoteric Parliament in the English motherland, the doings of the Assembly were here for the first time published and so exposed to general criticism.

³⁸ Cf. Livingstone Rutherford, *John Peter Zenger, His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger Imprints* (New York, 1904).

informed several Palatines were come to Settle in this Province and being willing & desirous to Encourage those poor People in their Industry have resolved that those Palatines with their Servants Shall be free this present year from paying any publick or County charge of Levy and to which they pray the Concurrence of the Honble Council." ³⁹ The Council agreed without hesitation, "being likewise desirous to Encourage the said Palatines and make them as easy as possible." Where these Palatines settled and how many there were is not stated. Both pronouncements of the Acts make it clear, however, that the Assembly was glad to see the Palatinate immigrants come and eager to give them a good start in the new land.

³⁹ *Archives*, XXVII, 496. The term "Palatine" became so much a part of the language of the time that it was later frequently applied to all German Protestant immigrants, no matter from what part of Germany they came. Many of the so-called "Palatines" originated in Silesia or Holstein.

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE: SOME RECOLLECTIONS

By WALTER H. BUCK

The recent death of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, the last of the Maryland branch of that famous family,¹ seems an appropriate time to record something of the personality of his uncle, Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1851-1921), the most important member of the Maryland family.

The history of this family is well known and need not be repeated here.² Portraits, busts, furniture, china, and other effects of the family are owned by the Maryland Historical Society and form an impressive exhibit.

Nor need we do more than refer to the fact that in our national life, Mr. Bonaparte was one of that fine group including Carl Schurz, Dorman B. Eaton, George William Curtis, and Everett P. Wheeler who began the hard and valiant fight against the "Spoils System" at a time when the opposition was entrenched and powerful. Then, too, in his local work with the Baltimore Reform League, in which he and Severn Teackle Wallis and John C. Rose were the leaders, and especially in the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, he was a diligent and persistent worker. His efforts were at last crowned with success, so that now we have fairer elections and better conditions in the public service. It is more, however, in the hope that something may be recorded of Mr. Bonaparte's unique personality that this sketch has been attempted.

It was my good fortune, a short time after coming to the bar, to engage in the trial of several hard fought cases against Mr. Bonaparte.

I was perhaps overzealous in the presentation of my clients'

¹ Mr. J. N. Bonaparte died in 1945.

² There is an excellent biography of Mr. Bonaparte entitled *Charles Joseph Bonaparte, His Life and Public Services*, by Joseph Bucklin Bishop (Scribner, 1922).

side, and when the cases were over, I had a feeling that I had gone too far, especially against an opponent of Mr. Bonaparte's character and position. Sometime after that I was called on the telephone by a lawyer in Mr. Bonaparte's office, who asked if I would call to see Mr. Bonaparte, which of course I did. Mr. Bonaparte owned the property 216 St. Paul Street located on the west side of the street between Lexington and Saratoga Streets, abutting on an alley. The building was pulled down some years ago and its former site is now used as a parking lot! The building was a somewhat narrow one of three stories. On the ground floor was the law and real estate office of Harris & Thompson (W. Hall Harris & H. Oliver Thompson). To the right of that office was a steep stairway which led to the second floor where Mr. Bonaparte's business offices were located. At the head of this stairway sat a lady of uncertain age whose business it was to inspect strangers who entered and to inquire about them and their business. Mr. Cleveland P. Manning was in charge of these business offices which were located near the entrance to this stairway, and nearby, at a small desk, sat a lawyer whose business, in part, was the collection of small items. He recently died leaving over one million dollars. The front office on this floor was occupied by Mr. William Reynolds, a lawyer of the old school, who was constantly smoking a pipe. Mr. Reynolds was the author of an excellent book on evidence, entitled *Reynolds on Trial Evidence*, modeled on the work of Sir James FitzJames Stephen's *A Digest of the Law of Evidence*. Having successfully passed the scrutinizing lady on the second floor, I continued up to the third and there met another lady with a similar occupation, but much more determined and persistent than the first. At last having satisfied her, I went through a room filled with law books into Mr. Bonaparte's private office on the third floor front.

Mr. Bonaparte was seated on a sort of platform on the south side of the room and the wall directly behind him was panelled in walnut. There he sat with that quizzical smile, moving his head from side to side in his own peculiar way. He explained to me in a pleasant voice, which occasionally had a piping quality, that he would not permit a telephone to be placed on his office floor and so had another person telephone me. And then to my relief, instead of chiding me about what happened in court, he asked me

to become a member of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland. This occurred in 1908 and from that time until his death it was my great privilege to work and correspond with this cheerful, brilliant and unusual man whose principal interest in life was the waging of unceasing war on the evils which cropped out in our political life.

Here it may be well to state that Mr. Bonaparte was a thorough-going American and a great believer in our constitutional system. Though bearing a name famous in Europe, he never once crossed the ocean.

Before going to Harvard, where he was an honor student both in the College of Arts and Sciences and in the Law school, he attended school for a while at George F. Morrison's at No. 803 Cathedral Street. That building is still standing and my mother was a pupil there at the same time. This reference to Harvard reminds me of a letter which Mr. Bonaparte wrote me in 1919, it being particularly interesting because it brings in two members of the famous Adams family. I had tried, unsuccessfully, to get Mr. Bonaparte to read the *Education of Henry Adams*. His letter, in part, is as follows:

I have not read the *Education of Henry Adams*, although I have read a number of the reviews of it and have seen a great many extracts. I was personally acquainted with his brother Charles Francis Adams, whose *Autobiography* I have read. The family had very marked peculiarities, and especially an abnormal disposition to depreciate everybody, including themselves, and to display themselves to the public in a less favorable light than would have been fair to them or in accordance with truth. In the case of Charles Francis Adams, this was notably shown by his observation that his class at Harvard was only remarkable for containing two persons who were sent to the Penitentiary. As a matter of fact, I heard from one of his classmates that he was very much interested in the class and quite generous in contributions for reunions and amusements intended to keep alive class-feeling. Henry Adams was an even more peculiar man than Charles Francis, and, from what I know of the family, I would take everything that he said subject to rather serious discount, especially when it related to himself, his relatives or his intimate friends. The Adams attitude of mind towards the world seems to have been one of smothered indignation that they were not better appreciated by the public, leading them to "run down" their own merits and those of everybody else with whom they were brought into contact. For all these reasons I have not felt any great desire to read the *Education of Henry*.

Mr. Bonaparte was by profession a lawyer, yet able as he was,

he was not a great lawyer; perhaps because he was unwilling to go through the drudgery which is a necessary part of a lawyer's training. However, his natural talents came out as a cross examiner, and I was told by the late William Shepard Bryan, one of the ablest trial lawyers of that time, that Mr. Bonaparte, in his opinion, was the greatest natural cross examiner he had ever seen. Mr. Bonaparte never attempted to browbeat an opposing witness but drawing his chair close to the witness and looking at him with that quizzical smile, he would finally, if it were possible to do so, draw from him testimony helpful to Mr. Bonaparte's case. The opinion of E. S. Gauss, Mr. Bonaparte's private secretary when he was in the cabinet of President Theodore Roosevelt, is worth repeating as follows:

If he had been raised in the common way of life, he would have made a more prominent conventional figure, possibly would have been ranked with those we call our great men, but he achieved to be a unique character.³

While Attorney General of the United States during the famous "Trust Busting" campaign of President Theodore Roosevelt, he brought a number of anti-trust suits against different corporations at the same time. Asked by a reporter why he had done this, he replied that he thought it best to shoot into the covey in the hope of bringing down at least one bird; a remark which showed that he had never been in the field to shoot or shoot at partridges.

Aristocratic as he was and in a sense aloof, he was nevertheless completely at home on the speaker's platform and many a fine speech he made at the Music Hall (now the Lyric) and elsewhere in the hard fought campaigns of the nineties. His tall figure, the peculiar way in which he used his arms and his restless manner on the platform set him off from the more familiar platform type.

Though it was said that he had but few intimate friends, he was in fact a most pleasant and friendly man to deal with and those in his office were devoted to him.

His humor was irrepressible and though he was a master of irony and satire, he was not a cynic and was never malicious. His wit was spontaneous and was never coarse nor vulgar.

Mr. Bonaparte's city home was at the northeast corner of Park Avenue and Centre Street; the site now occupied by a commercial

³ Bishop, p. 170.

building. He was a familiar figure in that neighborhood walking with his peculiar swaying gait and was dubbed by a political opponent living nearby as the "Imperial Peacock of Park Avenue." In 1910 someone stole the doorplate from Mr. Bonaparte's home on Park Avenue and in one of the local papers there appeared an amusing cartoon with Mr. Bonaparte represented as Hamlet, saying, "Who steals my purse steals trash, but he that filches from me my good doorplate robs me of that which is only good for junk and sets me back two dollars."

His first country home was the property at Roland Avenue and Deepdene Road now owned by Dr. A. R. L. Dohme, but with the advent of the trolley cars and the accompanying noise he sold that property and moved to Baltimore County. His country home thereafter was "Bella Vista" on the Harford Road, formerly the Gittings estate. Instead of occupying the original mansion, which was in a little valley, he built his own mansion on a steep hill nearby. After his death one of the Bonaparte's liveried servants brought me a gift from Mrs. Bonaparte: two handsome leather-bound volumes of *Smith's Leading Cases* from Stevens & Haynes, Bell Yard, Temple Bar, London. These contained his book plate with a representation of his dwelling inscribed "Ex Libris Bella Vista" and on the fly leaf in his strong clear handwriting, the letters large and well formed, "Charles J. Bonaparte, January 8th, 1876.

On May 9, 1935, a bronze plaque of Mr. Bonaparte was presented to the City Service Commission by the Woman's Department of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association. This plaque is the work of Elizabeth Jencks Wrenn and is excellent in every way. After Mr. Bonaparte's death, the late Thomas C. Corner, the well-known artist, painted a portrait of Mr. Bonaparte which was presented to the Enoch Pratt Free Library, of which he was an active trustee. This, too, was presented by the Woman's Department just referred to. This portrait once occupied an important place in the Central Hall, where it was seen by the public. However, during a recent visit there, I found it somewhat difficult to locate the portrait and was told (*sic transit*) that it is now in the private office of the Librarian. It is regrettable that the Library authorities have seen fit to remove the likeness of so distinguished a Baltimorean from public view.

How long ago it seems since Charles J. Bonaparte was driven almost daily in the summer time from his country estate "Bella Vista" on the Harford Road, about fifteen miles from Baltimore, to his law office on St. Paul Street near Lexington St., and afterwards to his city home on Park Avenue and Centre Street, where he had moved his law office. It seems like the story of a remote age to think that Mr. Bonaparte made that fifteen mile drive regularly behind a pair of horses, his coachman cracking a whip and keeping the horses at a fast trot. Those times are gone forever, and men like Charles J. Bonaparte are rare today as personalities, and as citizens they are almost extinct.

"SUSQUEHANNA," A MARYLAND HOUSE IN MICHIGAN

By THE EDITOR

In Greenfield Village, the group of historical buildings assembled at Dearborn, Michigan, just outside of Detroit, by the late Henry Ford, stands a Maryland house of the 17th century. To throngs of visitors it brings the atmosphere of the colonial way of life along the Chesapeake nearly three centuries ago. The house is "Susquehanna," once probably the home of Christopher Rousby, Royal Collector of Customs for the Patuxent River. It stood on the bluff at the south side of the river's mouth on property originally called "Susquehanna Point."

This was part of the 6,800 acres taken by the Government in 1941 for the Patuxent River Naval Air Station. Occupying a commanding site at Fishing Point, a few miles west of Cedar Point, where the Patuxent joins the Chesapeake Bay, "Susquehanna" was inevitably doomed when plans were made to develop a great air base in St. Mary's County. Since the area was less than ten miles from the site of the original settlement of Maryland in 1634 at St. Mary's City, many of the earliest land grants were involved. Among these was "Mattapany" where Governor Charles Calvert, later Third Lord Baltimore, at one time lived, as well as "Susquehanna." The latter was the scene of a meeting of the Governor's Council in 1661,¹ and the site of burial of Christopher Rousby and his brother John.

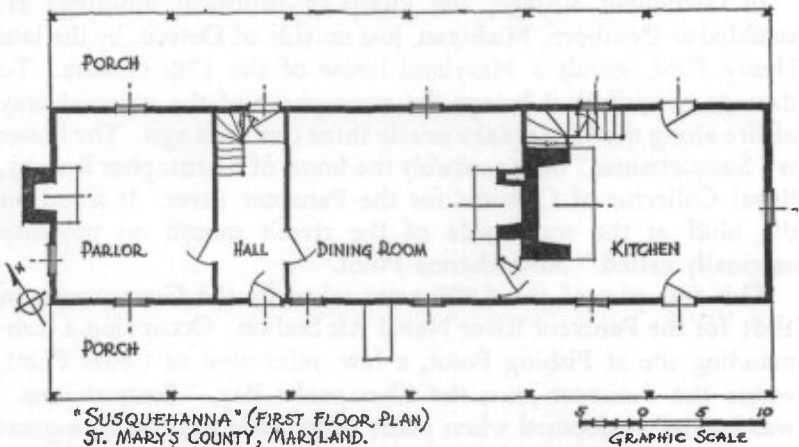
Architectural authorities agree in assigning the building of "Susquehanna" to the middle years of the 17th century.² Certain

¹ *Archives of Maryland*, III, 426. "At a Councill held at Sasquehanough Poynt, July 1st, 1661." Whether the meeting was in the house here described or in an earlier one is open to question.

² Mr. Lawrence Hall Fowler, Mr. John H. Scarff and Mr. Henry C. Forman have so expressed themselves. Mr. Forman's book *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, Md.: privately printed, 1934), contains at p. 33 two views and a plan of "Susquehanna." The date suggested by Mr. Forman is 1654.

features of construction are similar to those of other homes of the period in this county. Furthermore, the simplicity, not to say crudeness, of the plan and details such as the cramped kitchen stair, the tiny doors on the upper floor and construction of the end chimney justify this conclusion.

The building is a story-and-a-half affair, 60 feet 6 inches in length and 16 feet 4 inches in width, originally without porches. The plan was that of a string of cars. As one approached through a straight drive more than a mile long, the steep roof and long



Drawn for the Magazine by Mr. Bryden B. Hyde from measured drawings in possession Enoch Pratt Free Library.

mass of the building must have excited interest. The identical porches, one on each long side of the house and running the full length, are undoubtedly additions. That on the land side is probably early. Proof of this was found in the overlap of the porch roof at the eaves of the house. Some of the early shingles along the boxed eaves remained visible under the porch.

It has often been surmised that the house was built piecemeal, as so often happened in colonial times, when growing families needed more room, and circumstances permitted greater comfort and convenience. In the case of "Susquehanna," however, available evidence suggests that the house was originally of its present length. The north and south sills (timbers resting on the sidewall foundations) are alike. Each is 60 feet 6 inches in length but in



West view of "Susquehanna," before removal, showing partly free-standing chimney. Photo by Edison Institute, Dearborn, Mich. Courtesy Maryland Room, Pratt Library.



Passage and main stair of "Susquehanna." Wall at left is of ordinary weatherboarding. H. A. B. S. photo.



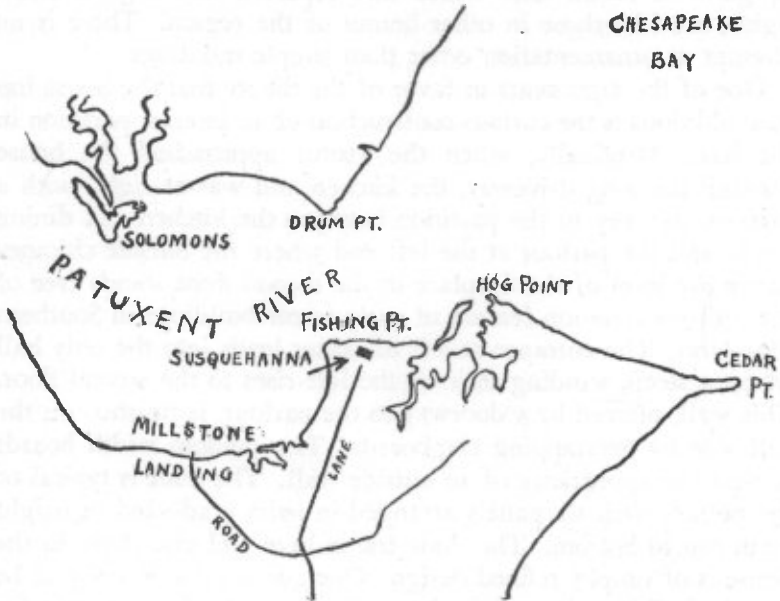
Room over kitchen, showing steep stair from lower floor, tiny door to next room, and hand-hewn lathes. H. A. B. S. photo.

two pieces, the splice in each side being approximately at the center of the building. The overlap in each case is a long bevel pinned with wood pegs. Mr. E. J. Cutler, supervising architect for the Ford museum project, is convinced that the house was originally built in the present form.³ Some uncertainty exists regarding the date of the dormer windows of which there are four on each side. Details of construction, disregarding the large panes of glass of recent date which had replaced the original small lights, are like those in other homes of the region. There is no attempt at ornamentation other than simple moldings.

One of the arguments in favor of the theory that the house has had additions is the curious construction of an interior partition in the hall. Originally, when the visitor approached the house through the long driveway, the kitchen end was at right, with a massive chimney in the partition between the kitchen and dining room, and the parlour at the left end where the outside chimney above the level of the fireplace in the second floor stands free of the wall—a common feature of early frame buildings in Southern Maryland. The entrance at left of center leads into the only hall where a steep, winding stair on the left rises to the second floor. This wall, pierced by a doorway to the parlour, is finished on the hall side by overlapping clapboards. The random width boards present the appearance of an outside wall. The door is typical of the period, with six panels arranged in pairs graduated in height from top to bottom. The door frame here and elsewhere in the house is of simple, refined design. One guesses that Rousby, if he was the builder, planned the house in its present form, except for use of the cramped rooms on the second story as bedrooms. It would seem that the only stair originally was that leading from the kitchen. When, later, a better means of utilizing the upper floor was desired, it would have been a simple matter to build a partition in the "great room" or parlour and a stairway in the little hall so formed. Why this partition should have been in the form of outside weatherboarding cannot be explained.

³ Letter to Dr. Joseph L. Wheeler, dated July 29, 1942. "When the house was first built it consisted of one floor; the hall, stairs, upper bedrooms and dormers were added later. The sills and plates are full length—nothing has been added. The ceiling joists are the same from one end to the other, except in the well hole at the stairs where the header has been nailed on instead of framed in. The lath on the side walls, and ceiling between the hall and parlor ran right through behind the studding, supporting the clapboard partition."

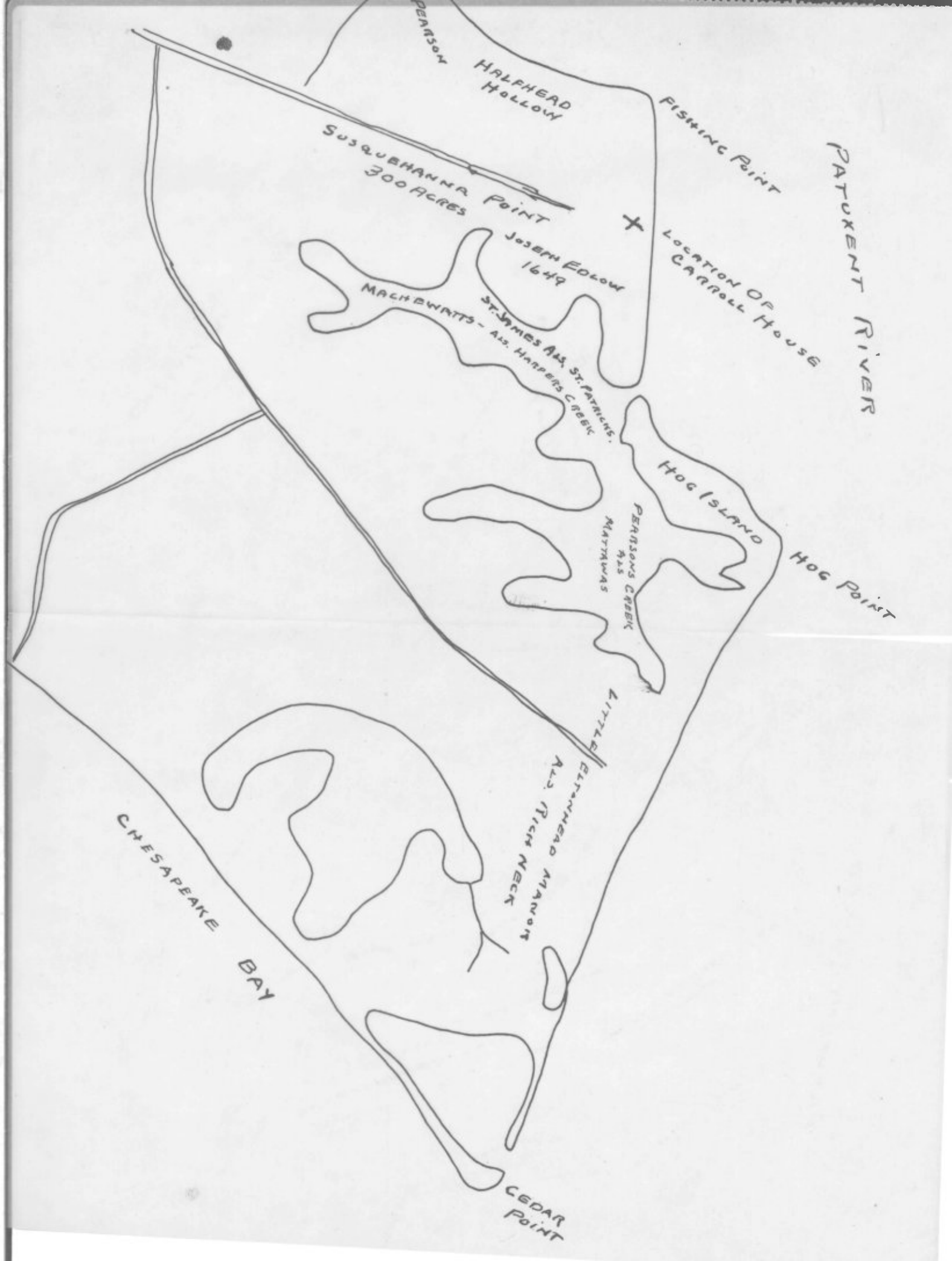
The house has been re-erected in a pleasant site, far from salt water. The picture on the cover shows the river front, kitchen end at left, with the stone tomb of the Rousbys and surrounding iron railing, which also were moved when the house over which they kept vigil for more than two centuries was carried away. The earlier photographs of the exterior and interior, made in 1936 for the Historic American Buildings Survey, under the direction of



Original site of "Susquehanna" house. Sketch from Map of St. Mary's Co., 1903, by Maryland Geological Survey.

Mr. John H. Scarff, and by the staff of Mr. Ford's Edison Institute when the building was still on its original site, fully reveal the various features of construction. Some of these views accompany this article.

The entire house is of frame, except for the chimneys which are all brick. Wide clapboards compose the sheathing front and back. Unlike those of many houses in Southern Maryland, brick end walls were not used. They are built of overlapping clapboards. The porches were obviously added to provide protection from the weather and to make the house more livable. The original win-



DEWSON

HALFHEAD
HOLLOW

PATUXENT RIVER

FISHING POINT

LOCATION OF
CARROLL HOUSE

SUSQUEHANNA POINT
300 ACRES

JOSEPH EDLOW
1649

MACH DWYTT'S - AS. HARPER'S CREEK
St. James and St. Patrick's

HOG ISLAND

PEARSONS CREEK
MAYNARD'S

HOG POINT

LITTLE BLUNNHEAD POINT
AS. RICH NECK

CHESAPEAKE BAY

CEDAR
POINT

dows are believed to have been divided in two equal sashes of six panes each, size 8 by 10 inches. There is an interesting three-light transom above the kitchen door on what was the north or river side. The interior walls with the exception of those in the hallway, were plastered throughout. One of these has been described; the other is plastered above a wood wainscot. The main staircase has a simple post with a black walnut handrail of refined design. The square pine balusters are believed to be replacements. Above stairs adults may stand erect only in the center of the rooms, beneath the comb of the roof. The winding stair leading from the kitchen behind the chimney breast gives access to the small room above where tiny doors on each side of the chimney connect one with a closet and the other with the central room.

The foundations are continuous brick walls, 8 inches thick and about three feet high. There was but one small basement room under the center of the south front, which was entered through a trap door in the porch floor. It was probably not part of the original plan.

The 200 acres on which "Susquehanna" stood were first patented by Joseph Edloe in 1649 under the name "Edloe," but the tract was popularly known as "Susquehanna Point." From certain re-surveys and patents it appears that the property passed to Christopher Rousby; owing to the loss of St. Mary's County deeds, the date cannot be established. Rousby was in Maryland as early as 1666.⁴ That he resided on the place is proven by original documents⁵ and, considering the evidence already cited, it may be surmised that he lived in this house. Whether it was built by him or by Edloe cannot be learned. Rousby left no children and there is no mention in his will of relatives except his brother John. It is known that the death of his wife, Elizabeth, occurred before his own tragic end in 1684.

John Rousby was the principal heir but died in 1686 and the property escheated to the Proprietary. During the minority of his

⁴ Wills, I, f. 420, Hall of Records, Annapolis. He witnessed the will of Thomas Manning, dated Oct. 9, 1666.

⁵ Will of John Rousby I, Wills, IV, f. 164, Hall of Records, Annapolis: "I give unto my said sonne John Rousby . . . all that 200 acres of land with the appurtenances called Susquehanna Point where my dear brother lately dwelt . . ." (Dated May 8, 1685, proved Feb. 6, 1686). Quoted in full in Maria Briscoe Croker, *Susquehanna, a Landmark of Old Maryland* (Privately published monograph, 1942). Also will of John Rousby II, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, VIII, 278-279.

son John it was resurveyed for Captain Richard Smith who had married John I's widow Barbara.⁶ In due time "Susquehanna" came into possession of John II. He settled, however, at "Rousby Hall" across the river in Calvert County. Like his father and uncle he was an important figure in provincial affairs. Through a connection, Araminta Thompson, who married Captain Henry Carroll, "Susquehanna" passed into ownership of distant relatives of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. After Captain Carroll's death, Sept. 6, 1775, Araminta married George Biscoe. The property descended to Henry James Carroll who was living there at the time of the Civil War. Later it was the home for a time of the Pearson family and finally was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Davis Young of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Mrs. Young was Miss Lola May Carpenter of St. Mary's County. Mr. and Mrs. Young sometimes came to "Susquehanna" for brief visits until her death in August, 1941. When the Government took over the land, Mr. Young presented the house and tomb to Mr. Ford for preservation as features of Greenfield Village.⁷

That another house was the principal residence on the property during the early and middle 1800's is stated by Mrs. Fanny Combs Gough, of Baltimore, a native of St. Mary's County who in her youth was often a house guest of the Carrolls at "Susquehanna." She recalls the nearby site of a house which had been destroyed by fire and where bricks and other signs of ruin were still to be seen. It was the purpose of the Carrolls, prior to the Civil War, to rebuild what had been the mansion, says Mrs. Gough, but they suffered heavy reverses from the war and never were able to carry out the plan. Mrs. Gough reports that the room designated on the drawing as "Parlour" was used as a dining room and that the central room was actually the parlour. The kitchen was an attached room, since destroyed, at the east end of the porch. When she first knew it there was no porch on the river side of the house. Moreover, she gathered that the so-called parlour, at the west end was a late addition. Correlating the architectural evidence and the recollections of Mrs. Gough, one concludes that the house known during late years as "Susquehanna" was used for a time not as the owner's mansion but as a tenant house for a farm overseer or

⁶ Rent roll, St. Mary's County, f. 49, 51 (Calvert Paper 885½, Maryland Historical Society).

⁷ From Mrs. Croker's booklet to which the writer is indebted for helpful data.

other worker on the place, while the owner,—perhaps Captain Henry Carroll—built and occupied a more pretentious and more convenient house in the immediate vicinity; and that when the larger house burned, the Carrolls moved into the next most habitable house on the plantation, the modest but ancient original residence.

The tragedy of Christopher Rousby's death has for centuries been a subject of speculation and curiosity. He was High Sheriff, 1672, of Calvert County (in which the southern shore of the Patuxent was included until 1695), and a member of the Lower House of Assembly during the years 1678-1683. He was appointed King's Collector of Customs for Patuxent District, some time before April, 1681, when Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, wrote that he had recommended Rousby to succeed him in the Collectorship, when he gave up the Governorship and returned to England following the death of his father.⁸ His lordship wrote to a Government officer in England

humbly to beg your Lo[rds]s favor and just assistance in moving to his Ma[jes]ty in Councill the removing of one Christopher Rousby a Collector here . . . for these Two years and better I have had great cause for and have sent Letters . . . to the Commissioners about the removing of him. . . . I now send againe . . . to be relieved from so great an Evill or rather a Devill for so I may terme the present Collector to be A Fellow that ever since my Returne to Maryland has carried himself with that Pride to severall West Country and New England Traders and Dealers in my province that many of them have quitted a Trade they have long had here. . . . So that My Lord I being proprietor here and may therefore be looked upon as Governor whilst I am in person here am in danger to be brought into Trouble by the unwarrantable proceedings of this insolent and Knavish Collector here who presumes dayly to Nose me and my Government with powers which he pretends to have from his Masters the Commisioners . . . Besides the Knavery he dayly practices amongst the Shipping he is become the most lewd debauched swearing and most prophane Fellow in the whole Government and indeed not fit to be admitted into Civill society . . .⁹

In 1681 Rousby also returned to England and appeared before the Privy Council which was considering his removal. His counter

⁸ McHenry Howard, "Some Early Colonial Marylanders," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XV, 292-303 (Sept. 1920), where Rousby's later career in the Province is more fully given and the supporting documents cited.

⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, V, 274-275.

charges were so effective that for a time it appeared that Lord Baltimore's charter was threatened.¹⁰ The latter's accusation against Rousby was dismissed. The late McHenry Howard told the story succinctly in the pages of this Magazine for September, 1920, as follows:

After this the Maryland Archives are silent for a time about Christopher Rousby, but doubtless the bitter feeling between him and Lord Baltimore continued until it had a tragic ending. On 31 October 1684 Rousby was on the King's vessel the ketch * *Quaker*, then lying off his home, "Susquehanna Point" . . . when Colonel George Talbot, a kinsman of Lord Baltimore and first in the Council of Maryland, came on board. A violent quarrel ensued and Talbot stabbed Rousby with a dagger so that he died . . . Captain Allen, commander of the *Quaker*, put Talbot in irons and sent Rousby's body ashore to his home next day . . . The Council of Maryland immediately demanded the surrender of Talbot for trial in Maryland, but Captain Allen refused, the demand being in the name of Lord Baltimore, the Proprietary, but said he would do so if the demand were made in the name of the King; he probably distrusted the Maryland authorities. He carried Talbot to Virginia, which was directly under royal government, claiming that Lord Effingham, the Governor, was "his Chiefe Master in these parts." . . . The Council thereupon wrote to Governor Effingham requesting the delivery of the prisoner so that he might be tried where the murder was committed, but the Governor and Council of Virginia wrote to England for instructions and were directed by the King on 25 February 1684/5 to send Talbot in the *Quaker* to England for trial there . . . Talbot meanwhile had been lodged in gaol in Gloucester Co., Va., and his wife with four men went in a shallop from Maryland and on 10 February 1685/6 effected his escape, probably by bribing the guard. The Maryland Council ordered a "Hue and Cry" for his apprehension, but after lying concealed for a while at the head of the Bay he gave himself up to the Maryland authorities.

The upshot was that Talbot was tried in Virginia, convicted and sentenced to death. He was successful, however, in securing a pardon from King James II and was released some time after September, 1686.

¹⁰ Rousby claimed that Baltimore wished to oust him in order to secure the Collectorship for his step-son Nicholas Sewall. *Archives*, V, 288-289. Many lively pages in this volume are devoted to the quarrel, especially 286-299.

Other references bearing on the Rousby family and "Susquehanna" are: Annie L. Sioussat, *Old Manors in the Colony of Maryland*. 2nd Series. (Baltimore, 1913) p. 16-17; Hester D. Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1913) II, 214-219, and Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930) p. 21-24.

* A small man of war vessel, then used in the Revenue service.

The table-type tomb of the Rousby brothers stood in a field at some distance from the house. The epitaph, which is accompanied by scrollwork, a death's head and crossed bones, is as follows:

Here lyeth the Body of Xph^r Rousbie Esquire who was taken out of this World by A violent Death receiv^d on Board his Majesty^s Ship the Quaker Ketch Cap^t Tho^s Allen command^s the last day of Oct^r 1684 And alsoe of M^r John Rousbie his Brother who departed this Naturall Life on Board the Ship-Balltemore Being arrived in Patuxen River the first day February 1685 ¹¹

The removal of "Susquehanna" to a distant state is another in the long list of regrettable losses to Maryland of early architectural remains. Fortunately, the building and tomb are in safe hands and will always be carefully preserved. It can only be wished that the renewal of activity by the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities had come in time to retain these relics and provide for them new sites as near as possible to the original ones.

¹¹ February 1685, when the calendar year ended on March 24, is by the modern calendar counted February, 1686.

EARLY ART EXHIBITIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

In a little known chapter in the history of art exhibitions in Baltimore the Maryland Historical Society played a considerable part. From the late 1840's to the 1890's, after the closing of the original Peale Museum and before the Walters Gallery was open regularly to the public, it was to the Society's rooms in the Athenaeum Building that persons wishing to see paintings of the past or present were accustomed to resort. The activities there varied in tempo, interest fluctuated, and canvasses were of unequal merit, but the loan exhibitions and, later, the permanent collection, served the purpose of keeping the idea of a gallery alive until the Walters Collection and the Baltimore Museum of Art took up functions partly or entirely outside the Society's field.

For the twenty years, 1848-1868, the catalogues¹ of the loan exhibitions held under the auspices of the Society showed works by the prominent artists of the day (lent individually and through dealers²) portraits by contemporary painters as well as portraits of previous generations, and innumerable canvases attributed to the "Old Masters" from Leonardo to Michelangelo! To-day, although items in the last classification occasionally provide records of "strays" of genuine merit, it is for information on American artists and their works that we find the publications valuable. The 1848 *Catalogue* of the First Annual Exhibition at the Picture Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society listed "Names And Residences Of Living Artists Whose Works Are Exhibited In The Present Exhibition"³ and in 1856 the Loan Exhibition and Paint-

¹ See I, below.

² Among the dealers were J. S. Earle, Goupil & Co., Sarah Kalbfuss, Knoedler and Co., and J. H. Naff.

³ See II, below.

ings in the Society's collection were catalogued with a group exhibited by the Artists' Association of Maryland, formed in the autumn of 1855. The foreword to a list of its members ⁴ announced that

This Association is composed of Artists, Sculptors, &c. as the active members, who subscribe annually \$6 00—also, contributing members, whose annual subscription is \$5 00, these enjoying all the privileges of the Society, except the right of voting at elections and holding office.

The requirements of such an association in this City, having been felt by the Artists, &c. they have thus united themselves together for the purpose of mutual encouragement in their professions, and with the view of establishing a permanent Gallery of American art, with an Annual Exhibition of their productions.

This First Exhibition of our Association we present to the public, not as a complete specimen, but as a hasty effort, partially showing what the Artists of Baltimore can do.—and soliciting your support and co-operation, we thus leave ourselves before you.

The catalogues from 1857 through 1907 are similar in format but comparative study ⁵ shows that while the exhibition of contemporary work had been all but discontinued excellent American canvasses of the past one hundred and twenty-five years and optimistically attributed European works continued on view, many of them group deposits which remained over long periods of years. ⁶ Thus the Roms of the Society continued a center of study for students and amateurs and placed at their disposal works of merit, for both emulation and enjoyment.

To-day in addition to the interesting information on artists and subjects to be found in such catalogues, they give in condensed form a history of taste. From the inherited collections of family paintings one sees the level of local limners and, from the profuseness or scarcity of their works, the amount of popularity or patronage they enjoyed; from the titles of "subject pieces" loaned or offered for sale one can judge of the popularity of religious, romantic, heroic, historical, touching or sentimental canvasses as the tide of taste turned; from the groups of works of art in the

⁴ See III, below.

⁵ A cumulated file of entries in these catalogues has been set up by artist and subject.

⁶ Among the group collections were those of William E. Alcock, the Carroll-McTavish family, the Eatons, the various members of the Gilmor family, John P. Kennedy, Z. Collins Lee, Joseph Meredith, D. T. Shaw, and S. G. Wyman.

galleries of local collectors who bought on the world market one can form opinions of their perspicacity, judgement and personality.

The first group may be indicated by a selected list of subjects of portraits—with the artists' names added when available; the second by a list of selected titles in varied classifications, chosen arbitrarily and with preference given to those with an American flavor. In addition a list of local views is appended, as well as one of American landscapes when identification is positive; and groups illustrating American and General History, Genre and "Literary Titles." The final list is one of names of American artists when they could positively be identified as such.

I. CATALOGUES OF EXHIBITIONS AT THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS, &c. AT THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society. FIRST ANNUAL EXHIBITION, 1848. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 12 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS &c. &c. AT THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society. SECOND ANNUAL EXHIBITION, 1849. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 15 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS, &c. &c. AT THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society. THIRD ANNUAL EXHIBITION, 1850. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 12 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS, &c. &c. AT THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society. FOURTH EXHIBITION, 1853. BALTIMORE: JOHN D. TOY, PRINTER, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 15 p.

CATALOGUE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS, MAPS, MEDALS, COINS, STATUARY, PORTRAITS AND PICTURES: AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIBRARY OF THE Maryland Historical Society, MADE IN 1854, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE AND PRESIDENT, BY LEWIS MAYER, Assistant Librarian. BALTIMORE: PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY JOHN D. TOY. 1854. 49 + [2] p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, ENGRAVINGS, &c. &c. AT THE Picture Gallery OF THE ARTIST'S ASSOCIATION, AND OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 1856. 16 p.

CATALOGUE OF Paintings, Engravings, &c. &c. AT THE PICTURE GALLERY

- OF THE Maryland Historical Society. SIXTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION, 1858. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY, Corner of Market and St. Paul Streets. 13 p.
- CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, AT THE Picture Gallery OF THE Maryland Historical Society. Seventh Exhibition, 1868. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1868. 8p.
1875. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF STATUARY, ON EXHIBITION AT THE Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society Rooms, ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS, *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets*, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, PRINTERS AND STATIONERS. 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1875. 23 p.
1876. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF Statuary and Paintings, ON EXHIBITION At the Gallery of the Md. Historical Society Rooms, ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS, *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets*, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS, PRINTERS AND STATIONERS, 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1876. 28 p.
1879. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF Statuary and Paintings, ON EXHIBITION At the Gallery of the Md. Historical Society Rooms, ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS, *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets*, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & CO. PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS AND STATIONERS, 182 BALTIMORE STREET. 1879. 31 p.
1883. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF STATUARY AND PAINTINGS ON EXHIBITION AT THE GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society Rooms ATHENAEUM BUILDINGS *St. Paul and Saratoga Streets* BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: JOHN MURPHY & CO. *Printers to the Maryland Historical Society*. 1883. 23 p.
1893. CATALOGUE OF Paintings, Statuary, Etc., ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga St., between Charles and St. Paul Sts., BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: JOHN MURPHY & CO. 1893. 20 p.
- CATALOGUE OF Paintings, Statuary, Etc., ART GALLERY OF THE Maryland Historical Society. ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: FLEET, MCGINLEY & Co. Exchange Place and Commerce Street. 1896. 20 p.
- CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, STATUARY, ETC. ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: FLEET MCGINLEY & Co. Exchange Place & Commerce St. 1901. 20 p.
- CATALOGUE OF PRINTINGS, STATUARY, ETC. ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ATHENAEUM, E. Saratoga Street,

between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. BALTIMORE: FLEET-McGINLEY Co. Exchange Place and Commerce Street. 1904. 20 p.

CATALOGUE OF PAINTINGS, STATUARY, ETC. ART GALLERY OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ATHENAEUM BUILDING, E. Saratoga Street, between Charles and St. Paul Streets, BALTIMORE. PRESS OF KOHN & POLLOCK, INC. BALTIMORE 1907. 20 p.

II. NAMES AND RESIDENCES OF LIVING ARTISTS WHOSE WORKS ARE EXHIBITED IN THE PRESENT EXHIBITION [1848]

Ames, J.	Boston
Birch, Thomas	Philadelphia
Brown, G. L.	Florence
Bonfield, G. R.	Philadelphia
Cropsey, J. F.	New York
Conarroc, G. W.	Philadelphia
Daily, Mrs. J. [<i>sic</i> : Darley]	"
Doughty, T.	"
Durand, A. B.	New York
Fischer, Ernst	Baltimore
Fisher, A.	Boston
Gray, H. P.	New York
George, A.	Baltimore
Gent, Mrs.	"
Hamilton, James	Philadelphia
Kellogg	Cincinnati
Lambdin, J. R.	Philadelphia
Lang, Louis	New York
Leutze, E.	Dusseldorf, Germany
Leslie, C. R.	London
Miller, A. J.	Baltimore
Mount, W. S.	New York
Mayer, F. B.	Baltimore
Persico	Baltimore
Peale, Remb	Philadelphia
Rothermel	"
Shaw, J	Bordentown
Sully, Thomas	Philadelphia
Smith, Russell	Middletown, Pa.
Tiffany, W.	Baltimore
Woodville, R. Caton	Dusseldorf, Germany

III. MEMBERS, ARTISTS' ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND [1856]

Hugh Newell	No. 71 Second Street.
F. B. Mayer	No. 29 Franklin Street.
Van-Arden	No. 69 Fayette Street.
S. N. Carvalho	No. 35 S. High Street.
James Pawley	No. 145 Mulberry Street.
A. J. H. Way	Howard House.
A. Weidenbach	No. 69 Second Street.
A. J. Miller	Carroll Hall.
Henry G. McCann	No. 60 Gough Street.
Miss M. A. McCann	No. 60 Gough Street.
Chas. Volkmar	Frederick Street.
E. McGregor	Fayette and Charles.
J. H. Tatum	No. 63 W. Baltimore Street.
E. N. Carvalho	No. 32 North Street.
Wm. M. Laning	No. 276 Baltimore Street.
J. K. Harley	No. 244 Baltimore Street.
Thos. R. Jefferys	North and Fayette Streets.
Wm. Brown	No. 47 Howard Street.
Gustavus Naeder	No. 20 Clay Street.
Charles B. Getz	No. 109 N. Calvert Street.
William Ellis	No. 39 Hillen Street.
Ludwig Enke	No. 69 Second Street.
Chas. E. J. Gebhard	No. 19 Barnet Street.
Jn. Richards	No. 12 Holliday Street.
E. Kett	No. 54 Liberty Street.
C. Kraus	No. Mercer Street.
Bebie	N. Gay Street.

OFFICERS

President: Hugh Newell

Vice Presidents: Wm. L. Laning, Edward McGregor

Cor. Sec.: S. N. Carvalho

Rec. Sec.: J. H. Tatum

Treasurer: T. R. Jeffreys

Executive Committee: Van Arden, A. J. H. Way, F. B. Mayer,
Aug. Weidenbach, Jas. Pawley.

IV. PORTRAITS EXHIBITED 1848-1907

Addison by Peter Lilly (*sic*); Prince Arthur by Godfrey Kneller; Bishop Atkinson; Gonzalo de Avalos by Alfred J. Miller; Colonel John Barnes by Godfrey Kneller; Colonel Richard Barnes by Joshua Reynolds; Commodore Joshua Barney by Couriger; David Barnum; Thomas Birch by John Neagle; Madame Elizabeth Bonaparte by David; Madam Elizabeth

Bonaparte by Gilbert Stuart; King Jerome Bonaparte by Gilbert Stuart; Cadet J. N. Bonaparte by D'Almaine; J. M. Bonaparte by R. Weir; Napoleon and Josephine (enamel miniatures); Napoleon Bonaparte by W. Babcock; Napoleon by David; Napoleon Bonaparte; John Beale Bordley (probably Thomas Bordley attributed to Gustavus Hesselius); Bossuet; Dr. Brown by Jarvis; Dr. John Buckler by Thomas Sully; Byron by Bujac; Byron by Christhif and Rigart; General and Mrs. John Caldwell by Rembrandt Peale; Charles Calvert, 3rd Lord Baltimore, by Sully; Dr. and Mrs. Carne by Jeremiah Theus; Charles Carroll of Carrollton by William J. Hubard, by Michael Laty (after Wood, Stuart or Field), by Nichol, Peale, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, unknown artist (when Carroll was ten years old); Mrs. Charles Carroll of Carrollton; father, grandfather and grandmother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton; Archbishop Carroll by Gilbert Stuart; Richard Caton; Charles I by Cooper; by Ernst Fisher after Van Dyck; Charles I and Henrietta by Petri after Van Dyck; Judge Chase by Jarvis; wife and daughters of Samuel Chase; General Childs by H. G. McCann; Henry Clay by Freeland, Harding, Jarvis, D. A. Woodward, Clevenger; George B. Coale by S. B. Wetherald; George F. Cooke by Drummond; Colonel J. G. Davis by H. D. G. McCann; Dr. De Butts by ——— Peale; Commodore Stephen Decatur by Sully; General DeKalb by ——— Peale; Mme. Dessart as *Dido* by Vanloo; Miss Diggs; Mrs. Dunbar and Child by Alfred J. Miller; Gen. Jubal A. Early; Hugh Davy Evans; Millard Fillmore by Bartholomew; Rev. Wm. de la Fletcher after Jackson by William Gush; Francis I of Austria, Duke of Lorraine, by Adolph Huber; Francis I of Austria by H. Rigaud; Children of Francis I of Austria by J. Rudolph Huber; Countess Graff; General Horatio Gates; Archibald George; Isabel K. George; S. R. Gifford by E. P. Bowers; George M. Gill by Carvalho; O. A. Gill by Elliott; Robert Gilmor by Sir Thomas Lawrence; Mrs. Robert Gilmor by Sir Thomas Lawrence; General Mordecai Gist by ——— Peale; Edward Gray; Col. Nathaniel Greene; William Gwynn by H. G. McCann; Nell Gwynne; Alexander Hamilton by Ceracchi; Hamlet by J. Angus; Robert Goodloe Harper by Harper Pennington after Field; Robert Goodloe Harper by Trentanove; David Harris by Pyne (*sic*); Henrietta Maria by Cooper; Governor Thomas Hicks by Dexter; Colonel Hindman by Jarvis; Mrs. Isaac Hite and James Madison Hite by Polk; Peter Hoffman by Thomas Sully; William Hoffman by Thomas Sully after Lawrence; Francis Hopkinson by himself; John Eager Howard by Laty after ——— Peale; Lady Howard; Archbishop Hughes by Inman; Christopher Hughes by Sir Martin A. Shee; Sara Izard, Lady Campbell, by Gainsborough; General Stonewall Jackson; Henri de Laroche Jaquelin by Greuze; John Jay; Kensey Johns; Mrs. Kensey Johns; Reverdy Johnson; Governor Thomas Johnson and family by Charles Willson Peale; Governor Johnson after Rembrandt Peale; General and Mrs. Bradley T. Johnson; Dr. Christopher Johnston; J. C. Jones by S. B. Wetherald; George P. Kane; Angelica Kauffman by herself; John P. Kennedy by Louis Rabillon; Fanny Kemble as *Julia* by Thomas Sully; Bishop Kemp by Wood; Bishop Kemp by

R. Peale; the Marquis de Lafayette after Sheffer; the Marquis de Lafayette from life; the Marquis de Lafayette by Sheffer; John H. B. Latrobe by John Dabour; Michael Laty by himself; Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Law by Gilbert Stuart; Madame Le Brun by Sasso after Sabatelli; Z. Collins Lee by ——— Peale; Mrs. Z. Collins Lee; Martha J. Lee; Dr. Leide by E. P. Bowers; Leutze's Daughter by W. D. Washington; Captain Richard Lilly; Louis XIII by Largillière; Louis XIV; Louis XV after Mentze; Louis XV and His Companions by Hogarth; The Dauphin, Louis XVI, by Mme. LeBrun; Louis XVIII by Massard; Louis Phillippe and Queen Victoria by Græffle; Fielding Lucas, Jr., by Wood; Alexander McClure by ——— Peale; Mr. McGilvery of New York; Charles Carroll MacTavish; John MacTavish; Lovatt MacTavish; Mary Wellesley MacTavish; Brother of Mary Wellesley MacTavish; Simon MacTavish; Louis McLane; John V. L. McMahon by Mayer; Machiavelli; the Reverend James Madison by Charles Peale Polk; Mrs. James Madison by Charles Peale Polk; President Madison; Mme. de Maintenon by Rigaud; Lord Mansfield by Thomas Sully; Marie Antoinette by Adolph Huber; Maria Theresa by Adolph Huber; John Marshall by R. Peale; John Marshall by C. G. Lambdin after Inman; Mrs. J. T. Mason by Gilbert Stuart, 1798; George Mason by Boudet, 1811; Thomas Mason; Luther Martin; Massillon; Brantz Mayer by Edward McDowell; the Mayer Family by Schwanthaler; William Mayhew by Ernst Fischer; Major Mercer; Jonathan Meredith; General Mifflin; Duchess of Montpensier; Jared Sparks Moore by Elizabeth Adams; Paul Morphy by Carvalho; the Reverend John G. Morris by Rinehart, by Oscar Hallwig; William Vans Murray by Sharples; Gilbert Stuart Newton by himself; Governor Nicholas by Gilbert Stuart; William Patterson by Thomas Sully; Henry Payson by Jarvis; George Peabody by Lambdin; by Buchanan Read, by John R. Robertson; Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry by Sully; Edward Pickering by Annie Whitney; M. Pollard; Mme. de Pompadour by F. Boucher; William Henry Prescott; Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay; Mrs. George Read; Don José de Rebello by Sara Peale; William Read; Sir Joshua Reynolds by Gilbert Stuart; Cardinal Richelieu; H. Rigaud by himself; Rousseau; Prince Rupert after Vandyke; Walter Scott; Thomas H. Seymour; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, by Holbein; Gen. William Smallwood by Peale; Father Smith by Woodward; Gen. John Spear Smith by Harley; General Samuel Smith by ——— Peale; Gen. Samuel Smith by Laty after Stuart; Lieutenant Somerville, U. S. N.; Beatrice Sparks by Jane Stuart; Jared Sparks by Gilbert Stuart; Mrs. Jared Sparks by Gilbert Stuart; Jared Sparks by Hiram Powers; Maria V. Sparks by Anne Stuart; Charles David Stuart by A. J. Volck; Dugald Stuart by Mifflin; Sebastian F. Streeter by James K. Harley; General John Stricker by Charles B. King; Thomas Sully by Peale; Roger B. Taney by Miner B. Kellogg, by Frank B. Mayer; General Taylor by James R. Lambdin; Dr. Thomas by Thomas C. Ruckle; Col. N. Towson by Sully; Compté de Toulouse; Charles Thomson; Commodore Upshur; Horace Vernet by William Shorey; Voltaire; General Walbach by Hubard; George Washington by William R. Birch, by Flindon, by Piggot, by Gilbert Stuart (4),

after Stuart, by Christhilf and Rigart, by unknown artist, by Chévalier; William Washington by Peale; Sergeant Wallace of 1776 by John Neagle; S. T. Wallis by Thomas Corner; S. T. Wallis by Bendann; Mrs. Waylett of the Theatre Royal, London, by W. P. Frith; Daniel Webster by Clevenger, by an unknown artist, at Marshfield by A. J. Miller; Weenix by Rigaud; Duke of Wellington by Bordley after Sir Thomas Lawrence; Marquis of Wellesley by an unknown artist; Marchioness of Wellesley by Sir Thomas Lawrence; Marchioness of Wellesley after Sir Thomas Lawrence; The Rev. John Wesley after Jackson by William Gush; General O. H. Williams by ——— Peale, by Michael Laty after Peale; Roy Williams by Elizabeth Adams; Isabel G. Wilson; John Wilson; William Hutton Wilson; General William Winder by Cannon; Father of George D. Wise; Son of George D. Wise; Mrs. Wood as *Amina* by Thomas Sully.

V. GENERAL SUBJECTS EXHIBITED 1848-1907

AMERICAN LANDSCAPE

Farm Scene in Connecticut by Anderson; *Autumn Near Hingham, Mass.* by H. P. Hart; *View on the Susquehanna* by Thomas Doughty; *The Hawk's Nest, Kanawha River* by T. W. Whitridge; *Schroon Mountain, N. Y.*, by Cole; *View on the Erie Canal* by Oddie; *Catskill House* by Miss Cole; *View on the Mauch Chunk* by Greenwald; *Headwaters of the Delaware* by Beaumont; *Southern Landscape* by Ed. Seeger; *A Scene in Vermont* by Carminke; *Scene on the Ohio* by E. M. Punderson; *McConnell's Cove from Cove Mountain* by J. R. Smith; *Landscape in Orange County, N. Y.* by Ingham; *Lake George at Sunset* by Durand; *View Near Cape May* by Hamilton; *Shore at Nahant* by William Hart; *View on the Hudson, Catskill Mountains in the Distance* by Thomas Cole; *Shawangunk Mountains* by S. R. Gifford; *Sunday Afternoon in the Berkshires* by James M. Hart; *Coast at Newport* by S. Colman; *Genessee Valley* by J. F. Kensett; *Connecticut River near Bellona Falls* by A. W. Thompson; *Landscape, in Western Virginia* by W. L. Sonntag; *Autumn, Ulster County, N. Y.* by William Hart; *Pulpit Rock, Nahant*, by W. S. Haseltine; *Beach Near Salem* by J. F. Kensett; *Autumn in Vermont* by A. D. Shattuck; *On the Cheat River* by John R. Key; *Kaaterskill Cove* by S. R. Gifford; *Summer in the North* by James M. Hart; *Upland River, New Hampshire*, by McLeod; *View on the Hudson* by J. F. Kensett; *Autumn in the Catskills* by Jarvis McEntee; *Sketch Near Gardiner, Maine*, by H. P. Hart; *Beverly Beach* by J. F. Kensett; *Shenandoah Valley* by Wilson; *On the Hudson* by Bartlett; *Mount Vernon* by Harper Pennington; *Autumn at Harper's Ferry* by Weidenbach; *Upland River, New Hampshire*, by W. S. Tiffany; *Fishkill Mountain and Hudson River*, by Remy Mignot; *Landscape Near Otsego Lake, N. Y.*, by Mignot; *View on the Guayaquill River, South America*, by Mignot; *Volcanic Regions, Near Cotopaxi, South America*, by Mignot; *View of the Cordilleras near Cotopaxi, South America*, by

Mignot; *South American Landscape* by Mignot; *Lake Scene and Sunset, Oregon*, by A. J. Miller; *Landscape in Oregon*, by Miller; *View in the Cochoctope Pass, Rocky Mountains, discovered by Colonel Fremont* by S. N. Carvalho; *Entrance to the Valley of St. Clare, between Utah and California*, by Carvalho; *Sunset on the Los Angeles River* by Carvalho.

MARYLAND VIEWS

Baltimore from Howard's Park by George Beck; *St. Mary's Chapel* by Maximilian Godefroy; several views, including one of Bolton, by Francis Guy; *View on Jones' Falls* by Augustus John; *View in Maryland* by James C. Jones; *Washington's Headquarters, Cumberland*, by J. C. Jones; *The Glades, Western Maryland* by J. C. Jones; *Landscape near Cumberland, Maryland*, by J. C. Jones; *Herring Run* by H. Bolton Jones; *View of Baltimore* by Lane; *Baltimore Cathedral* by B. H. Latrobe; *The Baltimore Exchange* by B. H. Latrobe; *Fort Cumberland* by Brantz Mayer; *Fort Frederick* by Brantz Mayer; *A Frostburg, Maryland, Coal Mine* by F. B. Mayer; *Bombardment of Fort McHenry* attributed to A. J. Miller; *Baltimore in 1752* by John Moale; *St. Mary's Church, Harford Co.*, by Niernsee and Nielson; *Battle of North Point* by Thomas Ruckle; *St. Paul's Church* attributed to Thomas Ruckle, Sr.; *Fairview Inn* by Thomas C. Ruckle; *View on Jones' Falls* by Cariolanus A. Smith; *Landscape, Western Maryland*, by Adalbert J. Volck; *View on Gunpowder River* by A. Weidenbach; *Conflagration, Baltimore, 1827*, by an unknown artist; *Old Baltimore* by an unknown artist.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Daniel Boone Discovering the Valley of the Mississippi by King; *The Ransom of Montezuma* by Mayer; *Washington and the Generals at Yorktown* by Charles Willson Peale, (now attributed to James Peale); *The Launch of the Brigantines (Mexico—Dias)* by Rothermel; *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* after West. *The Buffalo Hunt on the Prairie*, known in the West as a "Surround," by A. J. Miller; *Indian Caressing His Horse* by A. J. Miller; *Indian Chief* by A. J. Miller; *Indians Hunting* by A. J. Miller; *Indians Shooting a Panther* by A. J. Miller; *Indian on the Retreat* by A. J. Miller; *Indian and Trappers* by A. J. Miller; *Indian Warrior* by A. J. Miller; *A Sioux Chief Attacked by Blackfeet Indians* by A. J. Miller; *Snake Indian Horseman* by A. J. Miller; *Sir George Stewart's Caravan in Camp, Nebraska River*, by A. J. Miller; *Sir George Stewart's Caravan Crossing the Prairie* by A. J. Miller.

GENERAL HISTORY

Return of the Crusaders by G. L. Brown; *Pilgrims Arriving in Sight of the Holy City* by Eastlake; *Battle of Austerlitz* by Godefroy after Gérard; *Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus* by Angelica Kauffman; *Huss Before the Council of Constance* by Lessing; *Calvin's First Communion* by E. H. May; *Introduction of Christianity to England* by Woodside; *Regulus Leaving Rome to Return to Carthage* by B. West; *Opening of the Huguenot Wars* by W. D. Washington.

GENRE

Making Sauerkraut by David Blythe; *Artist and Newsboy* by David Blythe; *The Itinerant Book Vendor* by Carvalho; *The Belle of Newport* by Court; *Cobbler Reading Cobbett's Journal after Liverseege* by W. Gould; *The Emigrants* by Fisher; *The Emigrant's Widow* by Fisher; *Three Members of the Temperance Society* by Herrick; *Papa's Portrait* by Eastman Johnson; *New England Interior* by Eastman Johnson; *Independence* by Frank B. Mayer; *The Village Loafer* by F. B. Mayer; *Topping Corn* by F. B. Mayer; *Scene from Swallow Barn* by F. B. Mayer; *Returning from the Warren* by Miss M. A. McCann; *Cobbler Reading the President's Message* by A. J. Miller; *Boy Getting Over a Fence, Throg's Point, N. Y.*, by William S. Mount; *Farmer Whetting His Scythe* by William S. Mount; *The Tough Story* by William S. Mount; *Sergeant Wallace of 1776* by John Neagle; *Finding the Mastodon* by Charles Willson Peale; *The Tuscan Hat* by Rembrandt Peale; *Virginia Wedding* by William Ranney; *Catching Flounders* by Joshua Shaw; *The Belle of Philadelphia* by Mrs. J. Smith; *Virginia Quilting Party, "Sam Bates and Sally Jones,"* by D. H. Strother; *Old Uncle Ned* by D. H. Strother; *A Tale of the Revolution* by Sully; *The Spinning Wheel* by W. S. Tiffany; *The Chess Players* by W. D. Washington; *Rope Ferry* by Wilson; *Politics in an Oyster House* by Caton Woodville.

" LITERARY TITLES "

Quarrel between Adolpho and His Lady Love by Persico; *Rebecca and Bryan de Bois Guilbert* by Ruckle; " *Genevieve* " by Miss Cole; *Judgement Scene in the Merchant of Venice* by Rothermel; *Scene from Romeo and Juliet* by Bebie; " *Little Nell* " by Thomas Sully; *Voltaire and M'lle D'Noyer* by S. N. Carvalho; *Romeo and the Apothecary* by W. S. Tiffany; *Subject from Monte Cristo, The Monk Teaching Young Vampa to Read* by E. Bowers; *Parting of Conrad and Medora* by Brummer; *Scene from J. J. Rousseau* by Besson; *Trial of Queen Catherine*, artist unknown; *Elopement of Goetz von Berlichgen* by Lanmann; *Di Vernon* by A. George; *Romeo and Juliet* by Jalabert; *Eloise and Abelard* by E. Van-Reuth; *Dr. Primrose Overturning the Cosmetic* by A. J. Miller; the *Taming of the Shrew* by Stephanoff.

VI. AMERICAN ARTISTS EXHIBITING 1848-1907

Joseph A. Ames (1816-1872), Sophie[?] Anderson (active. c. 1860), Richard Ansdell (1815-1885), George A. Baker (1821-1880), William H. Beard (1824-1900), Hans Heinrich Bebie (d. 1888), George Beck (1748-1812), Eugene Benson (1829-1908), Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), Thomas Birch (1779-1851), William R. Birch (1755-1834),

David Blythe, George R. Bonfield (1802-1898), George H. Boughton (1833-1905), George Loring Brown (1814-1889), John George Brown (1831-1913), William Brown, John Carlin (1813-1891), John H. Carmiencke (1810-1867), Denis M. Carter (1828-1881), John W. Casilear (1811-1893), Solomon N. Carvalho, E. N. Carvalho (active c. 1856), Leger Cherele (c. 1816-1854), Frederick E. Church (1826-1900), Shobal V. Clevinger (1812-1843), Sarah Coale (active c. 1850), Thomas Coale (1801-1848), George W. Conarroe (1803-1882), John S. Copley (1737-1815), Jasper F. Cropsey (1823-1900), John Dabour (1837-1905), Georges D'Almaine (active c. 1850-1880), Jane Sully Darley (1807-1877); Charles T. Dix (1837-1873), Thomas Doughty (1793-1856), Asher B. Durand (1796-1886), Francis W. Edmunds (1806-1863), J. J. Eeckhout (active c. 1850), Charles L. Elliott (1812-1868), Ludwig Enke (working c. 1856), Alvin Fisher (1792-1863), Ernst Fisher (1815-1874), Charles E. J. Gebhard (active c. 1856), Mrs. Gent (active c. 1848), Archibald George (active c. 1848), Charles B. Getz (active c. 1856), Sanford R. Gifford (1823-1880), Regis F. Gignoux (1816-1882), Walter Gould (active c. 1830-50), Maximilian Godefroy (active c. 1805-1819), Henry Peters Gray (1819-1877), William Groombridge (1748-1811), Gustavus Grunewald (1805-1878), Francis Guy (1760-1820), Thomas Hill (1829-1908), William J. Hubard (1807-1862), Richard W. Hubbard (1816-1888), Daniel Huntington (1816-1906), James Hamilton (1819-1878), James K. Harley (1828-1889), Chester Harding (1792-1866), James M. Hart (1828-1901), William Hart (1823-1894), Marinus Harting (active c. 1850), William J. Hays (1830-1875), William S. Haseltine (1835-1900), H. W. Herrick (active c. 1858), Thomas Hicks (1823-1890), Charles C. Ingham (1796-1863), Henry Inman (1801-1846), George Innes (1825-1894), Thomas R. Jeffreys (active 1856), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), Miner K. Kellogg (1814-1889), John F. Kensett (1818-1872), John R. Key, Emil Kett, Charles R. Leslie (1794-1859), Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868), George Linen (1802-1888), James R. Lambdin (1807-1889), J. H. Lambinet (active c. 1860), Louis Lang (1814-1893), Fitz Hugh Lane (b. 1804), W. S. Laning, Michael Laty (1826-1848), Benjamin H. Latrobe (1766-1820), H. D. G. McCann, Miss M. McCann, Jervis McEntee (1828-1891), E. McGregor (active 1856), W. A. K. Martin (1817-1867), Edward H. May (1824-1887), Frank B. Mayer (1827-1899), Christian Mayer (d. 1850), H. Merle (active 1856), Louis R. Mignot (1831-1870), Alfred J. Miller, (1810-1874), John Moale (1731-1798), William S. Mount (1807-1868), John Neagle (1796-1865), Hugh Newell (1830-1915), Gilbert Stuart Newton (1794-1835), Walter M. Oddie (1808-1865), Joseph B. Ord (1805-1865), Charles Peale Polk (b. 1767), William H. Powell (1823-1873), William Page (1811-1885), Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), Sara Peale (1800-1885), James Peale (1749-1831), Gennario Persico (working c. 1820-1840), Robert Edge Pine (1730-1788), William T. Ranney (1813-1857), Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872), William T. Richards (1833-1905), John R. Robertson

(active c. 1857-1869), John Rolfe (active c. 1840), H. Roos (active c. 1825), Edward Savage (1761-1817), James Sharples (d. 1811), Joshua Shaw (1776-1860), John R. Smith (1775-1859), William L. Sontag (1822-1900), Richard M. Staigg (1817-1881), G. Saal (active c. 1850), David H. Strother (1816-1888), Anne Stuart, Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), Jane Stuart (d. 1888), Thomas Sully (1783-1872), Cephas G. Thompson (1809-1888), Van Arden (active c. 1856), Eugene J. Verboeckhoven (1798-1881), Charles Volkmar (active 1856), Andrew J. H. Way (1826-1888), Paul Weber (1823-1916), Robert W. Weir (1803-1889), Adolph Wertmuller (1751-1811), Benjamin West (1727-1830), S. B. Wetherald, Isaac L. Williams (1817-1895), J. I. Williams (b. 1813), Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1856), D. A. Woodside.

A SECOND VISITATION OF WESTERN TALBOT ¹

EMERSON B. ROBERTS

WRIGHTSON OF "CLAY'S NECK"

Almost opposite Wade's Point, on the left of the road, a little below the village of McDaniel, and at the head of First or Harris Creek is "Clay's Neck," 100 acres, originally surveyed in the Cattaile Branch for Henry Clay. That Henry Clay is the ancestor of the great Kentuckian is surmised by no less an authority on Talbot than John Bozman Kerr.² The old home, demolished some years ago, was one of the oldest in Talbot. Originally the walls were of brick two feet thick, later the front and back were replaced by frame, with the brick ends standing, then years later the brick ends were torn out and the old frame part left standing with new frame ends. Through the years it served successively as a home of Clays, Wrightsons and Lowes. A brick, long treasured by Judge Slaughter, bore the date, 1610, but where the brick was burned one can only surmise.³

The deed from Henry Clay and his wife Elizabeth to Nicholas Lurkey, May 17, 1666, provides a name more ancient than "Clay's Neck"—therein the tract is called "Oyster Shell Poynt." Henry Clay—probably the second Henry Clay, born 5th month, 22nd day, 1655⁴—and wife, Mary, on April 20, 1684, conveyed to James Sedgwick his plantation and lands adjoining called "Lurkey" and "Clay's Neck." By 1684 the Clays had sold the last of their Talbot property and removed to Virginia, if the surmise of John Bozman Kerr is correct.

¹ "A Visitation of Western Talbot," by Emerson B. Roberts, appeared in this Magazine, Vol. XLI, 235-245. (September, 1946).

² Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, I, 206.

³ *Easton Star-Democrat*, Feb. 11, 1928, tells the story and includes a photograph of the old home.

⁴ Kent County Court records. *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, 38.

On the land, near the road, was the old Quaker Meeting House built by the hands of John Lowe, Robert Clark and William Worriow. The Wrightsons, to whom the land came, to this generation respect the burying ground as sacred—plow has never turned the soil. Long since the Meeting House was pulled down but the lumber, brown with the years, was used in building two houses that yet stand across the road.

John Wrightson, the immigrant, was a Yorkshireman. Mary, his wife, had ties of kinship with several Talbot families some of which were from Yorkshire. She inherited land from Colonel Thomas Smithson, Gent., of Miles River, a member of the Provincial Council from Talbot, 1694 to 1706.⁵ James Sedgwick, in his will, 1694, calls Mary and John, "couzens" and makes them his administrators.⁶ "Stepney," originally surveyed for James Sedgwick, came to John Wrightson in right of his wife.⁷ She had ties with Nicholas Lurkey, born in 1634, immigrant to Maryland, 1658.⁸ "Lurkey," 250 acres in Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties, surveyed April 20, 1662, for Nicholas Lurkey, near the head of Harris Creek, also came to John Wrightson in right of his wife.⁹ Mary Wrightson was a kinswoman of Captain James Murphy and of the Dawsons. Then there is record in the Principal Probate Registry in London of a debt to be remitted to the widow Wrightson in Talbot County.¹⁰ With all her manifold ties it is puzzling that no combination of the records yields her maiden name.

John Wrightson's will was made March 15, 1716/17 and proven July 16, 1717.¹¹ He left "Lurkey" to his eldest son, John, together with "Clay's Neck" and a parcel known as "Cooper." To Francis he left "Jordin Folly" and "Gaskin Point." To his widow he left "Reviving Springs" "at her disposing, equally among five children, Margaret, Mary, Deborah, Catherine and Thomas."

In the period of her long widowhood, Mary was a power in

⁵ Wills, Liber 13, 649, Hall of Records, and G. A. Hanson, *Old Kent*, 382.

⁶ Wills, VII, 77, Hall of Records.

⁷ Queen Anne's Co. Rent Roll, Maryland Historical Society.

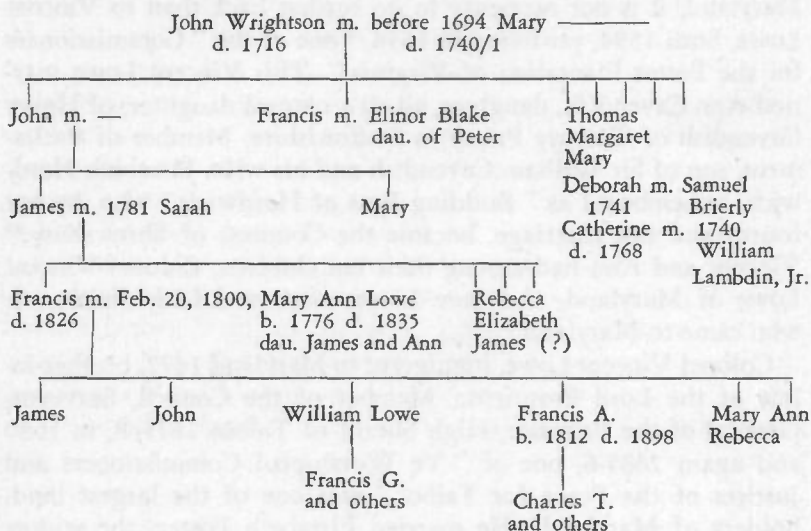
⁸ Index of Early Settlers, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁹ Rent Rolls, Talbot and Queen Anne's, A 1-15, Maryland Historical Society. Wills, Liber 5, 285, and Liber 5, 77, and Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 23, 282, Hall of Records.

¹⁰ P. C. C., 253, Greely, London. Sherwood, *American Colonists in the English Records*, 2nd Series, page 190.

¹¹ Wills, Liber 14, 435, Hall of Records. Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, IV, 121.

the community, continuing to reside on "Clay's Neck." Around that tract she consolidated the Wrightson homestead. She applied for a patent November 1, 1726, the land was resurveyed November 23, 1726, and the patent issued January 4, 1734. In her will, February 5, 1740, probated August 25, 1741, she bequeathed to her son Francis her interest in "Clay's Neck" and "Jordon's Folly." She left her grandson, James, a dwelling plantation, "Lurkey" and "Gaskins Neck." "Reviving Springs" she left to her grandsons and to her youngest son, Thomas, "should he return to claim his share."¹²



LOWE OF GRAFTON MANOR

The Manor of "Grafton," 1000 acres on the north side of Choptank and the west side of Harris Creek, has been identified with the Lowes since the days of Colonel Vincent Lowe. However, the first patent was to Colonel John Harris, merchant of London, 1659. Harris never resided in Maryland, and at his death without heirs, the patent became escheat. It was reissued, "my Lord to Vincent Lowe," in 1686. It provides "a Court Leete and Baron and all things thereunto pertaining under the Law and Custom of

¹² Wills, Liber 22, 390, Hall of Records, and Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, VIII, 145.

England."¹³ Colonel Lowe sold portions of the manor and in his will professes the sale of other portions not recorded. "Grafton Manor" includes "Lowe's Delight," "Haddaway's Lott," "Rich Neck," "Good Luck," "Cabin Creek," "Hall's Fortune," and "Homestead," which was between the head of Grace's Creek and the Lambdin land.

The English descents of the Lowes of Derbyshire from Thomas del Lowe of Macclesfield, who died February 10, 1415, at eleven of the clock at night, are beyond the scope of this paper.¹⁴ However, to show the relationship among the Lowe immigrants to Maryland, it is not necessary to go further back than to Vincent Lowe, born 1594, yet living in 1634,¹⁵ one of the "Commissioners for the Better Plantation of Virginia." This Vincent Lowe married Ann Cavendish, daughter, albeit a natural daughter, of Henry Cavendish of Tutbury Priory in Staffordshire, Member of Parliament, son of Sir William Cavendish and his wife, Elizabeth Hardwick, remembered as "Building Bess of Hardwick," who, by her fourth and last marriage, became the Countess of Shrewsbury.¹⁶ Vincent and Ann had among their ten children, Colonel Vincent Lowe of Maryland, and Jane Lowe, afterward Lady Baltimore, who came to Maryland.

Colonel Vincent Lowe, immigrant to Maryland 1672, brother-in-law of the Lord Proprietor, Member of the Council, Surveyor-General of the Province, High Sheriff of Talbot 1675/8, in 1680 and again 1685-6, one of "Ye Worshipful Commissioners and Justices of the Peace for Talbot," was one of the largest landholders of Maryland. He married Elizabeth Foster, the widow Hawkins, daughter of Seth Foster, and through her Foster's Island or Great Choptank Island, now Tilghman's Island, came to him.

Jane Lowe, his sister, married first, Honorable Henry Sewell, of Matapany in Calvert County, Secretary of Maryland. After his death in 1665, she married in 1666 Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore.¹⁷ Jane had children by both marriages; by her

¹³ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, 325 for references.

¹⁴ However, these may be traced by reference to the following: Nash, *History of Worcestershire*, 1799, II, 95; *Normanorum Scriptores*, 1124; *Journal of Derbyshire*, 1881; Jewill, *Reliquary*, VIII, 113 and XII, plate 34; Wolley, *MSS in British Museum; Visitation of Derbyshire*, 1612; *Harl. MS 1093*; Hunter, *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, III.

¹⁵ *Visitation of Yorkshire*.

¹⁶ Rawson, *Building Bess of Hardwick* (London, 1910).

¹⁷ *Testamentary Proceedings*, Liber I, 106, Hall of Records.

second marriage she was the ancestress of the subsequent Lords Baltimore.¹⁸

Two of the grandchildren, brothers, of Vincent and Ann had distinguished parts in Maryland. They were Colonel Nicholas Lowe of Talbot and Colonel Henry Lowe of Calvert County. Nicholas arrived in 1674.¹⁹ He was a member of the Lower House 1694-5, and 1701-11. In 1711 he became Clerk of Talbot County. His Talbot Land patent, "Lowes Rambles," 1440 acres, was surveyed May 28, 1696. He married Elizabeth, widow of Major William Combes, and daughter of Edward Roe, Gent. He died October 22, 1714, in Talbot. Ebenezer Cook wrote an elegy which was printed in 1729 and is extant. The family of Colonel Nicholas Lowe does not belong to western Talbot and so is not followed here.

Henry Lowe, younger brother of Nicholas, came at the same time. He settled first in Calvert, then in St. Mary's, and like his brother, filled high office. In 1684-5 he was Collector of the Customs; 1694-7 Judge of the Provincial Court; 1698-1700 High Sheriff of St. Mary's; and, 1701-2 a Member of the Lower House. He married Susannah Maria Bennett, widow of John Darnall, and granddaughter of Governor Richard Bennett of Virginia. The Society has printed a very complete story of Colonel Henry Lowe.²⁰

Two of the great-grandsons of Vincent and Ann had parts in Maryland affairs. They were the sons of John Lowe of Denby, Derbyshire, born 1642, by his second wife, Mary Stead of St. Botolph. Charles Lowe was a careful man of business and devoted to the interests of the Calverts whom he served as a secretary. The late Dr. B. C. Steiner edited some of the correspondence between Charles Lowe and Lord Baltimore.²¹ There is no evidence that Charles Lowe ever resided in Maryland, but among his six sons was Stead Lowe, who came to Somerset County and married there. The other was John Lowe, great-nephew of Colonel Vincent Lowe.

Colonel Vincent Lowe died in Talbot in 1692 without issue. His landed estate totaled more than 12,000 acres in Talbot, Cecil,

¹⁸ The history of Col. Vincent Lowe and of Lady Jane Baltimore are amply set forth in the records and publications of the Society.

¹⁹ Liber XVIII, 169, and Chancery Court, PC 849, Land Office.

²⁰ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II, 170, 181, 281.

²¹ *Maryland Historical Magazine* III, index.

Queen Anne's, Dorchester and Baltimore counties, as well as land in Derbyshire. One of the witnesses to his will is John Lowe.²²

John Lowe, close by ties of blood and community of property with Colonel Vincent Lowe, resided on "Grafton Manor," to which, immediately after the death of his kinsman, he took steps to confirm his title. He petitioned the Provincial Council for the assignment and the petition was granted.²³ Later he petitioned for a resurvey of "Grafton Manor" which was also granted, August 21, 1722.

John Lowe was a "convincement" of the Quakers. Thomas Taylor, William Burges, Robert Clarkson, Thomas Mears and William Durand are others who became "followers of the inner light."²⁴ From 1691 the name of John Lowe begins to occur in the Quaker records and in 1700 John Lowe married Mary Bartlett in Third Haven Meeting, the daughter of that steadfast old Yorkshire Quaker, Thomas Bartlett. His adherence to "the good order" no doubt did not injure his marriage suit.

John Lowe's last record in Third Haven was made 2nd month, 31st day, 1726. His will is dated 11th month, 26th day in the same year. He divided "Grafton Manor" between the two sons, he left Negroes to his two daughters and a bequest "to the Meeters at the Beside."²⁵ The widow, Mary, survived.²⁶

The son, John Lowe, Jr. was less a Quaker than his father. He was a large slave owner, and has left few records in the Quaker Meeting. He married twice, but all of his children were by the first wife. His will,²⁷ is dated 1747. The original rests in the vaults at Easton.

James Lowe, the only son, inherited most of the original "Grafton Manor," part from his father and part from his uncle Thomas, who died unmarried. He married, January 26, 1758, Ann Lambdin, a daughter of the Lambdin and Wrightson families. James Lowe's military record began in 1748 as a member of Captain Haddaway's Company of Colonial Militia.²⁸ The *Maryland*

²² Wills, Liber VI, 7, Hall of Records. Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, II, 56.

²³ Rent Rolls, Liber I L # A, 395, and P L # 5, 402, Land Office. *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXXIII, 325 ff. *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, 448.

²⁴ Rufus Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (1923), 329 ff.

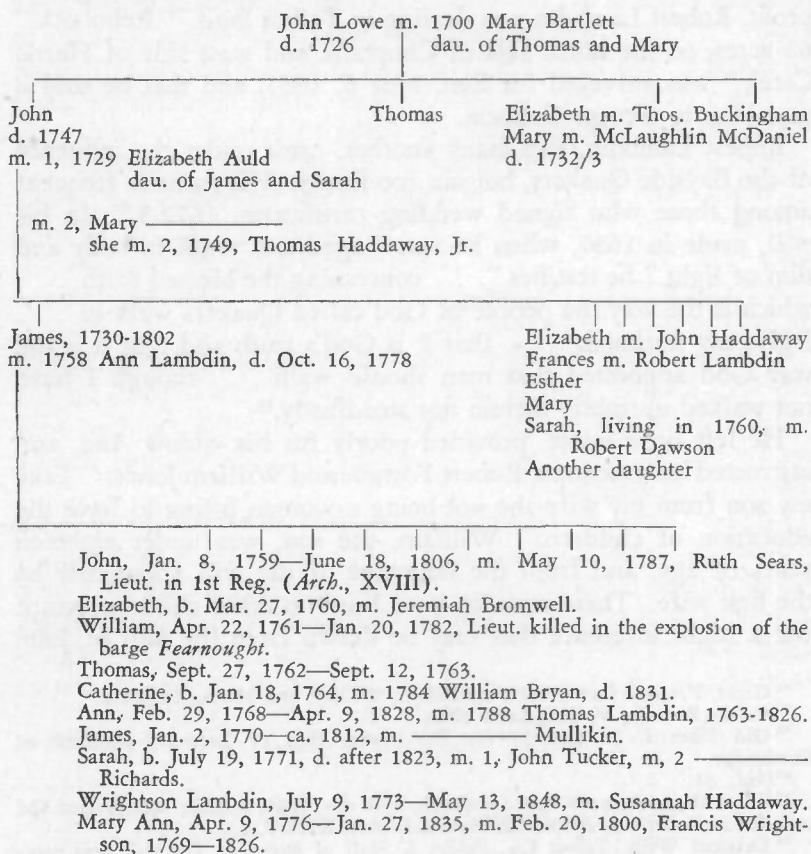
²⁵ Wills, 19 141, Hall of Records.

²⁶ Inventory 12, 173, Hall of Records.

²⁷ Wills, XXV, 300, Hall of Records.

²⁸ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI, 192.

Gazette reported the arrival on Friday, May 5, 1752, of Captain James Lowe, Master of the *Elijah*, direct from the coast of Africa with "a parcel of healthy slaves, men, women and children." James Lowe is duly recorded in the Talbot Census of 1776 and in the Federal Census of 1790. Some of his transactions are in the Debt Books of 1766. In March 1756 he was one of those who befriended "the late inhabitants of Nova Scotia late set down in this Province."²⁹ The Council at Annapolis, Thursday, May 23, 1776, confirmed his commission in Captain Haddaway's Company of Talbot troops, 38th Regiment.³⁰ His sword is in the possession of the author of this article.



²⁹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III, 12.

³⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, XI, 438.

LAMBDMIN OF SUMMERTON AND WINTERTON

On Harris Creek across from "Grafton Manor" were the Lambdins. Originally of County Durham, Robert Lambdin, Gent. came to Virginia in 1638³¹ possibly with other members of the Lambdin family. With his wife, Mary, he came to Maryland, Feb. 5, 1663³² in the party of Captain Josiah Fendall. They purchased, November 13, in the 38th year of Cecilius, from William Killman and his wife for 6000 lbs. of tobacco "Armstrong's Folly," 200 acres, on James Island, Dorchester County.³³ This tract they sold a year later to Richard Gibbs, Merchant of Worcestershire, for 11,000 lbs. of the staple.³⁴ While making this profit, Robert Lambdin was dealing in Talbot land. "Rehoboth," 50 acres, on the north side of Choptank and west side of Harris Creek" was surveyed for him, May 6, 1667, and that he sold a year later to George Collison.

Robert Lambdin, like many another, came under the influence of the Bayside Quakers, but not too firmly. His name is frequent among those who signed wedding certificates, 1672-3.³⁵ In his will, made in 1680, when he was "aged and weak in body and dim of sight" he testifies ". . . concerning the blessed truth . . . which is the way the people of God called Quakers walk in . . . I give my testimony . . . that it is God's truth and that it is the way God appointed that man should walk . . . though I have not walked uprightly therein nor steadfastly."³⁶

He left little estate, provided poorly for his widow Ann, and instructed his executors, Robert Fortune and William Jones: "Take my son from my wife she not being a woman fitting to have the education of children." William, the son, was under eighteen years of age, and from the language of the will apparently by the first wife. There seem to have been no other children except for a slight inference that may be drawn from the will of John

³¹ Greer, *Virginia Immigrants*; see Robert, William and Martha Lambdin.

³² Patent Records, V, 516, Land office.

³³ Old Liber I, 22 and 57 for Dorchester, Hall of Records; photostat at Cambridge.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁵ Third Haven Records from 1st month, 29th day, 1668, recently rediscovered and reported in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society*, XXXV, 6.

³⁶ Original Wills, Talbot Co., Folder L, Hall of Records. The will was never accepted for probate as the court was not satisfied with the testimony of the witnesses. Testamentary Proceedings, Hall of Records.

Kersey of Talbot. Ann, the widow, became the wife of William Thomas.³⁷

William Lambdin built more substantially than his father appears to have done. By patent and by purchase he built up an estate which in large part remained in the family until 1873. "Summerton," 200 acres, patented originally to Thomas Seymour, 1659, "Winterton," adjoining, surveyed June 3, 1713, and "William and Mary Addition," were patented to him.³⁸ By purchase from John Lowe, January 16, 1724, he secured "Rich Neck" and "Haddaway's Lott"—both parcels from "Grafton Manor."³⁹ He built the homes "Summerton" and "Winterton," between 1690 and 1710, the former yet standing, well treated by the years, brick, substantial and facing Harris Creek.

His will, the original of which is now at the Hall of Records, was dated November 28, 1727.⁴⁰ The final administration, June 2, 1731, reflects "all parties to be of age."⁴¹

William Lambdin, Jr., born 1700,⁴² received "Summerton" under his father's will, but most of his father's land came back into his hands—"William and Mary Addition," at the death of his brother, John, without issue, and "Winterton," he purchased from his brother, Daniel.⁴³ He served in the Talbot Militia, 1732, 1748 and 1749, in Captain Haddaway's Company. His will, dated January 15, 1753, was probated September 21, 1761.⁴⁴

A chart of the Lambdin family, so far as the present writer has traced it, follows on the next page.

³⁷ Testamentary Proceedings, 14, 77 and 79, Hall of Records, and old Rent Book 1682-1717, f. 94, Easton.

³⁸ Talbot Land Record, Liber III, 96, Easton.

³⁹ Talbot Land Record, Liber III, 153 Easton.

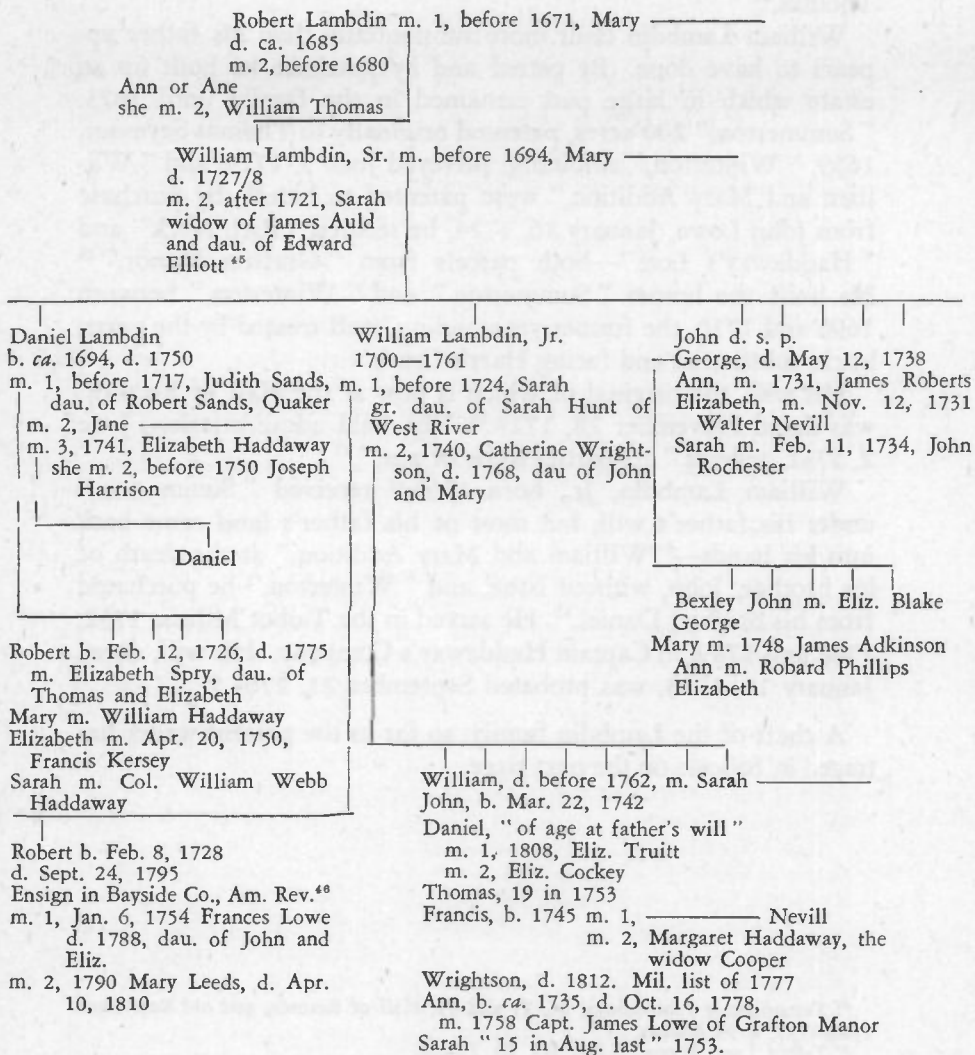
⁴⁰ Liber HB 2, 106, Easton. Wills, XIX, 870, Hall of Records. Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, VI, 144.

⁴¹ Adm. Accts. Liber XI, 65 and Liber X, 505, Annapolis.

⁴² Talbot Land Commission, 1736-45, 141, Easton.

⁴³ Talbot Land Record, Liber XIV, 218, Easton.

⁴⁴ Wills, 31, 439, Hall of Records, and Balance Book III, 158, Hall of Records.

⁴⁵ Liber II, 33, Easton.⁴⁶ *American Archives*, III.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Great National Project. A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

By WALTER S. SANDERLIN. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV, No. 1.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. 133 pp., including preface, bibliographical note, appendix, and index. \$3.00, paper; \$3.75, cloth.

Although numerous additions have been made in recent years to the history of inland waterways and to the history of regional transportation, the canal era has remained virtually an untouched facet of American economic life. Few histories of individual canals have been written; none is the product of recent scholarship. Under such circumstances Mr. Sanderlin's present study constitutes not only a useful history of one of Maryland's early transportation facilities but also an important addition to a much neglected field of research.

Lest the antiquarian be misled about the nature and scope of this volume, however, it should be pointed out that the author has prepared an economic rather than a social study. With few exceptions reminiscences have been subordinated to analysis; discourses upon financial problems, tonnage figures, and railroad competition have been given precedence over the traditions of the canallers, the social activities of the canal towns, and the foibles of the politicians and statesmen who presided at various times over the destinies of the enterprise. In sum, Mr. Sanderlin's book exhibits little of the romantic nostalgia that plays so prominent a part in many of the current volumes on the lakes, the rivers, and the swamps of America.

The seriousness of purpose that characterizes this work is thus the source of both its weakness and its strength. With painstaking care the author has surveyed the voluminous correspondence of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and its predecessor, the Potomac Company. He has unearthed numerous legal documents that were filed in the unending cycle of litigation that bedeviled the canal management. He has threaded his way through the tangled maze of company, state, local, and national finance. He has, in fact, revealed in detail the century-long career of the waterway, but in so doing he has stripped it of its glamour. The exposure is disheartening; the picture, one of compounded misfortunes infrequently relieved by incident or anecdote. Certainly the canal must have been a joy to someone!

With Mr. Sanderlin's scholarship there is little cause for complaint. Extensively documented with a wealth of unpublished material, his history

is well-grounded in fact, carefully organized, and scrupulously written. Omissions of fact, where noticeable, can be attributed primarily to the inaccessibility of the files of certain persons and corporations. (The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is a notable example.) If, then, the account does not represent the full story, the fault does not rest with the author alone.

In sum, the present volume is a most welcome addition to the historiography of the canal era. It is to be hoped that Mr. Sanderlin will soon supplement his study with a social history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal fashioned along more popular lines.

JOHN R. LAMBERT, JR.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Diary of a Trip from New York to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1845.

By NATHANIEL FISH MOORE. Edited by Stanley Pargellis and Ruth Lapham Butler. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 98 pp.

Just over a century ago, in the late summer of 1845, when extensive travel west of the Alleghenies required considerable stamina and fortitude, Nathaniel Fish Moore journeyed from New York City, by rail, coach, and steamer, to the falls of St. Anthony, on the Mississippi River above Fort Snelling, and back, methodically recording his day by day experiences and impressions in this rather commonplace diary.

In their introduction, the editors described Moore, the reluctant president of Columbia College of New York, as a seasoned traveler, "an eastern sightseer pure and simple, an unalloyed tourist concerned with no other profit than his own pleasure and ease of mind," for whom this tour was a brief escape from his distasteful academic duties. Traveling westward by way of Buffalo and the lakes, he returned through St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Wheeling, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. He took particular interest in the development of mineral resources, notably lead, iron, and copper, and purchased a trunk in which to bring back the specimens he collected. Steamboats commanded second place in his attention. Those on which he traveled, as well as others which he observed, are described with care and some indication of knowledge. The remainder of the diary consists of an unimaginative account of persons and places, with now and then a mild expression of approval of a "prettily situated" town or a splendid view. Fellow travellers are appraised but seldom approved. The diarist cultivated those from whom he could learn something, ignored the others. Acknowledging good traveling accommodations when he finds them, he is much more specific and detailed in his descriptions of bad roads, unpalatable food, noisy companions, "moschetoes," and other irritations. His health, which grew progressively worse throughout the journey, probably colored his impressions.

Although presumably pleasure bound, Moore apparently made little more of the trip than an opportunity for gleaning information. It is

therefore somewhat disappointing to find him insensible to the significance of much that he observes. He sees many trees, but the forest, the prelude to the spectacular development of the West, escapes him entirely.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The First Trading Post at Kicotan (Kecoughtan), Hampton, Virginia.

By JOSEPH B. BRITTINGHAM and ALVIN W. BRITTINGHAM, SR.
Hampton, Va.: The authors, 1947. 23 pp.

America's Williamsburg . . . By GERALD HORTON BATH. Williamsburg,
Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1946. 48 pp. 65 cents.

Tenth Maryland House & Garden Pilgrimage [Tour guide]. Baltimore:
Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, 1947, 31 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL PRIZE AWARDS

The first award of the Parker Genealogical Prize, under the terms of the endowment of \$1,000.00 established early in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, has been made by the committee of judges. The award was divided equally between Miss Lena S. Townshend, for her genealogy of the Townshend family, and Mr. William N. Wilkins for his account of the Wilkins family. The prizes amounted to \$17.50 each.

Seven MSS of varying lengths were submitted. The entrants were: Mrs. Rebecca D. White, "Julien-Julian Family"; Mr. William N. Wilkins, "Wilkins Family and Their Relatives"; Mrs. Augusta Dixon Clarendon, "Knight Family"; Mrs. Ruth V. Cushman; Justice-Umstead Family of Frederick County; Mr. Robert M. Torrence, "Gear-Greer-Greere-Grier Family"; Mr. Beale Howard Richardson IV, "Richardson and Related Families"; and Miss Lena G. Townshend, "Townshend Family."

The judges were Mr. William B. Marye, Chairman; Mrs. Thomas S. George and Mr. James W. Foster, Director of the Society. The judges found that the winners had made major investigations of the respective lineages. Each submitted two volumes of clear, well organized and well typed material. It was found that the work had been accurately done in both cases. These two works were considered of broad, general usefulness in a library of Maryland genealogy.

All the entries in the contest will be filed for general use of members and other persons who are interested.

The second annual award of the Parker Prize will be made in the spring of 1948. Contestants should have their MS completed and delivered to the Maryland Historical Society on or before December 31, 1947.

LIBERIAN CENTENNIAL

On July 26, 1947, the Republic of Liberia will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary of independence. This little country—founded, organized and ruled by American Negroes—has a constitution and government similar to that of the United States. The first emigrants sailed from New York in 1820 under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, and succeeding vessels carried numbers of additional colonists. The capital

city, Monrovia, was so designated in 1824 in honor of President James Monroe.

The southern part of the land, centering around Cape Palmas, was originally called Maryland in Liberia, and was established and administered by the Maryland State Colonization Society with headquarters in Baltimore. The Maryland Historical Society has in its library the entire group of Maryland State Colonization Society Papers, including voluminous correspondence dealing with the early years of the settlement, early draft of the constitution, drawn by J. H. B. Latrobe and financial accounts of the colony. This collection was described in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September, 1937.

The northern and southern sections of Liberia were united in 1847, with a Virginia Negro, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, as the first president. It is this centennial which will be observed during 1947-49, and a feature of the celebration will be a Victory Exposition on the bank of the Mesurado River in Monrovia. The Centennial Commission has opened an office at 1927-11th Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. where full information may be obtained.

Lincoln Papers—The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgment of assistance will be fully made upon publication.

Reynolds—Does anyone know of a record of the Reynolds children of Sara Maccubin, daughter of John and Eleanor (Carroll) Maccubin, who married 1st William Griffith, and 2nd, Thomas Reynolds, high Sheriff of Anne Arundel County? Sara may have been a sister of James Maccubin, who took the name of Carroll when he became the heir of Charles Carroll, barrister, since her mother, Eleanor Carroll Maccubin who married 2nd John Howard, Senior, is said to have been of the barrister's family. Was William Reynolds, vestryman of St. Anne's, Annapolis, and owner of the property now the Annapolis Library, who married Deborah Harper, widow of John Syng, goldsmith, the son of Thomas Reynolds by this, or a former marriage?

MRS. O. L. IMHOF

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Ringgold—Information is wanted on Thomas W. Ringgold, who at one time was associated with President Zachary Taylor in planting interests in Mississippi. Data on the parents, education, personal appearance, and later life of Ringgold will be appreciated by a Taylor biographer. A copy of Ringgold's portrait, and any letters from Taylor to Ringgold or from Ringgold to Taylor, will prove especially useful. Good care will be taken of original materials.

HOLMAN HAMILTON

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Tilghman—Tillman Data.—Mr. Stephen F. Tillman, author of the book on Tilghmans and Tillmans which was published last year, asks that readers who possess information not given in that volume will send in such data in order that he may include it in a typed supplement, a copy of which will be presented to the Society's library, Mr. Tillman's address is 3000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

CONTRIBUTORS

The paper on Tench Tilghman was prepared by Mr. BAST while a graduate student at the University of Virginia. A native of Talbot County, the author is now assistant professor of history at Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia. ☆ LOUIS DOW SCISCO has been a frequent contributor to the Magazine and was associate editor of certain volumes of the *Archives of Maryland*. ☆ Assistant professor at the University of Maryland, Dr. CUNZ has devoted himself for several years to the study of German immigration into Maryland. He will soon bring out a book on this subject. ☆ Prominent for many years in Civil Service Reform and a conspicuous member of the Baltimore Bar, WALTER H. BUCK has long been interested in local and regional history. ☆ ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE, of the Peabody Institute staff, was lately curator of the Society's galleries. Her study of the Society's place in the art life of old Maryland is a timely one. ☆ For several years Mr. ROBERTS, a business man of Pittsburgh, has sent occasional articles about early settlers in Talbot County, from several of which he traces his own descent.