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BALTIMORE

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WILLIAM VANS MURRAY AND THE DIPLOMACY OF PEACE: 1797-1800 [1]

By ALEXANDER DECONDE

THE STORY of the "X. Y. Z." affair, of the courageous stand of President John Adams in avoiding the impending war with France, and of the ensuing demise of the Federalist party is well-known. The traditional picture of these events depicts President Adams valiantly and single-handedly defying the war-

[1] Research for this paper was facilitated by grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council, and by the generous assistance of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. An abridged version was read before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its annual meeting in Chicago in April, 1952. Most of the information dealing with William Vans Murray is based on hitherto unexploited manuscript sources, the originals of which are located in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Princeton University Library, and the Huntington Library. For the general background reliable accounts may be found in John S. Bassett, *The Federalist System, 1789-1801* (New York, 1906); Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1905-25), IV; Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States of America,* rev. ed. (New York, 1880), IV-V; and Arthur B. Darling, *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* (New Haven, 1940).

hawks of his own party and saving the country from disaster. His action is usually portrayed as sudden and not fully explicable in view of the known particulars surrounding it. Generally accurate though it is, this conventional approach does not fully represent all of the significant circumstances contributing to peace.[2] The purpose of this paper is to indicate how and why it does not, and to reveal something about the man who, in addition to John Adams, was in a number of ways the most important figure in the making of the peace. This man, a lawyer and Federalist politician of Dorchester County, Maryland, was William Vans Murray (1760-1803).[3]

Murray is important because he was one of the hinges upon which hung the issue of war or peace; he was one of the rocks upon which was shattered the too-rigid Federalist party. By chance and by choice, he occupied a crucial position in both the internal and external affairs of the nation. In the critical years of the quasi-war with France (1798-1800) foreign policy and domestic politics were intimately connected; they were the reverse sides of the same coin. On the issue of war or peace hung many things—the destiny of the United States, the political career of a president, the fate of America's first political party. Home-front politics jumped from hot to cold and back, depending on the temperature of foreign relations. Too often, a man's attitude toward England and France determined his political affiliation.

This symbiotic relationship between foreign affairs and domestic politics came to be represented in Murray as a result of his diplomatic activities, first at The Hague and then at Paris. His

[2] For standard text-book accounts of the diplomacy and politics of the quasi-war with France see Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* 4th ed. (New York, 1950), I, 370-381; Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1946), pp. 71-89; and Samuel F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1950), pp. 111-125.

[3] There is no published biography of Murray. Brief sketches of his life can be found in *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIII, 368-369; in John Quincy Adams, "William Vans Murray," an appreciation printed in the *Portfolio,* January 7, 1804, and reprinted in W. C. Ford (ed.) "Letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, 1797-1803," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1912 (Washington, 1914), pp. 347-351; and in Clement Sulivane, "A Sketch of William Vans Murray," *Publications of the Southern History Association,* V (March, 1901), 151-158. For a brief account of Murray's diplomatic activities see Alexander DeConde, "The Role of William Vans Murray in the Peace Negotiations Between France and the United States, 1800," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* XV (February, 1952), 185-194.

diplomatic career, fittingly enough, was the outgrowth of his political activities during the presidential administration of George Washington. He was a devoted follower of the General, a friend and admirer of the Vice-President, John Adams, and as a loyal Federalist, was a supporter of Alexander Hamilton's policies. Three times he had stood for election to Congress in his native Dorchester county, and three times he was elected to the House of Representatives, serving consecutive terms, from March, 1791, to March, 1797. As a member of the lower house he was conspicuous in debate and rose to a position of prominence in Federalist circles. In government, he was close to the men who dominated policy-making. Washington asked and followed his advice on a number of important appointments to judicial and cabinet posts. As the sessions of the fourth Congress were coming to a close, Murray disclosed his intention of retiring from public service to resume his law practice.[4] The desire was not realized; he was destined never again to return to the private practice of law for, in one of the last acts of his administration, President Washington appointed him to succeed John Quincy Adams as Minister Resident to the Batavian Republic, one of a number of satellite republics created by revolutionary France.[5] Undoubtedly the appointment was a result of party service well-rendered, but at the same time it reflected the confidence of Washington in the abilities of a bright young man of his own political persuasion. By entrusting the apprenticeship of his nephew, Bartholomew Dandridge, Jr., to the care of Murray, the aging general gave further indication of his faith in his new appointee. He asked Murray to take Dandridge with him to The Hague as his personal secretary.[6]

[4] Murray published his intention of not seeking re-election in August, 1796. He felt he could have been re-elected as the district was favorable to him. Commonplace Book, ca. October 7, 1796, Murray Papers, Princeton University Library (microfilm in Huntington Library).

[5] U. S. Senate, *Journal of the Executive Prroceedings of the Senate . . .* (Washington, 1828), I, 228; J. Q. Adams, "Murray," p. 349. Washington decided on his own to appoint Murray, though several high-ranking Federalists recommended the appointment, among them Timothy Pickering. John Adams reputedly told Washington that he would have appointed Murray to the post if the Virginian had not. Commonplace Book, February 25, 1797, Murray Papers, Princeton.

[6] Murray had at first intended taking the nephew of James McHenry, then Secretary of War, as his personal secretary, but the President's wish was practically a command and he "embraced it as a great pleasure & distinction." Commonplace Book, February 25, 1797, Murray Papers, Princeton.

The Hague, in 1797, was America's most important listening-post on the European continent. It was the closest major diplomatic establishment to France then maintained by the United States, and relations with France dominated American foreign policy. The United States had no minister at Paris and relations with the French Republic were almost at the breaking point. Madrid, Berlin, and Lisbon were too far from Paris. London was not on the mainland, and what is more important, to the French it was the enemy capital. Under these circumstances the position of the American minister in this fulcrum of politics and diplomacy was a vital one; he was the Philadelphia government's main source of information on French affairs; his duties had as much to do with France as they did with Holland. Too, the Batavian Republic was completely dominated by France and was used by it as a pawn in international politics. As a result of its dependent status, Holland was pulled helpless into the Franco-American quarrel. These were the conditions under which Murray labored and which thrust him into the midst of one of his country's most important diplomatic negotiations.

In his capacity as minister at The Hague, despite the delicacy of the international situation and of his task, Murray did a creditable job. He had a genuine liking for the Dutch people and was able to distinguish their true feelings toward the United States from those expressed by French-controlled government puppets. With tact, firmness, and a fine sense of humor he maintained a precarious harmony between his own government, which was now headed by his esteemed friend, John Adams, and that of The Hague. He also brought to a satisfactory conclusion negotiations on the case of the *Wilmington Packet* arising out of a violation of the Dutch-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1782. His predecessor and close friend, John Quincy Adams had initiated the negotiations.[7] By overcoming a number of minor diplomatic crises and moments of tension, the Maryland diplomat managed to keep alive the longstanding friendship between Holland and the United States. Whenever possible he

[7] Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), p. 54. For text of treaty see Hunter Miller (ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America,* (Washington, 1931-), I, 52-90; for Murray's role in the settlement see V, 1075-1103.

expressed his faith in and admiration for the Dutch people, regardless of their plight under French dominance.[8] This in itself was a major accomplishment during the uneasy years of diplomatic estrangement with France and of undeclared war on the high seas.

Vastly more important for the welfare of his country, however, were Murray's services as a weathervane in the cross-winds of Franco-American complications, and his unofficial secret dealings with the French. In this respect he did his most vital work in the period of diplomatic rupture between the publication of the "X. Y. Z." despatches in April, 1798, and the exchange of ratifications of the Franco-American Convention in July, 1801. The course of relations with the French Republic which led to this difficult period and to the personal involvement of Murray ran back to the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France in 1793 and to the treaty that John Jay signed with England in 1794. In the United States the Jay Treaty had cut through public opinion like a knife. Those who were for it were pro-English; those who were against it were pro-French. Murray made what was perhaps the strongest and longest speech of his congressional career in support of the Anglo-American agreement.[9] Angered by what it considered a breach of its treaty of alliance of 1778 with the United States, France had authorized retaliatory action against American commerce and shipping after the Senate had approved the Jay document. Ultimately diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off.

President Adams, attempting to steer a course of neutrality between English shoals and French reefs, twice sought to overcome the difficulties with France through diplomatic channels.[10]

[8] This is evident throughout much of Murray's correspondence and other writings at that time, especially in the Murray Papers, L. C. (microfilm in Hunt. Lib.). Secretary of State Timothy Pickering had instructed Murray that "a principal duty" of his mission was "to embrace every occasion to give the Batavian republic [*sic*] proofs of our sincere good will." Pickering to Murray, April 6, 1797, in Ford, "Murray Letters," p. 352.

[9] He maintained it was "dangerous" for the House to meddle with the treaty prerogatives of the Senate. See *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 1st sess., March 7, 1796, pp. 429-30 and March 23, 1796, pp. 684-703.

[10] Before he left office Washington appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a moderate Federalist from South Carolina, minister to France. The French Directory refused to receive him and threatened him with arrest if he remained in Paris. When Adams became President, he attempted to terminate the differences with France by appointing a commission of three, Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge

His first effort was fruitless. The French Directory was convinced that in the United States friendship with France was so strong and sympathy with the French Republic was so widespread that the risk of war as a consequence of its actions was negligible. Unwisely, it accepted Republican political propaganda as an accurate gauge of American sentiment.[11]

Already enraged by sea spoliations and other French affronts, Americans were particularly galled by the shameful treatment accorded Elbridge Gerry, John Marshall, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in Paris. The indignities to which the trio was subjected were revealed to the American public in April, 1798, when President Adams had published in Philadelphia the now famous "X. Y. Z." despatches.[12] Their publication sent a tremor through the country; the stock of France, even among Republicans, fell to unparalleled depths. Congress responded to an aroused patriotism by authorizing naval retaliations against French sea-marauders and by taking other measures for defense.[13] Americans girded for war. The Congress tossed the "permanent" alliance with France into limbo by unilaterally abrogating the French treaties of 1778.[14] Attorney General Charles Lee even ventured the solemn opinion that the United States and France had actually authorized a maritime war.[15] Fortunately, his opinion was not accepted as fact by the President, for an open large-scale war would have been disastrous; it would have vitally affected the future welfare of the United States, perhaps its very existence.

The war-wing of the Federalist party, led by Alexander Hamilton and Timothy Pickering, whipped up anti-French feeling and adopted a war program as a matter of party principle. It wanted nothing more than the opportunity to join England in the crusade against the five-headed monster of French democracy. War-Federalists saw their chance to expand the nation's frontiers

Gerry, as envoys. See *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (hereafter, *ASP, For. Rel.*), II, 153-157.

[11] See E. Wilson Lyon, "The Directory and the United States," *American Historical Review*, XLIII (April, 1938), 516, 518.

[12] For published despatches see *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 157-168.

[13] For various Congressional measures see *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 1783, 1865 *et passim*.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 586-88, 2116-2127.

[15] U. S. Department of Justice, *Opinions of the Attorneys General of the United States . . .*, published under the inspection of Henry D. Gilpin (Washington, 1841), August 21, 1798, pp. 49-50.

at the expense of France's weak ally, Spain, by sending an army into Louisiana and Mexico.[16] At the same time the power of the central government could be strengthened, the American people could be unified under Federalist leadership, and Alexander Hamilton could reap the military glory befitting a conquering general. Though the stage was set, much depended upon whether or not the French Directory accepted the gauntlet of battle and declared war. For the extreme Federalists did not have sufficient confidence in their hold upon public opinion to let it appear that the first overt act of formal war came from the government they controlled. Yet, all seemed to go their way. To many Americans, particularly to Federalists, Francophobia and war were to be equated with patriotism; the spirit of belligerent nationalism ran high. In the congressional elections of 1798-1799 the Federalists rode the crest of the wave of patriotic fervor to their last victory. President Adams, reflecting the popular excitement of his countrymen, had announced in his trenchant message of June 21, 1798, to the Congress that he would "never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."[17] This message had sounded the tocsin for resistance to French aggression. When Murray read it at The Hague, it made a deep impress upon his mind. Instead of becoming the rallying cry for war as the Hamiltonians anticipated it would be, in part because of Murray and in part because of dissension within Federalist ranks, it became the foundation for a lasting peace.

Despite the fulminations of the war-Federalists, the patriotic hysteria of the times, and the drift of the world's two major republics toward full-scale hostilities, there were many Americans, among them Federalists as well as Republicans, who did not want war. The French too, wanted peace, not war with the United States.[18] As the news of America's inflamed nationalism and anti-French spirit reached Europe, and as the naval war grew hotter,

[16] H. C. Lodge (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1904), VI. 284; Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1946), p. 388.

[17] For text see J. D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896-1899), I, 266.

[18] See James A. James, "French Opinion as a Factor in Preventing War Between France and the United States, 1795-1800," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX (October, 1924), 44-45.

Frenchmen in high governmental circles were surprised and shocked to find that they had over-estimated the strength of pro-French sentiment in America; their dependence upon the support of the Republican party had been a blunder. Victor-Marie Dupont, one of the founders of the Delaware family of Dupont, who had been sent as French consul-general to Philadelphia by the Directory, apprised his superiors of the extent of America's Francophobia.[19] He arrived in the United States in May, 1798, amidst the anti-French agitation and was refused his exequatur by President Adams. After conferring with Vice-President Thomas Jefferson and gathering information on the explosive state of American public opinion, he sailed for France, arriving there in July. His reports on American affairs and on the strength of anti-French feeling alarmed the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord.[20] The violent reaction to the "X. Y. Z." affair and the war spirit of the Americans upset his calculations as to French policy toward the United States. Talleyrand did not want war. He saw no advantage to France in it, and immediately sought ways to stave off the conflict.[21]

Earlier, Talleyrand had skilfully exploited a division in the American commission sent to deal with him. He managed to persuade Elbridge Gerry, at that time a lukewarm Federalist soon to become a Republican, to remain in Paris and to negotiate independently after his two colleagues had left.[22] Nothing came of his dealings with Gerry, but before the American departed for home Talleyrand informed him of France's peaceful intentions and desire to resolve the outstanding differences with the United States. This had little apparent effect on the American government; in the eyes of the party faithful Gerry was a discredited Francophile. But even before the departure of Gerry, Talleyrand sought other avenues of approach to the peace-minded in America. He ferreted out William Vans Murray at The Hague as the pos-

[19] Samuel E. Morison (ed.), "DuPont, Talleyrand, and the French Spoliations," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1915-1916, XLIX, 63-79.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77; Lyon, "Directory and the United States," 525-526. DuPont's despatches served to stimulate Talleyrand to hasten what he had already determined to do.

[22] See *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 209-222; Murray to King, April 12, 1798, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib. Murray called it a "critical moment" when Gerry entrusted himself to Talleyrand "on the ocean of Paris politics."

sible bearer of the olive branch to the American president. As an intermediary the French minister used Louis-André Pichon, whom he sent to The Hague as secretary of the French legation with special instructions to cultivate the American minister's friendship, and to sound out his views on a possible rapprochement between France and the United States.[23] So well-guarded was Pichon's mission that not even the French head of legation knew of its purpose.

Pichon, an old hand in the French foreign affairs office, was a good choice. He had spent a number of years in the United States where he had first met Murray in Philadelphia. The appointment of Pichon and the indirect peace offensive also revealed Talleyrand's knowledge of Americans and American affairs, as well as his diplomatic skill. He had spent several years of his exile in the United States, and not without some benefit.[24] He realized that, although Murray was a devout Federalist and hence anti-French in outlook, he was an independent thinker. In a letter of August 28, 1798, to Pichon, Talleyrand expressed his esteem for Murray. He asserted that the American minister "thinks the measures of his Government just, and supports them; but he possesses reason, understanding, and a true attachment to his country: he is neither French nor English: he is ingenuously an American."[25] What is more, the Marylander was on familiar terms with and had an intellectual rapport with John Quincy Adams, the President's brilliant eldest son, now the American minister in Berlin, and he also had direct access to the ear of the Chief Executive. Talleyrand was aware that overtures through Republican channels were certain to be rebuffed; to succeed they had to be stamped with the respectability of orthodox Federalism.

Although Pichon early sensed that Murray wished "sincerely

[23] Pichon is first mentioned by Murray on June 22, 1798. On June 28 he recorded that "Pichon seems sent here to impress me doucement." Commonplace Book, Murray Papers, L. C. In America Pichon had served as secretary to "Citizen" Edmond C. Genet and the succeeding French Minister, Joseph Fauchet. Since 1794 he had been a member of the American Bureau of the French Foreign Office. When Pichon first approached Murray he asserted he had no orders "but acted from his own feelings." Later he confessed that he had cultivated Murray on "*orders from his Govt.*" Commonplace Book, June 28, and August 29, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C.

[24] As a result of his sojourn Talleyrand wrote a memoir and an essay dealing with the United States: *Memoire sur les relations commerciales des Etats-Unis avec d'Angleterre . . . suivi d'un essai . . .* (A Londres, 1805). See also James, "French Opinion in Preventing War," p. 49.

[25] *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 241.

for the reconciliation of the two republics," he did not know that Murray had decided on his own initiative to work for peace and attempt to avert war.[26] This decision was his own; it had no official sanction or urging. Hence Pichon's task, almost from the beginning, was assured of success. A period of apparent diplomatic fencing followed Pichon's initial probings. The Frenchman took care to flatter Murray and to indicate that if he were to deal with France as the American government's representative, undoubtedly an agreement between the two countries could be reached and war would thus be avoided.[27] Murray expressed himself as not being susceptible to French flattery, yet, he confessed, there was much truth in Talleyrand's and Pichon's appraisal of him, particularly, he thought, when they stressed that he was neither British nor French, but American.[28] Admittedly, Talleyrand's kind words about him in the letter to Pichon of August 28, 1798, had determined Murray to send it to Adams.[29] Notwithstanding Murray's vanity and the fury it aroused in Pickering, who hoped someday to succeed Hamilton as leader of true Federalists, the letter was an important step on the road to reconciliation.

In all of his conversations with Pichon, Murray made it clear that he had no authority to negotiate or to open his lips on Franco-American relations; that he spoke not in an official but in a private capacity only. He was acutely aware that his secret unauthorized parleys went counter to the prevailing sentiments of his Federalist colleagues at home; that if knowledge of them leaked out prematurely to the wrong people his political doom was certain. He knew that Pickering was pathologically opposed to any overtures to or from France. Consequently, though Murray desired peace and looked forward to his meetings with Pichon, he made certain they always began on the French diplomat's solicitation.[30] Committing little or nothing to writing, he kept the gist of the talks to himself. When things seemed to be going well, he informed the President directly of the progress he had made. During the course of the clandestine conferences he

[26] *Ibid.*; State Department Diplomatic Despatches, The Netherlands, vol. 4, private letter, Murray to Pickering, The Hague, October 12, 1798. (Hereafter cited as Desp., The Neth.).
[27] Commonplace Book, June 30, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C.
[28] Desp., The Neth., *supra.*
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*

had also kept Pickering and John Quincy Adams informed of the general drift of affairs, and had even dropped a confidential hint of what was going on to his Federalist colleague in London, Rufus King.[31] But all was carefully guarded; it was important and dangerous business.

What motivated Murray to carry on unauthorized conversations at this critical juncture of American foreign affairs with a man who, to all practical purposes, was the agent of an enemy country? He knew of the dangerous complications caused by the private peace efforts of the self-appointed Quaker emissary, Dr. George Logan. He even joined in the denunciation of Logan's activities in France.[32] Yet, he too indulged secretly and with greater ultimate risk in private unofficial diplomacy. But he was no Logan; he was an accredited diplomat, and he had the confidence of President Adams. Murray defended his actions and explained his motives by declaring that the temper of the American populace in its reaction to the "X. Y. Z." episode had convinced him it was solidly behind the government and would "not be shaken by words." France, at the same time, from March to April, 1798, appeared to him "to have dreaded a rupture." Until May she had relied "on a powerful party" in the United States, but in proportion as the Federalists rose in popular esteem, "she sank in her tone," at least. "I thought that if anything could be done," he confessed, "that would lead them [the French] in an acknowledgement of error & injustice it would be an important point for Government, whether negotiation or war follow'd—" Continuing, he asserted: "That if something of this sort could be gained the U. S. was in a situation, so strong, as to be free to chuse—to act on it or not—"[33] When Murray read John Adams's message to the Congress of June 21, 1798, he saw in it something to encourage him in the idea that America was strongly prepared for war and was determined to have it if she could not obtain justice speedily; he realized the government would make no efforts

[31] *Ibid.;* Murray to King, The Hague, August 4, 1798, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib.

[32] Murray hoped to break up the plot of the "incendiary physician." He went so far as to request the Batavian Directory to arrest and hold Logan at his convenience. Murray to King, The Hague, August 6, 10, 1798; Murray to the Batavian Directory, August 10, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C.

[33] Desp., The Neth., vol. 4, private letter, Murray to Pickering, The Hague, October 12, 1798.

to revive negotiation unless certain prescribed assurances were forthcoming.[34] From this he concluded it would " be agreeable if a declaration conformably to the language of the President were properly made— That it would be agreeable to the President to have offers, explicit & respectful come from France—" [35] Pichon made the advances and put forth the conciliatory feelers, but the under-cover initiative and blueprint of action were Murray's.

To the outside Murray presented a picture of righteous indignation. He contended that Pichon's approaches merely served to confirm the virtue of America's stand and were evidences of France's fear of the growing maritime and military strength of the United States. He proclaimed a deep distrust of France and rejoiced over the " truckling " of Pichon as a representative of the proud French diplomatic corps.[36] So well did the American play the game that Talleyrand resorted to mediatory attempts through Swedish and Dutch diplomatic officials.[37] While giving encouragement to Pichon, Murray at the same time remained firm in his stand that offers of conciliation unaccompanied by acts of peace on the part of France were intended only to dissuade the American government from preparations for war.[38] He stressed in much of his correspondence that America should be cautious and should not relax its armament and military program; the French Directory was not to be trusted. He reiterated time and again a thesis also advanced by President Adams, that the United States could strike a better bargain, if the need arose, from a position of military and diplomatic strength. In a conversation with the Swedish minister at The Hague Murray disclosed that he presumed his government would meet the hand of France halfway but America's honor now " forbade her to go more than half way," and indeed not that far " unless the hand of France held Justice as well as Peace." [39]

Taking his cue from Murray, through Pichon, Talleyrand did indeed extend the hand of France halfway and more. The assurance of peaceful intent on the part of the French government

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*; Commonplace Book, September 7, 1798, Murray Papers, L. C. As early as July 25 Murray had urged the Batavian government to get France to give the assurance mentioned in President Adams's message of June 21. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1798.

[36] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1798.

[37] *Ibid.*, June 30 and August 20, 1798.

[38] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1798.

[39] *Ibid.*

which Murray demanded were forthcoming when Pichon revealed to him correspondence over the signature of Talleyrand dated August 28, 1798, which could be conveyed directly to President Adams.[40] The Minister of Foreign Affairs affirmed the pacific intentions of the Directory which offered "justice" to the American government as the basis for the resumption of negotiations. This pleased Murray; it was practically what he sought, but still it did not go far enough. There was enough in it, however, to allow him to move with greater certainty, to step into the open. He forwarded the document to John Adams. Shortly after Murray received this communication, and the day before Pichon was to leave The Hague for Paris, the American minister placed his cards on the table. On September 23, 1798, he wrote a letter to Pichon in which he advanced the proposal which was grasped by Talleyrand and which led directly to peace.[41]

In the letter, written in the third person, Murray started out guardedly by emphasizing that his conversations were

> unauthorized by his Government & entirely the opinion of an Individual, who wishes to see an amicable & honourable Termination immediately to the Disputes between the Two Republics— [He pointed out that the] President in his Message of the 21 June last, has declared to Congress, that all Negociation is ended, and that he will never send another Envoy to france [sic], unless he receives Assurances that he will be received & treated with that Respect which is due to the Representative of a great, powerful, free and independent Nation—

Such a reception was to be expected as a common right between equal and independent sovereigns, and these rights of sovereignty were not

> accorded to the U. S., & on the Contrary have been publickly & expressly refused to her Ministers— [France ought] to make an explicit Declaration, [suggested Murray], that she will receive an Envoy, whom the American Govt. may send to treat, & to give him a respectful reception. . . .

To drive home his point, the Maryland diplomat made clear that "without it, the President has said, he will not attempt to negociate—" France should agree to an acknowledgement of a right which is inherent in every sovereign nation—to be respectfully received,

[40] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 241-242.

[41] Desp., The Neth., vol. 4, private letter, Murray to Pichon, The Hague, September 23, 1798.

when coming to treat with Sincerity & good faith. [After all], a respectful reception is no favor, but a Right; & an express Declaration that this right shall be enjoy'd, becomes necessary only, when it has been expressly refused. [It ought] then to be expressly declared & with a Handsomeness equal in Degree to the Harshness with which it was deny'd—

Concluding with personal compliments to Pichon he hoped that "under the Auspices of Mr. Talleyrand's very enlightened Mind" some "important & mutually good Consequences" would flow from this confidential letter.[42]

The "good consequences" were not long in coming. Pichon quickly transmitted Murray's sentiments to Talleyrand. While declaring that what Murray was doubtful about had been already explicitly expressed, particularly to Gerry before he left France, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs wasted no time in complying with Murray's suggested pattern of approach to Adams. In a letter to Pichon dated September 28, 1798, and meant ultimately for the eyes of President Adams, he wrote that any envoy sent to France by the United States to reconcile the differences then existing between the two countries "*would be undoubtedly received with the respect due to the representative of a free, independent, and powerful nation.*"[43] This was in words Murray had urged upon the French minister and in the very phraseology of President Adam's message of June 21. Not only had the horse been led to the water, it drank deeply. To Murray's satisfaction, the desired objective had been reached; the major obstacles to peace had been hurdled. Without hesitation he despatched the results of his unofficial diplomatic triumph to President Adams and to Secretary of State Pickering.[44]

The President, who had been privy to the Murray-Pichon conversations, as was his son John Quincy in Berlin, now had the assurances he deemed necessary for a peace with honor. His stand against French arrogance had been vindicated. At the same time Murray had presented him with the opportunity to nail his colors to the mast in defiance of the political betrayers in his official

[42] *Ibid.* For additional information see Ford, "Murray Letters," pp. 461-482.
[43] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 242 (italics in original).
[44] See Murray to Adams, The Hague, October 7, 1799, C. F. Adams (ed.), *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-1856), VIII, 688-91. Murray wrote "*privately*" to Adams that he had offered himself to Pichon as the transmitter of the assurances to him, "incurring the risk of being open to the imputation of *meddling* at such a crisis."

family. Murray's relay of Talleyrand's declaration was well-timed. It coincided with decisive crises in internal politics, with sharpened personal animosities in government, and with other domestic pressures. Adams, gravely conscious of the factors, had changed almost completely in his attitude toward a French war. In the spring and summer of 1798 he had been bellicose and defiant; by autumn he had decided upon peace—if he could have it honorably.

During the planning for military expansion, the question of Alexander Hamilton's rank and precedence in the army became a vital issue between John Adams on one side, and his cabinet, Washington, and Hamilton on the other. Adams's eyes were suddenly opened to his real position. He was merely titular head of the government; the cabinet, the Congress, and his own political party were all controlled and responded to the wishes of Alexander Hamilton. And he was the man Adams had opposed for the actual command of the army, the man he most resented. John Adams realized, almost too late, that those whose confidence should have been his were the very ones who were pushing him into an unwanted and unnecessary war with France.[45]

Murray served not only as the instrument for bringing to a head the crisis in foreign relations, but also that in domestic politics. His diplomacy helped to strip bare the raw wounds of intra-party strife; it functioned to expose the true sentiments of the anti-Adams faction. To many in that group peace was anathema. Colonel Pickering fumed over the turn of events and seized the first appropriate opportunity to deliver a severe reprimand to Murray.[46] The Maryland lawyer, however, had laid his groundwork carefully. While he had not actually formulated policy nor directly recommended the course of action to be followed, Murray had presented the President with what amounted to a *fait accompli.* To a man of integrity, and John Adams was that, there was no alternative but renewed negotiations, peace and not war. His specific demands had been met; his hand had been called. Besides, Murray's ideas were in accord with his, as they were with those of his son, John Quincy.[47]

[45] These details are elaborated upon in Gilbert Chinard, *Honest John Adams* (Boston, 1933), pp. 276-281 and in Schachner, *Hamilton,* pp. 376-379.

[46] Pickering to Murray, Philadelphia, July 10, October 4 and 25, 1799 (private and confidential), Ford, "Murray Letters," pp. 473-474, 601-602, 610-612.

[47] John Quincy Adams and Murray were not only close friends but shared and supported similar ideas and viewpoints on politics and diplomacy. Oftentimes what

From The Hague and Berlin the President had reliable information supporting his own desires for peace. Also, Murray's was not the only voice raised against war; other evidence had already reached him indicating that France wanted peace not war.[48] Adams was aware also that large segments of public opinion in both France and America were opposed to extended hostilities. France's pacific words were matched by pacific acts. Certain decrees detrimental to American shipping were repealed; French privateers in the West Indies were restrained in their American depredations; and America's neutral rights were respected as they had not been previously. All these things were fundamental in the changed climate of opinion toward France. But more than anything else Murray's sending of Talleyrand's assurances, which he had engineered, prompted Adams to act when he did.[49] They had come not from dubious Republican sources, not from a well-meaning but deluded Quaker "busybody," nor from a discredited emissary like Gerry, but from an accredited diplomat, a staunch and loyal Federalist. They could not easily be ignored.

From his home in Quincy, Massachusetts, where he first received the news from Murray that Talleyrand would receive envoys on his terms, the President sent an exploratory letter to Pickering. Adams inquired whether or not he should send a new minister to France, indicating that he was considering taking such a step. He also asked Pickering to sound out the cabinet on whether or not

the President received from his son in Berlin was but an echo of what he heard from The Hague. See for instance, Adams' letter of April 13, 1799, in Ford, "Murray Letters, p. 541 n: "It has often given me no small gratification, by flattering I hope a better passion than my vanity to find my sentiments in perfect unison with yours upon current events, even before any reciprocal communication could take place between us relating to them."

[48] See *Works of John Adams,* IX, 241-244 (first published in *Boston Patriot,* 1809). Here, in retrospect and in defense of his conduct a decade earlier, Adams recalled some of "the multitude of other circumstances" which contributed to the making of his decision. In addition to the reports and observations of John Quincy Adams and Murray, the voices of Elbridge Gerry, Dr. George Logan, and Richard Codman, the Boston merchant and Federalist, were apparently important in the chorus echoing the theme of peace which reached the ears of the President. Even the venerable George Washington had revealed his desire for peace, "upon just, honorable and dignified terms." See John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), XXXVII, 120; Arthur B. Darling, *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* (Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 333-335; and Frederick B. Tolles, "Unofficial Ambassador: George Logan's Mission to France, 1798," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., VII (January, 1950), 25.

[49] *Works of John Adams,* IX, 244-246. These were "regular, official, diplomatic assurances" which he could not "get rid of . . . with honor, or even without infamy."

he should recommend that Congress declare war on France, that is, if France did not declare it first against the United States.[50] Soon after consulting with and gaining the advice of Alexander Hamilton, the cabinet expressed its bitter opposition to the sending of a minister to France and advised against a war declaration at that time.[51] Adams spurned the first part of this advice. After carefully considering the state of relations with France and discussing it with his son, Thomas Boylston Adams, who had arrived recently from Berlin with duplicate despatches from Murray and John Quincy Adams, the President set the course from which he was not to deviate.[52]

Without further consulting any of his cabinet members, already knowing of their opposition, and entirely on his own responsibility, Adams sent to the Senate on February 18, 1799, the message proposing another attempt at negotiation with France.[53] Embedded in the core of the proposal was the nomination of William Vans Murray as Minister Plenipotentiary to France empowered to resume diplomatic relations and to bring about a final negotiation.[54] With the message Adams sent a copy of Talleyrand's letter of September 28, 1798, which Murray had forwarded to him. The letter, incorporating Murray's ideas, was the basis for the nomination. This recognition of Murray's contribution was an unusual evidence of " confidence in the abilities as well as the integrity of the Minister." [55] Not only had Murray's plans proved successful,

[50] October 28, 1798, *ibid.,* VII, 609-610.

[51] George Gibbs (ed.), *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury,* (New York, 1846), II, 168-171, 187.

[52] Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy,* pp. 99-101.

[53] *ASP, For. Rel.,* II, 239. The sources disclose that Adams did not act precipitantly, without thought or forewarning, as he usually has been depicted as doing. On the contrary, he thought over carefully what he had in mind and even divulged it to his cabinet members for their consideration. The Federalist hue and cry of sudden betrayal has too often been accepted at face value by scholars. For Pickering's protest that Adams acted " without any *consultation with any member of the* government " see Pickering to Murray, Philadelphia, July 10, 1799, Ford, " Murray Letters," p. 574.

[54] John Adams's reasons for nominating Murray may be found in his *Works,* IX, 248-249. He " thought Murray a gentleman of talents, address, and literature, as well as of great worth and honor, every way well qualified for the service, and fully adequate to all that I should require of him. . . ."

[55] *Ibid.,* IX, 244; John Quincy Adams, " William Vans Murray," p. 350. The Republican statesman, Albert Gallatin wrote to his wife (March 1, 1799): " Murray, I guess, wanted to make himself a greater man than he is by going to France and

but he, the unofficial intriguer, was made responsible for carrying out the project he had conceived. Believing that no avenue to peace should remain closed, Adams at this time indicated that the assurances were explanation enough for his decision. Ostensibly, preparations for war were to continue as before and there was to be no immediate slackening in the defense effort, yet the effect of the President's message was to dampen the martial ardor of the country which had been so recently aroused and upon which the Federalists had capitalized.

The Hamiltonian Federalists were "thunderstruck," so Pickering exclaimed, by the turn of events and now looked upon Murray as a party turncoat, bespattering him with vituperation. To the war coterie of his own party it seemed as if he had gone mad; indeed, he was "feeble, unguarded, credulous, and unimpressive," and "certainly not strong enough for so immensely important a mission." [56] The faithful despaired of the wayward son; they were certain that "there is not a Sound mind from Maine to Georgia that had not been shocked" by the nomination.[57]

Brought into the open by the President's message, the latent but mortal split in the Federalist ranks now became an unbridgeable chasm. Even though there were other weighty and more fundamental reasons for it, Murray's nomination had the effect of wrecking the Federalist party.[58] From the day the news of the appointment became public the breach between the Adams faction and the Hamiltonians became in fact, if not in the minds of the Federalist leaders, irreparable. The anti-Adams Federalists, the Essex Junto, and the seekers after military glory in the coming war, insisted that the French overtures were meaningless and urged their rejection.

treating. . . ." Henry Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), pp. 227-228.

[56] See John C. Hamilton (ed.), *Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1850-1851), VI, 397.

[57] Higginson to Pickering, Boston, March 3, 1799, J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), "Letters of Stephen Higginson, 1783-1804," *American Historical Association, Report,* 1896, I, 820.

[58] This, of course, like most complex situations involving human causality, is a matter of interpretation that cannot be supported by precise documentation, but the course of events and much evidence seems to bear it out. For various interpretations see Henry Adams, *Gallatin,* p. 221; Hildreth, *History of the United States,* V, 290; Wilfred E. Binkley, *American Political Parties, Their Natural History* (New York, 1943), p. 82; Leonard D. White, *The Federalists* (New York, 1948), pp. 247-52.

Temporarily stunned by the setback, Pickering and his cohorts did not give up hope. Through the newly organized caucus system in the Congress they had actual control of the Federalist majority.[59] Perhaps, through this control, they could bend the President to their will, and if necessary, defeat his purposes. Murray's nomination was referred by the Senate to a committee, headed by a leading member of the Essex Junto, Theodore Sedgwick, which took the unorthodox step of urging the President to withdraw it. This Adams would not do.[60] The committee was adamant; it would report against confirmation. To save Murray, the President was forced to compromise with his senatorial opponents. "True" Federalists rejoiced over the defeat of the "duped" President's nomination of the apostate Murray "to treat with the french tygars."[61] To them Murray was acceptable only by being grouped with two older and more reliable Federalist stalwarts, Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie, governor of North Carolina.[62] Patrick Henry of Virginia, now old, wealthy, conservative, and a Federalist, had at first been nominated in the place of Davie. Claiming he supported the President's action he nevertheless declined the appointment because of advanced age and critical illness.[63]

All was not lost, for the anti-Adams faction could take heart in the restriction placed upon the departure of the new envoys. Murray was directed to inform the French government of the appointment of the commission and to declare that the other two ministers would not leave the United States without direct and unequivocal additional assurances from the Directory that they

[59] Bassett, *The Federalist System*, p. 247; for a discussion of the early caucus system see F. Ostrogorski, "The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional," *Am. Hist. Rev.* V (January, 1900), 259-260n.

[60] Adams was distressed by the committee's procedure and thought it "unconstitutional," *Works of John Adams*, IX, 248-250. For Sedgwick's and Pickering's views see Hamilton, *Works of Hamilton*, VI, 396-400.

[61] Jameson, "Letters of Stephen Higginson," p. 819.

[62] See *Works of John Adams*, IX, 162-3, 251; also Pickering to Hamilton, February 25, 1799, Hamilton, *Works of Hamilton*, VI, 398. Strangely enough, only Murray received the unanimous consent of the Senate. *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 318-319; Darling, *Our Rising Empire*, p. 342. Murray reacted to the new triple nomination in these words: ". . . I suppose that people whose opinions deserved attention, as soon as they saw me nominated alone, have manifested a repugnance to trust so great a mission to the judgment of one person & have insisted on Three, as has been usual—one South, one middle one north." Murray to Luzac, The Hague, April 15, 1799, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib.

[63] *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 241.

would be received honorably and that ministers of equal status would be appointed to treat with them. At the same time Pickering admonished Murray to have no more communication, formal or informal, verbal or written, with any French agents unless officially authorized.[64] Irked by the American procrastinations, Talleyrand nonetheless again gave Murray the desired assurances, which were received in America in May, 1799.[65] Though they tried, Pickering and his adherents could delay the commission no longer. Adams, however, was forced once again to act independently and against the wishes and intrigues of his cabinet members. After having Pickering draw up the instructions for the negotiators, he ordered Ellsworth and Davie to depart at once for France, which they did in November, 1799.[66] They reached Paris, after many delays, in March, 1800, where they were joined by Murray, who had purposely timed his arrival to coincide with that of his colleagues.[67]

Contrary to widely accepted opinion, the three Americans did not get along well as collaborating negotiators in France.[68] Murray believed his two associates disliked him and that "not one liked the *other*!" He was made keenly aware that he was the third man and the youngest of the group. With this as a pretext, he complained, they often cast aside his ideas without full consideration of their merit, and when they did accept them, it was seldom with "complacency." Murray felt that Ellsworth and Davie had come to France prejudiced against him because he had originated the negotiation, of which they, as elder statesmen and true Federalists, did not fully approve. After all, he was something of a party renegade. He considered Davie and Ellsworth "men of sense—but exceedingly rude & raw," as well as being conceited and "ignorant of the world & its manners." According to him, Ellsworth "thought little about anything but the logic

[64] Pickering to Murray, March 6, 1799, *ibid.*, 243.
[65] *Ibid.*, 243-4.
[66] *Works of John Adams*, IX, 255-6.
[67] Murray to King, Paris, March 25, 1800, Rufus King Papers, Hunt. Lib.; *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 309; William G. Brown, *Life of Oliver Ellsworth* (New York, 1905), p. 282.
[68] E. Wilson Lyon, for instance, writes that "the three men cooperated splendidly, and the mission was not marred by the dissension and jealousy which had characterized the relations of Marshall and Pinckney with Gerry in the fruitless mission of 1797-98," in "The Franco-American Convention of 1800," *Journal of Modern History*, XII (September, 1940), 306. This is the standard account of the negotiations based on French primary sources, pp. 305-333.

of the points—as if Logic had much to do with events in Europe! good man!—excellent & austere Judge!—" [69]

In Paris the three American envoys were received cordially by Talleyrand, who, after being out of office for a short time, was back as Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Consulate, the new French government dominated by the First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte. As a result of the *coup d'état* of 18 *Brumaire* (November 9, 1799), the Directory had fallen. Three French counterparts, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon and head of the French commission, Pierre-Louis Roederer, and Charles-Pierre Claret Fleurieu, carried on a series of negotiations with the Americans.[70] The path to agreement was studded with obstacles. When an impasse was reached that could be broken only if Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie abandoned the negotiation or violated their instructions, the Americans went beyond the instructions.[71] With months of discussion behind them they concluded on September 30, 1800, the Treaty of Mortefontaine, better known as the Convention of 1800.[72]

Under the terms of the new treaty further negotiation was called for on unsettled points, particularly on the question of indemnities for French spoliations. The treaties of 1778 were suspended. Provision was made for the mutual restoration of all captured property not already condemned. Each country was to enjoy the privileges of the most favored nation in the ports of the other; and the principle that free ships make free goods was retained from the old treaties. In its essentials, this was the convention Davie brought back to the United States in December, 1800, and which in the same month President Adams laid before the Senate. The Senate refused to approve it.[73] But Adams submitted it again in February, 1801. Disappointed that the negotiators failed to obtain indemnities for French spoliations against

[69] Commonplace Book, April 24, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.

[70] *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 310.

[71] At one point Murray lamented: " We are reduced then to a choice of what parts of our Instructions we will violate," Journal of Negotiations, August 4, 1800, Murray Papers, L. C. See also the despatch of October 4, 1800, to Secretary of State John Marshall, *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 342-343.

[72] The " GLORIOUS NEWS! " was proclaimed on page one of the *Maryland Gazette*, November 13, 1800. For the text of the convention with illuminating notes see Miller, *Treaties*, II, 457-487.

[73] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 365; *Annals of Congress*, 6th Cong., 2nd sess., pp. 767-8.

American commerce and shipping, and that the old treaties were not definitely dissolved, the Senate this time nonetheless consented to the Convention, but with reservations.[74] It demanded an indemnity for spoilations and limited the treaty to eight years duration. Adams disliked the Senate modifications. Still, he ratified the amended treaty after having signified his dissatisfaction, and appointed James A. Bayard of Delaware minister to France to carry out the exchange of ratifications. Bayard refused the appointment.[75] Adams then left the final negotiation of the treaty to the incoming administration of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson consequently became president when Franco-American tension had eased considerably; when preparations for war did not dominate American life; and when the political warhawks had had their talons clipped. Optimism concerning the state of the nation's most pressing question of foreign policy seemed warranted; relations with France were headed for improvement. President Jefferson, the old friend of France, was certainly opposed to a French war. The prudent Pichon, now French *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, the new national capital, did not look upon the provisional nature of the Senate approval as an obstacle to peace. He advised the French government to accept the treaty with the Senate provisos.[76] All that was now needed to put the finishing touches on the convention and the peace was the exchange of ratifications.

Surprisingly, Jefferson turned to Murray, rabid anti-Republican though he was, to carry out the exchange of ratifications on the basis of the Senate's qualified approval of the treaty. The Marylander, who had returned to his old post at The Hague, was directed once more to proceed to Paris.[77] Jefferson relied on Murray even though as Vice-President he had been critical of Murray's diplomatic transactions and had labeled them as "bungling."[78] He may well have chosen Murray because he knew that the Federalist lawyer was instrumental in saving the peace; that he was already acceptable to the French; and that he was qualified by experience and knowledge for the task. Also, circumstances

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 777-8; *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, I, 377.
[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 181-2; *ASP. For. Rel.*, II, 344.
[76] Lyon, "Franco-American Convention," p. 330.
[77] Commonplace Book, May 20, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.
[78] Jefferson to Madison, December 19, 1800, Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1896), VII, 471.

pointed to Murray as the most logical candidate. There was no American minister in Paris and neither Ellsworth nor Davie was able to return to the French capital to aid Murray in this final phase of their joint undertaking. The Marylander alone was still easily available in Europe; his appointment was the most economical; he was the natural choice.

Although he had been the vital agent in the Franco-American rapprochement and this was the climax to his efforts, Murray was not elated by the new assignment. While on his way to Paris for the second time, this time as sole emissary, he confessed that

> nothing could have diminished the pleasure of so sweet a ride but the idea of going on such a mission—ignorant as I am yet of my instructions—I had hoped that government would have named the intended Minister for this object, as a good initiation.[79]

When the American minister, now weary and ill, reached the French capital he soon realized that the task before him was a trying one. He was irritated by the innumerable delays he encountered, and embarrassed and shocked to learn that the French government knew of his recall as minister to The Hague before he did.[80] In these negotiations over the exchange of ratifications he had once more to shoulder individual responsibility for the outcome of vital issues. Once more he was compelled to violate his instructions in the cause of peace.[81] The French would not accept in full the Senate modifications. Consequently Murray failed to obtain the indemnifications he was directed to seek. If Murray had not deviated from his instructions and had insisted that Napoleon recognize American spoliation claims, there would have been no treaty, and two years later there probably would have been no Louisiana Purchase. He did, however, persuade the French to acquiesce in most of the Senate changes, particularly the stipulation suspending the former treaties permanently and the claims arising from them, and the article limiting the convention to a period of eight years.

In the face of grave difficulties Murray accomplished his mission by following the spirit, if not the letter of his instructions.

[79] Commonplace Book, May 24, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.
[80] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1801.
[81] Murray was in a dilemma. He was unauthorized to abandon the indemnities, but if he did not there would be no treaty. Commonplace Book, July 3, 5, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.; Miller, *Treaties*, II, 483.

Ratifications were exchanged on July, 31, 1801.[82] Even before the task was completed, he was attacked by a prominent anti-Federalist in Paris as being the wrong man for the job, as being pro-British and anti-French, and as working against the best interests of his country out of spite over the recent defeat of the Federalists in the United States. He was even accused of sabotaging a quick exchange of ratifications lest his services no longer be required in France and in Europe.[83] Used by both his friends and political enemies, the Federalist diplomat was trusted by neither.

On December 11, 1801, about a week after Murray had returned to America, President Jefferson submitted the convention to the Senate for the third time. He believed it was necessary to do so because the Senate's original terms of approval had been changed. Notwithstanding the change and Murray's going beyond his instructions, the Senate, on December 19 consented to the convention for the last time.[84]

To both France and the United States the treaty was vital. To Napoleon it was essential in his grandiose schemes for Louisiana and a French North American empire.[85] To the infant American republic it brought peace with the most powerful nation on the European continent when full-scale war would have been catastrophic. It ended the quarrel over neutral rights and the difficulties that had arisen under the Franco-American treaties of 1778 and the consular convention of 1788. And by securing the good-will of Napoleon Bonaparte, it laid the groundwork for the ultimate acquisition of Louisiana. Under its terms the United States was freed from the first and only " entangling " alliance in the first 173 years of its existence as an independent nation. In return the American government gave up its insistent demand that France reimburse American citizens for the losses they suffered at the hands of French privateers and raiders since 1793. The United States government agreed to pay the claims of its citizens against

[82] Commonplace Book, August 1, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.; *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 344.

[83] Joshua Barney to Gen. Samuel Smith, Paris, July 11, 1801, Jefferson Papers, L. C.

[84] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate,* I, 397-8; *ASP, For. Rel.*, II, 345.

[85] See E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804* (Norman, Okla., 1934), p. 109; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Policy of France Toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, X (January, 1905), 277.

France. This it did only partially, and long after the treaty was forgotten by all but a few students of government and history.[86]

Thus ended America's first undeclared maritime war, a quasi-war which for a while had smoldered but had never burst into full flame. More than any other American William Vans Murray was responsible for keeping the limited naval conflict from spreading; for the success of the long drawn-out negotiations; and for the enduring peace that was achieved. While others contributed much and actually determined policy, he alone worked steadily at the trying and far from glamorous project of building a peace from its faintest inception to its anti-climactic end. If there was a keystone to the fabric of Franco-American diplomacy that brought peace, he was it. But for him, there might have been no peace.[87]

Murray's messages from Talleyrand through Pichon, more than any other single factor, determined John Adams to act as he did in the face of party opposition.[88] His nomination of Murray as sole minister to France was the impulse which brought out into the open the diseased state of the Federalist party; it was the catalyst which started the break-up of America's first political coalition. True, men of greater stature than Murray were involved in the destruction of the Federalist party and in the diplomacy of peace, and there were other latent and more fundamental reasons. But even though there is always the danger of over-emphasizing his role and his importance in this episode of politics and diplomacy, it is nonetheless evident that Murray himself was a determining factor.

Murray was no mere helpless chip caught in the stream of politics and diplomacy; he had a mind of his own, and he used it.

[86] For a detailed survey of the claims payments see George A. King, "The French Spoliation Claims," *American Journal of International Law*, VI (1912), 359-380, 629-649, 830-857. These articles were reprinted, with additions, in 1916 as Senate Document 451, 64th Cong., 1st sess.

[87] Talleyrand, in a conversation recorded by Murray in his Commonplace Book, declared that the Marylander was the "real author" of the "amicable relations" between France and the United States, that he had "originated the rapprochement," that he had "superintended the conduct of it in the negociations," that he had brought it to its successful conclusion, and that Napoleon and himself considered Murray "solely as having effected this great work." August 10, 1801, Murray Papers, L. C.

[88] Regardless of "all other private communications" though they might have convinced him personally, Adams would not have nominated Murray and resumed the French negotiations without the "authentic, regular, official, diplomatic assurances" which the Marylander sent him. *Works of John Adams*, IX, 244.

He was an independent, purposeful thinker, not a party hack devoted solely to one cause; he was an American who thought of his country first, and of politics and proper diplomacy second. Although the political party to which he was fervently attached was destroyed in the process, his initiative produced the sequence of events which saved his country from a disastrous, perhaps mortal, war and helped pave the way for the epochal Louisiana purchase. If Murray's gravestone could be found, he like John Adams, would merit the inscription: "Here lies William Vans Murray, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800."

A LIST OF PORTRAITS AND PAINTINGS FROM ALFRED JACOB MILLER'S *ACCOUNT BOOK*

By MARVIN C. ROSS

ALFRED JACOB MILLER kept a fairly complete list of paintings commissioned from him between the years 1846 and his death in 1874. The *Account Book* in which the artist kept this record belongs to his great-nephew, Alfred J. Miller, who has kindly given me permission to make extracts from it.

All the paintings and water colors that are definitely identified as Indian or Western scenes have already been listed by me in *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller* (Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii). A number of entries identified only as " sketches " or " water colors " were not included but have been entered here under " miscellaneous." These may or may not be Indian or Western scenes.

Miller painted a few religious paintings, particularly for his patron in Scotland, Sir William Drummond Stewart. He also made a number of miscellaneous paintings, landscapes, and still lifes, which are listed here. I have also added the copies made for local collectors which are of interest for the history of contemporary taste in Baltimore.

The other entries are all of portraits of which he did a considerable number, mostly in Baltimore although a few commissions came from elsewhere, particularly from the Breckinridge family in Kentucky. The entries in the *Account Book* have been simplified to give the name of the sitter, the size of the picture, the year it was painted, the person who commissioned the portrait if other than the sitter, and the price. The list has been arranged alphabetically since names of the sitters of many portraits are known when the artist's name has long been forgotten. Sometimes it is

possible, however, to identify the sitter if the family name is known and the picture is dated. There are a number of portraits painted before the *Account Book* begins.[1] Miller in one of his notebooks owned by his great-nephew, L. Vernon Miller, mentions he spent several seasons in Washington after his return from Scotland (1842) painting portraits. Among portraits painted before 1846 that do not appear in this list are those of Johns Hopkins and of his mother (painted in 1832) now owned by The Johns Hopkins University, and of Miles White, now owned by Mrs. Miles White, Jr. Of the portraits in the list, several are owned by the Maryland Historical Society and a number are illustrated in Wilbur Hunter's *Alfred Jacob Miller, Artist of Baltimore and the West* (Baltimore, The Peale Museum, 1950).

It is hoped that the publication of this list will assist in the location and identification of many more of Alfred Jacob Miller's paintings. A photostatic copy of the *Account Book* is in the Library of The Walters Art Gallery.

PORTRAITS.

Allen, Mrs., 1847, for Wm. Heald, $80.00.
Appold, Mrs., 1848, for Geo. Appold, $75.00.
Arnold, daughter of, 1851, for Arnold, $75.00.
Bailey, Doctor, 1851, $60.00.
Bailey, Jessie and Curtis (children of L. E. Bailey), 34″ x 44″, 1858, for Lewis E. Bailey, $150.00.
Baker, Freddy (son of Wm. S. G. Baker), Cabinet 10″ x 10″, 1868, for W. S. G. Baker, $50.00.
Baker, Wm. S. G., 25″ x 30″, 1865, $100.00.
Baker, Mrs. W. S. G., 25″ x 30″, 1866, for W. S. G. Baker, $100.00.
Berkley, Mrs., ¾ length, 1854, for E. Berkley, $75.00.
Berkley, Cora, full length, 1854, for E. Berkley, $75.00.
Berkley, Edris and Maidie (son and daughter of Edris Berkley), 29″ x 36″, 1871, $250.00, two portraits.
Berkley, Harry (son of Edris Berkley), full length: 29″ x 36″, 1866, for Edris Berkley, $125.00.
Berkley, Laura, full length, 1854, for E. Berkley, $75.00.
Berkley, Ruth (daughter of Mrs. E. Berkley), 1864, for Edris Berkley, $100.00.
Bibber, Van, 1852, for Mrs. Van Bibber, $35.00.

[1] It is important to emphasize that many paintings by Miller prior to 1846 are in existence. New information (such as present location and ownership) about paintings by Miller, whether listed here or not, will be appreciated by the editor who will communicate it to the author.—*Ed.*

Black, Judge Jn^h & wife, two cabinet portraits: 14″ x 17″, 1868, $140.00.
Black, Judge Jere^h, copy of portrait of father of, 1866, for Judge Jere Black (York, Pa.), 30″ x 23½″, $100.00.
Black, Mrs. Jere^h's father, repainting portrait of, 1866, for Judge J. Black, $75.00.
Black, Mrs. Jeremiah's Mother, Cabinet: 13″ x 16″, 1868, for Judge Black (York, Pa.), $72.00.
Black, R., child of, 1849, for R. Black (New Orleans), $100.00.
Bosley (near Govanstown), 1855, for G. M. Bosley, $70.00.
Bradford, 1846, per A. W. Bradford, $45.00.
Breckinridge, Charles with dog, Cabinet: 14″ x 17″, 1870, for Rev. Wm. Handy (Somset. Co. Princess Anne), $75.00.
Breckinridge, Charles, decd. (from photograph), oval 25″ x 30″, 1868 for his brother, Brevet Maj. Jos. J. Breckinridge (Lexington, Ky.), $132.00 with frame.
Breckinridge, Major Jos^h C., 25″ x 30″, 1868, $100.00.
Breckinridge, Mrs. Josh. H., cabinet: 10″ x 12″, 1868, for Jos^h Breckinridge, $50.00.
Breckinridge, Robert (painted in 1863), 20″ x 24″, 1868, for Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge, $75.00.
Breckinridge, R. C. (copy), 1861, for Wm. C. P. Breckinridge, $40.75.
Breckinridge, Rev. R. J., 1857, for R. C. Breckinridge, $50.00.
Breckinridge, Dr. & Mrs., 9 copies, 1857, for R. C. Breckinridge, $360.00.
Breckinridge, Rev. R. J., 4 copies—2 of himself and 2 of Mrs. Breckinridge, 1857, for R. J. Breckinridge, $175.00.
Breckinridge, Wm. C. P. (1 of himself and 2 of his late wife), 1860, $212.50, with frames.
Breckinridge, Col. Wm. C. P., 2 portraits of self & wife, 1868, $150.00.
Briscoe, Sam. W., 2 portraits, 20″ x 24″, 1864, for Sam^l W. Briscoe, $90.00.
Burdick, Miss, 1857, for Wm. Eichelberger, (not paid for) $40.00.
Cameron, Mrs. P., small oval, 1854, for L. Cameron, $35.00.
Cannon, Miss Augusta, 20″ x 24″, 1866, $75.00.
Carr, D. S., 1846, $50.00.
Carson, Mrs., 1854, for Thomas Carson, $100.00.
Carter, Jas. H. (Head), 1859, for Mrs. J. H. Carter, $75.00.
Chesnut, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. (2), 1852, for Wm. Chesnut, $100.00.
Clark, Mat B., Vignette, oval 7″ x 10″, 1857, for Matt B. Clark, $25.00.
Clendinen, Dr., 1849, $50.00.
Clendinen, Dr., from daguerreotype, 1852, for W. H. Clendinen, $50.00.
Clendinen, Mrs. Dr., 1849, for Dr. Clendinen, $50.00.
Clendinen, Dr. Jun^r, 1849, for Dr. Clendinen, $60.00.
Clendinen, Mary, 1851, for Isaiah Mankin, $40.00.
Clendinen, Miss Zenobia, 20″ x 24″, 1853, for Mrs. Jane Clendinen, $35.00.
Cobb, Mr. R., Cabinet portrait, 1853, for Ruth A. Cobb, $50.00.
Cobb, Mrs. R., Cabinet portrait, 1853, for Ruth A. Cobb, $50.00.

Cobb, Mrs., copy, 1858, $45.00.
Cockey, Mrs., repainting portrait of, 1868, for Wm. S. G. Baker, $50.00.
Cockey, Capt. Jno., 1868, for Wm. S. G. Baker (Balto. Co.), $100.00.
Coe, A. B., (post mortem), 1849, $50.00.
Cromwell, Rich[d], 1846, $50.00.
Cromwell, Mrs., 1846, for R. Cromwell, $65.00.
Crothers, Mr., with hands, 1858, for Crothers, $65.00.
Cunningham, Head of, 1853, possibly not finished, $25.00.
Dashiell, Dr. N., 1850, $85.00.
Dashiell, Mrs., two hands, 1850, for Dr. Dashiell, $85.00.
Dashiell, Miss Alice Ann, 1852, for Mrs. Dashiell, $75.00.
Dashiell, Mrs. copy of, 1852, $50.00.
Deford, Charles, 1856, for Wm. Deford, $45.00.
Deford, Wm., 1852, $45.00.
Deford, Mrs. Wm., Oval, 1853, for Wm. Deford, $45.00.
Denny, Mrs. M. A., 1854 (Talbot Cy.), $75.00.
Dickinson, Mrs., 1848, for Wm. Dickinson, $50.00.
Dorsett, two copies of portraits, 1849, for Dorsett of Davidsonville (A. A. Cy.), $100.00.
Dorsett, two portraits (copies), 1850, for Dorsett of A. A. Cy., $100.00.
Dorsett, Mr., 1864, for L. H. Dorsett (South River), $50.00.
Dorsey, Miss, (from daguerreotype) 29″ x 39″, 1855, for Miss S. Dorsey, $122.00.
Dorsey, Dr. Fred (1776-1858), 5′ x 4′, 1852, for Dorsey (Hagerstown), $200.00.
Dudley, Dr., 1864, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $77.00.
Dulin, Mrs. Dr. (del. Nov. 15, 1850), 1849, for Dr. Keener, $60.00.
Dunbar, Mrs. Dr. & son Mackie, 1851, for Mrs. Dunbar, $100.00.
Dunbar, Robt. (son of Dr. Dunbar), 1851, for Dr. Dunbar, $50.00.
Duncan, J. M., 1847, for Wm. Heald, $85.00.
Durand, Mad., 1853, for Mme. Durand, $40.00.
Dushane, Mrs., 1855, $50.00.
Dushane, Harry, Howard & Fred[k], 1955, for John Dushane, $50.00.
Dushane, Jno., 25″ x 30″, 1855, for N. E. Berry, $50.00.
Early, crayon sketch, 1849, $10.00.
Early, Mr., 1848, $50.00.
Early, Harriet (daughter of J. D.), 1852, for H. Early, $75.00.
Ellicott, Mrs. Ed., oval, 1854, for E. T. Ellicott, $40.00.
Ellicott, Ed., 1854, for E. T. Ellicott, $40.00.
Eubank, Mr. Philip, 1854, for T. P. Eubank, (Montague P. O., Essex Cy., Va.) $50.00.
Eubank, Mrs. T., 1854, for Dr. H. T. Eubank, $50.00.
Ferguson, Ben. F., 1855, for Col. Geo. P. Kane, $100.00.
Foster, Miss, 1855, for W. W. Foster (Maltby House), $65.00.
Franklin, cabinet portrait, 1847, for Ross Winans, $40.00.
George, Jas. B., 1853, for Union Lodge, $50.00.
Gephart, I., 1855, $45.00.

Gephart, Mrs., with hand, 1855, for I. Gephart, $55.00.
Gover, Mrs., 1853, for Philip Gover, $75.00.
Gover, George, two copies of portrait, 1857, for Geo. P. Gover, $150.00.
Gover, Girard, infant child of, 1856, for Girard Gover $75.00.
Gover, Robert, 1854, for Gover, $35.00.
Gover, T. H., (from daguerreotype) 1853, for G. Gover, $75.00.
Grafton, Miss, 1856, for Miss Isabell Grafton, $40.00.
Grinnell, Infant of Mrs., cabinet, 1853, $50.00.
Grinnell, Daughter of Mrs., cabinet, 1851, for Grinnell, $35.00.
Grinnell, Charles, 1857, $35.00.
Grinnell, Mrs. C., 12″ x 16″, 1856, $35.00.
Gunn, Mrs. (possibly not paid for), 1861, $50.00.
Hall, Geo. W. S., cabinet, 1856, $35.00.
Hall, G. W. S., vignette, 1857, $35.00.
Hall, G. W. S., cabinet, 1857, $45.00.
Hall, Jas., cabinet, 1856, $35.00.
Hall, Miss, 12″ x 15″, 1858, for Dr. Jas. Hall, $35.00.
Hall, Mr. Wm. Wilmot, cabinet, 1869, for Mrs. Mary C. Hall, $60.00.
Hammond, Dr., cabinet, 1855, $40.00.
Hammond, Mrs. Dr. and child, 1855, for Dr. Hammond, $50.00.
Hammond, Miss Kate, Kit-cat,[2] 1854, for Charles Hammond, $120.00.
Hare, Mrs., 1848, for D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Harris, Chapin, cabinet, 1850, $30.00.
Harrison, Anna, (daughter of Mr. Frederick Harrison), full length, 1858, for Fred[k] Harrison (Govanstown), $80.00.
Harrison, Mr. Ed., 1852, $72.00.
Heald, Alice (daughter of Jno. Heald), 1852 (possibly not completed), $75.00.
Heald, Charles & Alice, 1856, for Wm. Heald, $150.00.
Heald, Ed[d], 1847, $75.00.
Heald, Ed[d], copy, 1847, $75.00.
Heald, John, 1852, $60.00.
Heald, Mrs., 1852, for Jno. Heald, $60.00.
Heald, Wm., 1847, $80.00.
Heald, Wm. (copy), 1847, credit Board, D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Heald, Wm., 1848, for D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Henderson, Mrs., 1847, for H. Henderson, $75.00.
Henderson, Mrs., 1848, for H. Henderson, $50.00.
Henderson, Miss Blanche, 1848, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Miss E., 1846, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Master H., 1846, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Henry, Kit-Cat, 1847, $75.00.
Henderson, Miss Mary, 1847, for H. Henderson, $70.00.
Henderson, Rebecca H., 1850, for H. Henderson, $40.00.
Hooper, Jas., 1850, $75.00.

[2] Indicates the size of portrait: less than half-length.—*Ed.*

Hoppe, Mrs., 1848, for Hoppe, $75.00.
Howell, Miss E., 1847, for Dr. Edmondson, $60.00.
Hutchins, Infant child, oval, 1852, for Mr. Luke Hutchins, $50.00.
Jacobson, daughter of John, vignette, 1863, for John Jacobson, $50.00.
Jacobsen, Daisy (daughter of Jno.), oval vignette 20″ x 24″, 1868, for Jno. Jacobsen, $75.00.
Jenkins, Ed., oval, 1854, for Edward Jenkins, $75.00.
Jenkins, Daughter of Mark, 1854, for Mark Jenkins, $60.00.
Jenkins, Mrs. Mark, 1853, for John T. Jenkins, $50.00.
Jenks, Mrs., 1848, for F. H. Jenks, $60.00.
Jenks, Master T., 1848, for T. H. Jenks, $75.00.
Johns, Richard, 1852, $75.00.
Johnson, Col. W. F., 2 hands, 1851, $70.00.
Kavanagh, Mrs., Kit-cat, 1847, $85.00.
Keilhofer, Mrs. (2 sons of), 1855, for Geo. Keilhofer (Hagerstown), $100.00.
Keilhofer, Harry, Howard, Fred[k] (group), 1855, for Geo. Keilhofer (Hagerstown), $150.00.
Keilhofer, Miss Louisa, 1856, for George Keilhofer, $50.00.
Kennedy, Mrs., 1851, for Kennedy, $30.00.
Kill [Kell], Judge Thomas, two portraits, 1846, $90.00.
Krauth, Mrs., Kit-cat, 1852, paid for by Jos. Reynolds, $75.00.
Kurtz, Mrs. T. Newton, 20″ x 24″, 1854, for T. Newton Kurtz, $40.00.
Landstreet, Miss, cabinet, 1854, for Landstreet, $50.00.
Lee, Miss, 1854, $30.00.
Lee, Josiah, 1852, for Mrs. Josiah Lee, $125.00.
Lee, Josiah, (the late), 1856, for Charles Lee, $80.00.
Lee, Josiah, (copy), 1857, for Gerard Gover, $95.00.
Lilly, Mrs. A., 1857, for Alonzo Lilly, $45.00.
Lilly, Alonzo, 1856, $45.00.
Lloyd, Mr. Wilson, 1854, for Mrs. W. Lloyd, $40.00.
Macklin, Robert (son of Mrs. Eliz. Kelso Blackwood), 25″ x 30″, 1868, for Mrs. Blackwood, $100.00.
Mankin, Dr. Clendinen, cabinet, 1849, for I. Mankin, $40.00.
Mankin, Mrs., 1847, for I. Mankin, $70.00.
Mankin, H., cabinet, 1849, $40.00.
Mankin, Mr. H. & 2 daughters, 1848, for H. Mankin, $250.00.
Mankin, Mrs. H. & child (group), 1847, for H. Mankin, $180.00.
Martin, Mr., 1853, $40.00.
Martin, Mrs., 1853, $40.00.
Maxwell, Mrs. Wm., 1858, for Wm. Maxwell, $45.00.
McConnell, father of Lieut., Kit-cat (from daguerreotype), 1854, for Lieut. McConnell, $75.00.
McDonald, Mrs., cabinet, 1855, $30.00.
McEldowny, Mrs., 1848, for McEldowny, $50.00.
McSherry, Mrs., miniature, 1855, $25.00.

Mealey, Lawson and Ed. (children), 1856, for E. M. Mealey (Hagerstown, Md.), $115.00.
Miller, Mrs. Eliz, credit Board, D. H. Miller, $100.00.
Morrison, Mrs., 1865, for Rev^{d} Dr. Morrison (Lex^{n}, Ky.), $75.00.
Murguiondo, P. de, 25″ x 30″, 1865,, $100.00.
Murguiondo, Victor and Prudencio with dog, two children of P. de Murguiondo, 1865, not paid for.
Murray, Mrs. Jane (aunt of Mrs. Rutherford), 20″ x 24″, 1866, for Rev. E. H. Rutherford (Petersburg, Va.), $93.50.
Nelson, George, 1846, $65.00.
Nelson, Mrs. Geo., 1846, for Geo. Nelson, $75.00.
Nesbit, Rev. Charles, 1854, for Judge Nesbit, $50.00.
Palmer, Dr., 1854, $30.00.
Palmer, Mrs. I. (Head), cabinet, 1853, for Dr. Jas. Palmer, $25.00.
Patterson, Miss May, full length, 1857, for Henry Patterson, $85.00.
Pearson, Joseph, 1860, for Geo. R. Vickers, $100.00.
Pendleton, Mrs., 1847, for R. W. Pendleton, $150.00.
Pendleton, two children, 1846, for R. W. Pendleton, $120.00.
Pickering Mrs., 1846, for Saml. Pickering, $75.00.
Pigman, Mrs., 1856, for Mrs. Mary E. Pigman, $50.00.
Posey, Mr. F., vignette, 1853, for Fred J. Posey, $35.00.
Posey, Mrs., vignette, 1853, $35.00.
Potter, Mrs. Col., 1852, for Col. Z. H. Potter, $60.00.
Punderson, Mr. E., 1853, for E. M. Punderson, $40.00.
Punderson, Mrs., 1852, for E. M. Punderson, $40.00.
Punderson, two children (group), 4′ x 3′, 1856, for E. M. Punderson, $130.00.
Reynolds, Isaac (copy), 1848, for Jos. Reynolds, $60.00.
Rhinehart, Cabinet: 7″ x 10″, 1858, for W. T. Walters, $30.00.
Rieman, Alex^{r}, 1849, $60.00.
Rieman, Mrs., 1849, for Alex. Rieman, $60.00.
Rieman, Mrs. Alex, Sketch, 1861, $15.00.
Rieman, Henry, 1861, for Fred A. Hack, $50.00.
Rieman, Joseph, 1849, $60.00.
Rieman, son of Wm., 20″ x 24″, 1863, $60.00.
Robinson, Mrs., 1846, for Wm. Robinson, $60.00.
Rout, Mrs. (Versailles, Kent^{y}), Oval 20″ x 24″, 1867, $75.00.
Schindel, Infant of Mrs., 1858, $50.00.
Schindel, Saml. E., (6 portraits), four, 25″ x 30″ & two on 1 canvass, 29″ x 36″, 1856, for Saml. E. Schindel (Hagerstown), $275.00.
Selden, Mr., Kit-cat, 1855, for Miss Cassie Selden (Lynchburg, Va.), $97.00.
Sewell, Daughter of Mrs., 1851, for Richard Sewell, $70.00.
Shepherd [Sheppard], Moses, 1856, $85.00.
Shepherd [Sheppard], two copies, 1856, for Moses Shepherd, $150.00.
Sindall, Harry 29″ x 36″, 1857, for Saml. Sindall, $75.00.

Smith, Mary (daughter of Richard), Cabinet oval, 1855, for Richard Smith (Alex[a]), $40.00.
Smith, Mr. Rich[d], Oval, 1852, for Richard Smith, $60.00.
Smith, Mrs. Richards S., Oval, 1850, for R. S. Smith, $60.00.
Smith, Wm. Prescott's daughter, 1857, for Wm. Prescott Smith, $75.00.
Sothoron, Miss, 1852, for L. Hutchins, $75.00.
Sprigg, Danl., 4 x 3, 1852, for Daniel Sprigg, $100.00.
Stabler, Mrs. F., 1855, for F. Stabler, $45.00.
Stansbury, Col., Cabinet, 1849, for John Stansbury, $45.00.
Stansbury, Col., (from daguerreotype), 1853, for Carville Stansbury, $60.00.
Stansbury, Mrs., 1849, for C. Stansbury, $60.00.
Stein, Mrs., 1853, for Meyer Stein, $60.00.
Stewart, Dr., full length, 1848, $150.00.
Stewart, Wm., 20″ x 24″, 1856, $50.00.
Stimpson, J. H., 1850, $75.00.
Stone, Mr. S., two hands, 1848, for S. Stone, $80.00.
Stonehakers, John W. (Hagars[n].), 1856, $35.00.
Stonehaker, John W., 1857, $35.00.
Stump, Sen[r], Mr., 1848, $70.00.
Stump, Mrs., 1848, for Stump, $70.00.
Sullivan, Mrs. Henry, 1848, for H. Sullivan, $75.00.
Sullivan, I., cabinet, 1848, for Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, I., Cabinet, 1848, for F. Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, Jere, (2 copies), 1864, for nephew, P. H. Sullivan, $80.00.
Sullivan, J[n], Cabinet, 1849, for H. Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, J[n], 2 cabinet portraits, 1849, for H. Sullivan, $80.00.
Sullivan, P. H., 1849, $75.00.
Sullivan, father of P. H. (copy), 12″ x 14″, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $40.00.
Sullivan, Mrs., Cabinet, 12″ x 14″, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $40.00.
Tagait [Tagart], Col., 1852, for Col. Wm. Tagait [Tagart], $95.00.
Theobold, Dr., 1846, $50.00.
Thomson, son of Victor, 1855, for Victor Thomson (Hagerstown), $60.00.
Towson, Miss, 1855, for Jacob Towson, $50.00.
Trigo, Wm. H., 1856, $40.00.
Tyson, Mrs., 1846, $50.00.
Warfield, Ben[en], 25″ x 30″, 1866, for brother, Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $130.00.
Warfield, Wm.'s sister (copy) 1870, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $85.00.
Warfield, Mr. W. and B. Warfield, 5 copies, 1857, for Wm. Warfield, $200.00.
Warfield, daughter of Wm., 25″ x 30″, 1866, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $135.00.
Warfield, Wm.'s son, Oval cabinet, 1863, for Wm. Warfield (Lexington, Ky.), $56.50.

Washington, Cabinet portrait, 1847, for Ross Winans, $40.00.
Way, Mr., Cabinet, 1849, $30.00.
Way, Mrs., vignette, 1853, for And. J. Way, $35.00.
Weathers, son of Mrs., full length, repainting portrait, 1869, for Mrs. Weathers, $80.00.
Webb, Senr, Mr., 1848, $50.00.
Welsh, Katy, (daughter of Mrs. Jno. B.), 20″ x 24″, 1868, for Mrs. Jno. B. Welsh, (York, Pa.), $60.00.
Wilson, infant child, 1850, for H. Wilson, $75.00.
Wilson, Melville, Cabinet, 1855, for Wm. C. Wilson, $50.00.
Wilson, Mary, Darcy and Thos., 3 cabinet portraits, 1858, for Thos. J. Wilson, $150.00.
Wilson, Thos., copy, 1846, for Dr. Wilson, $50.00.
Wilson, Wm. C., Esq., Kit-cat Oval, 1854, for Wm. C. Wilson, $100.00.
Wilson, Wm. C., Cabinet, 1856, $50.00.
Winans, Madame Celiste, 1847, for Ross Winans, $100.00.
Winans, Miss Julia, 1847, for Ross Winans, $100.00.
Young, Mr., Cabinet, 1849, $37.00.
Young, Mrs., 29″ x 36″, 1858, for Wm. T. Young, $150.00.

Copies.

Copy, (?), 1846, for Carroll Spence, $30.00.
Copy of picture, 1854, for W. W. Spence, $50.00.
Copy of Jos. Cox, Esq., 1846, for Johns Hopkins, $50.00.
Copy, Head of Beatrice Cenci, 1856, for Chas. Lee, $50.00.
Copy, Head of Rembrant, 1849, for Dr. Edmondson, $30.00.
Copy of Ruins (Cororanti), 1846, for J. S. McKim, $200.00.
Copy, Spanish Nobleman, 1850, for Dr. Edmondson, $60.00.
Copy of Sully, 1854, for Jas. Coale, $35.00.
Copy from Sully, (Mrs. Stump), 1847, for Miss Stump, $65.00.
3 pictures, Stud. Raphael, 1857, for J. Stricker Jenkins, $100.00.
Copy, Webster at Marshfield, cabinet, for Cunningham, 1853, $30.00.

Religious Paintings.

Christ's Charge to Peter, 1846, for Sir William Drummond Stewart, $800.00.
Jepthahs Vow, 1847, to Sir Wm. D. Stewart, $968.88.
Marriage at Cana, 1857, for J. H. Stickney, $60.00.

Miscellaneous.

1 Cabinet Picture, 1863, for Harrington, $30.00.
3 Cabinet Pictures, 1863, for Harrington and Mills, $89.50.
(View of) Cape Palinas [Palmas], 1858, for Geo. W. S. Hall, $100.00.
Crayon Sketch, 1852, for Ed. McDowell, $8.00.

Crayon Sketch, 1852, for Leon Barnard, $10.00.
Critic, 1869, for Col. A. Miller, $45.00.
Design for Ship Ravenel, 1846, $10.00.
Drawing, 1852, for Sam'l Early, $10.00.
2 Drawings, 1852, for Zimmerman, $10.00.
Drawing, Palm Fruit, 1859, for G. W. S. Hall, $15.00.
Dutchman Smoking Pipe, Cabinet picture, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $45.00.
Election Catonsville, 1869, for Col. A. Miller, $55.00.
Fruit Pieces, 1856, to J. Stricker Jenkins, $40.00.
Fruit Pieces, 1857, for Wm. C. Wait, $45.00.
Harry as Country Boy, 1864, for P. H. Sullivan, $60.00.
" Jacques Moralizing," 1870, for Wm. H. Norris, $35.00.
Niagara Falls in New Orleans, 1860, for Brantz Mayer, $150.00.
2 Italian pictures, oil, 1859, for W. C. Wait, $40.00.
(View of) Ponte Rotto, Rome, 1856, to Dr. Edmondson, $45.00.
(View on) Shenandoah, 1853, to Art Union (N. Y.), $60.00.
Boy picking Eggs, " " " " $35.00.
" Hard Times," " " " " $25.00.
Sketch, 1848, for Graff, $5.00.
Water Color Sketch, 1861, for J. A. Hoogerwerft, $18.00.
11 Sketches (water color), 1862-3, for Butler and Co., $117.25.
3 Water Colors, 1862-3, for Jos. Freyer, $37.50.
2 Water Colors, 1862-3, for Harvey Shriver, $24.00.
5 Water Colors, 1863, for Butler and Co., $52.50.

BELMONT, HOWARD COUNTY

By JOHN H. SCARFF, F. A. I. A.

SOUTHWEST of the Patapsco River, near its junction with Rockburn Branch, is situated the estate of " Belmont " in what is now Howard County.[1] Its gently sloping land is about 400 feet above and three miles from what was once the tidal estuary. It lies along the " fall line " at which the fresh waters from the western hills join the brackish tides.

The early settlers of this region arrived by way of the Chesapeake and its numerous estuaries, a fact that had much to do in determining their character and pursuits.[2] It afforded them an easy facility for trading and social intercourse, and in a country without roads, it did much to shape and ameliorate their manners. Most planters had navigable water at their doors. Both shores of the Bay to the mouth of the Susquehannah were taken up before the interior of the tidewater counties had ceased to be backwoods or " forests " as they were usually called. The Bay abounded in fish and water fowl and the forest in all sorts of game. The soil encouraged the growth of both hard and soft woods, all the chief grasses, berries, and before the first generation had passed the land was planted with orchards of apple and peach. There were few sheep because of the numerous wolves, but the settlers had many cattle and the woods swarmed with hogs and wild horses.

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge valuable assistance in the preparation of this article generously given by Mrs. Howard Bruce, Mr. and Mrs. H. Alexander Smith, Jr., Mr. Daniel Murray, Mrs. William F. Bevan, Mr. William B. Marye, Mrs. James M. Hemphill, Mr. John M. Hemphill II, and Mr. Frank Murray.

[2] A complete and thorough social and cultural history of Maryland incorporating modern scholarship has not been published. Much valuable information can be found in the following studies upon which the writer has relied: J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 1-103; Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), *passim*; Charles A. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 1-116; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Old South, The Founding of American Civilization* (New York, 1942), *passim*; Wesley F. Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1949), pp. 183-261, 296-309; and Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities* (Baton Rouge, 1952).

The bulk of Maryland settlers after the first colonization were yeomen—generally an earnest and industrious class. The tenure of land under a quit-rent was made easy by the provincial government. Labor was scarce, valuable, and welcome.

The early colonists were not an educated people in the modern sense and thought more often of horse-racing and cock-fighting than of books. Those who had a forest to clear had little time for schoolmasters. Members of families with proud armorial bearings on their tombs could sometimes neither read nor write and made their marks. Libraries were few and meager even in Annapolis. Newspapers were poor and mean. The body of the people was illiterate, and English speech deteriorated.

By the last half of the 18th century the manners of the colonists had benefited by two generations of acquired wealth. Annapolis had become one of the most cultivated towns in America and a distinct aristocratic class existed, comparatively large, wealthy, and often well-educated. In tidewater communities the country folk kept up all the rough sports and games—fox-hunting (at first often on foot), racing, and cock-fighting, and even bear-baiting and bull-baiting, according to one writer.[3]

Against this background of Provincial Maryland we may come to understand " Belmont " from its start through its checkered history of seven generations of the same family, to the present day. According to legend the site of Belmont was first seen by Englishmen toward the end of the 17th century when Dr. Mordecai Moore while on a surveying expedition saw it.[4] He recognized its advantages as a site for a home and seven years later took out a patent for it under the name " Moore's Morning Choice." [5] We know very little else of Dr. Moore other than that he married the widow of William Burgess and that he speculated in land.[6] But before 1732, a century after the founding of the Colony, he sold Moore's Morning Choice to Caleb Dorsey of Annapolis and of " Hockley-in-the-Hole " on the Severn.[7] Caleb presented it to his

[3] Scharf, II, 70.

[4] The tract was surveyed for him on May 5, 1689, Rent Roll, Baltimore Co., p. 197, Calvert Papers No. 883, Maryland Historical Society.

[5] Patent No. C # 3, f. 180 (November 10, 1695), Land Office, Annapolis.

[6] J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore 1905), p. 339; J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1914), pp. 167-168.

[7] Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 339; Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

son Caleb who with his wife Priscilla Hill, some years later, built himself a house there. It is, in all important respects, the house that stands upon the site today, and on each side of the entrance door one can still see a stucco plaque which reads " C P D 1738."

It is said that the first Dorsey (or Darcey) to immigrate was Edward who had settled in Virginia near the present site of Norfolk.[8] He came to Anne Arundel County in 1650 and had three sons—Edward, Joshua, and John. John, the progenitor of the " Belmont " Dorseys, served as a member of the Council, or Upper House, of Maryland. He died in 1714. His son Caleb, who married Elinor Warfield, and who was residual legatee of his father's estate, purchased and gave to his son Caleb land at Moore's Morning Choice.

Caleb, Jr., known as the " Ironmaster," inherited a large fortune from his father, and he increased it by the development of the iron resources of the neighborhood. His principal iron works were at the head of Curtis Creek. The dam and millpond used at the Avalon iron works may still be seen, but research has yet to establish proof of Caleb's interest in Avalon.[9] At that time the Patapsco

[8] For genealogy, see M. J. Dorsey, J. M. Dorsey, and N. B. Nimmo, *The Dorsey Family* (1947); Warfield, *op. cit.*; and H. W. Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (1933).

[9] Further information about the iron works of the Dorseys may be found in " Some Notes on the Hockley, Elk Ridge, Avalon and Curtis Creek Iron Works " contributed to the Society by William B, Marye. In his " Notes " Mr. Marye (following Joseph T. Singewald, Jr., " Report on The Iron Ores of Maryland," *Maryland Geological Survey*, IX, 168-171) states that the Curtis Creek furnace was situated at Long Bridge Branch (known today as Sawmill Branch) near the head of Curtis Creek on land granted to Caleb Dorsey, Edward Dorsey, and Alexander Lawson in 1759. Edward Dorsey (1718-1760) was an Annapolis attorney and brother of Caleb of Belmont. In 1760 Edward willed his share of the iron works to his brother Richard, and in 1772 Caleb willed his share to his eldest son Samuel. The works were sold to a Mr. Barker in 1773 by Samuel Dorsey, Jr., Charles Ridgely, Michael Poe (Pue?), William Goodwin, and William Buchanan. As late as 1840 the works were being operated by J. Barker and Son, but Mr. Marye points out that he is unable to reconcile Barker's interest in the property with the fact that General Charles Ridgely possessed it at his death in 1829.

Mr. Marye also draws attention to the confusion which has often taken place between the Elk Ridge Furnace in which the Dorseys had an interest and the Hockley Forge of the Baltimore Company. He has found no evidence that the Dorsey furnace at Elk Ridge Landing passed into the hands of the Baltimore Company, nor that the two works are identical, but believes that a relationship has been inferred between the two because of a similarity between the name " Hockley," site of Hockley Forge which was resurveyed by Charles Carroll and called " Barren Hills," and the Dorsey plantation " Hockley-in-the-Hole," many miles away.

No evidence was found by Mr. Marye that Caleb Dorsey of Belmont ever had an interest in the works at Avalon known as " Dorsey's Forge." Caleb's son Edward, however, had stock " at the Forge in Baltimore County " when he died. Samuel Dorsey, Jr., and Edward Norwood advertised on Nov. 17, 1774, in the *Maryland Gazette* for the return of a servant to " Dorsey's Forge."—*Ed.*

was navigable by full-rigged ships to Elkridge Landing at the foot of the hill on which Belmont is situated. The Landing was a port of entry and ships not only carried away iron manufactures from it but great quantities of tobacco that had been rolled down the "Rolling Road" from plantations farther west.

Caleb, Jr., married Priscilla, daughter of Dr. Henry Hill of Londontown, South River. According to legend, Caleb first met Priscilla when on a fox-hunt.[10] The day was spent when, far from home, he inquired his way from a lady on horseback. She directed him to her father's home nearby. There, as was the custom, he was welcomed and asked to spend the night. As the story goes, he stayed more than one night and the friendship thus started ripened, and before long Caleb and Priscilla were married. They had three sons—Edward, Henry Hill, and Samuel; and seven daughters—Mary, Milcah, Rebecca, Priscilla, Peggy Hill, Elinor, and another Priscilla, for the first died when a child. Edward married his cousin Elizabeth Dorsey, daughter of Col. John Dorsey and Mary Hammond, and inherited the home plantation. Rebecca married Charles Ridgely the builder of "Hampton" in Baltimore County. She was not the only Dorsey to be mistress of Hampton. In due time her sister Priscilla married Ridgely's nephew Charles Carnan, who inherited "Hampton," assumed the name of Ridgely and served as Governor of Maryland from 1816 to 1819.

We would like to know more about Caleb, the Builder. We know that he was born in 1710; that he inherited a handsome estate, and while still in his twenties married and built himself a home. He had nine children, farmed his lands, ran a forge and iron foundry with his brother Edward, and died in 1772 at 62 years of age a rich man. At his death he was in possession of 3,000 acres, 93 slaves, and the inventory of his effects valued them at £8383, 12 s—no small sum for the time.[11]

He lived in a day when the Province was accumulating wealth and when Annapolis was a thriving and civilized town. But Caleb lived a number hours away by horse back. A journey there was not to be undertaken lightly even though he had "1 charriott and 1 sulky." The fact that in his inventory his effects included but two pieces of mahogany—two "stools"— indicates

[10] Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-171.

[11] Anne Arundel Co. Testamentary Papers (Inventory), Box 1A, Folder 34 (October 21, 1772), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

that he was not tempted by that newly introduced and fashionable wood, then being used for furnishing the new houses there. His silver consisted of " 1 Silver Tea Pott Cream Pott & Pepper Box " valued at £6. Although he had a bookcase, the list does not include any books. A letter at the Maryland Historical Society from him to " Charles Carroll Esqr, Barrester at Law nare Baltimore town " indicates that he had no great mastery of written English.[12]

As we reconstruct his life, we are sure he was busy with his crops and his livestock which numbered 466 at the time of his death. He had also to oversee his slaves and keep them fed and clothed. He had to check the many items in his store rooms and supervise his iron industry, and trade the manufactured goods advantageously for English goods, probably at the dock at Elkridge Landing. He had to construct and keep in repair the numerous buildings on his estate and during all that time his home was abuilding, for the tax records of 1798 show that one wing was not yet finished.[13]

When Caleb died in 1772 Priscilla continued to live in the house that she and Caleb had built, and when thirty-four years later she died, her will did not mention the home plantation, for her son Edward had already inherited it from his father. She bequeathed eight Negroes to her daughter Priscilla and " all her cloathes, Linen, Flax and Thread," and to her granddaughter Priscilla Pue " one hundred pounds Common Money." [14]

Edward was popularly known as " Iron-Head Ned." He operated his father's enterprises in partnership with his brother Samuel. He married his cousin Elizabeth Dorsey in 1786 and their daughter Mary married Daniel Murray of Annapolis and eventually inherited Rockburn. Priscilla, who came into possession of Belmont, married Alexander Contee Hanson, the most colorful of all the owners of Belmont.

The will of Edward, signed March 22, 1799, directed that his property " shall go as the Law of the State of Maryland directs."

[12] September 6, 1764, Carroll-Maccubbin Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[13] Huntington Hundred, Anne Arundel Co., Tax Assessments Records of 1798, Maryland Historical Society. The entry reads: " 1 Story brick dwelling house 50 by 24 passage at each end 16 feet 2 wings 2 Story 30 by 20 one not finished brick 1 Stone out house 20 by 16 1 do 18 by 16 Land Moors Morning Choice Enlarg'd H. Hundred."

[14] Anne Arundel Co. Wills, T. G. No. 1 (October 10, 1782), f. 75.

He appointed his "beloved wife, Elizabeth Dorsey, Executrix."[15] But unexplainably on the sixth day of May in the same year Elizabeth executed a quit-claim to the "several Bequests and Devises, made to me in the Will of my Husband, deceased, and elect in Lieu thereof my Dower and third part of his Estate both real and personal." She continued to live at the home plantation until she died in 1802.[16] In 1815, sixteen years after the death of Edward, the estate was partitioned.

It appears that Edward considerably increased the size of the estate bequeathed him by his father. His inventory was valued at £ 12,431, 5s, 8d and included wearing apparel at £ 20 (his father's had been valued at £3), 536 ounces of plate, over 40 pieces of mahogany, 140 books, 17 prints, a "piano forty," 30 gallons of whisky and two barrels of apple brandy.[17] There were 114 slaves listed, about 300 animals and nineteen farm and forge buildings in addition to the dwelling house.

The origin of the name Belmont and who gave it remains a mystery. All the early documents simply state Caleb or Edward or Priscilla, etc., "of Anne Arundel County." The Tax List of 1798 names tracts comprising the Edward's estate as follows:

Moore's Morning Choice....	1662	acres	
Caleb's Vinyard	200	"	
Chew's Vinyard	349	"	
Gretion Seage	412	"	
First Discovery	230	"	
Second Discovery	116	"	
Part of Caleb's Purchase	276	"	Total 3245 acres.

Edward's will directed that certain tracts be sold "to wit: Rebecc Lotts, Little Worth and the Valley of Owin, the Gretion Seage and Chew Vinyard" and in a postscript "the following tract or parcells of Land be disposed of . . . to wit: The first and second Discovery, his eighth part of the Millbank situated on the Patapsco River and held in Company with Charles Ridgly of Hampton" who was his brother-in-law.[18] The earliest original document found by this author on which the name occurs is a

[15] Anne Arundel Co. Wills J. G. No. 2, f. 73, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[16] Chart of Mrs. Edwin Wingate Poe, Colonial Dames of America, Chapter I, (copy in Maryland Historical Society). Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[17] Anne Arundel Co. Testamentary Papers (Inventory), Box 44, Folder 30, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[18] See note 15.

letter in the Maryland Historical Society written by Alexander Contee Hanson and headed "Belmont," written in 1815. It is the author's guess that the name was first given at the time of the partition of the estate in 1815 when Priscilla Hanson received what came to be called Belmont and Mary Murray, what came to be called Rockburn. After the division there would be a need for names that did not exist when the estate was all one. Although of Italian origin, like "Belvidere" and "Montebello" near Baltimore, it probably came by way of England, for there are twenty-two "Belmonts" listed in the *Gazetteer of the British Isles* [19] and there were certainly two in Maryland.

Alexander Contee Hanson [20] was born in Annapolis in 1786 and married Priscilla Dorsey in 1805 when he was nineteen years old. His father,[21] for whom he was named, had been a Maryland jurist of Revolutionary fame and at the time of his death was Chancellor of the State. The son graduated from St. John's College in 1802 and six years later founded the newspaper, *Federal Republican* of Baltimore, that was to establish his reputation as a violent anti-administrationist. He attempted to show that Jefferson had sold out to France and was supporting Napoleon, and that the hope of law and order, even of civilization, lay in England. When war with that country came near he rained abuse on Madison and his government. When war was actually declared in June of 1812 he became, if possible, even more pro-British. In July a howling mob attacked the office of the paper on South Charles Street.[22] With a few friends he erected a barricade and defended the building. The Mayor stood by but was unwilling or unable to stop the disorder. The civil authorities decided that the defenders of the freedom of the press should be moved for greater safety to the city jail. But the next morning, when Hanson and his party attempted to leave the jail, the mob attacked again. In the battle General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry") was killed and most of the gallant party, including Hanson, severely wounded. Hanson moved the paper to Georgetown. However, in 1813 he was elected Congressman and in that position he continued his fulminations and was in continual

[19] Bartholomew's 9th edition.
[20] *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 231.
[21] *Ibid.*, 230-231.
[22] See J. H. Schauinger, "Alexander Contee Hanson, Federalist Partisan," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 354-364; Scharf, III, 1-24, and Andrews, pp. 423-426.

difficulties. In 1815 he quarreled with the Federalist Party and a year later retired from the House, for his health had never recovered from the attack of the Baltimore mob. In 1816 he was appointed to the Senate to fill the vacancy created by the death of his friend Robert Goodloe Harper. He died April 23, 1819, at the age of thirty-three.[23]

There is no doubt that Hanson was a man of great courage and character, but his fiery disposition and violent partisanships led him into frequent difficulties. His conduct of the *Federal Republican* was costly. He was constantly embarrassed for lack of cash, as his correspondence shows.[24] He was forced to borrow from his friends to pay his creditors. He wrote in a letter to a friend, probably the publisher Edward J. Coale: [25]

> But I must live and I do not see how I can retrench. . . . Next February Mrs. Hanson comes to her fortune, when I hope to be out of debt and to live handsomely upon my income besides accumulating for those that are to come after me. It is provoking to be pestered about $1500 by the Bank of Baltimore when I have such resources in reserve, so handsome an income. . . . John Dorsey refused—as I expected—and who of the name would not refuse.

His preoccupations did not, however, preclude an interest in his farm. He wrote to Priscilla in 1815, " The [clover] is blossoming and almost tall enough to cut. . . . So much for plaistering [liming] in February. It has thrown me full & fortnight or ten days ahead of all by neighbors who stick to the beaten track." [26] On May 18, 1816, from " Belmont " he wrote to his friend Coale: [27]

> You are almost the only friend I have in Baltimore that has not rode out to see me. I told you last summer it would give me great pleasure to have as guests you and your good lady, with whom I have had no opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance. I go to Montgomery on Wednesday, but bear in mind, about the first of June, the season of dainties commences. The strawberry beds begin already to show their blushes and the pea vines bend with the weight of the filling pods. In a week or ten days, we can

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[23] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1794-1949* (Washington, 1950), p. 1264.

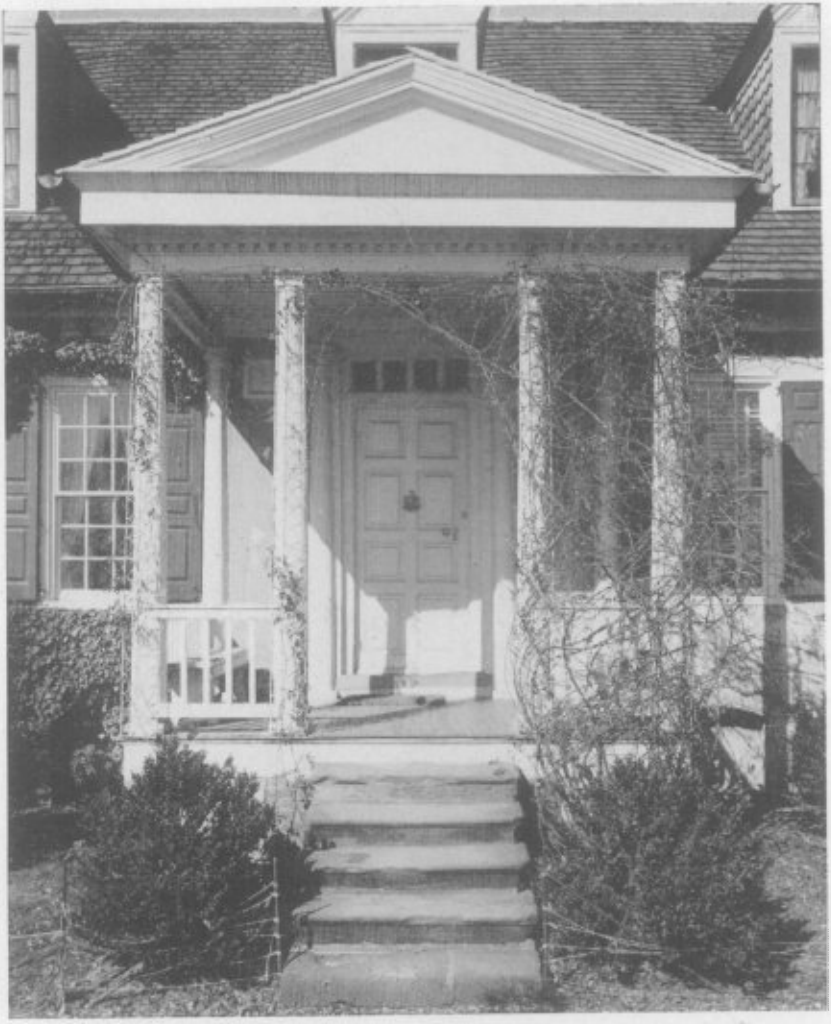
[24] Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bruce and Mr. and Mrs. H. Alexander Smith, Jr., have presented to the Society many of his letters and certain other papers relating to Belmont. They also have permitted the Society to microfilm Hanson letters which they retain.

[25] A. C. Hanson MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] " Belmont Album," letters in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bruce. (Microfilm in Maryland Historical Society.)

THE PARLOR AND THE DRAWING ROOM, LOOKING NORTH



THE ENTRANCE PORTICO

One of the Plaques Reading "C P D 1738" can be Seen at the Left of the Transom

ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON, JR. (1786-1819)

" Pink Paper " Drawing by St. Mémin

Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art

MR. HOWARD BRUCE ON BILLY BARTON AT BELMONT

Overmantel Painting by Franklin B. Voss at Belmont

treat you both in abundance, with the early cherry in addition. The pastoral fare we shall offer you will be lambs from our own flocks, pigs and poultry from our own barn yard, and your lady and little one may count certainly on a serenade every morning from the feathered songsters of the meads and groves. After an hours warning, Mrs. Hanson presented me with a sturdy boy last week, and she is now confined at Mrs. Donaldson's but in a week she will return home. . . .

Again in an undated letter he wrote to Coale: [28]

I agree with you that something must be done quickly, or my credit is gone, and my enemies triumph. . . . At the close of the ensuing winter an estate valued at $250,000 is to be divided, and a fifth of it falls to my use. I have also invested $11,000 *cash in* Fed Republican, which of late for the first time yielded a profit. Besides this we have debts exceeding $14,000 which we are determined to collect this year. I will transfer my interest in the paper as security, or Mrs. Hanson will join me in a mortgage of her property to my friends who will take up my notes at the Banks of Md. & Baltimore, which amount to about 8 or 9000 $ [The investment in the *Federal Republican*] is good, not only in a pecuniary point of view but as relates to my fame and ability to be useful to the country, for to the paper I owe my elevation, and but for the Fed. Republican I should have been a petti-fogging attorney without practice, and in point of note & respectability barely upon a level with your Ridgelys.

But from 1816 to 1819 a Ridgely was Governor of Maryland!

The partition of the estate of Edward Dorsey, the father of Priscilla Hanson, took place in 1815. About that time Hanson wrote [29] in poor health from Georgetown:

Between ourselves, I am in treaty for the sale of the Federal Republican. I mean to retire to Belmont to recruit my health and fortune, and to devote all the time which can be spared by either to literary pursuits. I want knowledge and must acquire it. Heretofore my mind has been but negligently cultivated. The system of farming heretofore followed on the place of my retirement is a good type or symbol of the mental culture I have experienced. The fields have been barely scratched by shallow one-horse ploughs, the blue grass has eaten out the wheat, and in some spots the sedge and wild briar have taken entire possession, while the old mansion for the want of a few necessary repairs in due time is almost in a state of dilapidation.

and in 1817 to " Dear Priscilla ": [30]

. . . As soon as you hear of Mrs. Thomas' arrival in Baltimore I wish you to propose coming down with her immediately as I am very lonesome and

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[28] *Ibid.* [29] *Ibid.* [30] *Ibid.*

at times really require nursing.—Geo Washington [31] wishes me to take his son Edward's age—saying he will esteem it the greatest favor in the world, and considering which he had engaged to give for his board and schooling very moderate. You had better write me on the subject without delay. I should like very much by the time I paid my next visit to see the store room papered and that above, and the roof plastered and pitched to prevent leaking, also the doors with ledges to keep out rain from the school room. . . .

His tumultuous life, his constant agitations, his quarrels, had exhausted his poor health. He died in 1819. His only son was three years old!

The goods and chattels and personal estate of Alexander C. Hanson were appraised at $4,406.31.[32] These old inventories are interesting to compare for they afford a revealing glimpse into the manner of living of their time. Hanson's wearing apparel, including " gold watch, pistols, saddle and bridle " was valued at $200. He owned mahogany, walnut and pine furniture, 20 stair rods, and old Piano, $75 worth of Books, 16 portraits and pictures, 6 images, and 166 ounces of plate valued at $166. At the time of his death he owned twelve slaves and 129 animals. Some of his possessions showed that he was a progressive thinker. He owned a stove—an innovation at the time, and some " cutting and seeding macheins."

Priscilla was now alone and she saw her fortune shrinking. In 1839 she was obliged to mortgage Belmont to John Worthington of Anne Arundel County for $1500. Her son Charles Grosvenor Hanson was then thirty-three years old. In 1832 and again in 1835 she sold land. Charles was no help to her. That she understood him and had small confidence in him is evidenced by the provisions of her will, for in it, trying to assure the inheritance for her grandchildren, she stipulated that should her son attempt to encumber the estate or any creditor try to take it by any proceeding it should then pass immediately as if by inheritance to her son's wife, or to heirs if she were already deceased.[33] Charles had married Ann Maria Worthington. Priscilla died in 1849.

[31] George C. Washington (1789-1854), grandnephew of the first president, Member of Congress from Maryland, 1827-1833 and 1835-1837, and president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co.

[32] Anne Arundel Co. Inventories, 1818-1820, ff. 267-270, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[33] Howard Co. Wills, 1840-1862, I, f. 214, microfilm, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Charles Grosvenor, as his mother had feared, brought nothing but trouble to Belmont. On January 8, 1875, the Sheriff of Howard County sold Belmont, containting 600 acres, to I. Parker Veazey of Baltimore for $25![34] Four years later in a case wherein John W. Hanson *et al* were the complainants and I. Parker Veazey defendant Belmont was declared by the Circuit Court of Howard County the absolute property of the children of Charles Grosvenor Hanson.[35]

Charles Grosvenor and Ann Maria had nine children — Alexander Contee, Mary Worthington, John Worthington, Charles Edward, Priscilla Hill, Murray,[36] Grosvenor, Annie Maria, and Florence Contee. Charles Grosvenor enjoyed good living and frequently after the death of his wife in 1873 his " enjoyment " rose to such a pitch that his daughters, rather than remain at Belmont, preferred to visit friends till life at home resumed a more even tenor. Once, as the story goes, even his servants left and he found himself without breakfast, so he walked down to visit his cousin, Francis Key Murray, at Rockburn.[37] He had a superstitious notion that any work done in the family cemetery would in some way bring about his death and so the cemetery fell into a sad neglect. Affairs went from bad to worse. Income from the estate was now insufficient to keep the family. Then tragedy struck!

A cousin, Charles Ridgely White, upon a visit, standing on the steps of the portico, was shot by Edward, with only imagined provocation. Evening was approaching and the unfortunate Edward disappeared into the gathering darkness. When he was finally apprehended he was taken to the Ellicott City jail and later to the Spring Grove Asylum where he lived to be an old man. Once he escaped, crossed the Patapsco and returned to Belmont where he climbed in at the window of his old room and got into bed with his brother. He died in 1931. His sister Priscilla also required great toleration, for it is said that she wandered at all seasons across fields and in and out of neighboring houses at will. The remaining brothers secured remunerative employment and the two sisters, Miss Nannie and Miss Florence, made and sold pre-

[34] Interview with Mr. Daniel Murray, October 30, 1952.
[35] Equity records Circuit Court of Howard Co., L. J. W. # 8, f. 454 (July 20, 1879).
[36] Murray (son of Charles Grosvenor and Ann Maria Hanson) who was sometimes called " Squire " Hanson was first Master of the Elkridge Hounds.
[37] Interview with Mr. Murray.

serves and pickles which they stored in the " ball room." It is said that Thomas Corner, the Baltimore artist, once saw a portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart used as a screen to prevent drafts from a window.[38] Later it was sold to the Frick Gallery in New York. Finally Miss Nannie, the last surviving child of Charles Grosvenor and Ann Maria remaining at home, in 1917, sold Belmont to her cousin Mrs. Bruce. Mrs. Bruce is of the seventh generation from Caleb and Priscilla, the Builders, for her mother was a Murray of Rockburn. Her grandchildren now living on the estate are of the ninth.[39]

Miss Nannie took pride in her old home, safe now after the storms of so many years, and often returned for a visit till one day she lay there for the last time just before she was taken to join her ancestors in the family cemetery on the hill beyond the garden.

The owners of this land have been:

Mordecai Moore — Ursula (Burgess)

Caleb Dorsey — Elinor Warfield
1685-1742 1683-1752

Caleb Dorsey — Priscilla Hill
(the builder) 1718-1781
1710-1772

Edward Dorsey — Elizabeth Dorsey
(Iron-Head Ned) ? -1802
1758-1799

Priscilla Dorsey — Alexander Contee Hanson
1789-1849 1786-1819

Charles Grosvenor Hanson — Ann Maria Worthington
1816-1880 1821-1873

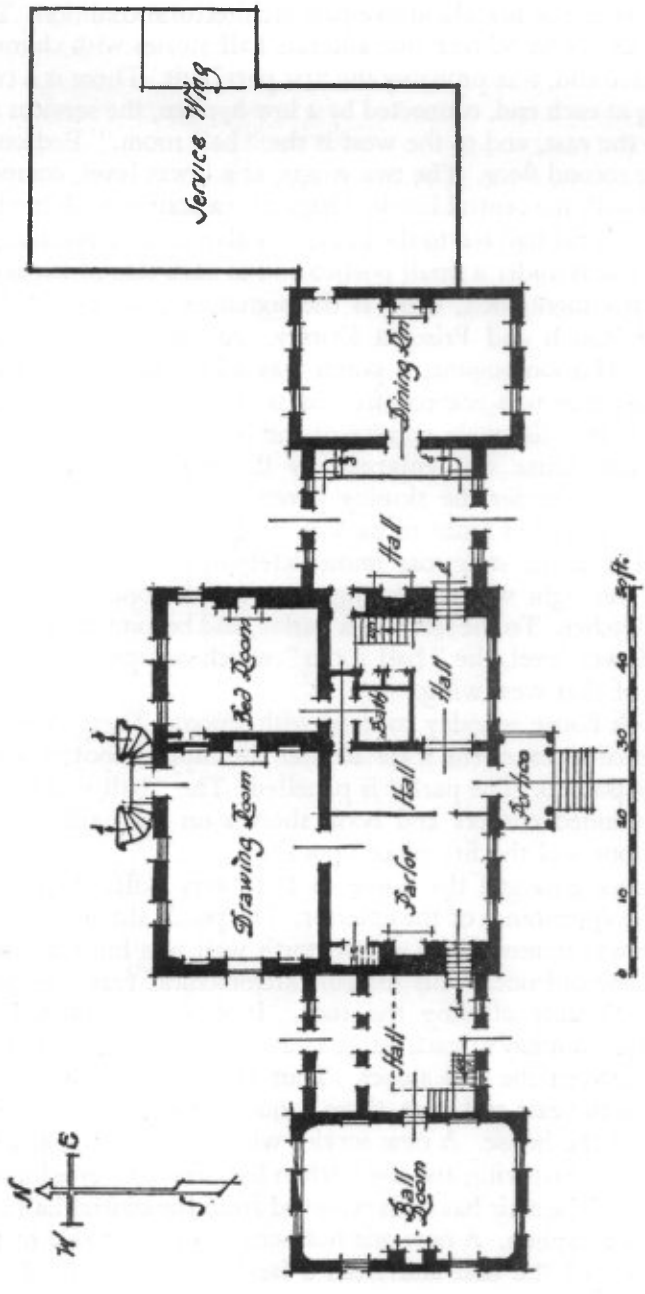
Annie Maria Hanson
1858-1943

Mary Graham Bowdoin — Howard Bruce
(purchased in 1917)

The " great house " that Caleb and Priscilla built so long ago is

[38] Interview with Mr. Murray.

[39] Belmont does not lack the ghost story every great Maryland house is supposed to have. Hammond (*op. cit.*, pp. 176-177) recounts the legend in which the visitor suddenly hears the sound of horses' hoofs and jangling harness, creaking wheels and rumbling carriages, opening doors and scraping feet. The explanation given is that some of the forefathers are coming home from Annapolis in the coach and six. Then the sound of wheels and the clatter of hoofs signals the departure of the " Belmont ghost."—*Ed.*



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF BELMONT

The Drawing Room and Bed Room Were Added in 1927

in the characteristic Maryland five-part architectural tradition. The central block, 24 by 50 feet, one and one half stories with chimney at each gable end, was probably the first part built. There is a two-story wing at each end, connected by a low hyphen, the services are housed to the east, and to the west is the "ball room." Bedrooms occupy the second floor. The two wings, at a lower level, compose pleasantly with the central block. Originally a stair in each hyphen and in the central hall led to the bedrooms above. The entrance on the south side is under a small portico and at each side of the door, as previously mentioned, there is the signature plaque—"C P D 1738," for Caleb and Priscilla Dorsey. At one time, probably during the Hanson regime, a porch was added across the north side. This porch was not constructed at the time of the original building because the main cornice of the house was discovered at the time the house was enlarged by the present owner, Mrs. Howard Bruce, under the sloping porch roof. In Caleb's day a central hall extended front to back in southern style through the house and in it the stair rose immediately opposite the entrance door. To the right was the dining room and beyond, at a lower level, the kitchen. To the left was a parlor, and beyond the hyphen, also at a lower level, the "ball room" which occupied the entire first floor of that west wing.

The brick house is today covered with stucco. There is a dentilled cornice in excellent scale around the hipped roofed wings and on the portico. The parlor is panelled. The "ball room" has unusual rounded corners and book shelves on each side of the entrance door and the fire place opposite.

Mrs. Bruce enlarged the house in 1927 very skilfully without altering the appearance of the exterior. The porch along the entire north side was removed and a new north wall was built nineteen feet from the old one. This difficult architectural feat was done without noticeably altering the roof. It was accomplished by doubling the chimney at each gable end and connecting them by a flat roof between the two slopes. Thus from the ground today, except from the east and west, there is no observable difference in the aspect of the house. A new service wing has been constructed beyond the old east wing and the kitchen has been converted into a dining room. The stair has been removed from the central hall and from the east hyphen. A new one has been placed just east of the east partition of the hall and from a landing one can reach the

second story of the rooms over the dining room. A door leads from the new room in the north addition to the terrace whence a short flight of brick steps takes one to the box garden below. Although the monumental box, alas, is no more, it has been replaced. On a distant hill, a little to the east of the main axis of the house, one can plainly see the grave stones in the cemetery. Only to a very acute observer would the house today appear different from the one built more than two centuries ago by Caleb and Priscilla.

The estate now contains about 1000 acres.[40] Its green fields are beautiful against the autumn foliage. The " great house " is surrounded by maples and black walnuts, at their finest when only a few leaves still linger. Post and rail fences border the mile long lane and surround the fields. Standing on the portico before the plaques put up so hopefully, one looks to all sides to woods where the fields leave off. One sees only the gently rolling Maryland landscape and far off the blue horizon.

Inscriptions on the grave stones read as follows: in the center,

HANSON

Samuel Contee	Alexander Contee	Mary Worthington
Feb. 24, 1854	Nov. 2, 1840	Jan. 12, 1842
	May 28, 1857	Sep. 23, 1863

twins
Bessie Lee
Alice Howard
1864-1865

Charles Grosvenor	Priscilla Hanson	Annie Maria
May 16, 1816	July 2, 1846	Sept. 17, 1821
Oct. 17, 1880	April 16, 1925	March 11, 1873
Also his wife	Asleep in Jesus	Rest till the Resurrection Morn

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[40] Mr. Bruce owned the internationally famous horse, Billy Barton, whose name was on the lips of many Marylanders in the 1920s. He won the Maryland Hunt Cup in 1926. His greatest fame was earned in defeat (he finished second) caused by an accident at the Grand National steeplechase at Aintree, England, in 1928. Billy Barton died two years ago at Belmont at the advanced age of 33.—*Ed.*

G. Edward Hanson
1848-1931
Come unto me and rest

Priscilla Hanson
1860-1935
Blessed are the pure in heart

Francis Key Murray
Born July 20th, 1853
Died Aug. 13th 1872

John W. Hanson
Feb 7, 1844
April 21, 1916
May he rest in peace

Annie M. Hanson
1858-1943
He giveth his beloved sleep

Grosvenor Hanson
Aug. 10, 1856
Oct. 5, 1916
Thy trials ended,
Thy rest is won.

Murray Hanson
July 20, 1851
March 5, 1918
He is not dead but sleepeth

Hon Thomas P. Grosvenor
Died
April 21st 1817
in the
37th year of his age

This mortal must [ ] by immortality.

There is still another stone with an old inscription unreadable, and in a smaller and adjoining enclosure:

Howard
Infant son of
Mary & Howard Bruce
Dec. 30, 1921
Jan. 15, 1922

The last burial within the enclosure was that of Dan Sims, a former Belmont slave.

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1952

THIS is the second in a series of annual bibliographies of printed references to various phases of Maryland history that appeared in the previous year. The principles of selection used in the compilation of last year's bibliography (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII [March, 1952], 55-61) have again guided the editors who gratefully acknowledge assistance given by the staff of the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Materials in this *Magazine,* the *Maryland History Notes,* current government publications, undocumented newspaper articles are specifically omitted. Some entries of publications with marginal Maryland interest are included in the hope that the editors err on the side of completeness; a few words of comment have usually been added to such entries explaining their probable interest to Marylanders. A new section listing theses and dissertations (even though unpublished) appears this year.

The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under four headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; III. Articles; and IV. Theses and Dissertations. (*Entries under* III. Articles *are listed alphabetically by publication*).

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[2] Several other contributions concern Deer Park.
[3] Several other contributions concern Kitzmiller.
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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Archives of Maryland, Volume LXV. (Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1670/1-1675.) Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1952. 738 pp. $5. (To members of the Society, $3.).

Ancient court records are not regarded as light reading; it is thought that they are examined only by dusty legal scholars seeking light on old points of procedure. Sometimes, however, a glint or two of human quality may shine between the lines of their stilted and formal phraseology.

Thus, in the very first case reported in Dr. Elizabeth Merritt's new volume on the Provincial Court Proceedings of Maryland, we find what might be termed the "Colonial" or "Golden Age" method of dealing with a kind of domestic problem which is not unknown even in this degenerate 20th Century. At a Provincial Court held at the "City of St. Maryes" on February 17, 1670/1, "in the nine and thirtieth year of his Lordshipps Dominion, etc. over this Province of Maryland," Elizabeth Moy complained that her husband was dangerously sick, and that his servant Nicholas Bradley is "stubborne and Rebellious; that said servant refused to obey any of her lawful Commands, and besides had purloined several things out of her house." Bradley did not deny the charge. The Golden Age remedy ordered by the Court was that the Sheriff cause the said Bradley to be whipped immediately with six lashes upon the bare back.

Another problem for which the solutions of the 17th and 20th Centuries are in closer harmony was presented on May 6, 1674, when John Le ffebure, evidently a Frenchman, petitioned the Court (p. 543) alleging that he was "diseased by certaine infirmity of old Sores fallen into his legg, that he is unable to worke for his liveing . . . but almost Starved." He prayed for allowance for a maintenance or to transport him to his native Country. The Provincial Court was informed that the County Court of St. Maries County had allowed him 800 pounds of tobacco towards his transportation, and, without benefit of alphabetical or bureaucratic assistance, it appointed Mr. Clement Hill to arrange for Le ffebure's passage, and to pay him any balance of the tobacco remaining after the payment of his passage money.

We approach even closer to the *mores* of the present day in reading of John Robert Harper, who was a man Servant and Chirurgeon possessed by Garret Vansweringen (p. 546), who was also "possessed of divers medicaments, plaisters, drinkes, Cordialls, julips, and Other wholesome and fitt things for the cure of distempers." John Quigley was "sicke and languishing under a grevious distemper called the gripping of the Gutts." He agreed to pay Vansweringen as much as the paines and skill of

the said Robert should be worth. Harper cured Quigley, but Quigley, "deviseing craftily and Subtilly" to defraud Vansweringen, did not pay. Whereupon, Vansweringen sued for 5335 pounds of tobacco. Quigley denied the promise, and "put himself upon the country," i. e., prayed a trial by jury. The jury found for Vansweringen, but awarded him only 3335 pounds and costs.

Dr. Merritt does not express her approval or disapproval of these solutions of the Labor-Management, Relief, and Medical Problems which loom so large in the present day. Her function has been to reproduce accurately the records of the Provincial Court's proceedings from 1670 to 1675; and this she has done with scholarly care and completeness. The present volume is the 65th in the *Archives of Maryland,* and the 10th of the Court Series; it maintains the high tradition and standard of scholarship begun in 1883 by William Hand Browne, and continued by Clayton Coleman Hall, Bernard Christian Steiner, J. Hall Pleasants, and Raphael Semmes.

Publication of the proceedings of the Provincial Court in the *Archives of Maryland* began in 1887 (Vol. 14, Court Series 1). In six volumes (Court Series 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 10) these proceedings have now been completed from 1637 to 1675. The present volume adds its measure to the store of learning and reliable data regarding the history of this Province and State. The cases recorded apparently cover the whole range of affairs in the colony.

This reviewer is not competent to write a scholarly criticism of the work of Dr. Merritt or to compose a comprehensive review of her volume. Fortunately, however, such a review is not necessary, for Dr. Merritt herself has, in her Introduction, written the best possible review of her own book. Legal records, in addition to being dull, are hard to put together, and it is only by painstaking concentration, selection and coordination that they can be made to tell a story, or constitute an intelligible picture. In that introduction she has compressed into about forty pages a concise and interesting outline of the structure of the court, the functions and character of the clerks, attorneys, and juries, and a description of the nature of the litigation of various kinds. She has also included notes on the jury system, criminal cases, appeals, and outlines of some of the more important civil litigation, the records of which are interspersed in chronological order with the records of other cases. Her observations on the difficulties of reproducing the records indicate the care and labor required to compile such a volume as the present one. Her accurate and complete indexes deserve high praise.

To the modern American, the most striking fact about the court seems to be a complete disregard of the theory of separation of powers which today is regarded as a fundamental necessity for free government. The men who acted as judges of the Provincial Court were at the same time members of the Governor's Council, members of the General Assembly, judges of other courts, and holders of various other offices. But no one seems to have complained.

To the modern American lawyer, the records are quaintly phrased, and the pleadings short and incomplete. Other documents, however, are recognizable as the prototypes of modern legal forms. Thus, the wording of the confession of judgment (p. 285), the bond (p. 308), the bill of lading (p. 148), and the conveyance (p. 503) which are set forth in full, might almost be used today. The law of Maryland has had in large measure a spontaneous and indigenous growth. This volume is a valuable contribution to the record of that growth.

EMORY H. NILES

The Ancient South River Club, A Brief History. By the Historical Committee of the Club, THOMSON KING, Chairman. [Baltimore?], 1952. 60 pp.

In recent years the South River Club, which for two centuries has stood on a byway in Anne Arundel County, near All Hallows Church, has opened its doors to the Garden Club Pilgrimage and roused thereby considerable general interest. This can now be satisfied by this delightful and comely little book. Primarily destined for members of the Club and their families, it has been brought out in a small limited edition, copies of which will soon find their way into the public libraries.

The writing of such a history is not as easy as one might think. Of the physical set-up of the Club, the story is soon told: a charming, rather weary-looking little wooden building,—very old, very Southern, with its outside brick chimney-stack and detached kitchen—overshadowed by noble battered oaks. There are amusing and enlightening excerpts from the Minutes, which are most informative as to the life of Maryland planters from the 17th century down to this day. Many of these folkways are tenderly kept alive by the tradition-loving Club members. They include the throwing of quoits and the brewing of a delicious and insidious punch, the recipe for which is tantalizingly withheld.

Far more delicate was the task of analyzing (without bogging down in mysticism and sentimentality) the complex of comradeship, family ties, patriotism, faith, ownership of land and racial homogeneity that has sustained the existence of this little group for nearly two hundred and fifty years. It has been successfully accomplished, however, by the anonymous compilers of the book. Those who read carefully in and between the lines will understand why the members of another much younger Club, who came as guests to South River last Spring, departed much impressed, feeling as they did that for a few happy hours they had been privileged to share "deep and secret things."

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Anna Ella Carroll and Abraham Lincoln: A Biography. By SIDNEY GREENBIE and MARJORIE B. GREENBIE. Univ. of Tampa Press, 1952. $6.

Writers who claim that their researches call for a rewriting of Civil War history and of Lincoln's part therein may expect to arouse much interest. The Greenbies assert that Anna Ella Carroll, daughter of Gov. Thomas King Carroll, was "Lincoln's one woman Office of War Information and Board of Military Strategy," and a "key figure" in his nomination. They claim that Anna Ella Carroll "devised the campaign [Tennessee River] that broke the back of the Rebellion," and state flatly that "No other woman contributed so much to the salvation of her country in a political, legal, moral and military way."

Documentation is considerable, as evidenced by 35 pages of citations and notes, and 10 pages of bibliography. No known available source has been neglected. The authors turned up some 200 important letters hitherto unpublished that have been presented to the Maryland Historical Society. The work is completely indexed.

Knowing Anna Ella Carroll better than any but her contemporaries, the Greenbies have shown a zeal and determination in presenting their story that is praiseworthy—up to a point. In places they have been carried away with their enthusiasm. They have combined documentary evidence with "synthetic" (their term) passages. The latter make excellent reading, but the unsuspecting reader may be misled by these sections which are undocumented. The authors admit to many hunches and surmises and state (p. 505) that where "records have been mutilated or destroyed, psychology must step in and, with sleuthlike determination, reestablish the facts." The reviewer is not clear on how psychology re-establishes fact in this connection.

Miss Carroll was unquestionably a tremendously intelligent woman, on close terms with and a valuable adviser to many of the leaders of the day. She was, as we are told, the greatest woman in Abraham Lincoln's life, a smart press agent, and one who was never properly recognized even in her day, nor properly compensated for her services despite agreements made. The emphasis given to the latter point becomes tiresome, regardless of the justice of her claim. At times Anna Ella Carroll seemed more interested in securing recognition than in rendering her services as adviser behind the scenes, an honor not then commonly accorded women in national politics.

This writer cannot accept without much reservation the chapter "Anne Holds Maryland." This was allegedly the result of Miss Carroll's influence over Gov. Thomas H. Hicks and members of the legislature. Perhaps she did help stiffen Hicks's less than firm (on occasion) backbone, but many other factors kept Maryland in the Union, not least among them being the use of military force, arbitrary (though frequently justified) arrests, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, martial law, and economic ties with the North.

The recognized scholars of the Civil War are taken to task for not having given Miss Carroll her just deserts. Sandburg, in particular, receives rough treatment. Nicolay and Hay, who certainly should have known of Miss Carroll's contributions, ignore her as do the *Official Records of the Rebellion*. Robert Todd Lincoln is charged with destroying records concerning her, except for unimportant or damaging items. Randall and Coulter did not have access to all the records used by the Greenbies. George L. Radcliffe, biographer of Hicks, knew about Miss Carroll but did not mention her, say the Greenbies, "out of deference apparently to then existing prejudice." Radcliffe is quoted as saying if rewriting the story he would stress Miss Carroll's outstanding service and great influence. Mary R. Beard is quoted as stating that her husband, Charles A. Beard, read Miss Carroll's *Reply to Breckinridge* and said: "That pamphlet alone convinces me of the whole story."

In summary, the authors have properly elevated Miss Carroll to a position of influence as an important adviser and writer. But in recognizing her prominence, it still cannot be conceded that she was indispensable to the Union victory as the authors apparently would have us believe.

CHARLES B. CLARK

Washington College

Charles Willson Peale, Artist and Patriot. By BERTA N. BRIGGS. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952. 258 pp. $3.

Berta N. Briggs' *Charles Willson Peale, Artist and Patriot* is one of a series of biographies of such men as Alexander Hamilton and George Rogers Clark, collected under the general title *They Made America*. Unfortunately the shadow of this august company seems to have led the author into the mistake of overemphasizing Peale's role as a soldier and as an intimate of the great. At best Peale's activity as a revolutionary soldier was highly undistinguished, and his relationship with the great heroes of the critical years in the formation of the American nation was not as intimate as Peale might have wished. Even as an artist, Peale does not rank with Stuart in portraiture, nor with Trumbull as a recorder of the stirring events of the Revolution. Actually, the vital part of Peale's contribution to our culture lies in his founding of the first museum in America. As this country's first museum director he played a role for which he was particularly well suited as he had an inquiring mind, mechanical and scientific ability, as well as a certain flair for the dramatic.

It is to be regretted that the author has devoted so large a share of the book to the years of Peale's life spent during the Revolution; for these were only years of many trials and many failures, years of youth that undoubtedly were colored by romantic nostalgia at the end of Peale's life when he succumbed to the urging of his family and friends to write the

reminiscences that must form the basis of his biography. It is only in the last quarter of the book, that the author portrays Peale's mature years in which he became both a fascinating personality and an original contributor to American civilization.

CHRISTOPHER GRAY

The Johns Hopkins University

American Georgian Architecture. By HAROLD D. EBERLEIN and COURTLANDT V. HUBBARD. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1952. 56 pp. $7.50.

Marylanders who take pride in the high calibre of local Georgian architecture will find this book in pleasing harmony with their views. Although the volume deals with examples to be found in New England, the Middle colonies, and the South, the discussion of Maryland houses comprises an impressive portion of the latter category.

The authors' appreciation of the Free State's contribution to American Georgian architecture is suggested in their statement that nowhere in America are there finer Mid-Georgian homes than those found in Maryland. Among the eighteenth century structures which are singled out for this honor are Montpelier in Prince George's County; Tulip Hill and Whitehall in Anne Arundel County; the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis; and Mount Clare in Baltimore.

The illustrations in this publication are particularly good, having clarity and crisp architectural detail. There are excellent views of the Old State House at St. Mary's City, and other 17th century buildings which pre-date the Georgian period. Also included are houses that were constructed at the beginning of the Federal Period; Homewood, in Baltimore, is one of these.

Of the out-of-state structures which are illustrated and discussed, most attention is focused upon those in Williamsburg, Philadelphia, and Boston. Although there is no pretense at including every example of Georgian architecture in America, the concise text and carefully chosen plates are well organized to define the period.

BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The Johns Hopkins University

Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which it Grew. Volume II. By GEORGE M. BRYDON. Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952. 688 pp. $10.

This, the second of a three-volume study of the Anglican Church and its successor the Episcopal Church in Virginia, covers the period from 1727 to Bishop Madison's death in 1812. In preparing this history Dr. Brydon used such a wealth of source material that it is easy to understand

why five years elapsed between the publication of Volumes I and II. Since the author is generally recognized as the greatest authority on the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, readers expected much of this volume and they have no reason to be disappointed.

This reviewer accepts Dr. Brydon's conclusion that most non-Anglicans who complied with the laws regulating dissenters and who refrained from abusing other denominations, were not only tolerated but even protected by the colonial officials. Compliance with these laws does not seem to have been particularly onerous, as it consisted largely of having a clergyman present his credentials, record the places at which he intended to preach regularly and keep the door of his church open during services. Officialdom at Williamsburg realized that Anglicans in the Valley of Virginia constituted a minority group and, to the detriment of the clergy there, recognized that the use of tobacco as a monetary medium in the payment of salaries could not well be required west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Although Dr. Brydon is a staunch Episcopal minister and a loyal Virginian, he does not gloss over the defects of certain unworthy rectors and he cites the great difficulty with which they were removed as one of the many reasons why the colonies should have been given a bishop. Furthermore, he makes no attempt to minimize the plight of the Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth from the Revolution to 1812—the period during which it reached its nadir.

The latest volume of *Virginia's Mother Church* is actually a concise study of all religious groups in Virginia during this eighty-five year span and not merely a discussion of the oldest denomination. Its comprehensiveness increases its usefulness, but it will also subject Dr. Brydon to criticism from non-Episcopalians. The Baptists, especially, will probably feel his statement—that for the "most part," the early Baptist preachers were "uneducated men" (p. 180)—is a little too broad. They could cite John and Absalom Waller; Shubael Stearns; Samuel Harris; Daniel Marshall, a kinsman of the Chief Justice; James Ireland and John Leland as Baptist ministers who were well educated for their day. At least one student of Baptist history claims that Dr. Brydon scanted the persecution of their preachers by civil authorities and overemphasized their maltreatment by mobs. He would have Dr. Brydon cite specific instances of Baptist patrons being victims of mob violence.

Although this book will not receive the unqualified approval of all readers, many experienced historians would be proud to have written such an excellent and definitive volume.

CARROL H. QUENZEL

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803, A Biography. By DAVID J. MAYS. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1952. 2 vols. $15.

This excellent book presents a full-length biography of one of the foremost of the great Virginia statesmen of the second half of the 18th century and a readable account of his times.

Born in 1721 in what is now Caroline County, Pendleton lost his father a few months before birth, grew up in the home of a stepfather, and began to make his own way at the age of fourteen. Although without inherited wealth or formal education, he had a strong constitution, pleasing personality, and capacity for prolonged and painstaking work which soon attracted the attention of Benjamin Robinson, Clerk of Caroline County. Robinson made the promising and attractive youth his protege in 1735 and taught him law, which opened the door of opportunity and made possible his rise to prominence in aristocratic Virginia without patrimony or family connection.

Admitted to the bar in 1741, Pendleton began to practice at the General Court in Williamsburg in 1745. Six years later he became a justice of Caroline County, and the following year a member of the House of Burgesses, which he remained until the Revolution. In the House he was identified with Speaker John Robinson, whose executor he became after the Speaker's untimely death in 1766. This proved to be the most onerous job he ever undertook, but his sensitive handling of the financial intricacies of Robinson's defalcation of £100,000 of public money won him the admiration and respect of the gentry. Mr. Mays' great bibliographical discovery of lists of persons indebted to Robinson's estate enabled him to tell the story of the Robinson affair, if not definitively, at least in greater detail than before. Pendleton's role as executor and how he ultimately repayed the money to the treasury without ruining most of the Tidewater bigwigs is treated at length.

As the Revolution approached, Pendleton emerged as the champion of the Virginia conservatives who were determined to obtain home rule for the colony preferably within the framework of the British Empire but, if necessary, at the cost of a war for independence. Pendleton was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1774, a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congress, and in 1775 President of the Virginia Committee of Safety.

During this critical period, while there was still hope of reconciliation with Great Britain, Virginia continued to tread cautiously and to act with moderation. Patrick Henry and Jefferson were too rash and zealous. Pendleton was the man who best exemplified the mood of the colony. When independence seemed the only means to self-government, Pendleton himself presided over the Convention of 1776, wrote the resolution of May 15 urging the Continental Congress to declare the United Colonies free, and made possible the unanimous adoption of Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights. Thereafter, Pendleton was replaced in the executive branch of the Commonwealth's government by men like Henry and

Jefferson, and in 1777 began his twenty-six year career as chief judge of Virginia's courts. Only once did he re-enter the hurly-burly of politics: He presided over the Virginia Convention of 1788 and exerted great influence in procuring its ratification of the Federal Constitution.

On the whole Mr. Mays has done an admirable job and has provided his book with copious notes and citations of great use to scholars. In a few places, however, he is obscure, particularly in connection with paper money and exchange rates. This fact, perhaps, serves to remind us that a thorough and lucid economic history of Virginia in the critical pre-Revolutionary years has yet to be written.

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON

Colonial Williamsburg

George Washington (Vol. V: Victory With The Help of France). By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1952. xvi, 570 pp. $7.50.

This volume, covering the years 1778 to 1783, deals overwhelmingly with military history, a subject in which Freeman's mastery has been long recognized. The paean of praise which greeted the preceding volumes of this biography had been marred by criticisms offered by more discerning reviewers. (Walter B. Hendrickson, " A Review of Reviews of Douglas S. Freeman's Young Washington," *Library Quarterly*, XXI [July, 1951], pp. 173-182). No such blemishes can be found in the superlative treatment of George Washington's military exploits which this latest volume offers. Throughout, as it should be, the center of attraction is Washington, and the author rarely deviates from his protagonist. All events are viewed through Washington's eyes, all issues debated and resolved as Washington considered them. Whether it be the court martial of General Charles Lee, the treason of Benedict Arnold, the subsequent trial of Major John André, the rebellion of colonial troops in Philadelphia, the military adventures of Anthony Wayne or Nathanael Greene, Freeman keeps the focus on Washington. We hear of the treaty of peace when Washington did; we learn of its contents and Washington's reactions to those contents. What emerges, then, is not only an excellent treatment of the Revolutionary War, but of the character and personality of its major American figure. This is biography at its best.

" For six years he had reluctantly to adhere to [an] enforced defensive, as the only means of avoiding . . . irretrievable defeat. Month after month, he had to resist the apostles of rash offensives, . . ." So writes Freeman in explaining the essence of Washington's strategy throughout the war. Yorktown was the result of patience, patience combined with fortitude. Patience, when officers quarreled over rank and honors, when State governments were tardy and remiss in supplying food, clothing and troop quotas, when men deserted, when currency became hopelessly

inflated, when naval support from France seemed an infinity away. If the colonials were victorious because of French help—the subtitle of this volume—the opportunity for that triumph was made possible only because of Washington's prolonged reluctance to risk a major battle at unequal odds. " In strategy, as in land speculation," writes Freeman, " Washington habitually was a bargain hunter. He always sought the largest gain for the least gore."

Painstaking and meticulous in his research, careful in his judgments, writing with assurance born of understanding and accomplishment, Freeman's fifth volume will be read with pleasure by the layman, with appreciation by the historian.

MORTON BORDEN

Hunter College

Thomas Mifflin and the Politics of the American Revolution. By KENNETH R. ROSSMAN. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. ix, 344 pp. $5.

Take equal parts biography and history and mix well. For basic ingredients view the stirring events of the revolutionary period from the viewpoint of Thomas Mifflin. Participate with him in the military administration of the conflict, become governor of Pennsylvania after the victory. Add for spice his acquaintance with the great names, his involvement in significant controversies, his important contributions during and after the Revloution. For Mifflin was Washington's chief supply officer, was implicated in the Conway Cabal, presided over the Continental Congress, aided in suppressing the Whiskey Rebellion. Here is a recipe capable of producing an important insight into the man and his times.

It seems to this reviewer, however, that it is not wholly successful. Perhaps the biographical and historical elements do not mix too well, for Mifflin never comes fully alive. We learn that his Quaker Meeting " read him out " when Mifflin donned the uniform of a Revolutionary officer, but we never learn what this meant to Mifflin personally. His family and personal life remain shadowy and undeveloped.

The literary style, too, bars fulfillment. This work bears the stylistic hallmark of the doctoral thesis from which it was re-written. Scholarly apparatus is largely omitted but the language of the seminar remains. At the same time the author indulges in generalizations which he might well reconsider as difficult to document (" Like so many young people in all ages, Mifflin was a radical in politics." p. 13; " But, as usual, in their well-being and safety, politicos talk a good fight." p. 93).

This remains an important book in the pictures it offers of Revolutionary military administration, federal relations and state politics. *Thomas Mifflin* is a volume for the student and the general reader; it will reward both.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

Earlham College

Yorktown. By BURKE DAVIS. New York: Rinehart, 1952. 306 pp. $3.50.

A continuation of the times evoked so vividly in *The Ragged Ones,** Mr. Davis's new book ranges from a prison ship off Long Island—from which his Sergeant Spargo escapes to join the southern campaign—to the big guns of Yorktown itself. On the whole, it is rather less expertly done. It derives much too obviously from *From Here to Eternity.* Mr. Davis's own several shining talents, the research he did in earlier preparation, and his apparent identification with the continental soldier, are more often sacrificed to a formula now. He remains unusually fast and poised. His minor characters are still excellent. His major characters even show improvement over those in *The Ragged Ones,* though the "nubile" heroine in particular is still a strictly two-dimensional stock figure. But with the historical figures, with the whole real war, he has done less well, because he is losing interest. He is gradually, understandably selling out. Another book and the scholarly magazines will not be interested in reviewing it, and Mr. Davis will not even care.

ELLEN HART SMITH

On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement. By HAZEL C. WOLF. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1952. xii, 195 pp. $3.75.

The author of this cynical little volume has gone through the published writings by and about the abolitionists and discovered that the abolitionists, or at least many of them, had a martyr complex.** The abolitionists, "eagerly bidding for a martyr's crown," hoped to advance their cause by identifying themselves with the early Christian martyrs; "all . . . welcomed persecution for its advantage to the cause of the slave." Although the author presents no brief for the persecutors of the abolitionists, it is apparent she does not like the subjects of her investigation. They were "zealots" and they frequently "fumed."

That there were abolitionists with a martyr complex and that they exploited their persecution to advance their cause should come as no surprise to students of American history. The same kind of thesis could be applied to other unpopular reform movements; the movements for woman suffrage, for socialism, for organized labor, and for peace, to mention only a few, have had in varying degrees a martyr complex. The value of this book does not lie in its thesis but in its bringing together in one volume sketches of the antislavery crusaders, both prominent and obscure. There is fresh material here on less well known figures of the movement. The notes and bibliography will be useful to future scholars, and the writing is clear and interesting.

DAVID A. SHANNON.

Teachers College,
Columbia University

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* Reviewed *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVI (September, 1951), 224.

** See Miss Wolf's article, "An Abolition Martyrdom in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XLVII (September, 1952), 224-233.

Divided We Fought: A Pictorial History of the War, 1861-1865. By H. D. MILHOLLEN, MILTON KAPLAN, HULEN STUART, and DAVID DONALD. New York: Macmillan, 1952. 464 pp. $10.

It is not surprising that some of the monumental histories of America's great internal war of 1861-65, and its finest biographies, have come to publication in recent years. For proper appraisal of its events and its heroes called for better perspective than was readily available, either north or south of the Potomac, until decades had passed and passions calmed. But photographs once made are unchangeable save by wiles which destroy their historic value, and one would be inclined to suspect that (breakage and loss and dust and moisture and carelessness considered) the photographic histories of an event so long ago would become weaker, rather than stronger. But that is before one examines a new volume, *Divided We Fought.*

Its virtues are both absolute and relative. It has no such vastness as the memorable *Photographic History of the Civil War*, printed in 1911, whose 3800 pictures called for ten bulky volumes. Desire for a single volume called for a very sharp selective process, in order to keep the total number near 500. But, admirable as were the famous photographs by Mathew Brady and his assistants, they were dominantly of the Union forces. The aim this time was to get a fair selection of pictures of Southerners as well, and while this called for a truly tremendous search through many small public and private treasuries (it is pleasant to find Maryland donors listed) it was labor well expended.

The result is a well balanced selection and, because the number of photographs and drawings (largely from the Wauds and Edwin Forbes) is moderate, the editors found it possible to employ only the best for reproductive purposes; in many cases the present reproduction is better than one's faulty recollection of originals; yet some of our very modern camera experts will on occasion be astonished at the great virtue of painstaking photographers of 80 years ago, working almost as pioneers in their craft, with equipment which some of the moderns would hoot at, and under conditions which only the hardiest would accept.

The pictures have great merit, in pictorial quality and in their diversity, touching many, many phases of the great war. They are well supported by the fluent text of David Donald, of Columbia University, who manages to link together this long flow of pictures with a lively explanation of men and events they portray.

MARK S. WATSON

The Northern Railroads in the Civil War. By THOMAS WEBER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1952. 318 pp. $4.

The 1850s were a period of great railroad expansion. A decade that began with only 8,000 miles of rails in the entire United States ended with 30,000. Of the total increase, 15,000 miles were north of the Ohio River, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois leading all states. In view of the great importance that the rail system was to the Federal government in transporting men and supplies, it is not strange that it has been claimed that the North could not have won the war if it had come ten years earlier.

Some general accounts of the war scarcely mention the great feats performed by the railroads and the men who directed them; others note them briefly. In Mr. Weber's book we have for the first time the important story interestingly and adequately told, well documented by abundant references to railroad reports, railroad periodicals, newspapers, and official reports, as well as to writers who have treated certain phases of the question.

The book does much more than relate what railroads, and railroaders like Thomas A. Scott, Herman Haupt, John W. Garrett, Samuel M. Felton, Daniel C. McCallum, and many others did to bring victory to the North. It tells much about the railroads themselves, their varying gauges that caused so much trouble, their equipment, terminal facilities, and other matters of interest to railroad enthusiasts. It also discusses the important question of the effect of the war on the railroads. A good map showing the network of railroads at the time of the war would have been a valuable addition to the work, but none is given.

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS

Indiana University

Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865. By HENRY J. SIEVERS, S. J. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1952. xxi, 344 pp. $5.

One of the most widely used text books in the field of American history discusses the subject of this biography in part as follows: "Benjamin Harrison, grandson of the hero of Tippecanoe, was an Indiana lawyer who made a dignified figurehead in the Presidency from 1889 to 1893. Aloof and aristocratic, honest and conscientious, he lacked the insight to comprehend the economic and imperialistic problems of a new day and the ability to control the spoilsmen of his party. Despite his character and attainments he made singularly little impression upon his own or later generations."

This analysis represents the prevailing view of Benjamin Harrison. The author has assumed the burden of transforming his subject from a figurehead into a human being. In the first volume, of what will most likely be the definitive life of Benjamin Harrison, he has admirably accomplished his purpose. However, the second volume which is now

being prepared will finally determine whether Father Sievers can succeed in altering the verdict of history.

This volume carries Harrison from his birth in Ohio, through a happy childhood, an education at Farmer's College and Miami University, to his marriage, his career in the law and Indiana politics and finally as a gallant officer serving chiefly with "The Seventieth Indiana" during the Civil War. The author has examined a prodigous amount of source material; he provides the reader with necessary background information, but he never loses sight of his subject. His balance is excellent.

More than half the book is devoted to the Civil War period. While no new insights are presented, the author gives a good account of the war as Harrison viewed it. Since Harrison was in the thick of several western campaigns, the reader gets a detailed picture of the fighting in and around Atlanta and Nashville. His grandfather, William Henry Harrison, ninth president of the United States, made a reputation as an outstanding military figure. Yet, as Father Sievers writes, "In less than a month Benjamin Harrison was destined to engage in more battles than either William Henry Harrison . . . or Andrew Jackson, had fought in a lifetime."

Harrison emerged from the war a devoted family man, deeply religious, an ardent Republican politician; however, he was all of these before the war. Devoted to his country and his party, he volunteered for service and proved that he was an able leader of men. The Civil War gave Benjamin Harrison his political opportunity; his name became widely known in Indiana; his star was ascending. This is where the author leaves him at the conclusion of his first volume.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Maryland

Veterans in Politics, The Story of the G. A. R. By MARY R. DEARING. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1952. x, 523 pp. $6.

Among the pressure groups of the 19th century, the Grand Army of the Republic stands out as one of the most effective and colorful. In this scholarly work, Mary Dearing traces the rise and achievements of this organization which had such tremendous impact upon politics, public opinion, and legislative bodies. In spite of incomplete G. A. R. records, the author succeeded in assembling from other sources the necessary data to write a well documented book. Perhaps the footnotes are unnecessarily elaborate; and possibly a more discriminating eye toward the elimination and condensation of some of the details would have made the story move more smoothly without detracting in any way from the scholarship of an otherwise splendid volume.

The Civil War was not long in progress when both political parties became interested in the soldiers' vote, but the advantage lay with the Republicans, and in the decades that followed this party continued to

exercise a controlling influence over the veterans. Unemployment, public apathy and the plight of the disabled soldiers were among the factors which caused the veterans to organize in the post-Civil War years. Emerging as the most important of the veteran organizations, the Grand Army became a political force; and even while pretending non-partianship, it swung its weight in elections and in lobbying for bounty-equalization, pensions, and preferential treatment in the appointment to government jobs. In wringing from Congress pensions for veterans, the G. A. R. enjoyed phenomenal success. As the society waxed stronger, it became imbued with a patriotic ardor which at times bordered on jingoism. In conducting crusades for the inculcation of patriotism, Grand Army posts concerned themselves with the "loyalty" aspect of text books, while urging flag exercises and military intruction in the schools. Toward the Confederate veterans the G. A. R. remained uncompromisingly hostile; and toward foreign immigration and labor strikes it was consistently unsympathetic. Nationalistic to the core, the society grew more and more conservative. After 1890 its power began to wane. The record of this highly effective pressure group may not be very inspiring, but it is interesting and significant, and the whole story is painstakingly told by the author with absolute impartiality.

ALMONT LINDSEY

Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

Papermaking in Pioneer America. By DARD HUNTER. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. $6.50.

This volume comprises the lectures delivered by the author as holder of the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography in 1949. According to the author, the lectures represent an elaboration of the materials published in the limited edition volume, *Papermaking by Hand in America* (1951) which covered the period 1690 to 1811. Two introductory chapters sketch briefly the historical beginnings of papermaking in the Orient and Occident and describe the method of making the somewhat misnamed "hand-made" paper as practiced at the early paper mills in this country. The forming of the sheets from pulp with the aid of moulds was a manual operation. The preparation of the pulp from rags by a grinding and macerating operation was performed by power-driven machinery. The descriptions of the equipment and processes employed in the early paper mills is of particular value to the student of industry and technology, especially since they come from one who has himself engaged in the manufacture of paper by the older processes.

The eighteen chapters which follow describe in somewhat repetitive detail the establishment of the "first" paper mills—and usually the first mill only—in nineteen colonies and states. These accounts are based upon careful research, somewhat less carefully documented, and doubtless

exhaust a subject which, from the manner of treatment, will have greater interest for antiquarians than historians. The volume concludes with interesting chapters on a pioneer mould-maker and a list of American paper-makers, 1690-1817. There are two illustrations taken from the author's paper mill and photographs of some twenty early paper water marks.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

Sir William Osler, Historian and Literary Essayist. By WILLIAM WHITE. Detroit: Wayne Univ. Press, 1951. 31 pp.

As one of the "Big Four" of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Sir William Osler is known to Baltimoreans and to much of the world as a great man of medicine. The purpose of this booklet is, as the title implies, to show Osler as something more—historian and writer. It shows facets that should be better known of a man already famous in his field. With its many quotations from the subject's writings, this biographical essay does just what such a piece should do; it makes the reader eager to look more deeply into the man and his works.

The New Dictionary of American History. By MICHAEL MARTIN and LEONARD GELBER. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. vi, 695 pp. $10.

This one volume dictionary of American history does not supplant the older multi-volumed sets, but owning the *Dictionary of American History* (1940), 6 vols., and the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1936), 20 vols., has never been practical for the individual interested in history. The *New Dictionary* combines the biographical information of *DAB* and historical facts of *DAH*, though the entries cannot, of necessity, be either as numerous or detailed. No bibliographical information is supplied, but enough essential data is given for purposes of identification. The coverage is well balanced between biography and history and reflects a changing concept of historical subject matter in the past decade, for more attention is given to leaders in the fields of industry, science, business, and social welfare than in the older dictionaries. In addition, the authors have brought new information together which is not in the *DAH* or *DAB*. Men of current importance are included, as well as new agencies and historical data. With considerable imagination, the authors have also listed historical colloquialisms and catch-words, such as "big-stick," "return to normalcy," and "court-packing plan."

As far as Maryland is concerned, there is a judicious statement about the Toleration Act and other contributions of Maryland to national history.

Biographically, entries range from the more conspicuous figures such as the Calverts, Carrolls, and Luther Martin to the lesser-known Christopher Gist, Robert Goodloe Harper, and Louis McLane (misspelled McClane). All in all, the *New Dictionary* provides a useful handbook of historical information at a modest cost.

F. C. H.

Garner-Keene Families of Northern Neck Virginia. By RUTH RITCHIE and SUDIE RUCKER WOOD. [Charlottesville, 1952.] viii, 241 pp.

An outstanding feature of this book is the abundance of documentary evidence which the authors have been able to gather from the past in support of their statement of the facts of record and of their conclusions as to a few not documented.

The compilation of this genealogical material was necessarily dependent on numerous contributors, professional and non-professional, whose names, with their several post-office addresses, are mentioned in the "Preface" which thereby offers a convenient way for communication between the interested inquirer and the person or persons who may be able to answer queries.

We do not approve fulsome praise in respect of any literary production, for it is likely to arouse unfavorable suspicion as to the critic's sincerity or "good taste." Generally speaking, nevertheless, this book is practically flawless in respect of the accuracy of the contents, the orderly arrangement of the material offered to the reader and the clean-cut beauty of the type selected by the printer which may well be regarded as a model of the "printer's art and mystery." The authors "speak to us in English," for "they write it right."

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

The Ligon Family and Connections. By WILLIAM D. LIGON, JR., New York, 1947. xxix, 943 pp.

This is a large handsome volume containing the genealogy of the Ligon family in England and in America. The English origins of the family do not lack in interest, but many readers may find the story of the family in Henrico Co., Virginia (beginning on page 306) of more direct concern and value. Later generations, of course, have scattered throughout the country.

It is apparent that the compiler put much time and effort into the preparation of this genealogy. Conscientious effort has been made, it is obvious, to document carefully each fact and statement. Finally the volume is to be praised for a copious index covering more than seventy pages.

Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Maryland. 2d ed. Baltimore, Southern Book Co., 1952. 189 pp. $7.50.

Here is a reprint that will be welcomed by many persons interested in the Free State. For years out of print, the 1790 census for Maryland has long been an invaluable reference tool for genealogists. Now dog-eared library copies can be replaced, and students who wish to own their own copies may do so. The original edition with its copious index has been faithfully reproduced.

Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Records of the State Enumerations: 1782 to 1785, Virginia. 2d ed. Baltimore, Southern Book Co., 1952. 189 pp. $7.50.

The Chesapeake and the Potomac long served as connecting highways between Maryland and Virginia. Residents of these sister states crossed and recrossed on the watery highways, intermarried, traded, visited. Thus these records of Virginia, the equivalent of the 1790 census records, are of only slightly less interest than those of our own state. This reprint, faithful to the original edition including index, is sure to be welcomed by many in Maryland as well as elsewhere.

Records of the Special Committee of the Senate to Investigate the National Defense Program, 1941-48. By HAROLD E. HUFFOLD and TOUSSAINT L. PRINCE. Washington: National Archives, 1952. 227 pp.

Private Citizen Harry Truman has returned to Missouri and the tumult concerning his eight-year stewardship in the White House begins to subside. In some future day a scholar will sit alone with the documents that tell the story of his rise to the highest office in the land. Chief among those documents will surely be the records described in this, the forty-eighth "preliminary" inventory issued by the National Archives. More, however, than the story of Senator Truman will be found in these records, for the Committee reviewed many non-military phases of World War II. It can safely be predicted that each searcher will find the records, like this inventory, carefully and meticulously organized in the non-partisan tradition of a great national institution.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia. By ROBERT C. WEST. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1952. 157 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

JANE FRAZIER, ALLEGANY COUNTY HEROINE

By Ruth Averill Clauson

Just beyond the southeastern city limits of Cumberland, on the Oldtown Road, stands the weathered "Jane Frazier House." * A Maryland State Roads Commission tablet mentions that from a spot nearby Jane Frazier was captured by the Indians in October, 1755. Torn clapboard sheeting on the east wing of the house reveals rough hewn logs of such size that they have weathered well the two hundred years since John Frazier cut them from virgin timber when he built this sturdy home for his bride, Jane, in 1754.

John Frazier came from Scotland to Pennsylvania. He lived in Venango and Turtle Creek, a gunsmith, hunter, and trader. Fluent in both English and French, having broad knowledge of woodcraft, and skill in disguising himself, Frazier made an excellent guide and interpreter for Colonel Washington who employed him on the trip made to Fort Duquesne as an emissary of Governor Dinwiddie. But when the French gained control of what is now the Pittsburgh area Frazier withdrew to Winchester, Virginia.

There he met the attractive young widow, Jane McLane, a native of Winchester, born in 1735 Jane (or Jean) Bell. When sixteen she had married a young British officer who died shortly thereafter. John Frazier and Jane Bell McLane were married in 1754 and set out to settle near Fort Cumberland, in Maryland.

After building a log dwelling on a site near Evitts Creek, not far from the Fort, John decided to erect a shop for his gunsmithery. His neighbors gathered in October, 1755, to help him. After Jane Frazier had served dinner and the builders were again at work, she asked to take the Frazier hired man and horses to buy supplies at the storehouse at Fort Cumberland. Scarcely out of sight of her home, she was attacked by a group of Indians who killed and scalped her attendant, then hurried away with Jane and her horse.

The trip westward was tortuous and gruelling; at times as much as thirty hours passed without food. But Jane said the Indians were kind and let her ride her horse; they protected her, too, from other Indians

* Miss Clauson, local historian, published an article about the Jane Frazier house in the Cumberland *Sunday Times*, March 10, 1946.

encountered during the three weeks' journey. The return of the raiders to their village on the Great Miami River in Ohio with the white woman captive caused great excitement. A Council was held and Jane was adopted into a tribal family. They too were kind, caring for her when her child was born about a month after her arrival, and making a little coffin for him when he died.

Jane remained with the Indians over a year. She helped the women to plant corn and cook, learned their ways and taught them hers, learned their language and told them stories from the Bible. During this period she witnessed preparations for another raid, the collection of food for those who remained at home, pow-pows and war dances to insure the success of the undertaking. The Indians brought back a Pennsylvania tanner and his son whom they adopted and assigned to tan skins. When preparations for a third raid were being made Jane and the two tanners escaped amid the hysterical excitement.

The three traveled together for a week, then Jane fearing capture went on alone, living on what vegetation she could find, climbing into trees or sleeping in hollows at night. After eleven days she came to a trail which led her to Oldtown. There she found friends. She learned that her husband, after searching and mourning for her for months, had concluded she was dead. He had married a neighbor girl and they lived in his house. The friends suggested she stay with them, saying they would get her nice clothes, put her on a horse and take her to her husband in triumph, for they felt sure John Frazier would rejoice at her return.

The next morning a procession formed: fifty men, women and children, carrying two flags, singing and blowing horns; dogs barking; surprised neighbors along the way joining the gay party. The center of the procession was Jane Frazier, her hazardous journey forgotten perhaps after one night's rest, so happy that in her own words she felt like she "wanted to fly." John Frazier heard the approach of the party. His delight at the return of his wife was boundless as he snatched her from the horse, shouting, "The lost is found; the dead is alive."

Frazier descendants say that the second wife withdrew from the home, but when her child was born she brought him to Jane, threw him in her lap saying that she wanted none of him, and that Jane received the child willingly, reared him and loved him as her own.

The reunited Fraziers added to their farm from the wilderness. Two daughters were born to them and they were prosperous and happy. But all the while John was in touch with military activities of the locality. In 1758 came a letter from Colonel Washington, and when that same year Virginia troops under Washington and Burd marched north to join detachments of General Forbes' Army at Raystown, Frazier, his wife, two daughters and the boy went with the expedition. The family did not return to Maryland. Further mention of them must be sought in the archives and traditions of Bedford County, Pennsylvania.

But the memory of Jane Frazier lingers on in Allegany County. Within the last few years Jane Frazier Village, a section of low rental homes has

been built. It is a pleasant village. The old house, shabby and in need of restoration is still occupied. The west wing added long after the Fraziers' trek to Bedford, said to have been built from material salvaged from canal boats when the C & O Canal flourished, appears more in need of repairs than the sturdy log wing. If the State of Maryland acquires the land necessary to enable the Federal Government to build the Potomac River Parkway on the old C & O Canal right-of-way, a natural consequence would be that the "Jane Frazier House" should be restored. However, dilapidated or restored, the old house shelters the story of Jane Frazier, a favorite among the many historical legends centering around Cumberland, Maryland's "Gateway to the West."

Two Prince George's Co. Houses—Two more of Maryland's very early structures have perished in recent months with the demolition of "Elverton Hall" and "The Robert Bowie House," the latter perhaps better known as "The Cedars." The Historic American Buildings Survey saw fit to record both of these homes of Prince George's Co. and photographs of the two in recent years are also on file with the Society. "The Robert Bowie House" had been ruinous for a generation, but even in its declining years it remained a point of attention for architects and antiquarians for its notable lines and proportions. It was no doubt the oldest building in Nottingham and considering its historical background it seems the more regrettable that disinterest finally brought about its end. This was a frame building whereas "Elverton Hall" was brick and, typical of its era (possibly built as early as 1742 or as late as 1805), very massive and substantial brick. Its end seems to have started a half-dozen years ago, according to local residents of the Mitchellville area, when one corner was accidentally blown out by careless dynamiting of nearby tree stumps. A number of builders are alleged to have cast doubt on repair possibilities. In more recent months a serious bow developed in the opposite gable end and a new owner of less appreciative instincts set off a tremendous charge of dynamite, reducing the bulk of the structure to a pile of rubble. In the Fall of 1952 a few interior walls still stood and the notable boxed stairway, or curvilinear wooden arches, and round-head transoms were exposed to the elements to rot away until the site is cleared for a new modern home. Thus two more old houses are memories and two more bonds between the 20th and 18th centuries are irretrievably lost.

JAMES C. WILFONG, JR.
4889 Queen's Chapel Terrace, N. W.,
Washington 17, D. C.

Guano Trade—Wanted for book in preparation letters, ship logs, transactions, ledgers, etc. Baltimore guano trade 1850s through 1890s. Anything on Peter Duncan, E. K. or E. O. Cooper, Kimball, W. T. Kendall, and other Baltimore sea captains and guano islands they discovered in Caribbean and Mexican Gulf. Also identity and logs of guano ships from Peru and personalia about Filipe and Frederick Barreda, John de Barril, and other guano dealers and their transactions. Particularly interested in material on Navassa Island and operations there of John C. Grafflin and Navassa Phosphate Co., including 1889 riot, Baltimore trials of rioters and fate of convicted men. Will use carefully, bear expenses, and give credit. Arrange through H. R. Manakee of Society staff.

Harman Family—The Second Reunion of the Elk Ridge Family Association will be held at the Wesley Grove Methodist Church, Harmans, June 21, at 11:00 A. M. Interested persons should address Mr. Philip S. Harman, President, Elkridge, or Mr. W. Gray Harman, Historian, 815 First Place, Plainfield, N. J.

Headington—Would appreciate any information whatever on any member of the Headington family prior to 1768. All that is known is that James Headington was in Baltimore County 1704 and that he was paid for a day's work there in 1703.

C. E. HEADINGTON
525 County Club Lane, Havertown, Pa.

McAtee—Brawner—About 1788 George McAtee of Montgomery (later Frederick) Co., m. Elizabeth Brawner and lived near Emmitsburg. Here dau. Elizabeth was born 1790 and dau. Lucy about 1793. Their mother dying before 1799 (when George McAtee m. Mary Hardy as 2d wife), Lucy lived with her grandmother Brawner. Was Elizabeth Brawner McAtee the daughter Elizabeth named in his will by Edward Brawner (1715-1760) of Frederick Co.? Will pay $10 for first positive identification together with documentary or other proof of this marriage.

(MRS.) MARGARET S. WARD
15 Stout St., Oil City, Pa.

Springfield Farm—Mrs. Mish asks that the following corrections in her article (December, 1952) be noted for permanent record: Footnote 1 (line 12) should read "Mrs. Estep Tilliard Gott . . ."; footnote 3 should read "Liber L G No. C, 56"; footnotes 4 and 5 should be reversed;

present footnote 5 should read "Survey, May 6, 1737, Prince George's Co., unpatented certificate, Env. 143, Land Office, Annapolis"; footnote 43 should read "Jan. 20, 1787 . . ."; and footnote 76 should read "Deed Book IN 17, fol. 652, Washington Co., May 24, 1864."

Tuell (Toole, Tull)—Tiernan—Need family data and ancestors of Elenor Tiernan who m. Thomas Glisson. Also data about Catherine (Tuell) Tiernan, Elenor's mother. Both of Prince George's Co. in 1700s.

ELDON B. TUCKER, JR., M. D.
349 Cobun Ave., Morgantown, W. Va.

Tulip Hill—The fine photographs used to illustrate Mr. Leisenring's article about Tulip Hill in the September, 1952, issue were taken by Mr. Thomas H. Scott, 919 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. The editors are pleased to pay tribute to the excellence of Mr. Scott's photography.

Wherrett—Wish to learn names, birth and death dates of parents and forbears of James H. Wherrett, Chesapeake Bay pilot, born St. Mary's Co. about 1797, m. Mary Zachery of Baltimore in 1833, d. in Baltimore, July 13, 1851.

W. NORMAN WHERRETT
2920 Harrison St., Wilmington, Del.

Tyler, Robert C.—Need to know exact place and exact date of birth of General Tyler, last Confederate General to be killed in action. Also what is his middle name, where was he educated, when did he move to Tennessee, and what did he do in Baltimore?

EZRA J. WARNER
Box 1157, Douglas, Ariz.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. DECONDE, *of the Duke University faculty, who has carefully* studied Murray and early Federal diplomacy, published a volume on modern diplomacy entitled, *Herbert Hoover's Latin American Policy,* in 1951. ☆ Long associated with the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, MR. ROSS is now Chief Curator of Art, Los Angeles County Museum. ☆ MR. SCARFF, well-known Baltimore architect, has long been interested in the old homes of Maryland. He is a member of the Council of the Maryland Historical Society and Executive Secretary of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities.