MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Hayes, Montgomery County.
Built by Rev. Alexander Williamson, ca. 1767.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLIX, NO. 2 JUNE, 1954

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIX JUNE, 1954 Number 2

HAYES, A MONTGOMERY COUNTY HOUSE

By G. THOMAS DUNLOP, A. MCCOOK DUNLOP, and L. MORRIS LEISENRING

THE "MANSION HOUSE"

NOT far beyond the northwest boundary of the District of Columbia there is a fine old Georgian mansion built long before a federal district had been thought of.[1] Secluded then and secluded now, one finds it only by direction, standing in what was once part of a large plantation and is still sufficient to shield it from public gaze.[2] Here on high ground among centuries old trees, well massed shrubbery, and with a beautiful old garden, it dominates the later wings, making with them a delightful com-

[1] A brief account of the house and its occupants is found in Roger B. Farquhar, *Historic Montgomery County* (Silver Spring, 1952), pp. 184-185.

[2] Entrace to the property is through either one of two gateways with their stone trimmed piers and wrought iron gates, opening from Manor Road, a roadway winding up from Connecticut Avenue two miles beyond Chevy Chase Circle where there is an old boundary stone on the line between Maryland and the District of Columbia.

position in spite of—or perhaps because of—entire disregard of the traditional five-part symmetrical plan so frequent in Maryland and Virginia.

" Hayes " is an unusual name for a Maryland homestead, chosen as it was without relation to family, local character, or land patents. The house, built in the 1760's on a tract of 700 acres, was an unusual building for its time and location in the then Frederick (now Montgomery) County, away from the architectural influences of the Bay and river structures of the earlier settled counties of the Province. Unusual also was its building by a clergyman, the Reverend Alexander Williamson, with his own funds, of which no previous instance in the Province comes to mind.

The life history of Alexander Williamson gives a fascinating and significant picture of the relation of the clergy to the era. Born and raised in All Saints Parish, Calvert County, he must have known simpler types of buildings and even later, when he served as curate of Saint Anne's, Annapolis, the great houses of the capital had not yet put on Georgian formality. His introduction to the full-flowered Georgian was evidently during his visits to England as a student and finally as the recipient of Holy Orders. His house reflected in its design his associations abroad whence he brought not only the style but the name of his home and acres.

" Hayes " was the name of the home of the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt the elder, Prime Minister of England, and champion in Parliament of the rights of the American colonies during the critical period prior to the Revolution.[3] It was adopted by Alexander Williamson when in 1762 he bought approximately 700 acres of Clean Drinking Manor—which he named " Hayes "—and built the house which was to be his home until his death in 1786. " Hayes " it remained throughout the years until the present owner, to avoid confusion and to perpetuate the manorial origin adopted the name " Hayes Manor."

[3] It seems evident that Williamson named his homestead from admiration of the man, Pitt, rather than from architectural acquaintance. Lord Roseberry in his *Lord Chatham* (New York, 1910), pp. 282-285, states that Pitt did not own or occupy *his* " Hayes," near Bromley, Kent, England, until the spring of 1756. Williamson's last visit to England had ended in January of that year. No information is at hand as to the derivation of the name of the Kent estate nor of its architectural style. The earlier Hayes of Sir Walter Raleigh in Devonshire, had (in 1757, previous to Mr. Williamson's Hayes), given its name to the plantation of John Rieusett at Edenton, North Carolina.

The history of Hayes with its "Mansion House," so designated on the old plat accompanying the deed to James Dunlop in 1796, covers two distinct periods of ownership; the *first*, from November, 1762, when the "moiety" of Clean Drinking Manor was purchased by Williamson from Robert Yates; the *second*, from October, 1792, when it was sold at auction by Williamson's executors in accordance with his will and purchased by James Dunlop.[4] Since then five generations of his direct descendants have occupied the home. Each period of ownership has its architectural as well as its genealogical associations and its interests in the old house and plantation.

The original building is a simple rectangle in plan, 45 feet wide, 36 feet deep, two full stories high crowned with an unpierced gable roof, the whole beautifully proportioned in mass, refined but vigorous in its details. Williamson had been installed as curate in 1761 of the growing and important parish of Prince George's, Frederick, and soon was elevated to rector. Thus established but evidently not willing to be restricted to the hundred acres of glebe lands which surrounded the then primitive frame chapel and rectory,[5] and having private funds, he purchased this plantation of beautifully rolling and tillable lands. From the first he must have considered building for there were tempting sites on his new property but no records exist as to when or by whom his house was planned, his building materials collected, his foundations dug. It was finished by 1766 or 1767 for in the latter year he brought there his bride, Elizabeth, daughter of the prominent and wealthy Dr. William Lyon, of Baltimore.

[4] The 1,400 acres that form "Clean Drinking Manor" were taken up in 1680 and surveyed and patented in 1699 by John Couts of England, whose daughter Elizabeth married Charles Jones, Gentleman in 1750, by which time the old manor house was built. This stood not far from the meandering Rock Creek and about a good mile north of what is now the District of Columbia boundary line. Mr. Jones built the mill on the creek and the bridge that gave the names to Jones Mill Road and Jones Bridge Road, names still used for today's highways. The old house was well known to one of the writers (L. M. L.) who had the opportunity to talk several times to the last Mr. Jones who lived alone in the old place as long as his and the house's physical condition permitted. The house was long and low and narrow with two large first floor rooms each with an entrance door from the long porch, one said to be for family and one for manorial administration. Low ceiled bed rooms were under the roof. Dependencies and quarters were to the north and a garden with giant boxwood to the south, all neglected and falling to ruin. There was a time when it might have been saved. The name has been a tradition since its earliest days, of a clear cold spring famous in the neighborhood.

[5] Circular published by the Parish "Historical Sketch of Rock Creek Parish," kindly furnished by Vestryman Ernest F. Henry.

It would be interesting to know if the design of Hayes had been influenced by his prospective bride and her father in view of their Baltimore associations. At least one building comparable to Hayes had been built there—the quite Georgian "Mount Clare" that Charles Carroll, Barrister, was reconstructing from his father's earlier "Patapsco." [6] Dr. Lyon and the Barrister were both prominent figures in Baltimore and the unpretentious Hayes and the larger and more elaborate Mount Clare had certain elements of similarity. Considering the architectural excellence of these two Georgian buildings it is remarkable that neither of them has been so much as mentioned by the authors of histories of colonial American architecture, though they antedate many of the buildings dwelt on with extended critical analysis.

When Hayes was built the lands of Frederick County bordered the frontier and the early homes were those of pioneers, often built of logs or quarry stones with larger units added as families grew and other building materials became available. Montgomery is rich in the descendants of these architectural ancestors, often charming in their form and combined materials. But Hayes moved into this neighborhood, completely integrated and precisely planned, taking no notice of the earlier settlers or of its nearest neighbors, "Chevy Chase" or "Clean Drinking Manor," both frame houses with broad sweeping roofs, great free-standing chimneys and the simplest of details.[7] Not even in the new George Town only five miles away was there much of the true Georgian style in buildings that antedated Hayes. One wonders at Williamson's building at such a distance from his glebe and chapel, almost five miles as the crow flies and much farther by

[6] See Lilian Giffen, "Mount Clare," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLII (1947), 29-34, and Howland and Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 6-8.

The basic plan of Mount Clare has the same scheme as Kenmore and Hayes and the later Hammond-Harwood, that is—two principal rooms directly connected and facing on the garden, a central entrance hall with two main entrances on the buildings' central axis, the entrance hall flanked by minor rooms, except that at Mount Clare the two main rooms are of such importance that they dwarf the entrance hall and prevent a stair in it but move the stair to one side, placing the functional side entrances, one in the office, one *under the stair* landing to serve from the kitchen wing to the dining room. There is a most interesting matter of detail,—the entire garden front wall is of all header brickwork, as are both main fronts at Hayes.

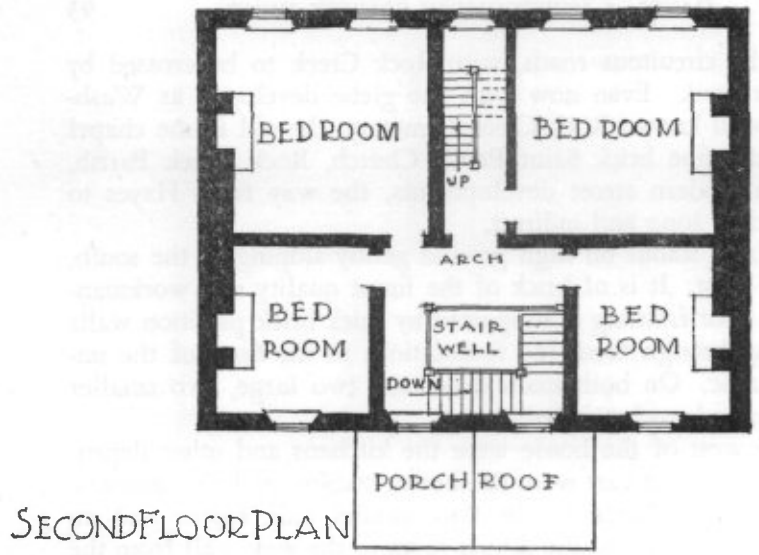
[7] Chevy Chase, an early patented tract of land just beyond the present District of Columbia, Colonel Joseph Belt, patentee. The old frame house long the home of the Bradley family, built about 1755, incorporated as a part of the Chevy Chase Country Club and later burned. See Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

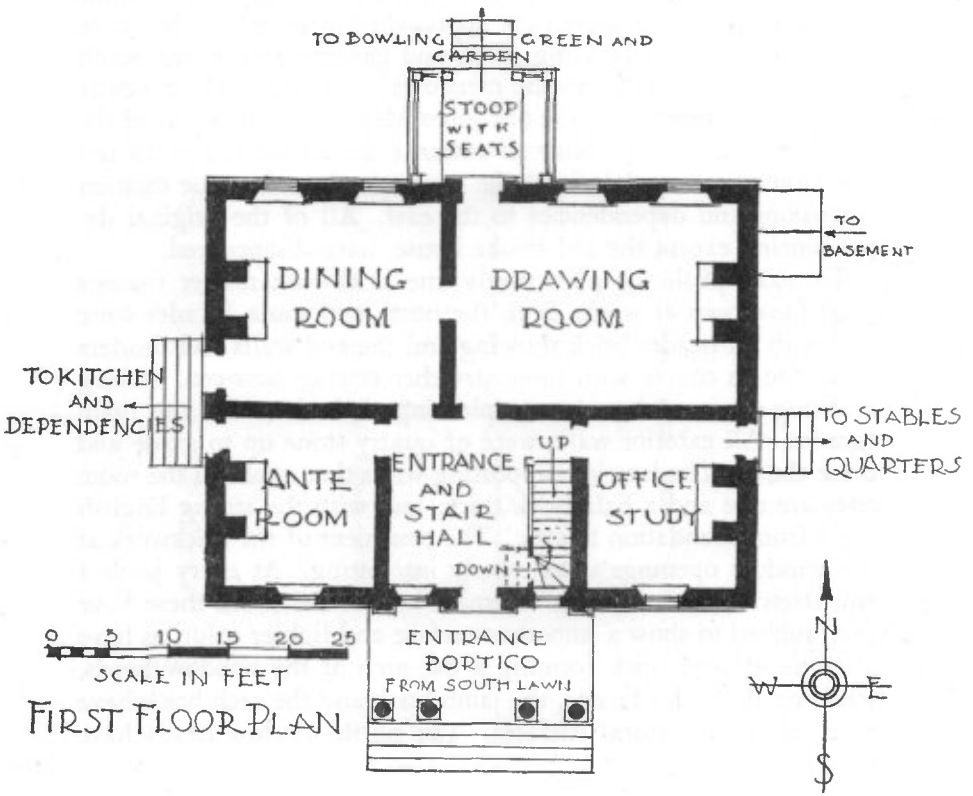
way of the circuitous roads, with Rock Creek to be crossed by bridge or ford. Even now with the glebe developed as Washington's well known Rock Creek Cemetery, the old frame chapel become the fine brick Saint Paul's Church, Rock Creek Parish, and with modern street developments, the way from Hayes to the church is long and indirect.

The house stands on high ground gently sloping to the south, east, and west. It is of brick of the finest quality and workmanship. Its floor framing is supported by thick brick partition walls extending through from the foundations to the floor of the unfinished attic. On both main floors are two large, two smaller rooms, and a broad stair hall.

To the west of the house were the kitchens and other dependencies and to the east were the barns, stables, and the quarters. Minor entrances were to the two smaller side rooms and an unusual one direct into the dining room in the west wall from the kitchen area. The main entrances in the north and south fronts were according to tradition, not approached by driveways but gave on the north to the bowling green and gardens and on the south direct to lawns sloping to the meadows. The approach driveway must have come in from the old Jones Mill road that bordered the north of the property. Now an entrance drive from the south and one from the west deliver at the south porch and at the modern extensions and dependencies to the east. All of the original dependencies, except the old smoke house, have disappeared.

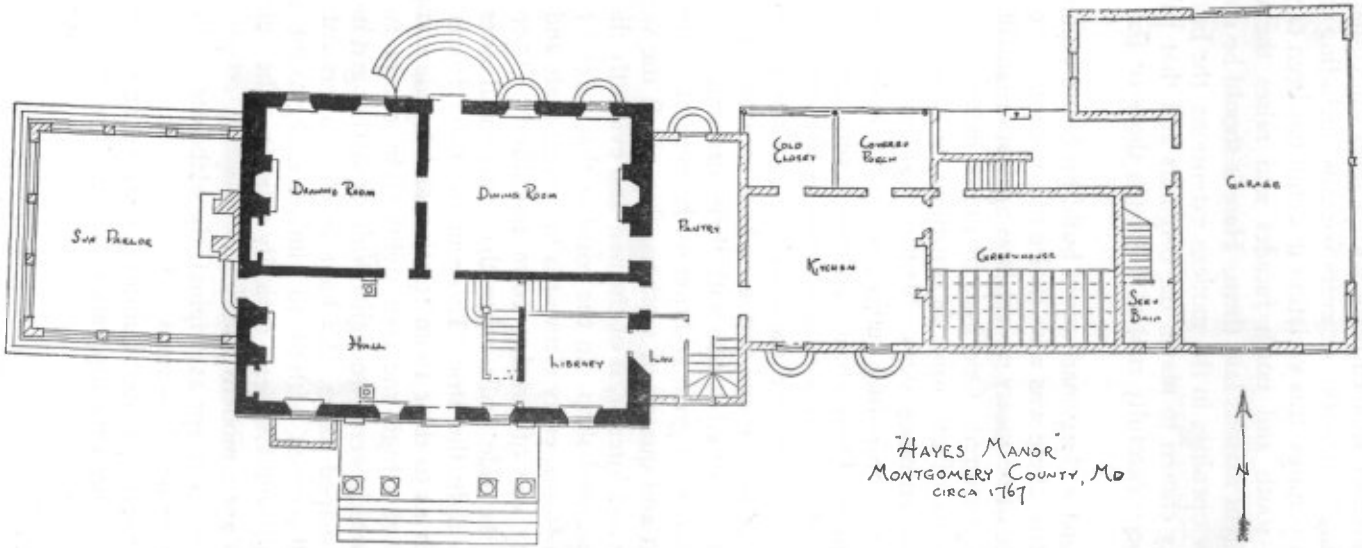
To accomplish the particularly fine brickwork master masons must have been at work. Both the north and south facades were laid with all header brick showing and the end walls had headers every fourth course with three stretcher courses between, making a strong horizontal and very pleasing tie-in between the main facades. All exterior walls were of quarry stone up to grade and brick above. The interior supporting walls that establish the room sizes are one and a half brick thick, laid with the strong English bond from foundation to attic. The treatment of the brickwork at the window openings is extremely interesting. At every jamb a full stretcher and a header alternate but on the south these have been rubbed to show a smoother surface and lighter color, as have also the splayed brick forming a flat arch at the window heads, while on the north facade, the jamb brick and the arch brick have been left their natural surfaces. The north window heads have





FLOOR PLANS OF HAYES AS CONSTRUCTED CIRCA 1767

Drawn by L. Morris Leisenring



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF HAYES, 1954

Original house shown in black.

Drawn by A. McCook Dunlop

a segmental arch of splayed brick with a level top coursing with the surrounding brickwork. At every window, including the heads of basement openings, this variation in detail has been carried out between the south and north facades and raises the question whether different masons laid them. Here it should be noted that in all window openings in the modern extensions, the bricks have been carefully chosen to match the originals and that jambs and heads have been carefully rubbed to match those of the original house.

Granting that a clergyman would build his house economically, it is notable that there was wise choice of substantial construction and excellence of necessary materials as against ornament or items that were not required. One item of rather extreme economy is the total absence of cut stone, as ornament, at door and window sills, or in the entrance steps. Neither was stone used for the elaborate heavily projecting quoins, or for the heads and keys at both main doors. These are a build-up of very hard cement-like mortar, originally the color of sand-stone, now covered with many layers of paint. They are the only substitutions in the use of materials apparent here and may have been an after consideration, as the quoins do not all course with their surrounding brickwork. They are, however, a great addition to the general design.

The design and quality of workmanship of all the woodwork, both exterior and interior, is of the best and evidently the product of a well organized shop. In the cornices that extend the width of both main fronts, every element is in perfect scale and relation, with a happy use of bracket form modillions. There are no windows in the side walls other than two small ones in each gable end to light the attic. Those in the main fronts are well disposed both as to their room relation and facade composition. All are six lights high and four lights wide, except two in the south front which were two lights wide until changed much later to diamond shaped panes. All have inside shutters folding into panelled wall recesses, with broad trim extending to the floor, and have under-sill window seats typically in style. The outside window shutters are a modern addition.

It is difficult to accept as original, the elaborate south entrance portico, with its fluted columns and Greek form of Ionic capitals, especially for such a modest building as Hayes, and of this period and locality. Other contemporary examples of more simple porti-

cos, with unfluted columns, were not uncommon in mid-Atlantic colonies, but not of such rich detail. However, it must be said that the cornice details chime well with those of the main cornices and that the portico in its general effect is not particularly reminiscent of the Greek Revival or of the Early Federal that captivated the nearby national capital early in the succeeding century. Historically there seems to have been no reason why the original owner, Williamson, should have made such an addition before his death in 1786, and there is no record of its addition by any of the ancestors of the present owner. Further, the old wood porch floor was recently removed and replaced with flagstones over cement and the entire width of the foundation wall below the old floor was found to be of rough unfinished brickwork, apparently never having been exposed to view.

At the north or garden entrance there was the traditional wooden stoop with built in bench seats, uncovered but otherwise similar to a popular feature of old Annapolis houses. This was removed years ago. Both main facades have the usual brick water-table projection at floor level, a straight set-back on the north, with moulded bricks on the south. Both facades have a three brick projecting band course at the second floor level.

Few of the original framing timbers are now exposed. The simple floor plan with all joists bearing on masonry and of no great span, required timbers of only moderate size. Those exposed in the unfinished attic are the rafters, resting directly on the front and rear brick walls without plate or ridge beam, tennoned, pinned, and sometimes nailed at the crown, some hewn, some pit sawn, some oak, some pine, all about five inches square. As the roof is a straight gable from end to end without the single or double hips so often used in larger houses, no trusses or braced framing timbers were necessary. There was little use of mortise and tennon work or of wood pins but an unusually plentiful supply of large hand wrought nails. Before the first floor joists had been covered by the present basement ceiling material, these were found to be 5″ × 9″, hewn and a number of them of walnut. As no special framing was used none of the timbers bear the identifying numbers usual with trussed work.

There were fireplaces in all eight rooms of the main floors with flues racked over to the one chimney at the center of the end gables. The fireplaces remain but have been relined and refaced.

Although there was the full basement, there seem to have been no flues or heating facilities for it. The original mantels remain, all of excellent design but without ornament except that in the old drawing room (the present dining room) which has a vigorous Wall of Troy frieze, and that in the old dining room which has a very unusual and effective pattern of a center band guilloche with the upper and lower elements of a Greek fret above and below it. The center block panels of the old mantels in the west ante room and the east office have had ornament applied at a later date.

The walls of the first floor rooms and stair hall were originally free of panelling but had baseboard, chair rail—a wide flat moulded type—and very satisfactory wood cornices on both floors, though there is some question as to the originality of these. There are now furred out spaces at the sides of all chimney breasts, both up and down stairs, a shallow closet in each room, which might well be original but are remembered as later additions. All old doors have their original hardware, generally with L or H hinges and a number with hinge plates covered by the surface wood of door and trim.

The fine stair hall rises symmetrically through the two stories, lighted by two balanced windows on each floor. On the upper floor, opposite to these, on axis, is an arch with impost, archivolt and key, that opened originally to a finished stairway leading to the unfinished attic, but now to a modern bath room. The main stairway with its walnut balusters and rails, was not done justice by its installation, for it was crowded in its effort to reach from floor to floor, and with treads $10\frac{3}{8}''$ and risers $7''$ was rather steeper than might be desired. In plan, in order to provide circulation from the east side entrance to the stair hall, the run to the first landing and from there to the second floor, left clearance of less than 5 feet for the only way from the interior of the house to the basement by steps under the first flight. Likewise, the main entrance door from the south portico, with its trim cut through at the corner, had barely room to open. To be sure this general condition was not unusual in colonial houses of similar plan, but the actual condition here was acute, and the stair was modified some years ago. The steps first rose straight from a vertical newel as shown on the plan before alteration, and with one change in direction at the first landing, reached the second floor, carrying the

rail and balusters around the generous stair well. The balusters were not closely spaced but were large and square at base with room for only two to each tread. They were finely turned, with the vase and collonette reminiscent of the best of their type.[8]

For a house as well planned, finely proportioned and detailed as the original Hayes, its architectural authorship should be a matter of record. But like so many of its contemporaries there is not a shred of documentary evidence to name the architect who designed it nor of the builder who erected it, both of whom should have credit for such good work. "Architects Anonymous" is an alliterative phrase that has recently been going the rounds of the profession, due to the frequent absence of proper credit given in published announcements and illustrations, to the authors of creditable structures. Surely this could be applied to the unknown men of the profession who designed these colonial buildings with such charm that we desire to preserve and restore them. In Baltimore, to which town Hayes may be considered to be related by marriage, there is no record of the architect of the contemporary Mount Clare, nor even of the later Homewood, of which Mr. Paul says in his descriptive pamphlet "The architect is unknown—*if there was one.*"[9]

We may assume that the plan of Hayes represents the evolution of the early type of provincial house, still to be seen in examples like "Sandgates" and St. Richards Manor," as modified by the fashionable Georgian style then greatly in vogue.[10]

If we look for an architect as author or adviser the house itself must be our manuscript with considerations given to Williamson's possible and probable contacts. We get no help from his father-in-law's fellow townsman, Charles Carroll, Barrister, for there is no record of an architect for Mount Clare.[11] The late T. T. Water-

[8] Although greater depth of hallways gave greater head room in larger houses, this type of stair was used in much finer homes as at "Mount Vernon," "Carter's Grove," and "Westover," where one main entrance was under the stair run. At "Harewood" and "Saras Creek," houses comparable in size to Hayes, the head room was little more, both of these starting with straight runs up to to a single landing platform just as at Hayes, and cutting the door trim corner.

[9] J. G. D. Paul, *The History of Homewood* (Baltimore, n. d.)

[10] H. C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, 1934), for "Sandgates" and "St. Richards," where the steep stairs rise with winders the reverse direction from Hayes, and "Woodlawn" and "The Plains," both in St. Mary's where they rise toward the entrance door as at Hayes.

[11] To date none of the Barrister's notes or inventories have been found that mention an architects's services for Mount Clare.

man in his *The Dwellings of Colonial America* has brought forward the name of John Ariss, a man of English training and wide local experience, in connection with such a type of plan, naming "Ratcliffe Manor" and "Pleasant Valley" in Maryland and "Kenmore" in Virginia as probably his. Into this type of plan, both Hayes and Mount Clare would fall. Waterman ascribes the use of this to Ariss's familiarity with William Adams's *Vitruvius Scoticus*.[12] Some years later, William Buckland, the accomplished joiner and carver, having arrived at full architectural status, used this basic plan in an elaborated design for the splendid Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, indulging to the full his delight in richly carved ornament. He had worked with and for the older Ariss and had had some architectural work in and around the new town of Dumfries, where the Hayes type plan had not been used but where the use of all-header brickwork seems to associate his name with the brickwork of Hayes. However, with the entire lack of carved ornament that he invariably used it is hard to see him as the governing force at Hayes. The only carved work there is the flat conventional work in two mantel friezes and the conventional Ionic capitals of the portico columns and the originally simple step ends at the stairway.[13]

With plan and style then as controlling factors, Kenmore at Fredericksburg, attributed to John Ariss, would be Hayes's most probable ancestor, larger but of exact relative proportions as to width and length (Hayes 36×45—Kenmore 40×52 feet in round numbers), much more elaborate as to interior decor but with similar room arrangement upstairs and down with brick supporting walls from end to end. Both houses have entrances at the center of their main facades and two through the end walls to reach their dependencies. Both have formal porches on their gar-

[12] On page 308 of *Mansions of Virginia* Waterman illustrates the plan of Hamilton Hall House, Edinburgh, Scotland, from *Vitruvius Scoticus* together with plans of Menokin, Richmond County, and Kenmore, Fredericksburg, suggesting Hamilton Hall as the key plan for these Virginia houses. The basic plan scheme is not the same as to room use or through circulation from front to garden and from sides to dependencies. *Vitruvius Scoticus* was undoubtedly used with great effect for style and detail, but the plan scheme seems to have grown from early colonial roots.

[13] The work of William Buckland, joiner, carver, and finally architect, is referred to in Waterman's *Mansions of Virginia*, pp. 223-236; by Rosamond Randall Beirne in "William Buckland, Architect of Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (1946), 199-218; and Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York, 1952), pp. 390-400.

THE GARDEN FRONT OF HAYES

Photos (except as indicated) by Thomas F. Scott

CONTRASTING DETAIL IN BRICK WORK OF WINDOWS NORTH AND SOUTH FACADES

THE GARDEN AT HAYES

THE STAIRWAY AS REDESIGNED

STAIRWAY AS ORIGINALLY BUILT

From an Old Photograph

MANTEL IN ORIGINAL WHITE PARLOR, NOW DINING ROOM

The Central Archway on the Second Floor of the Stair Hall

Mantel in Original Dining Room, Now Drawing Room

den fronts. Hayes has much superior brickwork and window placement, and its centrally placed stair hall, in spite of the noted defect in headroom, is finer than Kenmore's.

For some time before the construction of Hayes, John Ariss had had clients in the Northern Neck of Virginia and William Buckland had a well established shop of carpenters, joiners, and carvers there. They had worked together, both with fine architectural libraries and backgrounds. Ariss, the elder, was looking toward work in western Virginia counties. Buckland was looking northward toward Annapolis and an architect's practice. It seems quite possible that with a plan and design by Ariss, with fine but unadorned wood-work from Buckland's shop, and perhaps some other influences from the younger man, Williamson may have had at Hayes a sublimate of the professional skill of the two best qualified men of their day and area.

The Dunlops and Hayes

James Dunlop's ledgers [14] which begin in 1792 disclose quite definitely that at the latest he was by this time in possession of and operating Hayes, and it is quite likely that he had made arrangements with the executors for its occupancy and use shortly after Williamson's death so that the heirs might have the usufruct or income in place of occupancy. Indeed, a memorandum in his own handwriting shows that he anticipated such a course, for it shows he deposited with the executors earnest money in evidence of his intentions to purchase the plantation and house at the sale provided for in the will.

Such a desire for early possession and occupancy on the part of James Dunlop is quite understandable when one considers his background. He had been born heir of the Scotch Barony of Garnkirk with a beautiful mansion house built in 1634 on the ruins of a former house of which his father, James Dunlop, Sr., was the 4th laird of the same name. He had many younger brothers and sisters. An older cousin, Robert Peter of a neighboring estate, Crossbasket Castle, had come to America and settled at Georgetown in 1751 and had acquired a considerable fortune in exporting tobacco and other products of the land.

At the age of sixteen James Dunlop evidently decided that

[14] In the Maryland Historical Society.

there was little future in a Scotch barony for an enterprising young man and himself came to New York in 1771, where he remained during the Revolution, after which, in 1783, he also came to Georgetown and established himself, and prospered in business. In 1787, at the age of thirty-two, he married his sixteen-year-old cousin Elizabeth Peter, daughter of Robert Peter.

This was less than a year after the death of his friend and neighbor Alexander Williamson. In fact, on December 22, 1785, he had witnessed Alexander Williamson's will which provided for the sale of the Hayes property. It requires little imagination to picture this young man, successful in business, with this background, just married and looking forward to a family of his own, seizing this opportunity to acquire the Hayes property. It reminded him of his Garnkirk in Scotland; the plantation would produce for him the tobacco, grain, and other crops which he could export, along with such other crops as he was already producing at " Cider and Ginger," a plantation he had acquired near Poolesville in Montgomery County, but which was more remote from the port of Georgetown, his base of operations. And then, too, he would be near enough to Georgetown to live at Hayes at least a part of the year.

This motive for the purchase of the Hayes plantation with its Georgian house seems the more realistic when we realize that James Dunlop acquired a home in Georgetown where his father-in-law, Robert Peter, built, as a wedding present to his daughter, a handsome house on High Street, now 1239 Wisconsin Avenue, a short distance above Robert Peter's own extensive property. Indeed, James Dunlop lived, at least in the winter months, and reared his large family in this Georgetown house. It seems quite certain that Hayes was only the family's summer home until after his death in 1823.

James Dunlop owned and occupied Hayes at least from 1792 to his death in 1823, during which time three of his sons were educated at Princeton, then the College of New Jersey, graduating in the classes of 1811, 1813, and 1815. His youngest son, Henry, grandfather of the present owner, was denied a Princeton education by circumstances brought about by the War of 1812. His father died when he was about 23 years old. Henry continued to live with his mother until he married, in 1834, Catherine Thomas, daughter of Col. John Thomas, of " Montevue," Frederick County,

and sister of Gov. Francis Thomas of Maryland. He bought property adjoining Montevue where he lived until his death in 1877.

At the death of Elizabeth Dunlop, widow of James Dunlop, in 1837, about half of the Hayes estate, including the house, was acquired by Robert Peter Dunlop, the second son, by purchase from the other heirs. Helen, a daughter of James and Elizabeth, married William Laird and their son, William, Jr., in 1869 acquired the property by purchase on the death of Robert Peter Dunlop. It was at the death of the younger Laird, William, Jr., without issue, that Hayes came into the possession in 1892 of George T. Dunlop, son of Colonel Henry Dunlop and father of G. Thomas Dunlop, the present owner, who inherited it in 1908. Since 1823 it has been in the possession of a son, grandson, or great grandson of James Dunlop, Sr.

The other half of the Hayes plantation had been purchased by the eldest son, James, who was practicing law in Georgetown in partnership with Francis Scott Key. He married Barbara Laird, sister to the elder William Laird, and afterwards became Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.

During the ownership of William Laird, Jr., the plantation land, with the exception of twenty-five acres on which the house is located, was sold to Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada for the Chevy Chase Land Co., from which the Columbia Country Club acquired the land on which its club house and golf course are situated, adjoining Hayes.

The only change made by the Dunlop family until the time that George T. Dunlop purchased it was the addition of a small kitchen wing on the east end to replace a kitchen dependency to the west which had burned many years before. This dependency had apparently been connected to the main building by a colonnade, as was evidenced by the remains of a stone foundation and a bricked-up door in the west wall of the main house. The dining room was afterwards "swapped" with the "white parlor" in the northeast corner when the kitchen wing was built on the east end. The old kitchen foundation and the bricked-up door were plainly visible in the memory of the present owner. There was no door, as now, leading from the present dining room to the kitchen wing; access was only through the small room in the southeast corner. The present passageway leading from the pantry to the main

stairway was partitioned off at a later date. Also, at some time after the destruction of the kitchen dependency by fire, presumably shortly before the Civil War, a typically Victorian porch had been added to the west end of the main house, which was promptly removed when the property came to the present ownership.

When George T. Dunlop, Sr. acquired the property he added the bath room on the second floor. As he intended to occupy the house only during the summer months, no other conveniences were added at that time. In 1899 he replaced the inappropriate and inadequate kitchen wing (that many years before had replaced the original kitchen dependency), with the present wing which contains kitchen, pantry; and two bedrooms and bath on the second floor.

It is evident that careful architectural supervision was given to this new wing, and the recollection of the present owner is that the rebuilding of the main stairway was done at that time. Here surely is the work of a skilled architect, for, using the original newel, balusters and rail pattern, the stairs were raised the height of four risers and a lower landing built. This gave access under the second landing to the office direct from the hall and to the wing basement stair. Using extended step end panels with seemingly new step-end brackets, which in a series of cymas form the free stair string over the entrance door, this change is beautifully carried out. The then young Walter Peter, cousin of the owner, and just three years out of his architectural school was the architect, and here, as in all his later work, he showed his exquisite taste.

Later in 1908, after the death of George T. Dunlop, Sr., Mr. Peter, for the present owner, designed the harmonious west wing which replaced the Victorian porch which was entirely out of keeping with the original structure. Also a green-house and garage on the east connecting with the kitchen wing.

Another architectural change made at this time was the removal of a wall which separated the entrance hall from the "breakfast" room, thus enlarging and greatly enhancing the appearance of the hall. Mr. Peter accomplished this by substituting for the dividing wall a boxed beam under the ceiling supported at each end by an Ionic column and pilaster.

The original planting of the grounds and gardens surrounding the house have been developed with quantities of English and

American box propagated from the many old plants existing on the place, together with old-fashioned roses, lilacs, peonies and other shrubs and plants, including a very large Maiden's Blush rose which was planted a century and a half ago by the first mistress of Hayes. The perfectly level lawn at the rear of the house was originally graded and used as a bowling green and has been since preserved intact, together with the old set of bowling balls found in the attic.

At the west side of this lawn is a very large and unusual English box, twenty-seven feet across. Across the lawn to the south of the house stands an enormous English elm, said by tree experts to be one of the two largest in the country. Many ancient forest trees also survive. A circular driveway which terminated the entrance roadway from the west gate has been restored with its old carriage block.

The old furniture which is still in the house was probably purchased by James Dunlop from the executors of Alexander Williamson at an auction which was held October 23, 1787, as it was sold to a "ready money purchaser" and James Dunlop had deposited $5,000 as earnest money of his intention to purchase Hayes when it became available. The inventory lists made at the time of the sale describe the furnishings and all correspond closely with similar pieces which have been continuously in the house at Hayes since James Dunlop's time. Included amongst these pieces are a three-piece Sheraton dining room table and sideboard, a large number of Chippendale chairs, Hepplewhite settees and matching chairs, Windsor chairs, four-poster beds, chests of drawers, mirrors, and many other pieces of that period.

Williamson, The Builder of Hayes

In the past much has been written about the colonial clergy. Most writers take the position that the quality of the men sent to Maryland and Virginia under the aegis of the Church of England was poor, and that this situation especially applied to Maryland. It is conceded by all that most clergymen sent to the province were upright men, in spite of the fact that the morals of some were questioned. It is inevitable that under such conditions many innocent men were swept into the maelstrom of false accusations

and into the web of still more insidious innuendo. Such a man was the builder of Hayes, third rector of Prince George's Parish.[15]

Alexander Williamson was born in Calvert County about 1727, one of a family of six sons and one daughter, children of the Rev. James and Elizabeth Boyce Williamson, and nephew of Rev. Alexander Williamson, rector of St. Paul's Parish, Kent.[16] His father, James Williamson, was rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent, from 1713 to 1722, when he was inducted rector of All Saint's Parish, Calvert.[17] He remained at this post until his retirement in 1761 [18] and died in 1769. At the time of his death he was a man of considerable means.[19] Here, through mistaken identity, probably lies the seat of the misunderstanding of the character of Alexander Williamson. There is no necessity of confusing the identities of the two men. The father, James Williamson, is reported to have been a man of little character [20] and is charged by the Rev. Giles Rainsford with being "lewd, drunken, and an original at swearing," [21] and it is reported that he was to be brought to ecclesiastical trial for his irregularities and "scandalous conduct," [22] but if so, the outcome is in doubt as no further record can be located.[23] The Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, Commissary, further characterized him as "an Idiot and a Tory." [24] James Williamson, whatever his character, was cleared of at least one accusation of irregularities, as, while rector of Shrewsbury Parish, a letter to him from the Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, Commissary,

[15] To set the record straight, we have availed ourselves of all pertinent public and private records that could be found. We are especially grateful to the custodians of these records and to members of the Chesley and Lyon families for their help in gathering obscure data and without whose assistance the task would have been impossible.

[16] H. F. Thompson, "A List of the Clergy of the Church of England in Maryland, before 1775" (unpublished MS, Md. Hist. Soc.).

[17] F. L. Weis, *Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia* (1950), p. 70.

[18] Henry J. Berkley, "Episcopal Churches and Parishes of Maryland before 1775," unpublished MS, Md. Hist. Soc.

[19] Wills 20, f. 825, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[20] *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 236.

[21] W. S. Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland* (1878), p. 233.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] N. W. Rightmyer, "The Character of the Anglican Clergy of Colonial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (Dec., 1949), 246. The author calls James Williamson, James Wilkinson, an error since corrected. He discusses the accusations and comments of the Rev. Giles Rainsford and Commissary Wilkinson and concludes that in their minds every man who was not a Whig and an Englishman was a rascal. James Williamson was a Scot.

[24] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

was recorded in the Vestry Minutes of October 10, 1721, requesting his presence at the consecration of St. Luke's Church, and at the same time advising him that certain charges had been placed against him. His vestrymen and church wardens answered the letter and categorically denied that Williamson was ever guilty of the " crimes " with which he was charged.[25]

A picture painted in entirely different colors is unveiled when the life of the son, Alexander Williamson, is examined, but the traits ascribed to the father have, by association, been unjustly attributed to the son. Little, if anything is known about his boyhood. It appears that he was educated in England, as the first direct reference to him is found in a letter from Governor Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, Secretary for Maryland, dated June 29, 1755, in which the Governor states:

> One Mr. Williamson Son of Parson Williamson [26] in Calvert Cty is going to England again he tells me to offer himself as a Candidate of Orders. His Father has not the best of Characters but I have never heard any ills of the young Fellow since his residence here. If either of these [another candidate was discussed in the letter] should request his Ldp's Favour for Ecclesiastical preferment at their Return hither, I should wish they may not receive any promise of being immediately provided for. . . .[27]

Young Williamson must have made an excellent impression on Calvert and Baltimore, for after his Ordination in 1755 and in spite of Governor Sharpe's request that no letters of preferment be given, Calvert gave him a letter to Governor Sharpe, dated January 3, 1756, as follows:

> The Bearer the Revd Mr. Williamson desiring my Address to you on his behalf, I beg favour of your Acceptance thereof. Your having no Exception to him His Lordship directs me to Acquaint you, 'tis His desire that you do present him with the first Benefice that does become vacant, after induction of such other Clergy he has noted to you. Preferment of this Gentleman will give My Lord peculiar Satisfaction, be being a Native of His Province, of sound Doctrine and Principles to our present Happy Establishment Both in Church and State. . . .[28]

Calvert's letter made a strong impression on Sharpe, for by

[25] George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 357.
[26] This reference to " Parson " Williamson may be the key to the so-called tradition that Alexander Williamson was known as a " Sporting Parson." This passage definitely refers to his father.
[27] *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 237.
[28] *Ibid.*, 332-333.

January 22, 1757, Williamson was curate of St. Andrew's Parish, St. Mary's County. The vestry minutes of that date show that the vestrymen " Unanimously agree that the Reverend Mr. Alexander Williamson have the thirty per poll. . . ." [29] This was again confirmed for the year 1758.[30]

On April 3, 1759, Williamson presented a letter from Governor Sharpe to the vestrymen of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis, which appointed him curate of that parish. He was sworn in the same day.[31] During the period of his office at St. Anne's, he was chosen to read the prayers at the opening and closing of the Assembly; this responsibility continued throughout his services in this parish.[32]

On February 23, 1761, on the death of the Rev. George Murdock, rector of Prince George's Parish, Williamson was immediately installed as curate to await Lord Baltimore's pleasure as to a permanent appointment. In his letter to Lord Baltimore of March 4, 1761, Governor Sharpe reminded him that Prince George's was one of the most valuable parishes in the province, and in his letter to Calvert on the same day, Sharpe described the parish, and stated that should Dr. Sharpe (an English clergyman for whom the parish had been intended on the death or retirement of Dr. Murdock) have dropped all thoughts of leaving England he (Governor Sharpe) would be glad to induct Williamson into the rectorship of the parish.[33] His Lordship apparently approved the suggestion as on March 24, 1762, he was inducted into the parish as rector.[34] This was indeed rapid advancement; from the time of his ordination in 1755 and his return to Maryland in 1756, he was progressively placed in more influential parishes until, five years later, he had been assigned to one of the most prosperous parishes in the Province. At this time, Williamson was thirty-five years old.

During his rectorship the parish flourished. Arthur S. Browne states in an article entitled " The Origin of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia ": [35]

[29] Copy of Vestry Minutes (Md. Hist. Soc.) for this date. (The poll was 30 pounds of tobacco levied on every male, free or slave, over 16 in the parish. It was collected by the sheriff and paid to the rector as his living.)
[30] *Ibid.*, for February 11, 1758.
[31] Copy of Vestry Minutes (Md. Hist. Soc.), April 23, 1759.
[32] *Archives of Maryland*, LVI, xxix, xxxviii, 228-229, 439.
[33] *Ibid.*, IX, 491-493.
[34] Copy of Vestry Minutes (Md. Hist. Soc.), for this date.
[35] *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 9 (1906), 81-82.

Rev. Mr. Murdock was succeeded by Rev. Alexander Williamson, who was licensed as curate by Governor Sharpe February 23, 1761, and became rector the following year.

Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, whose historical work in the diocese of Maryland is well known, states that Rev. Mr. Williamson resigned his parish in 1776 on account of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Rev. Mr. Williamson considering that his oath of fidelity to the Crown prevented him from serving the parish under the State Government.

The records of the parish and other available material show that Rev. Mr. Williamson was beloved and respected by his congregation, was most earnest in his labors in extending the influence of the church, was zealous in the cause of education and religion, and has left many monuments which endure to this day. His encumbency was the golden age of the parish. . . .

Also, during Mr. Williamson's rectorship, land was procured for two missions in the parish, and chapels were built. . . . The chapels started by Mr. Williamson have long since become independent parishes; and it was due to Mr. Williamson's efforts that the first school was established within the limits of the parish, this being fairly considered the beginning of the school system of the District of Columbia.[36]

Within ten months after his induction as rector, Williamson bought the tract of land which he named "Hayes." In 1766 or 1767 he completed the central core of Hayes. He married in 1767 Elizabeth Lyon, the daughter of Dr. William Lyon of Baltimore. The marriage was an unhappy one, ending in a separation before the birth of a daughter, Mary Lyon Williamson, in Baltimore, January 29, 1769.[37] A tripartite agreement was signed by Williamson, his wife, and Dr. Lyon, under the terms of which, the cause of the separation not being disclosed, Elizabeth Williamson relinquished all claims to Alexander Williamson's estate, in return for which she retained custody of the infant daughter to rear and educate as she saw fit; Williamson returned her dower and relinquished all claims to the estate she had inherited from her grandmother; and Dr. Lyons assumed liability for any contracts Alexander Williamson had made, or might have made, on behalf of Elizabeth Williamson, who was then twenty years of age, and Alexander Williamson and Elizabeth Williamson agreed to live separate and apart as though no contract of marriage had ever been entered into. In spite of this agreement a suit was filed by

[36] *Ibid.* Reference is made to an indenture from John Claggett to Alexander Williamson deeding two acres for the use of a public school. See also Rev. Edward Waylen, *A History of Prince George's Parish, Montgomery County* (Rockville, 1845), pp. 12-16.

[37] Copy of Parish Records, St. Thomas' Church, Garrison Forest (Md. Hist. Soc.).

Dr. Lyon against the executors of Williamson's estate two years after his death to recover funds which he, Dr. Lyon, claimed were due him for the care and education of Mary Lyon Williamson from the time of the signing of the separation agreement until Williamson's death in 1786. The suit was decided in favor of the executors and dismissed.[38] Nowhere in the course of this litigation was there any reflection on Williamson's character.

In connection with Williamson's resignation and retirement as rector of Prince George's Parish at the outbreak of the Revolution, two facts should be noted which, while circumstantial, have a most definite bearing on the understanding of his qualities.

First. When the war broke out, the Church of England clergyman was in a difficult position. He had two courses of action open to him. His oath, on accepting the duties and perquisites of his office, demanded allegiance to the Crown; he was bound by a double bond, secular and spiritual. His was a choice he must make, however distasteful it might be. He had either to renounce his oath and join the patriots, remaining as rector, or adhere to his oath, in which event he was evicted. If he did not pay the treble taxes which were assessed against those who did not forswear, he was banished. Indeed, it has been said that the clergy stood condemned in the eyes of the people; and in the cases of many who elected to remain loyal the sentence was harshly carried into execution.[39] Williamson chose the second of the two alternatives and retired. It is noteworthy that in his retirement he was left in peace on his estate during the war and was not molested as is shown by the fact that his home and property came through the conflict intact.

Second. Throughout the entire war and while he was not officially connected with any church or parish, from 1776 to 1783 twenty-seven couples residing in the newly-formed Montgomery County selected him to perform their marriage ceremonies, though a new rector had been appointed to succeed him.[40] These two

[38] Lyon v. Executors of Alexander Williamson, Chancery 22, f. 526 *ff.*, Land Office, Annapolis. (Photostat at Md. Hist. Soc.)

[39] S. D. McConnell, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1890), p. 202 *ff.* Dr. Rightmyer, *loc. cit.*, states that he has carefully investigated the claims that the Anglican clergy were mistreated if they did not renounce their oaths, and in no instance has he been able to substantiate any punitive action other than restriction to the bounds of their parishes and a prohibition of exercising any influence against the newly declared free and independent state.

[40] G. A. Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records*, II, 521-522.

items bear strongly to show the high regard in which his former parishioners held him, and how, in the heat of the conflict when passion ruled and where true values were often overlooked, he was left to pursue his way in peace, known and admitted Tory that he was.

Another facet which illuminates the character of Alexander Williamson is disclosed in his carefully considered will. His sister, Elizabeth Chesley, had been widowed in 1767 and was left with several small children, two of whom were so young at the time of their father's death that he had not included them in his will which he had executed two years before. In 1773 Elizabeth Chesley executed her own will, in which she attempted to correct that defect in her husband's will by bequeathing to Ann and Thomas sufficient of her property to place them on an equal footing with the six older children.[41] However, the Revolution had so shrunk the fortunes of the Chesley family that when she died in 1785, naming her brother Alexander executor, there was not enough in the estate to accomplish her purpose. At her death Williamson, who had been devotedly attached to his sister Elizabeth and she to him, took her three then unmarried daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ann Chesley, his nieces, to live with him at Hayes under his care and protection,[42] and when he made his own will eight months later, he drew the instrument in such a manner as to carry out the intent and wish of his sister, which he, as executor of her estate, found that he would not be able to fulfill because of a deficiency of available assets. His will, after giving the use of his house and plantation to the three nieces mentioned above until one should marry (in which event the estate should be sold) gave £500 to each niece and nephew and gave and bequeathed " over and above to my dear niece, Ann Chesley, she being wholly neglected in her father's will, as much of the residue of my estate as may be sufficient to raise her to an equality of fortune with the rest of her sisters." A fourth niece, Rebecca, had married in 1785 before Williamson had executed his will. Williamson was under no obligation to leave his daughter anything by the will, since by the terms of the separation agreement Dr. Lyon had assumed all responsibility for the education and

[41] Will of John Chesley, Liber 36, f. 341, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Will of Elizabeth Chesley, Liber JJ # 1, f. 313, *ibid.*

[42] Lyon v. Executors, *supra.*

support of his grandchild, but Williamson provided a bequest to her of £1000, and, after other specific bequests, provided that the corpus of the estate be divided, equally, share and share alike, between his daughter and his nieces and nephews.[43]

It is extremely doubtful if Williamson saw his daughter more than twice during his lifetime. The only known times that he saw her were two visits she made to Hayes; the first in 1784 and the second in 1786, eight months before his death. Both of these visits ended with high feeling between father and daughter, after the first of which he had considered cutting her off with a shilling, but which, as he declared to Thomas Johns, one of his executors, he did not do, for "I have determined not to disinherit my daughter for as I have lived a man of honor, so am I resolved to die." [44] Williamson has been mistakenly thought to have died a wealthy man. While his gross estate was valued at the accounting at £11585, there were not sufficient assets to carry out fully the provisions of his will.[45]

Further, as a man is known by the company he keeps, let us glance at the character of the men named by him as witnesses and executors of his will. These men, Gen. James Lingan, Samuel Davidson, and James Dunlop, witnesses, and Henry Townsend, Thomas Johns, and Benjamin Stoddert, executors, were among the foremost citizens of the community, and above reproach in their public and private lives.

How then, with the marshalling of this evidence before us, is it possible to declare Williamson other than a man of high ideals and exemplary character? Not one particle of evidence, documentary or otherwise, has been brought to light which in the slightest way tends to disparage the character of the man. On the contrary,

[43] Will of Alexander Williamson, Liber B, f. 323, Office of Register of Wills, Rockville.

[44] Lyon v. Executors, *supra.*

[45] Liber E, f. 285, Register of Wills, Rockville. First and only account of executors of Williamson. This is explained by fact that while gross estate was large, after paying of debts of estate and part of specific bequests, there was no residuary estate to distribute. The specific bequest to Mary L. Williamson which is not accounted for can probably be traced to and accounted for in ledgers of James Dunlop who bought Hayes in 1792. An item in ledger dated Apr. 19, 1796, shows a debt owed to Dunlop by John Tagart who had married Mary in 1790, Tagart having become financially involved in 1795. The debt amounting to £1185.19.6 was never repaid by Tagart but a contra entry shows that it was settled by Benjamin Stoddert, an executor, on Apr. 30, 1796. Mary had an equity of £1000 in her father's estate, and this debt was in all likelihood paid from this equity with the interest due thereon. (Ledgers in Md. Hist. Soc.)

the documentary evidence discloses the favorable impression made by him on Gov. Sharpe, Lord Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert and on his personal friends and associates. One finds no direct reference to Williamson's character other than the several Sharpe and Calvert letters previously cited before the publication of Dr. Busey's book on Washington in which the author states that he was " a learned, witty, and elegant clergyman, but addicted to all the vices then common among gentlemen, such as hunting, horse-racing, drinking, and gaming." He " built the house that he might entertain in a manner suited to his taste and means." [46] Dr. Busey gives no authorities for his conclusions, other than a mass of general bibliographical references in an appendix to his book. Later authors have followed in the same vein, but if he loved his horses and enjoyed riding to hounds, and extending the hospitality of his home to his friends, doing to others as they would do unto him, and living his private life in harmony with his duties to his parishioners and his church, is it fair to say of him as Dr. Busey does that " he was addicted to all the vices then common among gentlemen? " Dr. Rightmyer in his article makes this comment on his character: " Had time permitted some of the shining lights of the day might have been discussed in detail. . . . There were Alexander Williamson, senior and junior. . . . These names are but a few of the many that could be mentioned and of whom any church in any age might well be proud." [47]

Williamson died in 1786, and the place of his burial is not known.[48] He has left no surviving descendants.[49] His only child,

[46] S. C. Busey, *Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past* (Washington, 1898), p. 172.

[47] Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250.

[48] An exhaustive search has been made to find the place of rest of Williamson. Legend has it that he was buried in the garden at Hayes, but it is improbable that, having arranged for the disposal of Hayes after his death, he would have wished burial there, and the plot has never been located. Helen G. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland* (New York, 1908), p. 183, places his grave under the chancel of St. Paul's Church, Rock Creek Parish; but at the time of his death, only the walls were up, it had a dirt floor and it remained unroofed for nearly 40 years. If Williamson was buried there his body would have been moved or covered up when the floor was laid; if it was outside the north wall where the present chancel was built, the grave would have been discovered and relocated, even if unmarked, for the present chancel is built over a sub-basement.

The most likely place of burial is under a monument erected to the memory of James and Elizabeth Dunlop which is now placed approximately fifty yards east of the house. An old family burial ground had been established, date unknown, several hundred yards southeast of the house, and in 1926, in an exchange of land with the Chevy Chase Land Co. to correct and straighten boundaries, all the remains that could be found were removed and re-interred in a

Mary Lyon Williamson, who married John Tagart, had eight children, and she, her husband, and six of the children are all buried in the graveyard of St. Thomas's Church, Garrison Forest, Baltimore County.[50] A tablet in the church to Samuel H. Tagart, her son, states:

> The fund for the extension of this church was furnished by
>
> Samuel H. Tagart
>
> to enable the poor but worthy residents of the neighborhood to attend its services and as a memorial to his family (of which he is the sole survivor) who are buried within the shadow of these walls
>
> MDCCCXC

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common grave under the monument at its present site. It is probable that Alexander Williamson established this graveyard and reserved a corner for his slaves—and many slave remains were exhumed after the family remains were moved. He had lost contact with his church since 1776, he was estranged from his wife and child, his nieces immediately returned to St. Mary's County after his death, and there was a convenient graveyard on the property within a few hundred yards of the house in which he died.

Therefore, it appears logical to believe that, no headstone having been placed over his grave; or at least only a wooden marker so common in those days; that, when the Dunlop remains were moved, those of Alexander Williamson were moved with them.

[49] Whether the nieces, or any of them, elected to live at Hayes after Williamson's death as authorized by his will is extremely unlikely. All of them were married by 1798. We do not know the dates of these marriages, but they were not before 1792 when the estate was sold. Neither do we know which niece was married first. The fact that the furnishings and other personal property including slaves and livestock were sold at Hayes on Oct. 23, 1787, indicates that the nieces had moved away prior to that time.

[50] An interesting and unexplained aftermath on the Williamson and Tagart families is uncovered in following the subsequent careers of the members of the Tagart family. Mary Williamson Tagart was born into the Episcopal Church (St. Thomas', Garrison Forest), but the records of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore show that she was married to John Tagart in that church, they were on the rolls of the church as communicants, and all eight of their children were born members of that church and baptized therein. All of the Tagarts, however, are buried in St. Thomas' graveyard, and at least one of them, Samuel Tagart, contributed heavily to the Episcopal Church.

The records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Baltimore show that, on Jan. 21, 1795, an Elizabeth Williamson was married to a William Russell. She is the only Elizabeth Williamson mentioned in the church records. She is unquestionably the widow of Alexander Williamson, as a William Russell, a friend of the Lyon family, gave testimony of an intimate nature in Dr. Lyon's suit against the executors of Alexander Williamson. Dr. Lyon died in August or September of 1794, and did not mention his daughter Elizabeth in his will. (Liber WB 5, f. 185, Register of Wills, Baltimore.)

The family Bible of William Russell (copy in Md. Hist. Soc.) shows that Russell died May 8, 1805, in the 65th year of his age and he was buried in St. Peter's burial ground. Elizabeth Russell, wife of William, died on June 24, 1814, and was buried in First Presbyterian burying ground "aged 65 years."

Fortunately, Alexander Williamson's memory is perpetuated by this paragraph appearing in the *Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore) of December 5, 1786, which is quoted in its entirety:

> On Sunday the 19th ultimo died at Hayes, the Rev. Alexander Williamson; a man of rich genius, knowledge and learning. He was not more distinguished and admired in his public character as a Preacher, than in his private one as a Gentleman—his characteristicks were honour and philanthropy; and as he lived beloved and caressed by a most numerous and respectable acquaintance, so he died universally lamented and regretted.

BALTIMORE: NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD NAME

By HAMILL KENNY

I. IRISH PROVENANCE

IN 1942 the Very Reverend M. J. Canon Masterson, in a contribution [1] to an Irish antiquarian society on the subject of George Calvert's religious conversion, reported as follows, a communication from Canon Gray of Bornacoola Parish, County Longford: "His [Canon Gray's] parish, Bornacoola, includes several townships in County Longford, and he informs me that part of Cloonageehir which lies along the east bank of the Rinn River is still called Baltimore."

This is the Baltimore of George Calvert's County Longford barony which (so Canon Masterson explains, contained seven hamlets, a number of obsolete townlands, and 1,400 acres of bog and wood, a large part of which lay on both sides of the road from Currygranny to Cloonageehir. In the ninety-six years from 1846, the probable date of its last published mention,[2] to the time of Canon Masterson's discovery, Baltimore, County Longford, had sunk into virtual oblivion. Canon Masterson's article puts it again (figuratively speaking) on the map. It can now be unqualifiedly declared that Baltimore, County Longford—the Baltimore responsible for George Calvert's title—is not only a portion of Cloonageehir on the east bank of the Rinn River, but that it is even today so-called!

During my visit, in June, 1952, to Longford, the serene county town of County Longford, in the center of the Emerald Isle, the Very Reverend J. Canon Carney, of St. Mel's College, handed me a copy of Canon Masterson's article, and Mr. Arkin, the County Longford recorder, took me to Bornacoola Parish where (in a

[1] "Baltimore," *Ardagh & Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society Journal* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co.), II (1942), 88-94.
[2] In *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* (Dublin, 1846).

friendly atmosphere of books and greensward) Canon Gray (Masterson's cited authority) gave me a complete confirmation of Canon Masterson's discovery. It was a relief to learn that Baltimore, County Longford, was a tangible reality, still on the peasant's tongue. For earlier on the same journey, in Baltimore, County Cork, I had been disquieted by the misconception expressed to me by the editors of the weekly (Skibbereen) *Southern Star*, that Baltimore, in George Calvert's title, and in America, was really derived from Baltimore, County Cork! One of the editors opined that immigrants may once have sailed from here to Maryland, and the other that in this region Lord Baltimore may once have owned land!

The egregious error that Baltimore, County Cork, is the origin of the American name is not only, in some quarters, the popular belief, but it has also been printed. The earliest statement I have found of this error is by P. W. Joyce who, in 1875, speaking of Baltimore, County Cork, describes George Calvert as "Lord Baltimore, who derived his title from the Irish village. . . ."[3] In later editions of this work, Joyce omits that statement. But in 1893 Dr. J. J. Egli,[4] probably relying on Joyce, also ascribes George Calvert's "Lordtitel" to Baltimore, County Cork. In a popular book about the city of Cork, Robert Gibbings, in 1951,[5] repeats the error: "Baltimore, a small fishing village . . . gave its name to a settlement in America which in little more than 300 years has grown to be a city of nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants." Baltimore, County Cork, is old;[6] like Baltimore, Maryland, it has a commodious harbor, though now forsaken; and it is remembered in Irish history for the Sack of the Algerines (1631) and the siege of the Castle of Baltimore (O'Driscoll's Castle, 1642).[7] But its only connection with the County Longford Baltimore, really responsible for the Maryland name, is that both words probably have the same Gaelic etymology!

The geographical obscurity of Baltimore, County Longford,

[3] *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, Second Series (Dublin, 1875), p. 357.

[4] *Nomina Geografica* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1893), p. 76. The Irish place is not mentioned in the first edition, Leipzig, 1872.

[5] *Sweet Cork of Thee* (New York, 1951), p. 225.

[6] P. W. Joyce, *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (Dublin, 1893), II, 347: "The name is written in several old Anglo-Irish documents, Balintimore, which accords exactly with the present Irish pronunciation."

[7] Richard Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum* (London, 1909), p. 38.

mentioned officially in 1624 as the site of Lord Calvert's barony,[8] is probably the reason for the erroneous belief that Baltimore, America, comes from Baltimore, County Cork, Ireland. Baltimore, County Longford, is not on any of the maps of Ireland I have seen. Nor can one find it in the detailed *Ordnance Survey of Ireland, List of Townlands in County Longford.*[9] *Topographia Hibernica*[10] gives it meager mention beneath the County Cork Baltimore, stating: "Also a place in Co. Longford . . . which gives title of baron to the noble family of Calvert." *The Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*[11] lists only the County Cork Baltimore. *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*,[12] describing the Calvert peerage, declares: "The place from which George Calvert derived his title as a peer, seems not to have been Baltimore in the county of Cork, but some very obscure spot in the county of Longford."

In his article, in addition to re-establishing this "very obscure spot," Canon Masterson presents a theory of why George Calvert chose the particular name, "Baltimore," for his title. The names of most of the places on the property given George Calvert by King James were somewhat difficult and unmusical: Ulfeete and Drumlish, and Aghawaden, Carrowdonegan, Barragh and Derawley. Canon Masterson consequently suggests that the first Lord Baltimore chose *Baltimore* for his title because of its euphony. The Canon states: "George Calvert could hardly have selected an artistic title from any other part of his property. The two chief centres of his property could not allure him. Lord Ulfeete, or Lord Drumlish, sound barbaric in comparison with Lord Baltimore."

II. Corrected Etymology

Baltimore, County Longford, is then a reality; the connection between a big American metropolis and seaport and a portion of Cloonageehir, on the Irish River Rinn, is remote but direct! It was a townland; it probably had houses; there is no mention of a castle. But those who have analyzed the name fail to deal with

[8] See Masterson, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Burke, *Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* (London, 1883), p. 99: "Calvert—Baron Baltimore, of Baltimore. By Letters Patent, dated 16 February, 1624."

[9] (Dublin, 1915).

[10] Compiled by William W. Seward (Dublin, 1795).

[11] Compiled by Samuel Lewis (London, 1837).

[12] (Dublin, 1846).

it in a practical way, and I must therefore deplore as conjectural and erroneous the etymologies proposed by Seward's *Topographia Hibernica*, by Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, by the *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, and by Professor Hermann Collitz.[13] These etymologies, made for the County Cork Baltimore by the first three authorities, and by Professor Collitz (with certain differences) for Baltimore, County Longford, are:

(1) That Baltimore, County Cork, was a Druidical sanctuary where Beal was worshipped, and it therefore means, "The great habitation of Beal"; and
(2) That Baltimore, County Longford, means, "The place of the great Lord" [i. e., "the Supreme Lord in Heaven"].

Though the Irish writers saw the Semitic god 'Beal,' in *Bal-*, whereas Collitz saw 'Lord' in the *-ti-* of Bal*ti*more, the meaning of these two etymologies is basically identical, and their mutual weakness is simply that, as Joyce declares: "For this silly treatment there is not a particle of authority."[14] Though H. L. Mencken calls his article "a model contribution,"[15] Collitz errs specifically in taking the opening syllable of *Bal*timore as *ball*, "spot" or "place," and in being overly fanciful in his notion that *-ti-* is the abbreviation of *tighearna*, "Lord." By thus ignoring the grammatical fact that *balti-* in *Baltimore* is merely the plural (*bailte*) of *baile*, "township," "homestead," "estate," he subordinates truth to imagination.

Joyce comes nearest to the correct etymology of *Baltimore*. He appears, however, to have been influenced in his analysis by historical references to "the Castle of Baltimore" ("Baltimore Castle," "O'Driscols Castle at Baltimore"), the ivied ruins of which still dominate the lonely County Cork harbor. Evidently thinking that this castle is referred to in the name, Joyce reconstructs his prototype as "the correct Irish" *Baile-an-tighe-mhoir*, 'The town of the large house.' The Irish here is indeed correct, with the *m* properly aspirated (i. e., *mh* or [v]) to agree with the genitive masculine singular *an tighe*, "of the house." It is not, however, the Irish of the name *Baltimore* which, as the spellings and pronunciation show, contains neither an aspirated *m* (i. e., *mh* or [v]) nor the genitive article, *an*.

[13] "Baltimore—What Does the Name Mean?" *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XXII (January, 1934), 133-134.
[14] See note 6.
[15] *The American Language* (4th ed., New York, 1947), p. 531.

The correct Gaelic solution is simpler than Joyce supposed, and the meaning reached is applicable to both Baltimores. The first part of the name is *bailte* (> *Balti-*) the plural of *baile*, "township," "homestead," "estate." Mora (> *-more*), the plural of *mor*, remains, as in all previous interpretations, 'big.'

III. American Pronunciation and History

Phonetically and historically, the place name *Baltimore*, in America, has run a varied course. Until the middle of the 18th century, its usual spelling in archives and printed matter, was "Baltemore." This spelling corresponds to the true etymology of *Baltimore* from bailte, and also points to the phenomenon noticed by Mr. H. L. Mencken [16] in his discussion of the name's pronunciation: "The natives always drop the medial *i* and so reduce the name to two syllables." In Ireland *Baltimore* is given its full spelling pronunciation, but with the native American Baltimorean the word is "*Baltm'r*." [17] To the reader who may wonder how the important Irish adjective *mora* thus becomes *m'r*, it should be pointed out that the people of Baltimore, Maryland, besides knowing no Gaelic, evidently share to some degree the well-known Delmarva speech tendency to pronounce *ur* [ə r] for *air* [ɛ r] and (in this case) for for *ore* [ɔ r].[18] Examples are Am*ur*rican (American), Dela*wur* (Delaware), m*urr*it (merit), th*ur*apy (therapy) and th*ur* (there).

Though the present city of Baltimore, Maryland, was founded only in 1729, the county of that name was erected as early as 1659 and this seems to have been the earliest use of the name. "Baltimore M," supposedly meaning a manor, appears on the lower Elk River in Augustine Hermann's map of Virginia and Maryland, dated 1673, but no record of a grant of that name has been found. Also on Hermann's map is "Baltimore Towne" on Bush River, believed to have been the site of the original county seat, but no trace of settlement remains.[19] Joppa on the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 540.
[17] Mr. Mencken's orthography.
[18] Professor William Cabell Greet in W. T. Couch's *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 606-607; Lewis Helmar Herman, *Manual of American Dialects* (Chicago, New York, 1942), p. 102.
[19] Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York, 1929), p. 272; "Early County Seats and Court Houses of Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906) 3-15; John Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 42-53; Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1931), pp. 21-23, 31; Henry J. Berkley, "Extinct

Gunpowder usurped the court house honors but in turn bowed to the present city of Baltimore. The latter became the county seat in 1768. William B. Marye [20] states that a 1686 Somerset County survey mentions "a River called Baltemore River." He notes that surveys of 1711 and 1715 call this stream "the Indian alias Baltimore River. . . ." This Baltimore River [21] evidently suggested a Maryland town of the same name. For, in 1744,[22] it was "enacted" that the "Town to be situated on Indian River" be called "Baltimore-Town." By 1745,[23] to judge from the mention of an actual Baltimore-Town on Indian River, the new place had come into being.

Only the Baltimore on the Patapsco survived. So well-known is this city today as an American seaport, and as the origin of *Baltimore* Clipper, *Baltimore* Glacier (Alaska) [24] Baltimore Hotel,[25] Baltimore Street,[26] North *Baltimore* (Ohio), and the United States cruiser, *Baltimore*,[27] that the truth about its exact geographical source and its Gaelic meaning should be of great interest.[28] This truth is: (1) that the townland,or township, Baltimore, County Longford, and *not* Baltimore, County Cork, is the immediate source of the title, Lord *Baltimore*, and the indirect source of Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.; (2) that Lord Baltimore probably chose this name because of its euphony; and (3) that the name means, in Longford, and wherever else it is found, "big houses," "homesteads," or "estates."

River Towns of the Chesapeake Bay Region," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIX (1924), 125-134. The late Mrs. Sioussat made a visit to Ireland to investigate both localities called Baltimore. Unable to find a trace of a barony or lands of that name in County Longford, she concluded that Calvert had taken his title from the County Cork town. Sioussat, *op. cit.*, 1-9, 13-15. Other writers have followed suit.—*Ed.*

[20] "Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware," *Bulletin Archaeological Society of Delaware*, III (February, 1940), 3.

[21] Today, the Indian River, Delaware.

[22] *Archives of Maryland*, XLII, 626-627 (for 1745).

[23] *Ibid.*, XLIV, 207 (for 1745).

[24] Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

[25] 88, Avenue Kléber, Paris, France.

[26] In America: Baltimore and Cumberland, Maryland; Kansas City, Missouri (*Baltimore* Avenue). In England: Liverpool (*Baltimore* Street, one block, adjoining Maryland Street, two blocks).

[27] Reviewed June 15, 1953, at Portsmouth, England, by Queen Elizabeth II.

[28] The *Baltimore* oriole was named for Lord Baltimore's colors, black and yellow, rather than for the city. See Hervey Brackbill, "The Baltimore Oriole's Name," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (Dec., 1949), 306-308. See also *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 455-456.

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE

PART II

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, No. 1, March, 1954, p. 1)

JOHN HENRY, Jr., who was appointed in 1778 to represent Maryland in the Congress at Philadelphia, was Governor Lee's junior, being only twenty-eight years old at the time.[1] He had been trained in law at the Middle Temple in London, and while there, was conspicuous in defending the rights of the Colonies. He entered political life in Maryland, was popular, and was elected a member of the General Assembly in Annapolis. Later, he was elected Governor of Maryland. His few surviving letters to Governor Lee gain in value, as almost all of his papers and correspondence were destroyed by fire, at his country place, "Weston," in Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore.[2]

JOHN HENRY, JR., TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelᵃ. Sepᵗ. 2. 1780.

Dear Sir

Your favour of the 26th of Aug: addressed to the Delegates I have had the Honour of receiving.[3] On inquiry I find that the Embargo is continued to the 30th of this present month in this State [4] to the 20th of Octᵗ. in Delaware. It has been mentioned in Congress and thought expedient by others, that the embargo in all the States should be taken off. The propriety of the Measure is now under the consideration of a Comᵗᵗᵉᵉ

[1] "Blenheim," the Lee estate referred to in the first installment (March issue, p. 3, fn. 4) was in Charles Co. Mrs. Hayden's article, there cited, appeared in this journal in 1942.

[2] See *Biographical Directory of The American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1300, and H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 41-45.

[3] Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 266-267.

[4] Pennsylvania.

of Congress, and till they have reported, and the Determination of Congress is known, it appears to me proper that the embargo should be continued. As other States have continued it for a short time Maryland I suppose will follow their example.

The Fate of the Action on the morning of the 16th of Aug. you must have heard.[5] It is a melancholy and distressing blow for Maryland, and a ruinous and destructive one to the Southern States. I wish it was in my power to give you the Fate of our gallant countrymen, and to relieve the pain and anxiety of those Distressed Families who wait with a sorrowful impatience to hear the Sacrifice of their dearest connections. But it is not in my power. Genl. [Horatio] Gates' Letter, which is wrote two hundred miles from the Field of Battle, gives no other information than, that they were left by the Militia and himself on the first fire, surrounded by a Force infinitely their superior in Numbers: "That their Bravery is highly to be honoured as they made as great and as gallant an opposition as it was possible so small a Force could make against one so vastly superior." This account I suppose the General gives from the known and established valor of the Troops; it could not be from his knowledge of the Action, for he doesn't appear, by his Letter to have seen the regular Troops after two O'Clock in the Morning when the first skirmish took place. As the State of Maryland was deeply interested in this Action, I thought it my duty to move that the Letter should be published, but Congress determined and I now believe very wisely, that it should not: It must be known sooner or later, and when ever it is, you will join with me in pronouncing it a very extraordinary one. I shall forbear at present to make any observation lest my resentment should carry me beyond the bounds of propriety and Justice. Col. Ramsey [6] who will have the Honour of delivering you this Letter will explain to you the line of March, the order of Battle, and the State in which our Troops were left—from the best information we can collect from the Gentlemen sent by General Gates with the Intelligence. It is believed, for my own part I have no doubt, knowing what passed previous to the action, that their Fate is a serious one: Tho I hope it is not so bad as the fugitive General expresses it in the two first lines of his Letter. "In the deepest distress and Anxiety of Mind, I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency with the total Defeat of the Troops under my Command."

Reports, which the two officers bring, say that many officers fell; among the rest General [William] Smallwood Col. Gunby,[7] Majr. Winder,[8] Majr. Roxbury,[9] Capt. Brooks [10] (reduced to a certainty) Col. Amory, etc. etc. etc. I trust this voluminous Catalogue will considerably diminish when we have a more accurate account; some of our officers will no doubt escape.

[5] The Battle of Camden in South Carolina. For details, see Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York, 1952), II, 725 *ff.*

[6] Probably Nathaniel Ramsey (d. 1817), of Maryland.

[7] John Gunby, of Maryland.

[8] Levin Winder (d. 1819), of Maryland, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Camden.

[9] Alexander Roxburg, of Maryland.

[10] Probably Benjamin Brooks, of Maryland (d. 1800).

Till then, or the return of a Flag sent in by General Gates we must remain in the dark. For further information on this melancholy subject, I refer you to my friend Col. Ramsey.

I am, sir, with the highest respect and

Esteem

Yrs, J. Henry Junr

Christopher Richmond was a young man Lee had known for many years, who had the faculty of writing graphic descriptions of anything in which he had been concerned. His letters, however little he has to say, make agreeable reading, even to the point of his entertaining account of selecting a new "Hatt" and gun for Lee in London.

CHRISTOPHER RICHMOND TO GOVERNOR LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Hillsborough [, North Carolina]
30th. August. 1780

Dear Sir:

I snatch an Opportunity of writing you a few Lines by Col. Malmady,[11] who is on his Way to Phila. You will have heard of our Defeat near Camden,—towards which we had approached with great Rapidity, notwithstanding the violent Heat of the Weather, the Want of Provisions, and other Obstacles. On the 15th Inst. in the Night we marched against the Enemy, with the greatest Hopes, nay a moral Certainty of Success—but alas! our fair Hopes, Wishes and Confidence, were withered & blasted, by the uncommon, and most unheard of Cowardice, of the Militia which was with us; and composed at least two Thirds of our Army. The Maryland & Delaware Regimts. behaved like Men—how many of them are saved I cannot at present tell—but believe, between Six & Seven hundred of the Whole that were in, and out, of Action. I have sent the best Account I could collect, of the Officers who were kill'd, wounded and made Prisoners by the Enemy; to Forrest[12] & Hyde,[13] to whom I wrote a hasty and inaccurate Account of the Battle, and to which, I beg leave to refer you, should no particulars thereof, have reached you before. I hope every exertion will be made in your State, to supply Men for our reduced Division; and to supply them well, when raised—that we may again show the Enemy, we are able to make a respectable Head against them. I will do myself the honor of writing by every Opportunity [.] in the

[11] Francis, Marquis de Malmedy, a French officer.
[12] Uriah Forrest, of Maryland (d. 1805).
[13] Possibly William Hyde, of Maryland.

Mean Time be pleased to make my very Respectful Compts. to your Lady & Family and believe me to be My Dear Sir Your truly affectionate & oblig'd Friend

Chrisr. Richmond

[His Excellency
[Thomas Sim Lee
[Governor of Maryland
[Annapolis]

Throughout the entire bitter engagement at Camden, the Chevalier du Buysson, General de Kalb's aide de camp, remained at his side, saving him from death, it is said, many times. When the Baron fell, mortally wounded, du Buysson appealed to the British, to allow him to die within their lines. This was done, and every last care given him. In 1886 his statue was placed before the State House at Annapolis. Thomas F. Bayard, later Ambassador to England, delivered the address.

CHRISTOPHER RICHMOND TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Hillsborough [N. C.] 4th September 1780

Dear Sir,

Col. Dubuysson, aide de Camp to the late Baron deKalb will do himself the Honour of delivering this to Your Excellency—he is a brave and amiable young Officer, and highly deserves the Attention of every Well-wisher to the Cause of America. I therefore do myself the Honor of introducing him to your Acquaintance and kind offices—and shall Esteem every mark of Respect you bestow upon him as being done to myself. I am with the truest affection and Esteem.
My dear Sir.

You obedt. and obliged Servant

Chrisr. Richmond

His Excellency
Governor Lee

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [14]
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Headquarters, Bergen County [, N. J.]
Sept. 6th, 1780

Sir,

In consequence of the disagreeable intelligence of the defeat of the

[14] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XX, 2-3. Recipient's copy in Hall of Records, Annapolis (see *Calendar of Maryland State Papers—The Brown Books*, item 382.)

Army, under Major General Gates [at Camden, S. C.], which I have just received: I think it expedient to countermand the march of the Troops, which were ordered from Maryland, to join the Main Army.

I am therefore to request your Excellency to give directions for Regiments lately raised for the War, as well as for all the Recruits of your State (as soon as they can possibly be collected and organized) to march immediately to the Southward, and put themselves under the orders of the Commanding Officer of that department.

Although I have not had the particulars of the late disaster, or of how extensive it is; yet it is certain the exigency is such, as will demand the most vigorous and spirited Measures to retrieve our affairs and check the Enemy; and I cannot entertain a doubt, but your Excellency and the State will use every exertion to give Activity and despatch to the march of the Troops; and to all the measures necessary for the protection of the Southern States.

I have enclosed this letter, open, to the Board of War, that in case the Regiment in question is on the march from Maryland, it may be ordered to return without delay.[15]

I have the honor to be etc.

Go. Washington

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia September 10th 1780

My Dear Sir

This day I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the fifteenth, inclosing 365 Dollars.[16] The Bundle of money which you was so very kind as to procure for me I received. it came in very good time, but will not last long in this most Expensive place, And therefore must beg the favour of you to procure some more for me, as soon as you can, it must be of the old Continental money. The new will not pass here. [I] have been with the Coachmaker, He has promised your Chariot shall be finished by the last week in October.

Our Army continues much distressed for want of Meat. They get one meal only in three days, and how long that Scanty Allowance will Continue is uncertain.[17] The Jersey Inhabitants, in whose State the Army is, are plundered daily by partys from the Army, without a possibility of restraint. are not the worst of Consequences to be dreaded from the Armys thus . . .[18] for themselves—may it not be expected that even the people

[15] "A note dated 'War Office Septr. 11th 1780,' and signed 'B[enjamin] S[toddert]' has been added at the bottom of the above letter enumerating the clothing supplies needed for these Maryland troops."—Fitzpatrick.

[16] Letter not located.

[17] John Henry, Jr., wrote to Governor Lee in the same vein on Sept. 5; this letter is printed in E. C. Burnett (ed.) *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1924-1936), V, 360, and in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 80.

[18] One word indecipherable. The sense is "foraging."

of the Jerseys, who have upon all Occasions exerted themselves in Support of the Common Cause, will at length have their affections Alienated from the Army, & look upon them as plunderers, and Enemies, rather than the protectors of their Rights—is it not most shameful that our Army should be Starving, when the Country abounds with provisions? to what can it be imputed? is it from a want of inclination in the States, to comply with what has been repeatedly required of them by Congress? or is it from inattention to the public Cause, or inability to render the necessary Supplies? I hope neither of these is the Case. Satisfied I am, that our resources are abundantly Sufficient, and that the bulk of the people Continue firm in the opposition.

From the disjointed and deranged State of our finances proceed all our embarrassments, and how to extricate ourselves is the difficulty—There seems to be a fatality attending every measure, that has been adopted for that purpose. The most probable schemes have by some means or other been rendered ineffectual—The Resolves of the 18th March promised fair, but am afraid will not answer the end proposed.[19] how is the old money to be got in and new put into Circulation, while our Taxes are antiquated and paid of[f] in Certificates? Our present situation is truly alarming—our Army in want of every thing; no money in the Treasury, and our Credit exhausted.

Congress had advice today of the arrival of Admiral Rodney at the Hook on the 13th, with twelve Ships of the line, and four frigates, and that they had taken & brought into the Harbor, a French frigate—that 5000 Troops were to be sent from N. Y. to the Southward. it is reported that the Combined fleets from the West Indies is on the Coast—if so, the French will be superior, and may put a stop to the Embarkation at New York. Fryday last General Smallwood was by the unanimous Vote of Congress promoted to the Rank of Major General. Am Sorry to acquaint you that this morning dyed much lamented Mrs. Reed the Presidents Lady.[20] My Compliments to Mrs. Lee and am with the greatest esteem and regard Dr. Sir

Your Excellencys most hble Sert.

John Hanson

no late Accounts from the Southward

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia September 11th, 1780

Dear Sir:

I have been Confined to my room, a fortnight and was so unwell when the last post set out, that I was not able to write. I am now on the

[19] See *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-1937), XVI, 260 *ff*.

[20] Esther De Berdt Reed, wife of Joseph Reed, President (i. e., Governor) of Pennsylvania.

recovery and hope to be able to attend Congress in a day or two. You have had I understand as full Accounts from the Southward as any we have had. After the shameful flight of General Gates, it is with great pleasure we are informed that so many of our brave Officers and Soldiers are safe. Generals Smallwood and Gist have gained immortal Honor, to have been able to beat their way through a Surrounding Enemy with a handful of men, equals anything that has been done in this war. Smallwood ought and will I hope, in a few days, be promoted to a Maj. General and ought in my Opinion to take the Command of the Southern Army. General St. Clair [21] or some other brave officers, should Supercede Gates.

We are informed from the Southward that a pretty handsome affair has been lately performed by a Small Body of the Western Militia on the Borders of South Carolina. They were attacked by the Enemy's Cavalry—they Judiciously fell back into a thick wood, Sustained Several Warm Attacks, and at a period of the Action, when the Countenance of the Enemy began to fail, they Issued from their Cover, Charged them with Bayonets, took 40, and it said killed a greater number. This gallant affair was conducted on and in part by a Col. Williams, [of Md.?], Col. Clark of Georgia, and a Col. Shelby.[22]

It is reported & Credited by many, that a french fleet of 10 Sail of the line and some frigates are on the Coast. They were seen it is said a few days ago to the Northward of our Capes. The English fleet has left Rhode Island and steered towards New York. Our new raised Battalion is ordered by the General to the Southward. I have sent Mrs. Lees Shoes—price for making 360 Dolls. most enormous.[23]

With usual esteem & regard, I have the honor to be

Your Excellencys most hble Servt

John Hanson

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE

Enclosing copy of Intercepted Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour [24]

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Sept. 23 1780

Dear sir,

For news I refer you to the enclosed paper, and am with the most perfect esteem

Your Excellancy's most humble Sert

John Hanson

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[21] Arthur St. Clair (1736-1818).

[22] Probably John C. Clark of Georgia and Isaac Shelby of Virginia (d. 1826). Probably Otho Holland Williams.

[23] Possibly he meant 3 *pairs* of shoes at $20 per pair, a total of $60.

[24] Copy of Cornwallis letter is printed in Jared Sparks (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1834-1837), VII, 555-556. For details, see Ward, *loc. cit.*

I have the happiness to inform you that on Wednesday the 16th Instant, I totally defeated Gen. Gates' Army—100 were killed & wounded, about 800 were taken prisoners. We are in possession of 81 pieces of Brass Cannon all they had in the field all their Ammunition, Waggons, a great number of Arms, 136 Baggage Waggons[,] In short there never was a more complete Victory. I have written to Lieut. Colº Turnbull whom I have sent out to join Major Ferguson on little river to push on after Gen. Sumpter to the Waxaws, whose detachment is the only collected force of Rebels in this Country. Colº. Tarlton is in pursuit of Sumpter. Our loss is about 300 killed & wounded, Chiefly of the 33 Reg. and Volunteers of Ireland. I have given orders that all the Inhabitants of this province who have subscribed and have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest Rigour, and also those who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and their whole property may be taken away from them, or destroyed. I have ordered that Compensation, should be made out of their Estates to the persons who have been Injured or oppressed by them; I have ordered in the most positive manner that every Militia man, who hath borne arms with us, and that would join the Enemy, shall be immediately hanged; I desire you will take the most vigorous measures to punish the Rebels in the district in which you Command, and that you will obey in the Strictest manner the Directions I have given in this letter relative to the Inhabitants of this Country—

Cornwallis

August 1780.

Colonel William Fitzhugh of Chatham, grandson of William Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest, was a neighbor and friend of Washington's, and also a friend of Governor Lee's, from their youth. Five letters to Lee on the subject of the Annapolis races, in which Fitzhugh's horses were entered, are in our collection and are full of interest.

One of Fitzhugh's two sons, Peregrine, wrote to Lee several times from the front at Yorktown, and will be quoted later. His second son, William, joined General Greene's division in the Southern Campaign.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Low'r Marlboro ' 28 Augt 1780
Sunday

Dear Sir

I had the Honor to address you yesterday by Mr. Smith on the subject of Depredations committed by the Enemy at the Mouth of Patuxent &

Potomack Rivers; Since which I have advice by a Flatt immediately from Rousby Hall, that two Schooners & a Large Sloop of the Enemy came into the River & went to Town Creek, where there is a Publick Warehouse, & yesterday about 3 o'clock in the afternoon Fir'd several guns, & there Remain'd whilst my Flatt pass'd up the River; My Skipper says that He heard more firing of guns about 10 o'clock at Night, which he supposes were at the same place—

I think it is Probable that the Enemy have taken the Tob° out of Town Creek Warehouse, & that two of the above mention'd vessells were carried up for that Purpose.

When the Enemy surrounded my House on the 15th ult°, they went off in Hast, Expressing Apprehensions of Danger from the Militia.

But If in many Instances they should meet with no Opposition, as has been too much the case, I should not be surprised if they were to proceed up & Plunder every Warehouse on the River at least as far up as Benedict.

I wish the Extraordinary success they have had, may not Encourage a more considerable number of Privateers to come out from N. York. Indeed by the number of vessells they take, and men who enter into their Service, they will themselves soon become Formidable.

I have the Honor to be
with very sincere Regard
Yr Excellency's Affec & Obet. Sert.
William Fitzhugh

Christopher Richmond to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Hillsborough [, N. C.,] 16 October 1780

My Dear Sir

I have to acknowledge the Receipt of your very Kind Favor of the 26th. September,[25] and thank you in the fullest Manner for your very Kind Wishes contained therein—You will be pleased to make my most grateful Returns to your Lady for hers—

Whenever there is an Opportunity of communicating Intelligence quickly, I am always the most busy—and therefore can only make my Letters to my Friends very Short—Genl. Gates had early this Morning, Intelligence from Genl. Sumner [26] at the Yadkin [River], that the Enemy evacuated Charlotte at 4 o'Clock on the Evening of the 12th. Instant, making their Way to Beggar's Ferry on Catawba River; some people conjecture, with a Design of falling upon the Conquerers at King's Mountain; but it is conjectured here, with better Reasons; that Lord Cornwallis fearing he would be troubled in his post at Charlotte, is retreating, for his own Safety; by the Way of Catawba, towards Camden or Opposite

[25] Letter not located.
[26] Jethro Sumner (1733-1785), of North Carolina.

to it, on the Wateree, Westside:—Our Troops are not fit to march, for want of Shoes and Other Necessaries; however these are expected in a few Days, when I hope our Decampment will take place, and be followed by better Fortune than the Last. I am with Compliments to all Friends My Dear Sir

faithfully yours

Chris[r]. Richmond

Governor Lee

Colonel Henry Lee, Jr., better known as "Light Horse Harry," was one of the most picturesque characters of the Revolution.[27] His Light Dragoons are famous. His detailed account of André's execution is one of the most vivid that has come down to us. It is extremely unlikely that it has ever been printed.

HENRY LEE, JR. TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(Historical Society of Pennsylvania) [28]

Light Camp near Tappan, Oct. 4, 1780

Dear Sir:

Last night has produced the events which will bear a distinguished light in the Annals of America, the infamy of Mr. Arnold [29] and the death of Major André, Ad. Gen. of the British Army.[30]

Mr. Arnold has been a villain on a small scale, as well as on a great.[31]

He has established lucrative connections with Sutton and Sutton's wife, and had made them the instruments of converting into money his embezzlement of public stores. He had deceived his wife, and had betrayed his friend, Major André.

This latter matter was perhaps unavoidable, thou' it is generally attributed to a pusillanimity inherent in the villain's breast, as if determined to exhibit to the world how deep in infamy, human nature is capable of descending; he is now, by violating his confidential communications with the Commander-in-Chief, pointing out to Sir Henry Clinton those characters in the city of New York, friendly to the American cause. He lives, but he lives to misery and anguish. The virtuous André is dead, but died with honor.

Perhaps history does not afford an instance of an execution similar to that of André, just and unavoidable; without the least particle of animosity in the sufferer.

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[27] (1756-1818), subsequently Governor of Virginia and the father of Robert E. Lee.

[28] Formerly in T. S. Lee Collection.

[29] Benedict Arnold (1741-1801).

[30] John André (1751-1780).

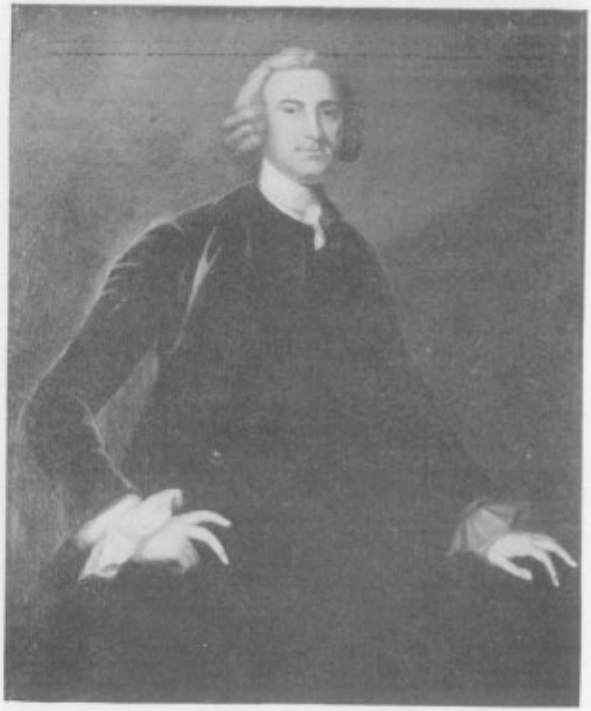
[31] Two recent accounts of this affair are found in Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of The American Revolution* (New York, 1941), and James T. Flexner, *The Traitor and The Spy* (New York, 1953).

The many tales which have gone forth relative to these transactions might render you anxious to hear a special relation of the whole adventure.

It appears that Gen. Arnold was the proposer of his intentions in a letr to Sir Henry Clinton. The point of time is not ascertained, tho' we have some reason to believe it originated soon after Gen. Clinton's return from South Carolina.

The object in view was the betraying West Point into the hands of the enemy. Appearances were to be kept up, the place was to have been surrendered on terms of capitulation & Mr. Arnold a General in our service on parole. In other words, the object was the subjugation of America. Sir Henry Clinton committed the management of this important business to Major André, a young gentleman equal in eminence to any the world ever produced. Major André came up the North river in an armed sloop, and lay near King's ferry, at which place we have two small lights. This ferry is distant from W. Point between 12 x 16 miles. Gen. Arnold by means of a Mr. John Smith, held a conference with Major André in the night on the shore of the N. river. From the place they adjourned to this Mr. Smith's house, one mile into the country. Here matters were completely fixed, the American Gibraltar betrayed, & the traitor secured, as to the reception of the bribe.

They prepared to return, Arnold to W. point, André to the Vulture. Some embarrassment arose as to getting on board again, the two peasants who had landed Major André, having been up the night before, and most of that night, were loth to assist when called on. It was then proposed to spend the day in secret at Smith's house. André consented. Arnold left him. In the evening, André & his guide Smith set out & by virtue of Gen. Arnold's pass, they uninterruptedly crossed King's Ferry. André left his regimental coat in Mr. Smith's house and wore one borrowed from Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith convoyed his charge safe to a solitude without the line of our usual patrols, and left him pushing on for New York. Fortunately when very near the enemy's advanced post, he met with three young militia men, whom quest of plunder had carried thus far. Major André accosted them, asking them from whence, they replyed from below. Above and below are country terms on the lines for the American & B. Armys. André in his transport of joy divulged to them that he was a Br. officer. The lads instantly seized him. He made every attempt on the virtue of his captors. Ten thousand guineas were offered to them, & every necessity of life was lavishly proffered. All in vain. André was brought a prisoner to our advanced guards. Papers announcing the object of his mission were found about him. Arnold's villainy was also discovered, yet so blundering was the officer in his measures that he continued to give the first notice of the capture of the spy to Mr. Arnold, & consequently furnished Arnold with time to escape. This was erroneous, not intentional. Arnold made the best use of this notice, & got to the Vulture in his barge under sanctity of a flag. The four bargemen whom he made use of on this occasion, were at his instance retained as prisoners of war. André & Smith were brought to Camp for trial, the former was condemned, the latter is still under trial. The valorous André, altho' con-



IGNATIUS DIGGES (1707-1785)
Portrait by John Wollaston
Collection Mrs. Outerbridge Horsey

MARY DIGGES LEE (1745-1805)
Portrait by John Hesselius

scious of his having become a spy without intention & by accident, yet in a letr which he wrote to his general, he approves the propriety of his sentence. Time was given for intercession in behalf of the unfortunate André. Gen. Roberson came to our advanced post with some trifling request, and brought two civilians to prove to Gen. Washington that André was no spy, notwithstanding André's letr. to the contrary. In consequence of this overture from the enemy, the execution of the sentence was postponed from Sunday, five o'clock, to Monday twelve. Nothing further was offered by the enemy, & the eminent youth died under a gallows. This officer was the particular favorite of his general & the most promising genius of the army.

How cold are the friendships of men high in power. André's death does honor to human nature; for my part I declare, I would rather be André than be alike to nine tenths of the sentimental world. We have not yet heard Sir H. Clinton's declaration since the execution of his friend. I dare say he will be full of menaces.

Our army continues on their old ground at Tappan. No prospect of any action. A powerful concentration is nearly completed at N. York. I believe they will pay a visit to your neighbor. Wisdom & vigor or destruction, is the watch word for the Southern States. It is said the fleet with troops sail tomorrow.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of respect
& esteem Your aff. relation & old friend

Henry Lee Junr

His Exc'y
T. Sim Lee Esq.

[Endorsed in another hand:]
This is a very interesting account of the treason of Arnold & the capture of André & his execution, drawn up by Col. Henry Lee, the celebrated partiz[an] officer of the Revolution, addressed to his relative, Thomas Sim Lee Esq., then Governor of Maryland, given me by his son, John Lee Esq. in 1825

R. Gilmor [32]

John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia Octo. 9th 1780

My dear Sir,

I am obliged to you for your favors of the 5th and 6th Instant.[33] The officer who was intrusted by Maj. Giles [34] to procure the necessary Cloathing for our new regiment, has been supplied with Shirts and other Cloathing Sufficient for those Troops, and I believe left this place Eight or

[32] Robert Gilmor (1808-1875), of Baltimore, early American autograph collector.
[33] Council to Delegates in Congress, Oct. 6, 1780, is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 317.
[34] Probably Edward Giles of Maryland.

ten days ago. Six hundred Tents are preparing for the Southern Army, and will be ready (the Board of War say) and sent forward in about three or four weeks—these are all that can be had at this place, and will be insufficient to supply the Army to the Southward, and as they will I suppose be immediately sent to Virginia, the regiment at Annapolis will have but little Chance for Coming in for a part of them unless they shall have joined the Army before the Tents Arrive. A great quantity of Canvas is now lying, and has been for some time, at Boston—yet so it has been managed that it has not been brought forward, and the season being so far advanced, our people must, I am afraid, Suffer greatly before it can be transported so great a distance. André was hanged on Monday last. He made no discoveries. He was asked at the gallows if he had anything to say. His answer was that he was not afraid to dye—that he was prepared for it, but was concerned as to the manner—that he would much rather have been shot, and desired that it might be observed that his behaviour was becoming that of a Gentleman and a Soldier. He was dressed in a new suit of Regimentals with his sword by his side.

Smith, it is said, will share the same fate in a little time[.][35] Old Franks is taken up on suspicion of treasonable practices, and Imprisoned.[36] His son, one of Arnold's Aides, it is said is gone off.

On the 5th Instant the Commander-in-Chief was by a Resolve of Congress directed to order A Court of Inquiry on the Conduct of Gen. Gates, and to appoint an officer to take Command of the Southern Army untill such enquiry be made.[37] Some honorable notice will be taken of the Baron de Kalb who fell so gloriously in the Cause of America—and the thanks of Congress will be returned to Generals Smallwood and Gist, and to the officers and men for their Conduct and bravery in the late action near Camden. All expectations of the Arrival of the French fleet are now at an end. Ternay,[38] by erecting fortifications on different parts of Rhode Island has secured his fleet and the Army against any Attempts of the Enemy. This being the case and Clinton having failed in his designs against West Point, it is more than probable his next object will be to the Southward. The Climate is favorable for a Winter Campaign, and a Considerable number of men may be spared from New York without Hazarding that place, as no attempt can be made on it by us, while the enemy is so far superior at Sea.

I have inclosed you the Crises Extraordinary[39] upon finance and the last papers, and am with Complements to Mrs. Lee

Dear Sir, With great esteem & regard

Your most hble Sert

John Hanson

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[35] Joshua Hett Smith was acquitted on Oct. 26 on charge of complicity with Arnold.

[36] David Solebury Franks, aide of Arnold.

[37] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVIII, 906.

[38] Possibly Jean Baptiste Ternant (d. 1816), a French officer.

[39] Thomas Paine's *Crises Extraordinary*, issued in October, 1780.

The Major Set out this morning on his return home—I write in great haste, indeed there is so little time between the Post coming in and going out, that we have Scarce time to write at all.

His Excellency, Governor Lee

GEORGE PLATER [40] AND JOHN HENRY TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelª. Octʳ. 9th. 1780.

Dear Sir

Before Majʳ. Giles left Town we had some expectations of procuring a number of Tents from the State of Pennsylvania, but they have since informed us, through their Delegates, that they cannot supply us. The Board of War will have in the course of some weeks six hundred for the Southern Army. As many as may be necessary for the New Regt we shall request to be sent to Annapolis or such place as you may direct. If there are other recruits who will stand in need of them, we beg to be informed of it.

The shirt which detained Majʳ Giles' officer was ready some days ago and we hope he is now on his way to Maryland with the clothing.

Mr. Matlock,[41] the Secretary of Pennsylvania, informed us yesterday that they had received intelligence of an embarkation of all Regiments now going forward at New-York. It is spoken of with some confidence. We have received no intimation of it from the General, which induces me to believe the report is groundless, as we cannot suppose so important a movement would escape his observation.

Majʳ André, the British adjutant, was executed on Monday last. He disclosed nothing as was reported; but observed to those who were about him that he died like a soldier & a man of honour, lamenting the failure of his undertaking and rejoicing that he died for his King and Country. The General has not informed Congress of the particulars of this transaction. When he does we shall have the Honor of communicating them to you.

Congress has directed the Commander in Chief to hold a Court of inquiry on the Conduct of Majʳ General Gates, in the late action near Camden and to appoint an officer to take the command of the Southern army. General Smallwood has lately been honoured with the command of all the militia of North Carolina by the General Assembly of that State.

Congress is happy to find that the requisition for cattle is likely to be carried into effect. We hope as little delay as possible will attend this

[40] (1735-1792), of "Sotterley," St. Mary's Co. He was Governor of Maryland, 1791-1792, and was succeeded by Lee.

[41] Timothy Matlack (1730-1829), subsequently member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

business. The distresses of the army still continue and we wish we could point out to you the period when they would probably terminate.

We have the honour to be sir,
with the highest respect and
Esteem your obedient servants

Geo. Plater
J. Henry

Governor Lee had married in 1771 Mary Digges, the only daughter of Ignatius Digges, Esq., of Melwood, descended from a distinguished English family. His great-grandfather Sir Edward Digges, had been Governor of Virginia, in 1665.

MARY DIGGES LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Sir,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the Ladies of Maryland have manifested their gratitude, by subscribing a Considerable Sum for the relief of the American army. They are daily depositing the money in my hands, and I flatter myself the collection will be completed in a short time. I must therefore solicit your Excellency's directions, as to the manner in which it shall be disposed of. If for necessaries which may be procured in this State, it will give me pleasure to assist in the execution of your orders. At the same time it may also be necessary that your Excellency should fix their destination—whether for the Northern or Southern army.

I am Sir,
with the highest
respect and Esteem,
your most Humble Servant

Mary Lee

Annapolis September 27th, 1780.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO MARY DIGGES LEE [42]
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress) [43]

Head Quarters near Passaic Falls
Octobr. 11th, 1780.

Madam,

I am honored with your Letter of the 27th of Septr. and cannot forbear taking the earliest moment to express the high sense I entertain of the patriotic exertions of the Ladies of Maryland in favor of the Army.

[42] Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XX, 168. MS in handwriting of David Humphreys; the words " Shirts and Socks (black) " written in by Washington.
[43] Formerly in T. S. Lee Collection.

In answer to your enquiry respecting the disposal of the *Gratuity*, I must take the liberty to observe; that it appears to me, the *money* which has been, or may be collected, cannot be expended in so eligible and beneficial a manner, as on the purchase of Shirts and Socks (black) for the use of the Troops in the Southern Army.

The polite offer you are pleased to make of your further assistance in the execution of *this liberal design*, and the generous disposition of the Ladies, insure me of its success, and cannot fail to entitle both yourself and them, to the warmest gratitude of those who are the objects of it.

I am, &c.

G. W.

Mrs. Lee, Annapolis

HENRY LEE, JR., TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Sir

I have the honor to introduce to your Excellency, Captain Rudolph of the Legion Cavalry.[44] He waits on Government for the purpose of negociating public business.

I take the liberty to request your Excellency's giving him your assistance

I have the honor to be
with sentiments of singular
esteem and respect.

Your Excellency's Ob. Servt.

Henry Lee, Junior

Nov. 3, 1780

His Excellency Governor Lee

THOMAS SIM LEE TO NATHANAEL GREENE
(Maryland Historical Society)

Annapolis Decemr. 9th 1780

Sir

The letter you were pleased to honor me with took the earliest opportunity of laying before the General Assembly of Maryland together with its enclosure.[45]

The deranged state of our finances necessarily engaged the attention of the Legislature previous to their entering fully on the important business you have recommended to their consideration: As yet, your requisition for horse to mount Col. [Henry] Lee's Dragoons is only complied with.

[44] John Rudolph (d. 1782), of Cecil Co., Maryland.

[45] Greene's letter, dated November 10, 1780, with enclosure, is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 176-177. The originals are in the Hall of Records; see *Calendar of Md. State Papers—The Brown Books*, items 402-403.

The preparatory business being nearly completed, necessary supplies are the matters next in course. Permit me, Sir, to call your attention for a moment from the great scene of business which you are engaged to the situation of Col. Luke Marbury of the Militia of this State, a Prisoner on Long Island. This gentlemen, who was taken in the Battle of German Town, unfortunately could not be included in the late exchange because his rank would not apply to any officer prisoner of the United States. His manly sufferings and worthy family influence me powerfully to entreat your interposition in his favor and as I have no doubt of your having the inclination and the power to relieve him from a tedious and irksome imprisonment I beg leave to suggest the propriety of offering one of the Tory Colonels lately captured at or near King's Mountain in exchange

I have the honor to be,
with great personal
Respect and attachment
Sir
Your Most Hble Sevt.
Tho. S. Lee

The Honorable Major
General Greene
Commanding in the
Southern Department

Viscount de Noailles commanded the Soissonnois regiment, which fought brilliantly at Yorktown. This regiment, one of the proudest and most ancient of France, wore grenadier caps decorated with gay white and rose plumes. After his wife's tragic death on the guillotine, de Noailles departed for the West Indies to fight the British. He was there fatally wounded. His heart, enclosed in a silver jewel box by his devoted grenadiers, was carried into battle on their regimental standard, and finally returned to his sorrowing family in France.

After the Revolutionary Campaign, Count Charles Damas returned to France, and was instrumental, together with Count Fersen, in aiding Marie Antoinette and the King in their ill-fated attempt to escape. While in this country he kept a diary.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE [46]
(Chapin Library, Williamstown, Mass.) [47]

New Windsor, [N. Y.,] Dec. 8th, 1780

Sir,

I have the honor of introducing to your Excellency, the Marquis de la Fayette, Majr. General in our Army and an officer of rank in those of

[46] Not printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, but referred to, XX, 440 n. Entirely in Washington's handwriting.
[47] Formerly in T. S. Lee Collection.

France—This Gentlemans character, illustrious birth and fortune, can not be unknown to you, though you may be unacquainted with his person.

I should be wanting in that justice which is due to his great merit—to his early attachment to the American Cause—and to his powerful support of it here and at the Court of Versailles, was I to permit him to depart for the Southern Army without this testimony of the Sense I entertain of his worth, & recommendation of him to your attention.

He will probably be accompanied by his brother-in-law, the Viscount de Noailles, & Count Damas, Gent^{n}. of Family fortune & Rank in the French Army at Rhode Island, whose zeal to serve America has prompted them to make a Winter Campaign to the Southward, if permission can be obtained from the Count de Rochambeau, to be absent from their respective commands so long.

With much esteem & respect

I have the honor to be

Y^{r}. Excell^{ys}. Most Ob^{t}. & H^{ble}. Ser.

G^{o}. Washington

His Excell^{y}
Gov. Lee.

The Count de Custine had been appointed a lieutenant in the French army at the age of nine. His brilliant career was ended by the guillotine—" a crime committed in the name of liberty."

He kept a diary while in this country, unfortunately lost. The regiment of Saintonge, which he commanded, was one of the oldest in France, with a heroic past, formed in 1684 from an ancient regiment of Navarre. It was one of the seven French regiments taking part in the siege of Yorktown.

CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO THOMAS SIM LEE [48]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia — Dec. 18/80

Sir: This letter will be presented to your Excellency by the Count de Custine, Colonel of the Regiment of Saintonge, now at Newport.

He is employing the leisure of winter in seeing the parts of this continent, meriting the attention of a stranger who has very limited time at his disposal.

He specially desired to devote a few days to seeing something of Maryland.

I much hope that he may enjoy the advantages of this journey which he anticipates, and I cannot wish him a better means of doing so, than to

[48] In French; translation by H. L. P.

address himself to your Excellency, whose friendship and good dispositions towards my compatriots I well know.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere attachment, Your Excellency's

Very humble and very obedient servant

Chev. de La Luzerne

The Bourbonnais regiment, one of the most ancient and honorable of France, distinguished itself very specially at Yorktown. The Marquis de Montmorency, its colonel, was among the 6000 sent over under Rochambeau by Louis XVI, as allies to our American cause.

CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO THOMAS SIM LEE [49]
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia, December 18, 1780

Sir,

This letter will be presented by the Marquis de Laval Montmorency, Colonel of the Regiment of Bourbonnais, now at Newport.

He has wished to profit by the inaction of the Army during the winter, by seeing several of the States of this Continent.

He proposes spending several days at Annapolis, and although circumstances will not permit him to render his stay as long as he could have wished, he has a great desire to be known by your Excellency.

Your favorable dispositions towards my countrymen, do not permit me to doubt that he will receive a welcome reception from you.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere attachment,

Your Excellency's very humble
and very obedient servant.

Chev. de la Luzerne

St. Maime commanded the historic Soissonnois regiment, which had been formed in 1598 from a group of "very select gentil hommes." It's motto was "What does it matter? We have won the battle," the words of a sergeant killed in the hour of victory.

St. Maime was entertained by Lee, both in Annapolis and at Lee's country home, "Needwood," as is testified to by a quite long charming letter found among the Lee papers written by St. Maime after this visit.

The Honorable Arthur Dillon, Colonel of the Dillon Regiment,

[49] In French; translation by H. L. P.

after fighting bravely for us in the cause of freedom, lost his life, with so many French aristocrats, on the scaffold in the French revolution.

His daughter escaped from France, and wrote her memoirs, many years later, in the well-known book, *Journal d'une Femme de Cinquante Ans.*

(The spelling St. Maime, rather than St. Meme, St. Mesme, or any other, is used since the gentleman so signed himself in his letters in the T. S. Lee Collection.)

LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

March the 9th, 1781

Sir

This letter will be delivered to your excellency By Count de St Meme and Count de Dillon, Colonels, and Monsieur de St. Victor Captain in the french Army whom I beg leave to introduce to Your Excellency's acquaintance.

They intend to embark on Board the small fleet that carries our detachment—but I have told them, and I Request your excellency to Hold up the idea, that the french fleet Having left the Bay I am ordered immediately to join General Green's Army. I think it should Be well to make some preparations on the Road from Annapolis for the Reception of troops.

With the Highest Respect I have
the Honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most obedient Humble
Servant

Lafayette

Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot commanded the British fleet. Commander Déstouches commanding the French fleet stationed at Newport, where General Rochambeau was in command of the French army, had left Newport on March 8th, arriving in the Chesapeake a week later. The issue of his encounter with Arbuthnot was disputed. The French fleet returned to Newport. Marquis de Laval, C^{te} de Dillon, & M. de St. Victor, have already been noted.

SAINT MAIME TO THOMAS SIM LEE [50]

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia
3d April, 1781

Your Excellency,

I waited until having some good news to announce to you, before having the honour of thanking you for the kindnesses received from you and your family in the country, as well as in town.

The evidences of your kindness are too well engraved on my heart, ever to be effaced. Both my curiosity and my pleasure were entirely satisfied by my trip on the Bay. Only the military side was cause for regret. The most horrible fog, and consequent separation of our ships, caused the French fleet to arrive at the same moment as the British. The combat of the 16th instant, between these two fleets gave great honour to the French. One has only to read the account of the British admiral to judge of the glory acquired by the French Commander. This success was not the whole of his manoevres.

The "Conquèrant" fought against the "Europa" and the "Royal Oak," but the cost was high.

Marquis de Laval, who was on board was slightly wounded. I lost thirty of my grenadiers and two officers, a precious troop whom I regret infinitely.

I hope the activity of the new Secretary of the Navy in France, will put us in a position to act with greater numbers in a manner to make us more useful to our Allies.

Permit me to offer my respects to Mrs. Lee. Comte de Dillon will be more fortunate than I if he passes through Annapolis on his return. He should return by carriage. I was unfortunately obliged to leave him at Williamsburg, on account of a very severe sore throat.

Permit me to enclose the receipt for the two horses procured from the Quarter Master of Annapolis by M. de Saint Victor and myself. Colonel Dillon still had his when we left him.

Pray do not doubt the sentiments of gratitude and esteem with which I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's

Very humble and very obedient servant

Saint Maime

(*To be continued in the September number.*)

[50] In French; translation by H. L. P.

SPOILS, SOILS, AND SKINNER

By HAROLD A. BIERCK, JR.

(Concluded from Vol. XLIX, No. 1, March, 1954, p. 21)

II.

EXACTLY what moved John Stuart Skinner, the Baltimore postmaster, to enter the uncharted field of farm publication has yet to be determined. Pleasant memories of his adolescent farm rearing, possession of two plantations—one inherited by his wife [106]—and his literary experience in defending the insurgent cause are all feasible motives. Whatever the source of his desire to create a weekly farm journal, his wealth gained from his shares in the American Concern and the loan to Carrera enabled him to gamble on the venture, using the press of the Maryland *Censor*.[107] The *Censor,* which, " devoted to the Patriotic cause," had teemed with South American affairs,[108] gave way on April 2, 1819, to Skinner's new hope and hobby. The first issue of *The American Farmer* stated that it was his " great aim and chief pride to collect information from every source, on every branch of Husbandry . . . " and to discover " the best system " for " all circumstances." One month and three numbers later he reported that all numbers had been exhausted and that he was planning a second edition of the first; expenses had fallen but little short of income and he expected an increase of several thousand subscribers in a year or so.[109] His chief problem was good copy and he urged interested farmers to write down their experiences and results and forward same to him for publication.[110] The success of this latter sug-

[106] *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII, 199.

[107] Pinkett, " The *American Farmer,*" 147; Clarence S. Brigham, *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (1915), 157.

[108] David Porter to Joel R. Poinsett, October 19, 1818, Poinsett Papers.

[109] Skinner to William E. Williams, May 6, 1819, Otho Holland Williams Papers, Maryland Historical Society. His " right hand man " was Dr. Gideon B. Smith who aided him with the *Farmer* and *Turf Register* (*Turf, Field, and Farm,* March 30, 1888).

[110] *Ibid.*

gestion can be noted in virtually every issue. Subscriptions—at $4. a year or $5. to insure guaranteed delivery—never exceeded his expectations although many farmers acted as commission agents in securing new readers.[111] Hailed as an innovation, the paper won for Skinner immediate laurels, was soon imitated but never duplicated. Non-political, it introduced a lady's column, promoted field sports, and emphasized above all else experimentation with soils, crops, and animals.

To further agricultural innovations, the former " pirate " turned to the area that he knew best. Diplomatic agents, commercial travellers, but principally naval officers were asked to bring home likely specimens. Latin American seeds and plants were then nurtured on his own farms, and/or dispatched to his subscribers upon their request. Results with these imports were noted in the *Farmer* and data printed respecting the experiments of other far-sighted agronomists such as William Prince, Long Island owner of one of America's first large hot houses. Extracts from works relating the glories and wonders of South American flora and fauna, coupled with engravings—a Skinner spare-no-expense item —enabled the readers to become familiar with highland and tropical plant life.[112] Skinner was justly proud of his exchange program and in February, 1831, reminded his readers,

> Were it practicable to make a list of the various seeds, vegetables, fruits, fowls, animals, machines, specimens of new manufactures, &c, which have been sent or brought from various parts of the world to the office of the American Farmer, during the last ten years, and through it interchanged and disseminated, the *aggregate* would create surprise with those who may have noticed only a few of the cases. . . .[113]

The first such inter-American exchange was a family affair. Judge Bland brought back samples of Chilean wheat which were distributed to various farmers. The results occasioned a notice in the *Farmer* dealing with the growth of Chilean wheat and a

[111] For example see a six-page leaflet memorandum of subscriptions for John S. Skinner's *American Farmer,* 1822-1826, Peter and Hugh Minor Notebooks, 1783-1827, Duke University Library.

[112] For example see *A. F.,* III, 75, 77, 84, 95, 107, wherein are included prints of a Peruvian llama, vicuña, and alpaca.

[113] *A. F.,* XII, 398. Unless the citation is to the contrary all additional references are to the *American Farmer,* volume and page. The significance of this undertaking is revealed by Knowles A. Ryerson, " History and Significance of the Foreign Plant Introduction Work of the United States Department of Agriculture," *Agricultural History,* VI (1933), 110-138.

subsequent publication attested to its wonders![114] The success of this strain led David Porter to write the *National Intelligencer* in 1821 that he still had some " chili wheat " to distribute and would give one quart to any who so requested.[115] Interest in foreign grains remained high and in 1826 Skinner received " four small parcels of wheat of a very extraordinary kind " from Sonora in Mexico.[116] Three years later, Fernando Fairfax, another advocate of Latin-American independence, informed Skinner that his " early Mexican [wheat] is nearly ripe." [117] In 1829 Skinner also distributed *trigo recio* from Spain.[118] Great hopes were held for aracacha. This umbelliferous plant with its edible farinaceous root was and is a northern South American food staple. Its local fame had been spread by travellers and in travel books. Late in 1821 Skinner received a small box of the plant from General John D'Evereux, of the Colombian army, late of Ireland, Maryland, and Buenos Aires. The *Farmer's* editor warmed to its possibilities and promptly quoted copious extracts from a manuscript journal of travels in the Kingdom of New Granada by Palacio Fajardo wherein the aracacha was described in detail.[119] Apparently few were interested in this specimen; yet five years later, as if to stimulate interest, Skinner printed a letter from W. J. Miller of Holmesburg requesting information as to the plant's growth in this country as he had heard the aracacha yielded " a food similar to the potatoe, but much less flatulent . . ." and that it is " said to be extremely grateful to the stomach, and so easy of digestion that it is usual to give it to convalescents with weak stomachs." [120] In 1827 George M. Brooke of Florida replied, " We have it in great perfection," [121] and the year following William Prince wrote about the plant, enclosing an account of it published by a society in Jamaica, and commenting " that two of the finest varieties are now under culture at my establishment, where they flourish with little care. . . . As I have at Present," Prince continued, " above 30 fine flourishing plants, the period cannot be far distant, when they will be so extensively increased in our country, as to form an article useful in domestic economy, more particularly from the circumstance of the climate of our southern states being so suitable

[114] I, 156-157, 193-194, 231.
[115] III, 271.
[116] VIII, 66.
[117] XI, 116.
[118] XII, 218.
[119] III, 327-328.
[120] VIII, 58.
[121] IX, 40.

for their development." [122] The last mention of aracacha is in a reprint from the New York *Farmer* consisting of a report by Samuel L. Mitchill, the dean of American naturalists, concerning his hot house production of the Colombian plant.[123]

Skinner's promotion of "genuine Havana sweet scented tobacco" was expected of a southern editor. It rankled him, as Joseph M. White of the House of Representatives wrote "that the United States are paying annually several millions of dollars for West Indian productions that can be cultivated with success in Florida" and other southern states.[124] Furthermore, this was a gentleman's smoke and, to prove his point, Skinner quoted "the great orator [William] Pinkney" as saying "that he could never *think* so deeply, or with so much consciousness of studying with effect, as when smoking a fine cigar." [125] Therefore Skinner followed the efforts of many to cultivate the Cuban weed. In a September, 1822, issue he related the efforts of A. W. Foster to grow from imported Cuban seed, mentioning that the plants reached a height of "from 20 to 39 inches with from 12 to 20 leaves each." After noting that this tobacco sold for $80 a hundred in Havana he remarked that he had some of Foster's leaves rolled "and tried by good judges, who think they partake somewhat of the Spanish Cigar." [126] In 1827 he reported that a Cuban correspondent, who was sending him "seeds of the very finest tobacco" stressed that in Cuba the yellow leaf is not necessarily the best but that "lightness, thinness and flavour of the leaf" determined quality and price on the Island.[127] Within two years his followers were informed that he had taken steps to procure Cuban seed from Anthony Faulac, "that highly respectable and trust-worthy commercial agent at Havana . . .," who would also supply "our friends who are connoisseurs of that sweet scented plant." [128] But after a decade of observance Skinner concluded that all attempts to duplicate the Cuban plant were abortive. The first two growths were similar in taste to the original but the third could not match it. Only for Florida did he hold out hopes for its cultivation.[129]

[122] X, 123-124, 133-134.
[123] VII, 325.
[124] IX, 337-338.
[125] XII, 398.
[126] IV, 191-192.
[127] VIII, 388.
[128] XI, 87.
[129] XII, 398. Skinner also received and distributed tobacco seed from Venezuela, South America's leading producer of that plant (XII, 44).

As with wheat and tobacco so with sugar and cotton, but to a lesser degree. The desire to duplicate Cuban sugar, the plant and its refinement, was evident in the South but not in the *American Farmer* for the years 1819-1831. Its editor included but one article on sugar and this concerned its manufacture in Cuba.[130] Two mentions of cotton seed importation occur in 1819 issues. The earliest concerns the efforts of George M. Troup, former Senator from Georgia, to obtain two or three casks of Brazilian seed in an effort to avoid the disease called rot. "The experiment," Troup wrote, "will be decisive. If the evil originate with fly, the insect will pierce, without distinction, the Georgia and Brazilian plant." [131] The results are not recorded. The second inclusion respecting cotton related the securing by Colonel Thomas Tenant, former privateer speculator turned merchant, of "a quantity of cotton in the seed, from Carthagena," Colombia. The article noted further that the seed was good and that there existed a wish to obtain more of it "for our southern states. . . ." [132] Again no comment follows as to its success or failure in American soil.

Information regarding the potato of the southland first appeared in 1825. In that year Skinner published an anonymous letter revealing that Commodore Hull had sent Skinner for transfer to the writer what he supposed to be "the tubers of the common potato found wild in Peru." The correspondent had previously instructed the Commodore in the importance of this vegetable, first "because for nearly two centuries, it was believed to be a Virginian plant and called in Europe the Virginia potato 2nd Because Humboldt, and Bonpland declared that it was not a native of any part of North America, [and] 3rd Because the English botanists have . . . procured the wild potato, and have deemed it an object, at least, of great curiosity. . . . On receiving Commodore Hull's package," the anonymous contributor went on, "I at once thought there had been an error, that the tubers sent were not those of the solanum tuberosum." Bigelow and Nuttall, heroic botanists, confirmed his suspicions, hence he applied to higher naval authority. "I have written to Mr. Southard, secretary of the navy," he wrote Skinner, "requesting him (if not an improper request) to forward my letter to Commodore Hull,

[130] XI, 25. [131] I, 237. [132] I, 255. [133] VII, 44-45.

and to desire him to procure the true tubers." Commodores, apparently, did not know their potatoes. The last mention of the potato came in 1830, a quotation from the *Massachusetts Spy*: "The discovery of America gave to the civilized world, in the potato, an acquisition of more importance than the possession of all her mines of Silver and gold." [134] Commodore Jones' botanical error cast further suspicion on those helpful naval officers. He brought some alfalfa seeds from Chile to Skinner reporting them to be *trifolium alpestre,* but they turned out to be nothing more than *Medicago sativa,* the common lucerne or alfalfa. One planter of this Chilean seed recorded that "It succeeded very well, but is not likely to supplant the red clover, among our farmers." [135]

Another correspondent recommended the importation of Spanish American vines in order to improve that "National Industry." [136] Ever alert for suggestions, Skinner obtained samples of a grape with which a Pennsylvania correspondent had great success.[137] He also reported that William Prince was seeking the seed of Mexican grapes,[138] and that interest was evident in the raising of quinoa. This root was delivered from the *Farmer's* officers to one Ohio and two Pennsylvania hopefuls but all reported complete failure in their efforts to grow it.[139] But Prince, the king of plant men, informed him that he had been successful in growing the root after the seed had been immersed in hot water and requested the editor to send him all the quinoa seed received from his South American correspondents.[140] Other vegetables that passed through Skinner's hands included the Brazilian bean, dark brown in color, with seeds of a beautiful scarlet which he himself grew, and the coconut squash from Peru which "by boiling . . . is converted to a tender and delicate sauce, of remarkable sweetness, and excellent when eaten cold as well as hot." [141] The weekly abounds in requests for seed, such as the Angola Pea grown in the West Indies, and the meloncito de olor from Colombia which, when dried, was used to "place in drawers with cloths to which it communicates a considerable portion of its delicious odour. Should this [account] meet the eye of an American naval officer, or supercargo or captain of a merchant ship as it will

[134] XI, 339.
[135] X, 363.
[136] I, 280.
[137] IX, 252.
[138] IX, 12.
[139] IX, 252, 363, 410-411.
[140] XI, 20.
[141] VI, 72; VII, 325.

certainly do if copied by some of our daily papers," Skinner commented, " we make no doubt the Meloncito de Olor would soon after be transplanted to North America." [142] Lengthy descriptions of cacao trees, the love-apple or tomato-berry, agave, Cuban coffee, Brazilian tea, detailed accounts of the cow trees of Caracas, and the raising of cochineal, were included for the edification of the reader.[143]

Although the practical animal world of Latin America had less to offer than the vegetable, those beasts of potential commercial importance were not overlooked by Skinner. In reprinting a committee report of the Agricultural Society of Pendleton, South Carolina, he demonstrated to his following the value of the South American mule. The mule, the report ran, in that area had long been considered of more value than a horse as it combined the virtues of both ox and horse.[144] Within a few years advertisements appeared in the *Farmer* offering in one case " A young Jack, three years old; out of a Jennet imported from Rio de Janeiro, formerly the property of our minister there," and in another " A fine high spirited Jackass, six years old, imported from South-America, remarkable for vigour and the qualities of his stock." [145] Concerning the Mexican hog or *sus pecari,* he quoted in full a letter from the renowned S. L. Mitchill. The Philadelphia naturalist told how, in 1824, he had imported this species from Venezuela, sending it to Long Island for breeding. There it was discovered that these hogs had a propensity to attack human beings, were very mischievous, did not accumulate fat, and possessed an obstinate and perverse temper. " That beside their smallness, leanness, and other disagreeable qualities," Mitchill explained, " their surly and indomitable disposition renders them a great torment on a farm or plantation," and they were very spiteful against Negroes and particularly prone to attack them.[146] In 1821 Skinner ran four articles telling of the wonder of what he termed " Peruvian Sheep," namely the Llama, vicuña, alpaca, and huanco, written by the one American who had had more experience in Latin American commerce than any other alive at the

[142] V, 15; IX, 92.
[143] IV, 145; V, 188; VI, 284; IX, 340; X, 204; XI, 356; XX, 168-169; VII, 95.
[144] III, 220.
[145] IX, 63, 136.
[146] VII, 405.

time—the merchant, adventurer, and author, William Davis Robinson. Skinner, in complete agreement with Robinson's suggestion that these wool-bearing animals should be imported, concluded the series with the hint that members of the American squadron about to leave for the Pacific would find the subject so worthy of attention that they would bring back samples of all four species.[147] Late in the 1820's, David Dixon Porter took time off from his studies of Spanish in Mexico [148] to dispatch to Skinner "some large fowls, in size between the barn-door fowl and turkey, called . . . powees." For this deed, the young Porter received the Skinner accolade of "Chip off the Old Block and a good one." [149]

In a September, 1828, issue Skinner almost jubilantly expounded: "It has been our good luck through the agency of naval officers, our consuls abroad, and merchants . . . to have been instrumental in introducing a great variety of vegetables, grains, fruits, fowls, and animals which have never before been received in America." [150] Whether or not he got his "Peruvian sheep" in this shipment is not recorded; however, he did obtain the Canta Galla or Brazilian singing cock. This barnyard curiosity was made known to Skinner by his good friend José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Minister to the United States. It was the same Rebello who, at the suggestion of Skinner, placed a silver cup at the disposal of the Maryland Agricultural Society to be granted "for the ram, which, being shorn upon the ground, yielded the greatest weight of picklock wool." W. R. Dickinson of Steubenville, first winner of the Revello Cup, wrote Skinner, in July, 1826: "I . . . shall treasure the cup, this offering of a distinguished foreigner, whose publick spirit will be long remembered in our country, as a trophy of inestimable value. . . ." [151] Of such things is compounded real friendship among peoples.

Of greatest significance and value, though not so recognized at the time, of the Skinner importations from South America was guano. It was first brought from Peru by Midshipman Bland,

[147] III, 75-77, 84, 95, 107.
[148] Biographical Sketch, David Dixon Porter Papers (Library of Congress).
[149] *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* I, 253-254.
[150] X, 208.
[151] VIII, 208. Rebello sent and carried to Brazil blooded bulls and cows, cotton, and gins (A. P. Whitaker, "Jose Silvesre Revello: The First Diplomatic Representative of Brazil in the United States," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XX [1940], 400).

Skinner's young brother-in-law. Apparently well-acquainted with this bird manure through his reading, Skinner turned the sample over to the "obliging Professor of Agricultural Chemistry," Dr. Ducatel, for analysis. The good professor dutifully made his tests and favored Skinner with a historical sketch of guano written in the 18th century by Antonio de Ulloa. This piece which told of the Chincha Islands off the Peruvian coast near the city of Iquiqui, appeared in the *Farmer* the day before Christmas in 1824; further, it described the 50 to 60 feet strata in which guano was found, to which Skinner appended that the samples brought by Bland had "a saline taste, and a slight castoreum odour. Exposed to fire, it blackens," he reported, "and emits strong amoniacal fumes, as observed by Sir H. Davy." But as to the birds' being responsible for this wonder, he was doubtful, stating "but it can scarcely be possible, that such immense strata, should have accumulated in that way alone." Regardless of its origin, he recommended it as a great fertilizer that should be used with water and applied sparingly.[152] Only one other mention was made of guano in the *Farmer* during Skinner's editorship—an extract from the *New England Farmer* quoting Humboldt's theories and opinions respecting its nature, origin, and value.[153] The time was not ripe for the use of guano in the United States, nor was Peru politically sound enough to further its exploitation. Skinner's work of enlightenment resulted in a small private demand but not until its acceptance in England in the late 1830s did the fertilizer reach Baltimore once again, in 1843.[154] For two decades and more guano became the "prominent subject of the day,"[155] and, as Daniel Lee, editor of the *Southern Cultivator,* stated, "after putting . . . some on his corn; 'The effect of guano is discernable half a mile.'"[156] In fact it met the eye throughout the nation.

[152] VI, 316-317.

[153] XI, 286.

[154] *American Farmer* (new series), I (1845-1846) relates pre-1843 use. Roy F. Nichols, "Latin American Guano Diplomacy," in A. C. Wilgus (ed.), *Modern Hispanic America* (Georgetown, 1933), 517 gives the year 1844 as the date of its re-introduction, as does Frank R. Rutter, *South American Trade of Baltimore,* Johns Hopkins University Studies, XV (Baltimore, 1897), 42.

[155] Avery O. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (Urbana, 1926), 49.

[156] Quoted in Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Peruvian Guano Gospel in the Old South," *Agricultural History,* XIV (1950), 213. See also Rosser H. Taylor "Sale and Application of Commercial Fertilizers in the South Atlantic States to 1900," *ibid.,* XXI (1947), 46-52.

In 1850 Skinner had occasion to reflect on his work in introducing guano. In his *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* he inserted a resolution passed by the Maryland Agricultural Society urging executive action to break the English monopoly in the guano trade. " What a change . . ," the reproachful Skinner wrote, " has come o'er the spirit of their dreams, among the Maryland farmers since 1824! " He then reminded his readers that he had distributed two barrels of guano in that year and reprinted descriptions of the bird manure published in the *Farmer* described above, inveighing " We give it as a piece of agricultural history which may possess some interest for the young reader of the present day." [157]

Inter-American commerce, its advantages and drawbacks, was discussed, but not stressed in the Skinner publication. The positive values resulting from the exportation of American manufactured and processed articles to the former Spanish and Portugese colonies is the theme of an article appearing in the first volume. Vessels departing from United States ports could sell their cargoes to advantage in the newly opened ports, then load with profitable products and minerals which would sell at a profit in the southern and northern home ports.[158] For Baltimore merchants, and many were farmer-merchants, this became an accepted practice in the 1820s. The rise of their city as a milling center, supported in the main by shipments to South American, Cuban, and Mexican ports lent strength to the trade advocacy of Skinner.[159] Nevertheless, he permitted those who feared the Latin agricultural economy to speak through his journal. Francis Valck's letter of 1822 was not withheld. The Philadephian reviewed the course of American commerce during the heyday of European wars, but lamented " the rivalship of those parts of South America . . . which are favourable to the growth of wheat, . . ." Once producing in full he felt the South American grain would sell cheaper in the world markets. Valck failed to foresee civil war and the consequent decline " of all energy " of those southern neighbors. His answer to the supposed threat was new home markets and manufacturing, which he felt would increase the demand for the products of the farm.

[157] *Plough, Loom, and Anvil,* II, 787-788.

[158] I, 230.

[159] Craven, *Soil Exhaustion,* 128; Rutter, *Trade,* 39 *ff.* Skinner, using Haiti as an example, demonstrated that in the year ending September, 1823, exports to that country exceeded in value and tonnage the combined domestic exports and tonnage to Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Malta, Trieste, and other Adriatic ports, Turkey, the Levant, Egypt, and China (IV, 136).

The false and pitiful policy, [he complained], by which our manufactories have been oppressed and partly ruined, comes now home; if they had been duly encouraged, the seven years which have elapsed since the return of peace, would have improved and matured them, and we should be enabled to cope with the manufacturers of the old world in the lucrative trade they are going to enjoy with the rich provinces of South America. How merrily, [Skinner's correspondent continued], might our raw materials, larded with beef, pork, bread, &c. find their way to South America, in the shape of North American manufactures, but as we have no such thing, nor anything else to offer to the nations of the south in exchange for their produce, we are condemned to be lookers on, whilst others taste the sweets of this Eldorado to their hearts delight! This is very mortifying, but true! [160]

Therein Valck proved prophetic. One hundred years later, American manufactured items began to move in quantity to South America, replacing British and European articles. The Jeffersonians, for all their sympathies with Latin America, misjudged the economic opportunities both at home and in the area Monroe sought to protect. Skinner, himself an advocate of manufacturing, probably reasoned that the subject of commerce bordered too closely on politics and dropped the discussion.

Politically speaking, Skinner indulged himself by squeezing in contemporary tidbits of the area he most frequently wrote about. A summer number of 1819 briefed the fall of Porto Bello in Panamá at the hands of his former acquaintance Gregor McGregor and told of the ignominious flight from the Isthmus of that ignoble Scotchman.[161] Steadfastly withholding any description of Bolívar's triumphs, he waited until 1824 even to make mention of the Republic of Colombia—that its agent had "been received in Paris in a manner highly flattering to the independent cause in South America." [162] Another three years passed and then a quotation from Miller's *Memoirs,* describing Bolívar, and mentioning that Bolívar invariably spoke of England, of her institutions, and of her great men in terms of admiration.[163] Skinner's northern South American contacts were principally with Venezuela, and in 1828 that region was in revolt against its most famous son. In February of that year, Skinner could not resist publishing a letter from David Porter, one of his closest friends and debtors,[164] then

[160] IV, 63-64.
[161] I, 79.
[162] VI, 278.
[163] X, 295-296.
[164] David Porter to S. Hambleton, May 4, 1818, D. D. Porter Papers.

engaged as first Admiral of the Mexican navy.[165] That same month he wrote of the disturbing civil war in the Buenos Aires region.[166] With a touch of antiquarian pride he let it be known that the Nunnery of Visitation in Georgetown had been presented by Commodore Rodgers with "The sword, sheath and belt of Iturbide . . ." and honored the Emperor with the title "hero of South America."[167] In 1829 he reported in some detail the Spanish effort to reconquer Mexico and the glorious rôle played by Santa Anna in preventing that undertaking.[168] The dawn of the year 1830 found him inserting invectives against the Liberator, Bolívar; joining Hezekiah Niles, his fellow townsman and editor, he sketched the downfall of the Republic of Colombia caused by the desire to coronate Bolívar. "'The public voice is raised against the act in Venezuela," he quoted. "'Death to the tyrant death to the crown—long live the constitution!' is the common cry through the streets." Páez, his readers learned, will not follow Bolívar into monarchy.[169] Nostalgia, perhaps, forbade him to mention Chile, for the country that he once so favored was torn with political dissension and downright banditry.

This telling of the Latin American interests of a single individual can be defended only if the accomplishments and ideas of that person and the region that stimulated him are worthy of investigation. Insofar as the promotion of agriculture is of value to mankind, John S. Skinner made his contribution in attempting to enrich the northern fields with Latin seeds. His devotion to the Spanish-American independence movement was heartfelt. Unfortunately, no one has seen fit to uncover the many facets that motivated him or to measure the effectiveness of his labors. If this offering tends to dispel in part the veil of mist that surrounds him, the effort will have proved constructive. Of his Latin-American concerns much remains shrouded in mystery, as privateering was not the type of undertaking that warranted private or public revelation. His zeal in advocating independence for those countries was in keeping with the wishes of many of his contemporaries, but he did more to publicize his views than others. His agricultural educational program regarding foreign flora and fauna initiated a practice that is standard today. By opening his

[165] X, 383-384.
[166] X, 383.
[167] XI, 101.
[168] XI, 152, 213, 216.
[169] XI, 336.

home to those from south of the border he proved to be more than a good neighbor—he was a good friend.

" An American calculating boy was asked, in a bantering way, ' If a pair of boots cost six dollars, what will a hat cost? ' He answered readily, ' Different prices '; and immediately proposed a similar question. ' If a bushel of coal cost 6¼ cents, what will a cord of wood come to? ' ' I don't know,' said the gentleman. ' It will come to ashes,' said the boy." [170] Well might this " Conundrum Extraordinary," as Skinner entitled it, be applied to Inter-American relations, for ashes will be the end-product of a highly desirable goal unless there are yet to appear more John Stuart Skinners.

[170] XI, 199.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Baltimore Afire. By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS. Baltimore: Schneidereith, 1954. 92 pp.

This handsome volume contains the most complete description ever written about the Great Baltimore Fire of February 7 and 8, 1904. Presented in concise, narrative style, the book provides a fascinating review of the ever-changing scene which followed the discovery of smoke seeping from the windows of the building occupied by John E. Hurst & Company, at Hopkins Place and Liberty on the south side of what is now Redwood Street.

Although Mr. Williams' thrilling story of the progress of the fire encompasses much more than what could be included in an eye-witness account, it still leaves the impression that it is being told by one who had first-hand knowledge of nearly everything which happened on that memorable occasion. The chronology of events is interspersed with many items of human interest. These sidelights not only hold the reader's attention but also help him to visualize the excitement that prevailed during the City's darkest hour. Mr. Schneidereith's reminiscences furnish another welcome chapter in the lengthening list of personal recollections concerning the fire.

The well-written text is supplemented by perhaps 50 or more photographs showing the tremendous devastation wrought by the fire. A picture with a detailed caption appears on virtually every other page. An excellent map indicates the extent of the burnt district as well as the place where the fire started and the shifting directions of the wind, which played such an important part in the spread of the fire and in the heroic efforts to control it.

The author is to be commended for his success in blending the widely scattered data into an accurate and dramatic summary of the most important single episode in the history of Baltimore. This book, together with the special January, 1954, issue of the Association of Commerce magazine *Baltimore*, fill a long-felt need for a convenient yet comprehensive treatment of the fire and its immediate and long-range effects on the development of the City. *Baltimore Afire* will occupy a prominent place among the standard references dealing with the community's social and economic history.

W. S. HAMILL

George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865. By WILLIAM A. BRYAN. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1952. xii, 280 pp. $5.25.

This work is a competent survey of a subject highly important to American literature and civilization. As the author points out, the influence of Washington in American literature " is a field that an editor with a board of several readers might not cover for many years." Despite this abundance of material, the author does not confine himself to works of pure literature (poetry, drama, essays, fiction), but treats—and quite properly—anecdotes, reminiscences, and personal letters of contemporaries. These include French and English sources as well as American.

The chief deficiencies in content of this study are a result of the author's fallacious premise that " a representative portion of the writing about Washington eventually found its way into books." Because of this premise, the author depended upon secondary sources for newspaper material and limited himself by and large to the files of three 19th century magazines. The premise that most periodical literature of merit eventually finds its way into books may be applicable to the 19th century, but it is by no means true of the 18th. American literature of the 18th century was by and large newspaper literature, and some of its best productions have never appeared in book form. Even during the last decade important new articles by Franklin, Paine, and other literary figures have been discovered, and the search still goes on. Especially during the year of Washington's death, American newspapers and magazines were filled with various tributes. The sections of the present study devoted to the 19th century, therefore, are more complete and authoritative than those devoted to the 18th, the period of contemporary comment.

Of special interest to students of Maryland history are Washington's relations with Jonathan Boucher, famous Tory clergyman of Queen Anne's Parish. Bryan points out that after Washington's retirement, the ardent Royalist somewhat inconsistently dedicated to the revolutionary hero a collection of anti-revolutionary sermons preached between 1763 and 1775. Unfortunately Bryan completely neglects to analyse these sermons. Among them are two preached in 1774 based on the Biblical characters of Absalom and Achitophel. It seems highly probable that at the moment of composition Boucher intended them to represent Washington and Franklin respectively. In his appendix to these two sermons in the collected edition, Boucher rejects this allegorical interpretation, but his zeal to deny the obvious carries scant conviction. " That in delineating these characters," he declares, " I had no particular individuals in my eye, I will not be so disingenuous as to pretend; for, as all national character must ultimately resolve itself into particular characters, it appears scarcely possible to describe the one, without in some degree adverting to the other. But I do confidently assert, that neither Dr. Franklin alone, nor any one individual, sat for the picture. . . . Dr. Franklin was not then the only Achitophel who 'directed the storm,' nor General Washington the only Absalom. Besides, when these sermons were written, neither the Statesman nor the General were so well known as they now are."

These sermons contain much of interest to students of the American Revolution, and scant attention has been as yet given to Boucher by historians.

A. O. ALDRIDGE

University of Maryland

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. (Vol. VIII, Feb.-Oct., 1785.) Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1953. xxx, 687 pp. $10.

The present volume opens a new interest for the readers of the Jefferson Papers, an interest best summed up as the "Americans in Europe" aspect. Jefferson was appointed to succeed Franklin as Minister to France and presented his credentials to the French Court in May, 1785. John Adams and his wife Abigail were also in Europe, and the exchange of letters between the Adamses and Jefferson is rich in the impressions and reactions of citizens of the new Republic sightseeing and meeting people in the Old World. Jefferson's letters to friends in America likewise contain much human interest material in connection with his impressions of Europe. He took as much interest as any American on tour in such things as the gardens of Leyden and a book printed by Laurens Koster advertised as the first book ever printed.

Jefferson's absence from the political scene in America also tended to make the letters of Americans at home fuller in the details of politics and economics. There are fine letters from Patrick Henry, George Washington, William Short, and Francis Hopkinson. The latter also devoted many letters to his improved harpsichord invention and other scientific matters. Being away meant leaving the tutelage of Jefferson's nephew, Peter Carr, in the hands of others. The education of his nephew and of other youths stimulated Jefferson to write some of his finest letters on education. A particularly good example may be found in Jefferson's letter to John Banister, Jr., (p. 635 *ff.*) where he expresses his views on the relative advantages of an American over a European education.

Aside from the day to day business, the two main problems which seemed to occupy the attention of the American commissioners in this period were the arranging of a treaty with the Barbary pirates and getting Houdon safely to America to execute a bust of Washington. The Barbary pirates situation raised many problems of international relations, and the refusal to pay tribute to the pirates takes its roots in this period, though based more on financial inability to pay the demands rather than from ethical outrage. The Houdon situation revolved around attempts to insure the sculptor's life on his trip to America. It was resolved successfully by the issuance of a policy ten days after Houdon had reached Mount Vernon.

Scattered through this volume is a wealth of information about the economics of the period. Maryland tobacco is mentioned frequently in this connection. In a letter to Richard Price (pp. 356-357) Jefferson clearly states his opinion on slavery. The Chesapeake he regards as the

dividing line of opposition to it, but he finds less interest in Maryland to abolish slavery than in Virginia. As in previous volumes, this one offers a close look into a cross-section of American life and thought.

FRANCIS C. HABER

Peabody Institute Library

The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution. By CHARLES WOODMAN. Edited by RICHARD J. HOOKER. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953. xxxix, 305 pp. $5.

Woodman was an itinerant Anglican minister, who served a parish in the backcountry of South Carolina for a number of years during the Stamp Act and Regulator disturbances. This volume contains his journal, some of his sermons, and a variety of his other writings on the Regulator movement.

It would be hard to find, among published documents of this period of American history, any which give a fuller or more vivid account of the life and problems of the people on the frontier. Though the book jacket somewhat overstates the case in comparing Woodman with Jonathan Swift, he did possess a gift of invective, and, in his few mellower moments, of satire, which enlivens his comments upon his fellowmen and the country.

Woodman was a gentleman, a Christian, and a loyal subject of the King. All three attributes contributed to his loneliness and his distaste for his surroundings. He had to contend with a confusion of religions whose contempt and hatred for the established church drove him to the limits of endurance. The competition of the many sects was so violent that none was effective in maintaining Christian morality among the people. The planter aristocracy of the coast, whose plain duty it was to support the established church, were too concerned with keeping their own political control of the province to consent either to the organization of proper parishes in the backcountry or the provision of ministers for those parishes. Such parishes, by sending representatives to the legislature, might overwhelm by their numbers the planter oligarchy.

Thus it is not surprising that Woodman came to be a spokesman and advocate for the very class whose morals and manners he detested, when the Regulator movement presented its demands for political equality and justice for the frontier. Neglect of the frontier meant to Woodman neglect of God's work. And none knew better than he how far back toward savagery frontier conditions had carried the settlers. It was his purpose, in which he was thwarted by the opposition of the sectarians, the indifference and laxity of those charged with supporting his work, and the vastness of the wilderness where he had to work, to reproduce in South Carolina the settled, orderly conditions of England. In this effort he traveled nearly three thousand miles a year, wearing out several horses and nearly wearing out himself, through endless hardships which he described in full detail in his Journal. The trials and vexations of his ministry never broke his spirit or his devotion to his task. Eventually, he

raised up too many enemies against him to be borne. When the discontent of the people led them from revolt against domestic oppression to revolt against the British Crown itself, Woodman could not go along with them. He left South Carolina for Maryland. Then he returned to England in 1774, where all record of his latter days is lost.

Though the intensity of Woodman's feelings invalidates much of his comment on the frontier society as sober evidence, it is clear that he was a worthy, consecrated man overwhelmed by a task beyond his (or any other man's) talents. We can only be grateful to him and to those who preserved, efficiently edited, and published his writings, for one of the liveliest pictures of American life ever written.

JOHN PHILIP HALL

Goucher College

A History of the Southern Confederacy. By CLEMENT EATON. New York: Macmillan, 1954. ix, 351 pp. $5.50.

To the ever-increasing literature of American sectional history, Clement Eaton has added a volume with many rewards for its reader. He brings to his narrative an intimate acquaintance with the Southern mind and folkways. This is the region where he has lived, studied, and taught for the major part of his life. His earlier volume, *A History of the Old South* (1949), was hailed as a happy combination of thoroughness, objectivity, and sympathetic understanding. Professor Eaton picks up the strands of that earlier narrative which terminated with the secession of the cotton states and leads us into the tragic years of the Confederacy. The South was riding the crest of a tidal wave of emotionalism and sectional pride. The fire-eaters were in the ascendancy; the South was to be kept a "white man's country."

The author's objective is "to tell the truth and to be fair to both sides in the struggle between the Blue and the Gray." He attempts to achieve a balance between the social, political, and military history of the Southern Confederacy. Johnny Reb and the folks back home are made to stand out in bold relief from the picture of campaigns, military strategy, and Southern politics. He is not over-pretentious with regard to originality and reinterpretation. He is no apologist, debunker, sensationalist, or glorifier. He walks the tight-rope of objectivity that may be swayed at times, he confesses, by the ordinary man's sympathy for the underdog in a fight and by his Southern birth. Much of this story has been told before, but we are indebted to Professor Eaton for a book that will meet with the approval of both the general reader and the scholar trained in historical method. The latter may regret the author's (or publisher's) failure to include an extensive bibliography. The thirty-three pages of documentation, however, appear to cover the subject thoroughly. This is a balanced account that reflects the skill and good judgment of the author.

LOUIS M. VANARIA

Teachers College,
Columbia University

Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson. By JONATHAN TRUMAN DORRIS. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953. 459 pp. $7.50.

Collapse of the Confederacy and the death of Lincoln seemed to clear the way for President Johnson and the radicals in Congress to make traitors pay. A generous number of hangings might prove for all time that the way of the transgressor is hard, especially when tainted with rebellion. There was nothing in the execution of Mrs. Mary Surratt or the conduct of Joseph Holt and Thaddeus Stevens to encourage hope in the people of the South and some sought safety in flight beyond our borders. However, except for individuals convicted of particular crimes during the war, not one in the months ahead was executed and indeed very few were long confined in jail for treason. Except for an initial outburst President Johnson turned steadfastly towards mercy and was soon so rapidly issuing proclamations of amnesty and yielding to the importunities of those seeking pardons as to arouse the bitter emnity of Congress. With more difficulty Congress in time made the change and began to lift the burdens of disqualification it had placed in a more angry mood. Finally, in the early part of the war with Spain, Congress removed all disabilities and added a statement of regret that any had formerly thought such measures necessary. Further, it adopted a statement concerning the nature of the struggle that recognized the integrity of the Southern leaders of 1860.

This change is the story Professor Dorris has undertaken in *Pardon and Amnesty.* He has analyzed the political legacy of the war, treated constitutional problems, portrayed the bitter jealousy of Congress, and recorded the reduction of emotional temperatures under the benign influence of time. Drawing heavily on the Amnesty Papers in the National Archives, Mr. Dorris has presented a thoroughly interesting volume in an interesting field. Perhaps *Pardon and Amnesty* should be read as an antidote by any driven to despondency by the hatred and ugliness recorded by Bowers in his *Tragic Era.*

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

Robert M. LaFollette. By BELLE CASE LAFOLLETTE and FOLA LAFOLLETTE. New York: Macmillan, 1953. 2 vols. $15.

When Senator Robert M. LaFollette died in the summer of 1925 he had served the State of Wisconsin in the U. S. Senate for twenty consecutive years. The LaFollette name and record so dominated the politics of Wisconsin that few people could even remember the name of Wisconsin's other Senator. In a day when being "controversial" is considered equivalent to "dangerous" or "subversive," it is refreshing to read of a great American who gloried in being controversial. From the day in 1880 when young Bob LaFollette defied the local boss to run for District

Attorney for Dane County to the day of his death "Fighting Bob" was in the midst of one controversy after another. In Wisconsin it was a long and bitter fight to oust the corrupt combination of railroad and manufacturing lobbies which controlled the state. In Washington LaFollette became the leader of progressive Republicans who sought to convert the Republican Old Guard to a wide variety of democratic reforms. Foiled by Theodore Roosevelt in his first bid for a Republican presidential nomination in 1912 La Follette went on to give Woodrow Wilson's domestic reform program very considerable support. Haunted by the fear that all the democratic reforms for which he had fought and those which America had achieved during the previous twenty years would go down the drain if the United States were drawn into World War I led LaFollette to oppose our entry into the war. For this honest conviction LaFollette received castigation and abuse such as few Americans have ever experienced and he was very nearly expelled from the Senate. President Wilson who personally shared LaFollette's deepest misgivings differed with the Senator on the wisdom of neutrality and led the nation to war. As Wilson rose to the heights of a great war leader LaFollette dropped to the depths of one accused of treason. When the war was over America's disillusionment crushed the dreams of Woodrow Wilson and revived Robert LaFollette's political fortunes. In 1924, without the backing of an organized party and lacking any real financial support the independent ticket of LaFollette and Wheeler rolled up the amazing total of five million votes against the combined opposition of the Democrats behind Davis and the Republicans behind Coolidge. No other independent or third party candidate has ever made so impressive a showing.

Upon LaFollette's death his widow and active political partner determined to write her husband's biography. She lived long enough to carry the story down to 1910. At that point Fola LaFollette, the eldest LaFollette daughter, began research in the hope of finishing her mother's project. Over twenty years went into the completion of this labor of love. The strength of the book is at the same time its greatest weakness. By design the authors determined to keep Senator LaFollette in perfect focus while letting all other figures fade out in the background. From the voluminous LaFollette Papers as well as the papers of contemporaries such as Roosevelt, Wilson, Bryan, Brandeis, Tumulty, and Walsh the story has been carefully reconstructed. Public documents, news media, and interviews with surviving contemporaries of her father have been utilized in the best historical fashion by Miss LaFollette. But by keeping the focus so rigidly upon LaFollette something less than justice is sometimes done to the opinions or motives of others. Our knowledge of an important period in our history has been notably enriched.

DAVID S. SPARKS

University of Maryland

Writings on American History, 1949. Compiled by JAMES R. MASTERSON and ANNE MARIE KANE, Washington: 1954. $2.75.

The second volume under present auspices is as welcome as the first (reviewed *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIII [1953], 255). It is designed to cite every book and article published in 1949 that has any considerable value for study and research. Most useful to Marylanders will be pp. 252-258. We are assured in the Foreword that the work of preparing the next volume in this valuable series is well advanced.

The Story of American Historical Flasks. By HELEN MCKEARIN. Corning, N. Y.: 1953. 70 pp. $1.

An exhibition of American historical flasks presented as part of a continuing program relating to the history of glass by the Corning Museum of Glass provides the material for this catalogue. Included with description and some drawings of the flasks on exhibit are a brief history of bottle making and sketches of events most used as American flask designs. Of especial interest to Maryland readers will be the several specimens from the Baltimore Glass Works, many of which show what collectors long called the "Baltimore Monument," but which proved to be on some, the Washington Monument; on others the Battle Monument. The catalogue, even without the privilege of seeing the exhibition, makes interesting reading.

Green Rose of Furley. By HELEN CORSE BARNEY. New York: Crown Publishers, 1953. 247 pp. $3.

Although she is almost too good and beautiful to be credible, Susan Coale, the heroine of *Green Rose of Furley* is a refreshing change from the unsympathetic vixens who populate so many historical novels. Her story is that of a Quaker family in Maryland during the Civil War, a peaceful people living in unpeaceful times. A minimum of violence combines with a fast moving story. There are pleasant descriptions of the Maryland country sides and an interesting insight into Quaker faith and customs. An integral part of the story is the working of the Underground Railroad and it is gratifying that all the loose ends—even to the fate of the last of the ex-slaves—are neatly put in place. One sometimes has the feeling that historic characters are dragged in by the ears—as when Susan manages to be in Frederick in time for the alleged Barbara Fritchie incident, and the long arm of coincidence is noticeable, but on the whole *Green Rose of Furley* is a pleasant, readable, and perhaps even educational story.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE PRESIDENT VISITS MARYLAND, 1817

James Monroe's three and a half months' tour in the summer of 1817 had a special significance.[1] The nation had recently concluded a war with Great Britain. A year earlier it had elected a Virginian president in preference to the Federalist candidate, Rufus King, of New York. The announced purpose of the President's tour was to inspect military fortifications, frontier outposts, navy yards, and manufacturing establishments. The tour served the additional purpose of allaying fears or qualms of many in disaffected areas like New England. Indeed, the trip quickly became a triumphal progress. Monroe left Washington May 31 and returned September 17. He travelled up the coast to the District of Maine, west to Buffalo and Detroit, and then back by way of central Ohio, Pittsburgh, Hagerstown, and Frederick.

Two small volumes in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society give the full story of the tour as seen by contemporaries.[2] We print on the following pages several extracts from each book that describe the President's visit in Baltimore at the beginning of the trip and in Western Maryland on his return.

In a sense this is a supplement to Raphael Semmes' engaging book *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1953).

Except as indicated the description which follows is taken from the Philadelphia edition cited previously:

Availing himself of a season of comparative leisure, the President left Washington City, on Saturday the 31st of May, with an intention of prosecuting the object of his tour, through the northern and eastern departments of the Union. His departure from the capital, was made in so unostentatious and private a manner, that most of the citizens were ignorant of that circumstances, until it was announced to them, by the

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[1] See D. C. Gilman, *James Monroe* (Boston, 1883), pp. 136-140; Arthur Styron, *The Last of the Cocked Hats* (Norman, 1945), pp. 348-349; W. Cresson, *James Monroe* (Chapell Hill, 1946), pp. 285-290; anl George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York, 1953), pp. 95-96.

[2] *A Narrative of A Tour of Observation* . . . (Philadelphia, 1818), pp. 14-21, 223-225, and *The Tour of James Monroe* . . . (Hartford, 1818), pp. 50-57, 261-264. Other useful accounts are in *Niles Register* and the Baltimore newspapers (*American, Federal Gazette, Federal Republican,* and *Patriot*) for appropriate dates.

daily Intelligencer,[3] when he was already many miles on his journey. The necessity of his return to the seat of government, previously to the ensuing fall, made it incumbent on him to travel with as much celerity as the avowed purposes of his journey would permit; and, to do this, he was desirous to pass through the intermediate towns, with as much privacy as possible. The disposition of the citizens, however, did not, in this particular, coincide with his own, and his approach to Baltimore, being already anticipated by the citizens of that place, they determined that he should be publicly received, and conducted, by a military escort, to his quarters. A corresponding desire to receive the President in a manner suitable to his elevated rank, and with a respect due to his eminent public services, soon evinced itself in all the principal cities, through which he would be obliged to pass, and preparations were every where making, to pay him the highest possible honours.

Consistently with his own desire to avoid all kind of parade, he selected a moment for his entrance into the city of Baltimore, when its inhabitants would, in all probability, be engaged in their devotional exercises, and when he might repair to the apartments which had been provided for him, without being himself molested, and without attracting the attention of any part of the community. It was no sooner known, to a few individuals, that such were the President's contemplations, than intelligence was spread about the town, and a large cavalcade of citizens on horseback, and a troop of the city cavalry, immediately proceeded to the Washington road, where they met the President, and, after an interchange of civilites, attended him to the Fountain Inn. Here he was welcomed by a number of the most respectable and distinguished citizens, and in the afternoon attended the church of the reverend Dr. Inglis.[4]

Early on the following morning, accompanied by generals [Samuel] Smith, [William H.] Winder, [John] Stricker, and [J. C.] Swift [Chief Engineer, U. S. Army], and a number of military officers, he visited the breastworks which had been thrown up for the defence of Baltimore, during the war, and thence repaired to the battle ground, at North Point. A personal view of this scene, must have been peculiarly interesting to the President, as well as to the gentlemen present, two of whom, generals Smith and Winder, had been attached to the troops within the line of fortification; and another, general Stricker, had the good fortune to command, in person, that division of the army, which on this spot, on the 12th of September 1814, sustained the conflict with the British regulars under colonel [Arthur] Brooke, the successor in command to major-general [Robert] Ross, who fell soon after landing his forces, in a skirmish brought on by the American light party, under majoor [Richard K.] Heath.

In this contest, the American militia, with the exception of the 51st regiment, and a few companies of the left battalion of the 39th, behaved with uncommon coolness and intrepidity, and general Stricker must have

[3] The Washington *Daily National Intelligencer,* June 2, 1817, p. 2, col. 5.
[4] Rev. Dr. James Inglis (d. 1819), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

enjoyed much gratification, in the opportunity of verbally detailing, to the President of the United States, upon the same ground, the events of a battle, which, setting aside the flight of the left flank, if it had a single fault, it was the fault of having been fought too long, and which relieved one of the most distinguished and patriotic cities in the union, from the desolating consequences of a visit from an enemy; established the character of the American arms; and saved millions of property from capture and destruction.[5]

Having returned from this early excursion to his quarters in the city, the President was waited on by the mayor and corporation of Baltimore, by whom he was addressed in the following words:

" Baltimore, June 2, 1817.

" *To the President of the United States.*

" Sir—We, the mayor and city council of Baltimore, embrace with great pleasure, this opportunity of personally congratulating the chief magistrate of the union on his arrival at this place.

" Your determination, in the commencement of your administration, to visit several of the most important places in the union, is auspicious of happy consequences; not satisfied with previous knowledge, or second hand information, you are anxious that, on your part, nothing shall be wanting to promote the commonwealth.

" That a city, which bore so conspicuous a part in the national defence, should first be honoured with the presence of the chief magistrate of the union, is as flattering as it is national [*sic*]: and we sincerly hope that your observation of our position, and means of defence, may enable us before another war to bid defiance to any enemy.

" When, sir, we review your long-tried, faithful, and able services; when we consider the increasing harmony and concord of the United States; when almost universal peace reigns among the nations; we augur great and lasting happiness to the United States, in giving full scope to the development of her faculties in the arts and sciences, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and in the permanent exhibition of the advantages of a form of civil and political government, superior to any that has hitherto existed.

" To our fellow citizens, it is a most interesting spectacle, to see the chief magistrate of this great and powerful nation, making an official tour through their country in the style of a private citizen, guarded only by the respect paid to the high station he occupies, and the affections of a virtuous people.

" We, sir, wish you, in the sincerity of our hearts, a pleasant tour through the states; a happy return to Washington; a reputation and satisfaction in your presidency, equal to any of your predecessors; and finally, the reward of a well spent life in an eternal world.

[5] For details, see Neil H. Swanson, *The Perilous Fight* (New York, 1945), and Francis F. Beirne, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1949), pp. 304-321.

"We are, sir, with sentiments of very great respect, your obedient servants,

"George Stiles,

"Mayor of the City of Baltimore.."

To which address this answer was made by the President:

"*To the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore:*

"Fellow citizens—The sentiments which your have communicated, have afforded me very great satisfaction. They are just, as to the objects adverted to, and to me, they are generous and kind.

"It was impossible for me to approach Baltimore, without recollecting, with deep interest, the gallant conduct of her citizens, in the late war, and the happy results attending their exertions. The glorious victory which was achieved by her, and in which her citizens bore so distinguished a part, at a very important epoch, not only protected this patriotic city, but shed great lustre on the American name.

"Experience has shown us our dangers, and admonished us as to the means of averting them. Congress has appropriated large sums of money, for the fortification of our coast, and inland frontier, and for the establishment of naval dock yards, and for building a navy. It is proper that those works should be executed with judgment, fidelity, and economy; much depends in the execution, on the executive; to whom extensive power is given, as to the general arrangement, and to whom the superintendance exclusively belongs. You do me justice in believing, that it is to enable me to discharge these duties with the best advantage to my country, that I have undertaken this tour.

"From the increased harmony of public opinion, founded on the successful career of a government, which has never been equalled, and which promises, by a further development of its faculties, to augment in an eminent degree, the blessings of this favoured people, I unite with you in all the anticipations which you have so justly suggested.

"In performing services, honestly and zealously intended for the benefit of my fellow citizens, I shall never entertain a doubt of their generous and firm support. Incapable of any feelings distinct from those of a citizen, I can assume no style, in regard to them, different from that character; and it is a source of peculiar delight to me, to know, that while the chief magistrate of the United States, acts fully up to this principle, he will require no other guard than what may be derived from their confidence and affection.

"James Monroe.

"Baltimore, June 2d, 1817."

After this ceremony, in his own name, and in the name of the corporation, the mayor cordially invited the President to a public dinner, the acceptance of which, in consequence of his previous arrangements, and from motives of public concern, he felt himself obliged to forego.

At eleven o'clock of the same day, and attended by the same officers

who had conducted him to the Point, he proceeded to the examination of the armament and garrison of Fort M'Henry, which had gallantly withstood the bombardment of the enemy, upwards of twenty-four hours. The batteries on that occasion, to be sure, had been opened, but the shot falling very far short of the assailants, the firing, from the fort, ceased, or was maintained, only at intervals, to show that the garrison had not sunk under the tremendous showers of rockets and shells, incessantly thrown into the batteries; and thus painfully situated, without the power of retaliating the attack, the brave and determined soldiers endured their mortification, with an unyielding spirit, during the whole bombardment, which continued until seven o'clock of the morning of the fourteenth. One of the late papers of that city observes: "Had colonel [George] Armistead, who was then, and is now the commanding officer of the fort, been told in the year 1814, that in the year 1817, he would have witnessed on that very spot, then shaken by the exploding thunders of the enemy's fleet, the presence of the chief magistrate, congratulating him on the issue of that event, how exhilarating would then have been his sensations." [6]

On entering the fort the President was received with a federal salute, and after finishing his examination of its condition, he was escorted to Whetstone Point, where the third brigade of Maryland militia, under general [Joseph] Sterrett, formerly of the 5th regiment, had assembled for the purpose of being reviewed. The field was covered with people of every rank, among whom the appearance of the chief of the republic, produced general and lively satisfaction.

In the course of the afternoon the President visited the Washington Monument, at Howard Park, and the City Monument, at Washington Square, and at five o'clock he received at his quarters, the personal salutations of the officers of general Sterrett's brigade.

The President, after experiencing these warm and patriotic attentions, departed from Baltimore at seven o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of June, in one of the steam boats which had been chartered, by the corporation, for his exclusive use and accommodation, and to which he was accompanied by the municipal authorities of the city.

In the evening of that day he arrived at Newcastle, on the Delaware, . . .

Describes Baltimore

The city of Baltimore, the capital [*sic*] of the state of Maryland, is situated upon the Patapsco river, about fourteen miles from its junction with the Chesapeake Bay.[7] It has long been ranked as the fourth commercial city in the union. It is built upon a bason, which forms a safe and commodious harbour. It is divided by a creek called Jones' Falls, into two parts, over which a number of bridges are erected to facilitate communication between the two sections of the city. The public buildings in this place, whether erected as houses of legislative or judicial sessions; public worship; the education of youth, or banking, commercial, and manufactur-

[6] The quotation appeared in the *Federal Republican,* June 3, 1817, p. 2, col. 2.

[7] This and succeeding paragraphs (except the final three) are from the Hartford edition.

ing concerns, certainly evince the taste and the wealth of the place. Its population in 1810, was 47000. It is well defended by fort M'Henry. The storm and the flood of 1817, left a gloomy track of desolation through this flourishing and growing city; but the known enterprize of its citizens will shortly restore the place from the effects of a calamity which no sagacity could foresee; which no prudence could prevent.

The defence of this place, on September 14, 1814, shews that retribution sometimes treads close upon the heels of transgression. Gen. Ross, a British commander, a few weeks before this place was attacked, burnt the Capitol, the President's house and the national library at Washington. Near Baltimore he was slain by the hand of an American. We cannot scan the mysterious decrees of Providence; "his ways are past finding out"; but while the noble sentiment inherent with American bosoms, induces them to honour the memory of a valiant and generous foe like Brock, they silently acquiesce in the justice of heaven in removing a Vandal enemy like Ross.

The President took his departure from Baltimore upon the 3d, amidst the prayers of the good for the benedictions of heaven upon his life, and the blessings of all upon him, for his dignified affability and the deep interest he manifested for the welfare and happiness of the place. He entered the steam boat Philadelphia, being conducted to it by the mayor and city council, and was accompanied to Frenchtown by a number of the citizens. . . .

Return Trip Through Western Maryland.

He left this place [Pittsburgh] upon the 10th September, and prosecuted the remaining part of his Tour with great rapidity to Washington. It is impossible to notice the numerous demonstrations of respectful and sincere attachment every where shown the President in the long range of fertile and flourishing country, from the head of the Ohio, to the city of Washington. His passage through this part of the country was so expeditious, that the people could have but little notice of his approach; and could not display that arrangement in welcoming their beloved Chief, which many large towns, which he approached more slowly and visited more leisurely, had an opportunity to make. Indeed the President, having for more than three months, been surrounded by multitudes of citizens; escorted by numerous bodies of soldiers, and formally addressed by numerous corporations, must have found it a relief to pass through a country where the people could not bestow upon him any, but the sudden and spontaneous effusions of admiration.

The citizens of *Hagerstown,* however, having ascertained the time when he would reach that place, addressed him as follows:

"Suitable arrangements having been made to receive him by a committee appointed for that purpose; the following address, on behalf of the citizens, was delivered by Colonel Otho Williams: [8]

[8] The son of Col. Elie Williams and the nephew of Gen. Otho Holland Williams.

"To JAMES MONROE,

"President of the United States.

"The citizens of Hagerstown, by their committee, appointed for that purpose, beg leave to welcome you to this place, and to offer you their cordial and respectful salutations. They sincerely unite with their countrymen, in the expressions of esteem and confidence to which your character and exalted station entitle you. The visit with which you are pleased to honour them, is highly gratifying, and they are happy that the Tour of your Excellency, undertaken for the promotion of objects of great national importance, affords them an opportunity of bidding their Chief Magistrate a cordial welcome.

"Whilst the arduous journey you have encountered, affords to many of your fellow citizens the opportunity of seeing you, they rejoice, at the same time in the belief that the information, relative to the great and various interests of the United States, which you have derived from actual observation, will facilitate your arrangements for their future defence and security.

"They unite their best wishes for your health and happiness, and pray that the blesings of Heaven may attend you through life, and that you may have the pleasure of seeing our beloved country prosperous and happy under your auspices, and that the course and close of your administration may entitle you to the gratitude and affection of the people of the United States, and the respect of posterity."

The President left this place upon the 16th, and, upon the same day, reached *Fredericktown,* the seat of justice for Frederick county, Maryland. He here reached a town, situated upon one of the tributary streams of the *Potomack,* upon the banks of which he was born. The citizens of this place welcomed the man "*the people delight to honour.*" They addressed him in the following terms:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES MONROE,

"President of the United States.

"The mayor, aldermen, and common council of Frederick, just apprised of your arrival among them, hasten to offer you their warmest congratulations, on your safe return, thus far, from a Tour, performed from the highly laudable and patriotic motive of promoting your country's weal. They are also particularly gratified, that you have favored them with a visit, as flattering as it was unexpected; and beg leave to offer you their best wishes for your private happiness, and prosperous discharge of your official duties. They will also be pleased with an increased gratification, if your arrangements will permit you to dine with them, and the citizens of Frederick, to morrow, at three o'clock.

"LAWRENCE BRENGLE, Mayor."

To which the President made an appropriate verbal reply. He observed that he had undertaken the tour for the purpose of informing himself as to the actual state of fortifications, &c. that he was now on his return from accomplishing that object. Public business demanding his immediate attention at Washington, he was under the necessity of declining the polite invitation of the citizens of Fredericktown to a public dinner, however much his private feelings might urge him to the acceptance of that mark of respect. He felt gratified that his tour had been attributed to the proper motive, the disposition to promote the prosperity of his country.

Upon the morning of the 17th September, the President commenced the day's travel which was to complete his extensive, interesting, laborious, and highly important Tour. . . .

Visits Fountain Rock

On the 15th (September), when his excellency had travelled within a few hours journey of Hagerstown, in Maryland, colonel Williams despatched an express to the inhabitants, acquainting them with his approach.[9]

This information was disseminated amongst the citizens with rapidity, and a cavalcade, preceded by the committee of arrangement, was in a short time advancing on the road to meet him; the procession reached the suburbs, on its return with the President, under a federal discharge, and he passed on to his quarters amid repeated cheers from the people. After a stay of about two hours, during which he received the visits of many respectable citizens, he again ascended his carriage, and pursued the direction to Fountain Rock, the seat of general [Samuel] Ringold. He passed the night at the mansion of that gentleman.[10]

In the course of the following day he left Fountain Rock, and proceeding through Fredericktown, was there greeted with same unabated cordiality, and on the afternoon of the 17th of September, he entered the district of Columbia.

THE "KENT FORT MANOR" AND "ST. PETER'S KEY" MYTHS

By Henry Chandlee Forman *

In the light of further study and new material at hand, the time has come when certain misconceptions about two of the so-called oldest houses in Maryland should be corrected. Both these buildings were found by the writer on field trips in the year 1932. They are now known as "Kent Fort Manor," on Kent Island, and "St. Peter's Key," in St. Mary's City.

[9] The last three paragraphs are from the Philadelphia edition.

[10] See Edith R. Bevan, "Fountain Rock, The Ringgold Home in Washington County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 19-28.

* Dr. Forman needs no introduction to Marylanders or students of Maryland architecture. We publish here his revised judgments on two Maryland houses which he discussed in his well-known books, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland,* and *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance.—Ed.*

If you travel south on Kent Island, you will come eventually to a sign on a gate painted in ornamental lettering announcing "Kent Fort Manor" and the owner's name.

The 1940 W. P. A.'s *Maryland, A Guide to the Old Line State*—hereinafter referred to as the *Guide*—on page 419 gives directions to "Kent Fort Manor" and a short description, the gist of which relates that the house was built between 1638 and 1640, that it is of modest size, of brick and weatherboarding, that the hallway has vertical paneling, and that the stairway has less than five feet of headroom. The major part of this description was taken from the writer's *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*,[1] the first publication to take note of this little dwelling. This volume has photographs of the exterior, showing the plain appearance of the building, and of the interior, with the low-clearance stairway. There is a measured floor plan giving the exact size and arrangement of the structure. The text declares that date to be "probably 1638-40," which later became in the *Guide* "between 1638 and 1640." The Appendix in *Early Manors* purports to show why "Kent Fort Manor" is probably the oldest known house in Maryland. Fortunately this questionable and now outworn argument was placed in an appendix.

As is often the case, the *Guide* borrowed material which was wrong in the book from which it was taken: This dwelling has never been, is not now, and never will be, the original Kent Fort Manor. It is but an old house on the lands of Kent Fort Manor; it never should have a bronze plaque on account of its age.

Study of the mouldings and other details of this building since the publication of *Early Manors* proves its erection after 1800. It is true that the place possesses medieval characteristics, such as brick nogging, vertical paneling, and tiny doorway. Nonetheless such features in this abode are stylish hangovers into the 19th century. Further, the stair is an open well stairway, not a closed-box staircase which is usually found in small homes of the 17th century. The small bead moulding on the hall paneling, easily distinguished in the photograph in *Early Manors,* is a 19th-century feature. For characteristic mouldings in vertical board paneling of earliest Maryland, the reader is referred to the "great room" wainscoting of "Old Bloomfield" and "The Ending of Controversie" on the Eastern Shore.

Besides, the common bond of the exposed chimney face and the transom over the main west door are indications of late construction.

Consequently the existing cabin labelled "Kent Fort Manor" is no more Kent Fort Manor than any other structure on the southern end of Kent Island within the bounds of the manorial grant. The original manor house has been destroyed.

The other house is the so-called "St. Peter's Key," located within the original town limits of St. Mary's City. The W. P. A. *Guide* on page 481 informs the reader how to reach this dwelling, and assigns to it a paragraph, the essence of which describes that it was named for the key-shaped creek beside which it stands, that it has a freestanding double chimney

[1] (Easton, 1934), pp. 202, 245-246.

with pent and a cellar which were erected "about 1650." The *Guide* goes on to relate that the property was patented in 1640 to John Harris and Thomas Allen, and then notes how it came into possession of one Roger Oliver, who was slain in 1643 by an Indian aboard a vessel. Oliver's widow, Blanche Harrison Oliver, who inherited the property, did wilful perjury, and as a result, had both her ears amputated. The *Guide* continues that the Oliver family's "ignominy" persisted in a law decree that the mark of their cattle should be a left ear cropped and, in the right ear, two slits.

Now all this material was taken in its entirety, but somewhat garbled and without any acknowledgement or reference, even in the bibliographical list, from the writer's copyrighted *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), which on pages 302 to 304, gives a full description of this house, in part as follows:

". . . standing intact in the city is St. Peter's Key . . . named after the St. Peter's Key Creek on whose green banks it lies. . . . Its chimney-pent closet between freestanding chimneys, its steep roof and grey gables . . . preserve the spirit of old St. Mary's more than anything else in the whole countryside. . . . On the 6th of June, 1640, Governor Leonard Calvert requested his surveyor to lay out fifty acres of land . . . for John Harris and Thomas Allen. . . ."

Next in *Jamestown and St. Mary's* is described the bloody fight which Roger Oliver, owner of St. Peter's Key, in 1643 had with an Indian in the hold of a ship. The story is based on an account in the *Archives of Maryland*: [2]

"Thus, on a day in 1643, Roger Oliver, mariner, left St. Peter's Key to his widow and two children. Five years later an added misfortune struck this family. The widow, Blanch Harrison Oliver, wedded to Humphrey Howell, was condemned, according to English law, to stand in the pillory and lose both her ears, because of wilful perury. According to the records, the sentence was executed at once. The two Oliver children were assigned their mother's two cows and heifer, and also a cow due her from the Lord Proprietary. . . . Ironically, the mark for their cattle was decreed by law to be: left ear cropt and two slits in the right ear on the underside."

Parenthetically it may be observed that the cropping and slitting of cattle ears was the widespread custom in those days, and that the "ignominy" cited in the *Guide* is a figment of the imagination.

There then follows an architectural description of this house noting that the earliest portion was built "probably about 1645 or 1650," dates which in the *Guide* become for the whole dwelling (p. 123) "1650," and again (p. 481) "about 1650." The phrase, "in the city," becomes (p. 123) "near St. Mary's City."

Further research since *Jamestown and St. Mary's* appeared in 1938 has disclosed that the St. Peter's Key land in this city which James Walter Thomas marked on a map of the town in his *Chronicles of Colonial*

[2] IV, 445.

Maryland (1913) was not the property of the name, which in fact was located a goodly distance away. The exact site of the original St. Peter's Key tract will be shown in a forthcoming study of the first capital of Maryland.

The *Guide* borrowed material which was wrong in the source from which it was taken: the aforementioned structure has never been, is not now, and never will be the original St. Peter's Key. The tale of Oliver's fight with the Indian is true enough—if the *Archives* are true,—but that event had to do with the owner of a house in St. Mary's City long ago destroyed.

The local name of the existing dwelling labelled "St. Peter's Key" is the Leigh House, named for members of the Leigh family who owned large tracts of land in St. Mary's City in the 18th century. Until further research discloses its original name, the "Leigh House" will have to serve. The land on which it stands comprises "St. Mary's Hill Freehold," which was first granted in 1639 to Ferdinand Poulton, and which later came into the possession of Major Nicholas Sewall, step-son of Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore.

In conclusion this writer wishes to protest the unfortunate fate of the Leigh House. But first, let us go back to 1937 when *Jamestown and St. Mary's* was being written. While the ink of the mansuscript was drying, the first of the three existing original buildings of the early colonists in St. Mary's City was torn down for firewood. This was a little structure, medieval in appearance, the St. Barbara's barn, which had been owned by Mistress Mary Troughton, friend of Lord Baltimore, and which had later come into the possession of the Bromes.

Recently the second existing original building has had its face lifted. This is the Leigh House, which has been amputated by alterations inside and out, changing the place almost beyond recognition. Gone are the picturesque massive chimneys with little chimney-pent, the hand-carved stairway, and the kitchen-quarters building. Those who deplore these two pieces of destruction may find solace in knowing that the third original building in St. Mary's still stands well cared for and preserved: "Clocker's Fancy."

Nevertheless, the Leigh House *was* the quaintest surviving early building in the first capital of Maryland, birthplace of religious freedom in this country. It would have been far easier and less costly to preserve the Leigh House than to rebuild and reconstruct it. Twenty years ago this writer called attention publicly to the "Fire, vandalism, panel-stripping, decay, neglect, and so-called improvements" which were sweeping the State of Maryland. In spite of widely-read warnings such as that, there are still those who "talk" about the restoration of St. Mary's City at the very moment, in this second half of the 20th century, when the last vestiges of the town are disappearing.[8]

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[8] For illustrations, see *Early Manors*, p. 202 (Kent Fort Manor), and *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, pp. 303 and 315 (Leigh House). Two photographs of the Leigh House, taken by the author, are in the Library of the Society.—*Ed.*

Parker Prize Contest Winners—The prize-winning entries in the 1953 Sumner and Dudrea Parker Contest for the best Maryland genealogies were the following:

First Prize, $25.00: "Genealogy of the Darby Family," by Rufus M. Darby

Second Prize, $20.00: "The Heath Family of Wicomico County," by Miss M. Catherine Downing

Third Prize, $15.00: "A Brief History of the Headington Family," by C. E. Headington

Judges in the 1953 contest were Mr. G. Valentine Massey, Dr. James G. Marston, and Mr. Peter G. Van der Poel.

Members and other interested persons are reminded that the 1954 contest closes on December 31, 1954. Entries should be submitted to the Director of the Society on or before that date.

The Society takes this opportunity to express appreciation to Mrs. Parker for establishing the endowment from the income of which these awards are made. The library is being enriched by the addition of these valuable compilations.

Clinton—Can someone tell us why the name Robeystown was once used for the Clinton community in Prince George's Co.? In the mid-19th century the community was called Surrattsville.

FRANK SMALL, JR., M. C.
House Office Bldg., Washington 25, D. C.

Gartrell—Need name of first wife and possibility of his ancestors' Colonial Wars services of Joseph Gartrell, Sr., Revolutionary soldier in Md. militia. Resided in Md. until 1801 when he moved to Wilkes Co., Ga.

JOSEPH BAIRD MAGNUS
16 Desbrosses St., New York 13, N. Y.

Poling—Want dates and proof of forbears of Richard Poling, Jacob Jackson, and Joshua Frazee. Poling m. Sophia Denith (Dewith or Dewitt), lived in Md., Va., and Perry Co., Ohio, children: Sarah, Mart, Wm., Anna, Richard, Elizabeth, Rachel. Elizabeth Poling m. Nov., 1804, Jacob Jackson in Md., moved to Ohio in 1805 and in 1841 to Van Buren Co., Iowa. Their dau. Mary m. 3-9-1837 in Perry Co., Ohio, Wm. Reed Frazee, son of Joshua and Nancy Reed Frazee.

Mrs. JOHN W. DAVIS
933 Bullock Ave., Yeadon, Pa.

Talbott—Would like to exchange data on the following families of the Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott lines: Talbott, Farquhar, Morsell, Sedgewich, Birkhead, Mears.

MALCOLM H. DILL
633 Charles Street Avenue, Towson 4.

Key—Would appreciate any information as to descendants of the following: Ridout Key McGregor and Anna Key McGregor, children of Martha Key, dau. of Judge Edmund Key and 1st wife, Anna Ruth Potts. Of Martha Key it is only known that she m. a Mr. McGregor. Also Edward Lloyd Key b. 10-12-1853, d. 11-3-1905; Mary Taylor Lloyd Key b. 3-12-1855, who m. Alexander McDonald Blair; Francis Scott Key b. 1-19-1861, last known address, Mt. Vernon, N. Y., in early 1900s. All these Keys were children of Charles Henry Key b. 7-30-1827 d. 6-29-1869, youngest son of Francis Scott Key, author of National Anthem.

DONALD KEY KING
3431 Binkley Ave., Dallas, Texas.

Wathen-Slye-Cole—Would appreciate information from private or professional sources regarding English origin, background, or antecedents of following settlers: John Wathen (1625-1698), settled in St. Mary's Co. 1646, m. 1650 Mary Mullett. Capt. Robert Slye (1615-1670), settled in St. Mary's Co., m. Susannah Gerard, dau. of Thomas Gerard. Robert Cole (d. 1663), settled in St. Mary's Co., whose son Edward m. daughter of Robert Slye.

EDGAR PETERSON
485 Madison Ave., New York 22.

CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. G. THOMAS DUNLOP, now retired from the practice of law in Washington, continues a family tradition of loving, intelligent care of the old home. His son, Mr. A. MCCOOK DUNLOP, has interested himself especially at this time in Williamson, the builder of Hayes. Mr. LEISENRING has previously contributed to the *Magazine* as author of a definitive article on Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County (Sept., 1952). ☆ Dr. KENNY, the author of *West Virginia Place Names*, is at work on a study of Indian place names in Maryland. ☆ Mrs. PEABODY and Mr. BIERCK are identified in our March number.

FOR SALE BY THE SOCIETY

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History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953	5.00
His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland, by Donnell M. Owings. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 1) 1953	6.15
Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military. By H. R. Manakee. 1950	3.25
Maryland in World War II: Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture. By H. R. Manakee. 1951	3.25
The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938	4.20
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940.	2.75
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederick Emory. 1950	7.75
Barbara Frietschie. By Dorothy M. and W. R. Quynn. 1945. 45 pages	1.10
Old Wye Church, Talbot County, Maryland. By Elizabeth Merritt. 1949	.55
Portraits Painted before 1900 in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. By A. W. Rutledge. 1946	1.00
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Chronicles of Mistress Margaret Brent. By Mary E. W. Ramey. 1915. 12 pages	.60
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