

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



The Mansion at Guilford, near Baltimore, about 1892

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*March* · 1956

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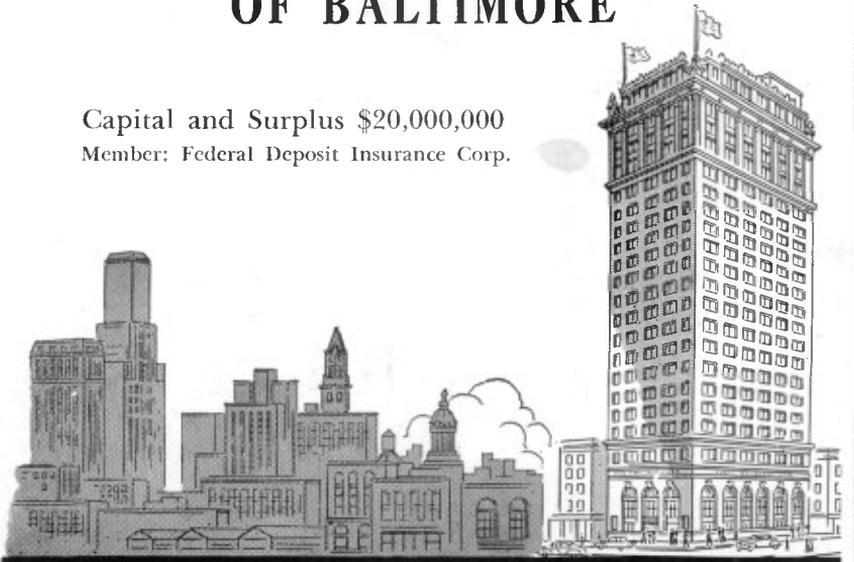
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VOLUME LI

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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME LI

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	PAGE
HORATIO GREENOUGH, BOSTON SCULPTOR, AND ROBERT GILMOR, JR., HIS BALTIMORE PATRON. <i>Nathalia Wright</i> , . . . . .	1
A BALTIMORE ESTATE: GUILFORD AND ITS THREE OWNERS. <i>J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul</i> , . . . . .	14
WAGES IN EARLY COLONIAL MARYLAND. <i>Manfred Jonas</i> , . . . . .	27
PARK HEAD CHURCH AND THE REVEREND JEREMIAH MASON. <i>Mary Vernon Mish</i> , . . . . .	39
CHARLES WALLACE AS UNDERTAKER OF THE STATE HOUSE. <i>Morris L. Radoff</i> , . . . . .	50
SIDELIGHTS, . . . . . 54, 154, 243,	355
REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS, . . . . . 62, 161, 252,	357
NOTES AND QUERIES, . . . . . 75, 171, 263,	366
COUNTEREETING IN COLONIAL MARYLAND. <i>Kenneth Scott</i> , . . . . .	81
A CHILDHOOD AT CLYNMALIRA. <i>Harriet Winchester Jones</i> , . . . . .	101
NEWTOWN HUNDRED. <i>Edwin W. Beitzell</i> , . . . . .	125
JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE DOWN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY ON A FISHING EXPEDITION, 1824. <i>Horatio Ridout</i> , . . . . .	140
THE RED BOOK, 1819-1821, A SATIRE ON BALTIMORE SOCIETY. <i>Charles H. Bohner</i> , . . . . .	175
THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877. <i>Clifton K. Yearley, Jr.</i> , . . . . .	188
BURLEIGH MANOR IN HOWARD COUNTY. <i>Francis C. Haber</i> , . . . . .	212
A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY: PART III. Edited by <i>Douglas Gordon</i> , . . . . .	224
THE SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF ZACHARIAH HOOD. <i>Aubrey C. Land</i> , . . . . .	237
ENOCH PRATT AS PATRON OF EDWARD S. BARTHOLOMEW, SCULPTOR. <i>Alexandra Lee Levin</i> , . . . . .	267
FRANCO-AMERICAN TOBACCO DIPLOMACY, 1784-1860. <i>Bingham Duncan</i> , . . . . .	273
THE "SEAMAN AND THE SEAMAN'S BRIDE," BALTIMORE CLIPPER SHIPS. <i>Lewis Addison Beck, Jr.</i> , . . . . .	302
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND AS PORTRAYED IN THE "ITINERANT OBSERVATIONS" OF EDWARD KIMBER, . . . . .	315
A LAST GLIMPSE OF MENCKEN. <i>Douglas Gordon</i> , . . . . .	337
MINIATURES IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Compiled by <i>Eugenia Calvert Holland and Louisa Macgill Gary</i> , . . . . .	341

## ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
The Mansion at Guilford, near Baltimore, about 1892, . . . .	Cover, March
A Reconstruction Drawing of the Original Guilford House Occupied by William McDonald, . . . . .	18
Guilford as It Appeared about 1890, . . . . .	betw. 24-25
Gateway and Porter's Lodge at the York Road Entrance to Guilford, . . . . .	betw. 24-25
Artificial Lake Created by William McDonald in the Area Now Occupied by Stratford Green and Sherwood Gardens, . . . .	betw. 24-25
Flora Temple (1845-1877), . . . . .	betw. 24-25
A Guilford Bedroom Filled With Trophies From William McDonald's Voyages to Europe and the Orient, . . . . .	betw. 24-25
Arunah Shepherdson Abell (1806-1888), . . . . .	betw. 24-25
Edward Henry Bouton (1859-1841), . . . . .	betw. 24-25
Clynmalira, Baltimore County, Childhood Home of Harriet Winchester Jones, . . . . .	Cover, June
Some Family Relationships of Mrs. J. Sparhawk Jones, . . . .	105
Harriet Winchester Jones, . . . . .	betw. 108-109
Fannie Mactier Winchester Brown, . . . . .	betw. 108-109
Harriet Winchester Jones as a Child, . . . . .	betw. 108-109
Sarah Carroll Winchester, . . . . .	betw. 108-109
Rear View of Clynmalira House, . . . . .	betw. 108-109
Barns at Clynmalira, . . . . .	betw. 108-109
Burleigh Manor, Howard County, . . . . .	Cover, Sept.
Floor Plan of Burleigh Manor House, . . . . .	214
West Entrance, . . . . .	betw. 218-219
South Wall of Living Room, . . . . .	betw. 218-219
Detail of Carving in Doorway Between Hall and Living Room, . . . .	betw. 218-219
Detail of the Fireplace Mantel, . . . . .	betw. 218-219
West Entrance Doorway, . . . . .	betw. 218-219
The <i>Seaman's Bride</i> about 1852, . . . . .	Cover, Dec.
The <i>Seaman's Bride</i> Under Construction, . . . . .	betw. 310-311
The <i>Seaman's Bride</i> , . . . . .	betw. 310-311
The <i>Seaman</i> , . . . . .	betw. 310-311
John Singleton, by <i>Charles Willson Peale</i> , . . . . .	betw. 342-343
Mrs. Roger Boyce, by <i>Anna C. Peale</i> , . . . . .	betw. 342-343
Benjamin Harwood, by <i>James Peale</i> , . . . . .	betw. 342-343
Samuel Collins, by <i>Silas Dewey</i> , . . . . .	betw. 342-343

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VOL. 51, No. 1

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor, and Robert Gilmor, Jr., His Baltimore Patron . . . <i>Nathalia Wright</i>	1
A Baltimore Estate: Guilford and Its Three Owners <i>J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul</i>	14
Wages in Colonial Maryland . . . . . <i>Manfred Jonas</i>	27
Park Head Church and the Reverend Jeremiah Mason <i>Mary Vernon Mish</i>	39
Charles Wallace as Undertaker of the State House <i>Morris L. Radoff</i>	50
Sidelights . . . . .	54
Reviews of Recent Books . . . . .	62
Notes and Queries . . . . .	75
Contributors . . . . .	79

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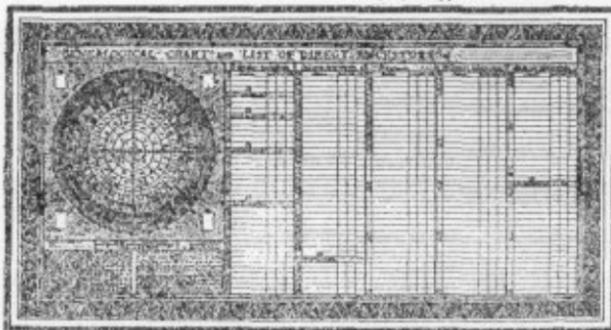
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume 51

MARCH, 1956

Number 1

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## HORATIO GREENOUGH, BOSTON SCULP- TOR, AND ROBERT GILMOR, JR., HIS BALTIMORE PATRON

By NATHALIA WRIGHT

ONE of the earliest and most generous patrons of the sculptor Horatio Greenough was Robert Gilmore, Jr., merchant and art collector of Baltimore. The story of their relationship constitutes a short chapter in the history of American art. It also furnishes glimpses—often laughable, sometimes sentimental, always engaging—of an eager, ambitious, and appreciative young man and his older, less imaginative, but sympathetic friend.

The two men first met in March, 1828, in Washington, where Greenough was modelling busts of President John Quincy Adams and Chief Justice John Marshall.<sup>1</sup> At that time Greenough was

<sup>1</sup> The sources for this account of the Greenough-Gilmore relationship are, unless otherwise noted, Greenough's letters to his brother Henry of March 8, 26, and

not yet twenty-three. He had returned the year before because of illness from Rome, where he had studied some eighteen months, and, though he had executed a few busts and one or two statues, he was known principally to the Washington Allston circle in Cambridge and his native Boston. Well-born though he was, his father's financial position was precarious, and he had no funds with which to continue his study.

Gilmor at fifty-four was one of Baltimore's wealthiest and most prominent citizens, widely acquainted in America and abroad, and owner of one of the finest collections of art objects in the country. The success of his father's counting-house had early given him opportunity to indulge his fondness for the arts—a fondness which, like the peculiarly American connoisseur that he was, he at first feared “may perhaps prove dangerous,” but which, he added, “as long as I can restrain it with[in] the bounds of prudence & reason, I am convinced . . . will prove one of the greatest sources of pleasure, amusement and relaxation from the serious concerns of life.”<sup>2</sup>

Approving what he saw of Greenough's work in Washington, Gilmor engaged the sculptor to make a bust of himself or his wife for \$100 and asked an estimate for a statue of Venus rising from the shell. The bust, of Mrs. Gilmor as it was decided, was modelled in Gilmor's Gothic library in Baltimore during the last two weeks of March and the first week of April, 1828. Greenough thought it his best work in America, and Gilmor was sufficiently pleased to order its execution in marble and also a group or statue of undetermined subject—both commissions to be carried

April 5, 1828, in *Letters of Horatio Greenough* (Boston, 1887), pp. 31-41, and his letters to Gilmor, May 17, 1828 (Pennsylvania Historical Society), Feb. 25, 1829 (Maine Historical Society), May 16, 1829 (Pennsylvania Historical Society), April 25, Sept. 7, 1830 (Boston Public Library), April 12, 1831 (Maine Historical Society), Oct. 10, 1831 (University of Michigan), Jan. 13, June 10, 1832 (Boston Public Library), July 25, 1833 (Haverford College), Nov. 28, 1835 (Boston Public Library). These letters are all I have located of those written by Greenough to Gilmor. Three others, two dated 1830 and one 1839, were sold at the Libbie auction of Brantz Mayer's manuscripts on Nov. 11-13, 1879. Possibly Greenough wrote no more than fourteen in all which reached their destination; some three or four on each side of the correspondence were lost in transit. On Aug. 29, 1848, Gilmor sent Mayer ten of Greenough's letters which he said contained “a full history of all that has passed between us on the subject of the Medora & my wife's bust & cameo portrait.” (Letter in the New York Historical Society.)

I have not located any of Gilmor's letters to Greenough. There were at least those dated Oct. 9, 1829, *ca.* Dec., 1829, June 12, Oct. 24, 1830, Nov. 10, 1831, Feb. 29, 1832, *ca.* June, 1833, Sept. 24, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Wells Rutledge, “Robert Gilmor, Jr., Baltimore Collector,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XII (1949), 19.

out in Italy. He also interested himself in Greenough's career: introduced the young man to possible patrons (and to such historical personages as old Charles Carroll of Carrollton), obtained for him an order for a bust in Philadelphia, possibly advanced money which made it possible for him to return to Italy, and influenced several Bostonians to lend him \$1,000. Greenough sailed in May and this time established himself in Florence.

The first of the two Italian orders, Mrs. Gilmor's bust in marble, gave Greenough a disproportionate amount of trouble. The episode<sup>3</sup> illustrates one of the most exasperating circumstances of the life of sculptors in Italy in the nineteenth century: their dependence on native workmen to hest or roughly cut the stone. When the cast of the bust reached Leghorn from America in January, 1829—nearly a year after it was made—Greenough had it sent directly to the quarries at Carrara, but wishing to remodel the drapery he instructed the boster to wait for his arrival. The boster, having recently quarreled with Greenough's former teacher Bartolini and fearing dismissal by the pupil (also, no doubt, taking advantage of the young sculptor's inexperience) went to work on the marble immediately, making alterations impossible. Meanwhile Greenough was delayed in Florence modeling for James Fenimore Cooper the group of Chanting Cherubs, his first specific large commission, which he was eager to finish and exhibit in the hope that it would improve his chances of obtaining a government commission.

Apparently it was June before Greenough arrived in Carrara.<sup>4</sup> His reaction upon discovery of the damage done by the boster was typical of his professional consciousness, his passion for perfection, his generosity, and his impecuniousness. He first consulted other artists in Florence, and obtaining their approval of his proposed changes he wrote the boster, charging him with ruining the work and proposing to pay him but half the regular price of twenty-five francesconi (about \$26). At this the man created a noisy and protracted scene, heaping insults on the sculptor and all his countrymen and refusing to give up either bust or cast. The American consul had finally to intervene to secure them. By this time it was mid-September, a month after Greenough had

<sup>3</sup> It was described by Horatio to Henry, Sept. 16, 1829; quoted in Henry to Gilmor, Oct. 29, 1829 (New York Historical Society).

<sup>4</sup> His passport is so stamped (Massachusetts Historical Society).

promised the work would be in New York. Still dissatisfied with the design and feeling it his "duty to do more" than make the work "as good as Mr G expects it,"<sup>5</sup> he proposed to finish it without drapery as a specimen of his work to be given by Gilmor to some friend and to execute a second bust draped to please him. Sketches of the second design were to accompany the first bust. Yet in the end he evidently finished the work, which was sparingly draped, according to the original model, and seems to have executed no other design. It was finished by mid-November and shipped in February, 1830.<sup>6</sup>

For Mrs. Gilmor's bust Greenough was evidently paid \$150. He received \$100 at the time of its modelling and was to have \$50 more when the marble was dispatched.<sup>7</sup> In this transaction Gilmor was again thoughtful of his artist: the customary amount paid in advance was only half the total. Before he went to Carrara, in fact, Greenough apparently drew on his patron for \$50 to cover the cost of materials. On receipt of the bust in marble Gilmor seems to have offered Greenough another \$100, which the sculptor refused because the model was "so munificently paid."<sup>8</sup> The account was handled, like all others between Gilmor and Greenough, by Grant, Pillans, and Company in Leghorn.

The subject of the second commission, the statue, was discussed between Gilmor and Greenough at intervals for nearly three years, in which time they considered virtually all possible sculptural traditions: mythological, pastoral, historical, Biblical, idealistic, and romantic. Gilmor's original idea of a Venus was soon abandoned, for before Greenough left for Italy he submitted sketches of a shepherd boy, Sappho, and Jacob and Rebecca. None pleased Gilmor so well, however, as the group of Cherubs which Greenough began soon after his return to Florence for Cooper, copying a detail in Raphael's *Madonna del Baldacchino*. Gilmor wished he had thought of the subject first, and he searched through engravings of old masters hoping to have a comparable inspiration. The attitude was typical of the romantic fusion of distinctively separate art forms. Failing to satisfy himself, he wrote to Green-

<sup>5</sup> Horatio to Henry, Sept. 16, 1829.

<sup>6</sup> Greenough to Washington Allston, Nov. 17, 1829 (Massachusetts Historical Society). It was packed when Gilmor's nephew Robert tried to see it on Feb. 8 Robert Gilmor (1808-75), *Diary* (Maryland Historical Society).

<sup>7</sup> Greenough to Allston, Sept. 19, 1829 (Massachusetts Historical Society).

<sup>8</sup> Greenough to Gilmor, July 25, 1833.

ough toward the end of 1829 stipulating only a figure three or four feet high, preferably female and partially draped, though leaving the sculptor considerable liberty about these matters.<sup>9</sup> Greenough's suggestion for such a size was a girl of about nine years, since he thought "adult forms on a small scale produced but a mean effect unless decidedly in miniature."<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile the difficulties of carrying on a correspondence across the Atlantic Ocean began to complicate the negotiations. Greenough had finally conceived the subject of the dead Medora, the bride of the Corsair in Byron's poem, and had communicated it to Gilmor in a letter written probably in February, 1830, which apparently crossed Gilmor's letter proposing the miniature figure. But this letter of Greenough's was lost, and Gilmor evidently did not learn of the idea until nearly a year later. Apparently he rejected the nine-year old girl in favor of a boy he had found in one of the pictures of the Madonna, which he desired to have copied in marble so that it would hold a lamp or vase. He was still trying, it would seem, to acquire a work which would have the sure reputation of the past and at the same time rival Cooper's in novelty. And for once, at any rate, he succumbed to the temptation besetting Anglo-Saxons in general to unite art and utility.

Unable to identify the boy, Greenough modelled in the winter of 1830/31 a figure to fit Gilmor's description. But he felt that the necessity of making it support a vase "cramped very much that latitude in composition so dear to the imagination,"<sup>11</sup> and though the figure met the approval of those to whom he showed it (among them Samuel F. B. Morse, then travelling in Italy) it did not excite the sensation that the Cherubs had. Determined that Gilmor's figure should be his "best work up to the date of its production at all events" and encouraged by the freedom granted him in the letter Gilmor wrote, presumably after hearing his proposal of Medora, Greenough abandoned the vase-holder about April, 1831, and began the study of a figure of Byron's heroine.

"Here," he wrote Gilmor, "I can unite beauty to touching interest and a convenient form for your house to novelty—I . . . can do what has not been done in Italy for many years—attempt

<sup>9</sup> Greenough to Cooper, March 5, 1830 (Yale University).

<sup>10</sup> Greenough to Gilmor, April 25, 1830.

<sup>11</sup> This and the next two quotations are from Greenough to Gilmor, April 12, 1831.

to interest and charm the eye and mind with a female form without appealing to the baser passions—." The subject also had a contemporaneousness which the others considered did not have, and, especially in the sculptor's immediate circle, it capitalized on Byron's still vivid memory. The poet's death was five and his Florentine residence six years past when Greenough first proposed to represent Medora in marble. Both Thorwaldsen and Bartolini executed busts of Byron, and Greenough finished one by 1834.<sup>12</sup> It is possible, indeed, that the sculptor was more enthusiastic about the subject finally agreed upon than was his patron.

Greenough's design for his statue of Medora was a nearly life-size, recumbent figure over which a cloth had been thrown so as to leave the upper part exposed; one hand lay over her heart and the other, at her side, clasped flowers as Byron had detailed.<sup>13</sup> Her features were reported to have been an idealization of his own.<sup>14</sup> The "soul" of the figure was best described, he said, in the lines from Petrarch's "Trionfo della Morte" which compare Laura's death to the extinguishing of a light rather than a flame.<sup>15</sup> The statue was thus doubly inspired by poetic conceptions—an example of the dominance throughout this period of the literary over the plastic arts.

By October, 1831, the model was completed and points were being taken for it in the marble, and by June, 1832, Greenough was applying the finishing touches. He had only minor interruptions—such as the time his female servant and an accomplice stole the muslin shroud, along with two pairs of his pantaloons.<sup>16</sup> And he began to feel for the first time master of his art. This was his first original "poetical" piece. Grateful as he had been for the Cooper commission, he recognized the design of the Cherubs as essentially a copy, and he felt that to have made another copy of any work at this time would have been "morally impossible."<sup>17</sup> The head of the Medora alone, he thought, would be worth the Cherubs. He worked "with a strength and a motive . . . never felt before," not having to "spur" himself, but only

<sup>12</sup> Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Italian Sketch Book* (Boston, 1837), p. 259.

<sup>13</sup> The Boston newspapers described the statue at the time of its exhibition; see particularly the *Daily Advertiser & Patriot*, Oct. 25, 1833.

<sup>14</sup> R. W. Emerson, "English Traits."

<sup>15</sup> Greenough to Cooper, Nov. [Dec.] 8, 1831 (Yale University).

<sup>16</sup> Greenough to Cooper, June 28, 1832 (Yale University).

<sup>17</sup> Greenough to Gilmor, Jan. 13, 1832.

"to *laissez aller*." <sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, chiefly because of the illness of his brother Henry, then in Florence, in the fall of 1832 and also the excitement of his receiving and replying to the offer of a commission for the statue of Washington for the United States Capitol that year, the figure did not leave his studio until the last of April or first of May, 1833. <sup>19</sup> Yet Gilmor evidently did not chide, and he was capable of writing letters in which, with a delicacy which did not escape the sculptor's appreciative notice, he did not even mention his long overdue statue. <sup>20</sup>

In the letter he wrote Gilmor announcing the Medora's dispatch Greenough, always attentive to the lighting of his work, urged that a single, veiled light, falling at a twenty-five or thirty degree angle, be directed on it. And, conscious as he always was of his profession as an exalted one and of a public national in scope and even in part unborn, he relinquished the work with these characteristic words: "I have never allowed myself to bestow on it my jaded or ineffective moments. It has been a great object with me to perfect it. I now leave it to yourself and to the Public to judge it." <sup>21</sup>

Long before the Medora was finished the sculptor found he had underestimated, as he so often did, the expenses of his work. His price was \$500, which seems to have been about twice what Gilmor originally intended to pay. When he proposed the nine-year old girl he named the sum of \$550, but so desirous was he of satisfying his patron that he offered to take only \$400 for it, paying back \$150 out of receipts from its exhibition. Actually he drew upon Gilmor for \$700 for the Medora, over \$400 of it by the end of 1830 (before the design was decided on) and the rest by the end of 1832, but \$200 of this amount he proposed to repay from exhibition receipts. In the final account, however, Greenough's expenditures for Gilmor's paintings approximately equalled this overdraft and the sculptor owed his patron only about \$45. The credit of \$5,000 which he received from the United States government in 1833 as the first payment on his Washington statue had in the meantime relieved his immediate need.

The system then in vogue of exhibiting works of art for the

<sup>18</sup> Greenough to Cooper, Nov. [Dec.] 8, 1831 (Yale University).

<sup>19</sup> Thomas H. Cabot, Diary, March 10, 1833 (Massachusetts Historical Society); Greenough to Cooper, May 15, 1833 (Yale University).

<sup>20</sup> Greenough to Cooper, May 28, 1832 (Yale University).

<sup>21</sup> Greenough to Gilmor, July 25, 1833.

benefit of the artist never proved very lucrative for Greenough. His group of Cherubs, exhibited in 1832, netted about \$400,<sup>22</sup> and the Medora receipts could hardly have been more. The statue was first shown in Boston, at his request, from October 24 through December 31, 1833. Under the management of his brother Alfred,<sup>23</sup> who seems to have been in a constant state of anxiety lest something happen to it, the rooms of Chester Harding the painter were obtained, hours were arranged from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., single tickets were sold for twenty-five cents and season tickets for half a dollar, printed extracts from the poem were given out at the door. By the first of December some two thousand persons had attended.<sup>24</sup> At first the morning hours were exclusively for women, but a male season ticket holder who was accustomed to visit the statue every day was so outraged because two ladies walked out in a huff when he appeared one morning that the segregation was abandoned.<sup>25</sup>

Most of the dozen Boston newspapers carried notices as well as advertisements of the exhibition, all written in the untechnical, impressionistic, and literary tradition of the current art criticism, and all highly flattering. The sombre subject of the statue and the modesty of its drapery precluded the sort of flippant and prudish remarks which had been made about the Chanting Cherubs. Greenough's friend Richard Henry Dana contributed to the *Independent Chronicle* a short essay on the thoughts about death and the sensations aroused by his contemplation of the work. He also wrote a poem, as he had done about the Cherubs, entitled "The Medora," whose final stanza echoed a Keatsian theme:

"—When he that gave thee form, is gone,  
And I within the earth shall lie,  
Thou still shalt softly slumber on—  
Too fair to live—too beautiful to die!"<sup>26</sup>

The *Transcript's* correspondent thought the subject of the statue

<sup>22</sup> Greenough to Samuel Cabot, Nov. 12, 1832 (Massachusetts Historical Society).

<sup>23</sup> Alfred to Gilmor, Oct. 3, 1833, June 28, 1834 (New York Historical Society).

<sup>24</sup> *Boston Mercantile Journal*, Dec. 2, 1833.

<sup>25</sup> *Boston Courier*, Dec. 12, 14, 1833.

<sup>26</sup> Dec. 7, 1833. The next four citations are to the *Transcript*, Oct. 31, 1833 (on Oct. 7 this paper also printed a letter from a Bostonian in Florence praising the statue); the *Daily Advertiser & Patriot*, Nov. 9, 1833 (on Oct. 25 this paper also printed a long article, the *Courier*, Oct. 29, 1833; "Sculpture," *The New-England Magazine*, V (Dec., 1833), 484-485.

peculiarly appropriate to the art of sculpture because of its repose, and was so enraptured that he declared when the old gentleman died from whom he hoped to inherit a fortune he would employ Greenough to execute a group of Conrad and Gulnare from the same poem. "P." in Nathan Hale's *Daily Advertiser* had feared the sculptor could not do justice to the poet's conception but was happy to find the two arts united, as he thought, it being in his estimation "the highest and most beautiful effort of genius to strengthen the sympathy between the sister arts, to make them harmonize and depend on each other."

The longest and most enthusiastic article appeared in the *Courier*, whose founder J. T. Buckingham was noted for his support of the arts. Signed simply "C.," it may have been written by George C. Hillard. The author praised the statue chiefly on the romantic hypothesis that "Our sources of most intense feeling, are connected with suffering" and analyzed the appeal of the subject, in a manner very much like Poe's, as being "the contrast between the perfect tranquility and quietude, 'the rapture of repose,' and the sorrows of moral life, or the agony of death," combined with "the idea of female beauty." His conclusions, however, upset this nice esthetic balance by citing the Medora as proof that the fine arts were not always "degraded to purposes of impurity and vice" and were "susceptible . . . of serving higher and better ends."

Hillard probably also wrote the article in Buckingham's *New-England Magazine* for December, 1833, on sculpture, which was largely devoted to the praise of Greenough's work, particularly his Medora. The author reported that Homer was Greenough's "constant companion," and with more objectivity than some other critics observed that the sculptor "has evidently benefited very much by his classical taste in literature. He is perfectly free from fantastic ornaments, and tasteless trickery; he shows a preference of the pure and the simple over the gaudy and ornate; he confines himself strictly to the legitimate objects of his art."

Some New York papers also, notably Bryant's *Post* and the *American*, both favorable to artists, printed notices of the Medora exhibition in Boston, and the *American* quoted passages from the *New-England Magazine*.

The efforts of Alfred Greenough and Gilmor to have the statue exhibited elsewhere, however, were on the whole unsuccessful.

In New York Gilmor applied to John Trumbull, president of the American Academy, whom Alfred had gotten to show the Chanting Cherubs; the Baltimorean was probably unaware of the altercation which that arrangement had precipitated between Greenough, who had more connections with the rival National Academy of Design, and Samuel Morse, its president.<sup>27</sup> Even so his failure to place the statue anywhere in the city is evidence of the discrepancy which existed between the avowed aim of both academies to aid native artists and their ability to carry out this aim.

In Philadelphia Gilmor tried Rubens Peale, owner of Peale's Museum; James Earle, carver and gilder, and Thomas Sully, the portrait painter, who jointly had a gallery of paintings; and James McMurtrie, art patron. Though he offered them half the receipts of the exhibition none would risk it. He therefore had the statue brought directly to Baltimore by sea, the safest route, in June, 1834, where it was shown, probably in the popular fall season, by an exhibitor in Market Street, the receipts being equally divided between him and Greenough.<sup>28</sup> It does not seem to have been advertised or commented upon in the Baltimore papers.

When at last the statue reached its owner's mansion, the awkward discovery was made that there seemed to be no appropriate place for it, and eight months later it was still unopened.<sup>29</sup> Mortified, Greenough offered to take it back or to give Gilmor in exchange the small allegorical statue of Love Prisoner which he had recently completed. But Gilmor preferred to keep his own. His annotation on one of the sculptor's letters referring to "the fine statue of Medora in my possession"<sup>30</sup> is proof of his pleasure in it. There was, one feels sure, a sensational appropriateness in the costume in which Mrs. Gilmor attended a fancy dress ball in Baltimore in February, 1837: she went as Medora, clad in a white muslin dress, with no ornaments and her hair falling down to her feet.<sup>31</sup>

A third commission which Greenough superintended for Gilmor, though he did not execute it himself, was the reproduction

<sup>27</sup> Greenough to Morse, Jan. 5, 1831 [1832] (Library of Congress); Greenough to Cooper, Jan. 14, 1832 (Yale University).

<sup>28</sup> Gilmor's annotation on Greenough's letter of June 10, 1832; Alfred to Gilmor, June 28, 1834.

<sup>29</sup> Edward Everett, Diary, March 11, 1835 (Massachusetts Historical Society).

<sup>30</sup> Gilmor's annotation on Greenough's letter of Oct. 10, 1831.

<sup>31</sup> "Mrs. B. I. Cohen's Fancy Dress Party," *The Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 354.

of Mrs. Gilmor's profile, taken from the bust, in a cameo. Gilmor seems to have ordered it in his letter of October 24, 1830, and he thought it might be done by G. A. Santarelli of Florence, who made a model for him many years before. But that artist was dead, the subject was no longer taught in the Academy, and in consequence the art was virtually a lost one in Florence. The work was done, it seems, in Rome in the spring of 1832 and finished by the help of Thomas Cole, the painter. Cole, who lived with Greenough in Florence in 1831, was also a protégé of Gilmor's.

In addition to furnishing Gilmor with two new marbles and a cameo for his collection, Greenough also purchased for him several older objects of art. Before leaving America he apparently sent from Boston engravings of the Arabesques of Raphael's Loggia. From Italy there were four shipments. The first was evidently a gift—a salver and vase cast in scagliola from a piece of plate by Cellini and possibly a few old silver coins, which went in May, 1829. In the fall of 1830 he sent a copy of a landscape by Salvator Rosa made by the nephew of Luigi Sabatelli and, as a curiosity, a painting of battle scenes on slate or marble which had been in the celebrated Torregiani collection. The next April he dispatched his chief purchase—an original *Repose in Egypt* by Francesco Albani, once the property of Count Lozzi of Florence. He got it for 112 francesconi and Morse thought it would have been cheap at \$500. Yet neither of them discovered the traces of restoration which met Gilmor's practiced eye. Finally in the summer of 1833 Greenough sent a case containing a copy of a portrait of Michelangelo by one of the Albanis, two landscapes on copper by Zuccherelli, and some miscellaneous carvings. Altogether he expended 201 francesconi.

In his role as a collector's agent Greenough was eager to gratify Gilmor's every desire—as he always agreeably tried to help his countrymen buy European art even when they would not patronize American artists. But unlike most of these collectors Gilmor was not satisfied with copies. His orders of "old masters," Cellinis, and Fiammingos—and more than once for a Venus like "Mr. Derby's" (probably Elias Haskett)—were hard to fill. In the long political peace, as Greenough observed, the uninterrupted flow of wealthy travelers in Italy had made the sale of art objects a flourishing business. He complained that the English, who

spent prodigally, kept prices up, and the Italians were notoriously tricky to negotiate with. Moreover Greenough had neither the eye nor the speculative instinct for purchasing originals. He rejected a \$100 Rosa and a \$250 Van der Werf as too high, and he failed to recognize a Tintoretto copy of Titian's Peter the Martyr when it was offered at the bargain price of \$30. It was a quarter of a century before the first genuine connoisseur of Italian art, James Jackson Jarves, arrived in Florence.

Most of the Greenough-Gilmor correspondence was devoted to details connected with the collector's orders and the artist's fulfillment of them. Yet not all of it was. Gilmor proffered advice both on his young friend's health and study of art. Greenough relayed news of art and artists in Italy—of the Americans Cole, Morse, and Peale, the Italians Bartolini, Bezzuoli, and Ricci, and of Thorwaldsen—and reported his own activities and prospects; both he and Cooper asked Gilmor to recommend him for a government commission.<sup>32</sup>

And in almost every letter Greenough revealed his most salient characteristics: his intense ambition and, as Gilmor put it, "his modesty & grateful heart for the smallest kindness shewn him."<sup>33</sup> He could be overcome with self-pity, as when he virtually apologized for charging Gilmor with the items purchased for his collection: "God knows my Dear Sir I would fain fill your collection with chef d'œuvres—nor should I feel that I had done more than my duty toward you—You took me by the hand when I was inexperienced and poor and in ill health. I am not a man to forget these kindnesses."<sup>34</sup> But he was also independent enough to declare that "the brightest day I have long seen will be that when I shall be able to refund what has been advanced me."

He looked upon himself not as an isolated or private artist but the first American—as he was—to practice the profession of sculpture, and he was as conscious of those to follow him as of his own efforts. "I am," he declared, "the pioneer of a band which I doubt not will hereafter enrich and beautify the cities of the Republic. I am warmed with the thought that if I seize on the right path they will do me the honour of having begun well."

<sup>32</sup> Cooper to J. S. Skinner, June 26, 1831 (Pennsylvania Historical Society).

<sup>33</sup> Gilmor to Mayer, Aug. 29, 1848.

<sup>34</sup> Greenough to Gilmor, June 10, 1832. The next six quotations are from Greenough's letters to Gilmor of the following dates: April 25, 1830; Feb. 25, 1829; April 25, 1830; May 16, 1829; Feb. 25, 1829.

On another occasion he wrote, "I hope, sir, and I believe, that I shall become useful to my nation as an artist and that the day will arrive when young Americans, devoting themselves to the art, will find in my study that instruction in the rudiments of Sculpture, to obtain which I have travelled so far & have spent so much time and money."

But there were many less confident moments. "I would to God," he exclaimed to Gilmor shortly after meeting Cooper, "that my power and my talent were equal to my love of my art that I might the better do honour to the favourable opinions of both of you." "I think I may hope," he ventured, "to become ultimately a respectable artist. But I am sensible that it will require the whole force, the utmost strain of the faculties given me to effect it." As he prepared to begin Mrs. Gilmor's bust in marble, he promised to "work with zeal, with gratitude, and if it were what I would fain make it for your sake I should indeed be an artist."

Whether or not patron and sculptor met again on the sculptor's visits to America in 1836 and 1842/43 is not known. Possibly they did at the latter date, for Greenough and his wife spent most of eight months in Washington and Wilmington, Delaware. When Greenough returned in 1851, however, Gilmor was dead. He left no children and the precarious condition of his estate necessitated the sale, in 1849, of his collection. His wife, who returned to her native Charleston, South Carolina, took Greenough's bust with her, and it has remained in the possession of her family in that state.<sup>85</sup> But the fate of the statue of Medora, like that of many of the paintings and objects of art in Gilmor's collection, is unknown. The fact is testimony of perhaps the greatest hazard of all risked by early American artists and patrons alike: neither fortunes nor families in the still new world were sufficiently well established to preserve what they could accumulate.

<sup>85</sup> Now in the possession of Mrs. Grover Cleveland Edwards, Inman, S. C.

## A BALTIMORE ESTATE: GUILFORD AND ITS THREE OWNERS

By J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

LOOK at a present-day map of Baltimore and you will see two arterial thoroughfares, St. Paul Street and Calvert Street, running north from the heart of the city in uncompromising straightness until, reaching University Parkway, their rigidity is refracted into sweeping curves. Other parallel streets fall into harmonious relation with these two, so that the region bounded on the north by Cold Spring Lane, on the west by Charles Street extended, and on the west by Greenmount Avenue—in other words, the tract known as Guilford—is seen to be served by roads following the graceful lines of natural contours. This happy state of affairs is due to the genius of the late Edward H. Bouton, who was able to convince a group of public spirited men who had bought the tract for development that practical considerations could be profitably combined with respect for beauty.

However, before getting involved in what should properly be the last chapter of the history of this tract let us take a retrospective glance far beyond the days when its 296 acres were assembled under the name it now bears. Title research shows it to be made up of parts of ten separate patents<sup>1</sup> granted by the

\* Acknowledgment of indebtedness should be made to Mr. Francis Foulke Beirne and the late Mr. B. Latrobe Weston; also to Mr. William Bose Marye, who gave invaluable assistance in establishing the early patents.

<sup>1</sup> A list of these patents is as follows:

- (1) Merryman's Lot, patented in 1689 to Charles Merryman and Nicholas Hale, 210 acres.
- (2) Merryman's Addition, patented in 1695 to Charles Merryman, 120 acres.
- (3) Sheredine's Discovery, patented in 1743 to William Chetwynd and others, 1900 acres.
- (4) Bryan's Chance, patented in 1743 to Henry Morgan, 50 acres.
- (5) Ridgely's Whim, patented in 1745 to Charles Ridgely, 990 acres.
- (6) Huntington, patented in 1748 to John Edwards, 135 acres, the original warrant of survey for 2000 acres having been issued in 1688 to Thomas Richardson.
- (7) Garrison's Meadows, patented in 1770 to Job Garrison, 52 acres.

Lord Proprietor or by the State of Maryland. A considerable portion of the tract was "confiscated British property," sold by Commissioners appointed by the State of Maryland in 1780 to confiscate and sell the property of British subjects in retaliation for acts of confiscation by Great Britain.

In the latest of these patents, granted in 1822, we come across the name of an extraordinary individual, Ebenezer S. Thomas, a rolling stone torn loose in early life from rocky Massachusetts. At the age of thirteen he left his father's home in Lancaster and went to live with his uncle Isaiah Thomas, the distinguished printer-patriot of Worcester, where he learned the printer's trade in a rather hard apprenticeship. In 1795, an experienced youth of nearly twenty, he left Boston for South Carolina, where he plunged into the book business. His energy, charm and intelligence, his readiness to shift the course of his life at short notice, combined with an ability to induce others to do likewise, seemed to break down all barriers as he moved from one activity to another. There was no containing such a young man: once in Charleston his roving eye turned back to Rhode Island, and we next find him in Providence consorting with the merchant princes, yet keeping intact his ties with the South. In 1805, wintering in Charleston, he "very unexpectedly got married to Miss Fonerden, a daughter of Adam Fonerden, Esq., of Baltimore, who was on her way to Italy with her sister and brother-in-law."<sup>2</sup> A year later, he writes "I went with my wife to visit her relatives in Baltimore, whom I had never seen. These prevailed upon me to quit Providence and come and reside in Baltimore . . . in the neighborhood of which I had already bought a farm,<sup>3</sup> which I immediately began to improve. I had got it into fine condition when the long embargo came on, which brought produce down the next year [1809] to less than half the usual prices. I continued on it working from sunrise to dusk until November, when one day my two carters returning from town with the loads they had taken

(8) Cox's Paradise, patented in 1773 to James Cox, 46 acres.

(9) Nelson's Traverse, patented in 1803 to Joseph Merryman, 3 acres.

(10) Thomasville, patented in 1822 to Ebenezer S. Thomas, 36 acres.

These mellow names of persons and places will possibly interest some present-day land owners in Guilford, who may discover they are living on ancestral acres.

<sup>2</sup> E. S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-five Years, . . . Also Sketches of His own Life and Times*, 2 vols., (Hartford, 1840).

<sup>3</sup> Part of the tract later known as "Guilford."

in and could not dispose of at any price, I in a moment determined to return to Charleston."

We are not told in the memoirs whether the former Miss Fonerden was ordered, like Lady Burton, to "pay, pack and follow," or whether she was left to tend the farm while her husband, now owner of the *Charleston Gazette*, was up to his neck in South Carolina journalism and politics. His account of the next seven years is like a slowly mounting fever chart, with Thomas going the hot-blooded Southerners one better until an orthodox climax was reached in an attempt on his life. One thing is certain: he enjoyed every minute of it. He had made a host of friends as well as some hearty enemies, and there is no cause to doubt his statement that his only reason for leaving Charleston was the villainous summer climate of that city.

Back in Baltimore was the refuge of the farm, and thither he repaired. It was now Thomas's intention to devote his whole energies to practical and experimental agriculture. After enlarging his landholdings to provide an adequate stage for these activities he proceeded to try out "the best seeds of corn, small grain and grasses," and procured seventeen different kinds of wheat in one year, mostly from the Mediterranean. In furtherance of these researches he took a long trip to Europe, where he met as an equal many great landholders, studied their methods of farming, and returned to Baltimore laden with agricultural spoils. "I had upwards of one hundred and fifty kinds of field and garden seeds," he writes, "more than fifty of which were new in the United States; also hay-makers, that with one man and a horse made hay as fast as ten men cut it; broadcast sowing machines; Northumberland drills, etc., with five hundred volumes of large and valuable books on agriculture." Thomas's progressive and public-spirited attitude toward cultivation of the land reminds one strongly of Thomas Jefferson. He had attracted the respectful attention of specialists in this country and abroad; his Baltimore farm, planted to all kinds of fruits and coming into full production, promised him a livelihood. However, his tremendous vitality and wide interests drew him into the field of politics<sup>4</sup> and speculative finance, with the results that on returning from England he found

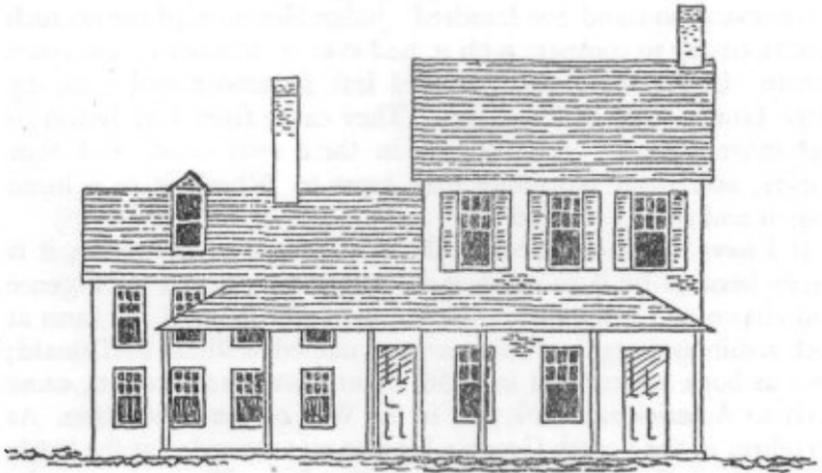
<sup>4</sup> In August, 1817, Thomas was nominated by a Baltimore County convention for a seat in the State legislature, and was elected by a large majority. He took part in the debates on the celebrated "Jew Bill."

all his real and leasehold estate in the hands of the sheriff. He succeeded in escaping a forced sale, but in the face of dropping real-estate values he sold his farm, which had cost him \$20,000 and which he loved dearly, for something under \$10,000.

The beginning of the end of Thomas's Baltimore sojourn was at hand. "I continued to struggle against wind and tide," he writes, "until the spring of 1827, when unable to bear up any longer, I gave up the remainder of my property to pay my debts, which were seven thousand five hundred. Judge Shriver told me no such return, or any to compare with it, had ever been made in that court before. Under these impressions I left Baltimore and with my large family went to Cincinnati. They came from Charleston to Baltimore fourteen years before in their own coach and four horses; and from Baltimore they went to Wheeling in a hired wagon and five. I walked it."

If I have dwelt on Ebenezer Thomas' career in Baltimore, it is partly because he is so much more interesting, in his intelligence and charm and instability, than the man who bought his farm at such a ruinous bargain. This man was named William McDonald; he was born in Scotland in 1758, of unknown antecedents, came early to America and took part in the War of the Revolution. As an officer in the Fourth Georgia Line he was wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House in North Carolina. The war over, he came to Baltimore, where he found his way into the business of land and water transportation between Baltimore and Philadelphia. (Sailing vessels carried passengers from Baltimore to Frenchtown at the head of Chesapeake Bay, whence they were taken overland to New Castle on the Delaware and thence by water to Philadelphia, a trip often taking two days or more.) McDonald's advertisements in the Baltimore papers showed growing prosperity and assurance, and a series of amalgamations and consolidations brought him into the front rank of the local business world. Like so many men of his time, McDonald speculated in real estate, but so far as is known he took no steps toward setting himself up as a landed proprietor until 1822, when he bought the Thomas farm. This he christened Guilford in honor of the scars he bore from the battle of that name. A lyrical advertisement in the *American and Commercial Advertiser*, inserted by Thomas when he was trying to sell the property, mentions "a good stone dwelling house," and it is to this that McDonald proba-

bly took his second bride, Martha Webb, whom he married in 1824 in his sixty-fourth year. The same advertisement states that the wood on the property "would sell on the ground for more than half of what would be taken for the farm"—a tempting hint which McDonald, with a Scotchman's reverence for fine trees, evidently refused to take—for oaks are still standing in Guilford which were well grown when McDonald took over.



A RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING OF THE ORIGINAL GUILFORD HOUSE  
OCCUPIED BY WILLIAM McDONALD.

More than a century has passed since that time, and no record survives of the treatment accorded the beautiful farm by its new owner. It was probably kept up well and made to yield bountifully, but it would appear that the General<sup>6</sup> applied himself to business and to consolidating his fortune, leading meanwhile a relatively simple life. The grandeur that blossomed at Guilford certainly took shape after his death in 1845, at which time all classes of citizens united in according him the honors of a great military and civilian funeral. His fortune, a very large one indeed for those days, was apportioned equably between his wife, his son Samuel (child of his first marriage) and his son William, fifteen

<sup>6</sup> This was a courtesy title, conferred in later life. In the War of 1812 McDonald had again taken up arms and in 1814 commanded the Sixth Regiment of Maryland Infantry at the Battle of North Point, but his highest military rank was that of Lieutenant Colonel.

years of age when the General died. What is of interest here is that the estate of Guilford, with ample provision for its maintenance, was bequeathed to William in sole ownership. It seems strange that the General, a shrewd and hard-headed man, had not taken time to consider the gay pleasure-loving character of his younger son and the danger of confirming to him, at an early age, the certainty of a great inheritance. There were four trustees to advise young William until he reached his majority, but when that day arrived he lost no time in throwing himself wholeheartedly into sport, travel, and the building up of a lordly domain at Guilford. In this respect his ambition seems to have been simply to own the largest house ever built in Baltimore, and Edmund G. Lind, an able British architect associated with William T. Murdoch, was summoned to help him achieve this end. A commanding site on the highest ground in Guilford\* was selected and about 1852 a vast structure, in the Italianate taste, began to rise. Fifty rooms it contained, mounting in three stories to a soaring cupola, and although it avoided the worst ginger-bread excesses of the period, the architect was evidently hard put to it to diversify the great mass with balconies, porches, and bay windows. It gave the appearance of being a frame house, but it is said that the wood was laid over walls of solid masonry. An elaboration of woodwork, mantels and cornices flourished inside the big rooms, and, in the fashion of the day, there was much built-in furniture, largely of black walnut, with carpets woven specially to the dimensions of the main rooms. This was supplemented by shipments of furniture and *objets de vertu* collected by young McDonald (now known universally as "Billy") on trips to Europe, which were staged with Byronic splendor. The death in 1858 of Samuel McDonald, Billy's half brother, brought him an additional million dollars; from that time on the expenditure at Guilford was limited only by the owner's imagination.

No record, unfortunately, survives of the skillful man who laid out the grounds to the best advantage of the noble trees; who diverted the streams into a boating-lake which filled the little valley where Stratford Green now lies; who built ranges of greenhouses and graperies on the sunny east slope overlooking the lake. The landscaping was in the naturalistic style of Repton, which drew away from the free use of architecture and terracing; even

\* Where the dwellings 208-212 Wendover Road now stand.

around the house the owner was content to see only informal paths with occasional statues in the allegorical vein. Billy McDonald's real interests lay some distance to the north of the mansion where there appeared an immense rectangular stable of brick, furnished forth with boxstalls and a tanbark track encircling a marble fountain. This was the abode of pure-blooded Arabian horses and of the less pedigreed, but more famous Flora Temple, "Queen of the Turf." As Billy McDonald's name survives largely as owner of this mare, it might be said here that she was foaled in 1845 on the farm of a resident of Madison County, New York, who, finding her skittish and unmanageable, sold her in a fit of temper to a drover for thirteen dollars. Something about her attracted the attention of a keen-eyed horseman; she was bought for \$175 and after passing through several hands she began in 1852 to work her way up on the race track. In 1858 Billy McDonald bought her for \$8,000; the next year, in a race at Kalamazoo, she surpassed all previous records of the track by trotting a mile in 2 minutes 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  seconds. Her grateful owner installed her in the Guilford stables in a four-roomed apartment with dining room, bath room, reception room and boudoir. On festive occasions he rode her into the immense halls of his residence, to the uproarious applause of the guests.

When the Civil War came on, it is not recorded that the Lord of Guilford chose to emulate his father's military career, though he was arrested and locked up for a brief stay in Fort McHenry on the charge of signalling to the Confederates from the cupola of his house. Shortly after this, in September, 1864, he fell victim to a violent inflammation of the lungs and died before his thirty-fifth birthday, mourned by great numbers of rich and poor alike, for he had been a genial and picturesque young man. He left a widow, a son Samuel, a daughter and what was still a large fortune in spite of the inroads he had made on it.

Here, again, the records fail us. We know that Mrs. McDonald traveled much abroad, and that she soon married a Belgian gentleman named de Speyer; we also know that young Samuel, for whom former Governor William Pinkney Whyte had been appointed guardian, early developed tendencies to "wildness" which culminated suddenly and tragically when he was brought to trial in 1874 on the charge of murder committed in a water-front brawl. The affair naturally created a tremendous stir in Baltimore, in-

volved as it did a family of such great prominence and wealth, and the trial was reported in detail by the press of the city. The newspaper men assigned to the case were skilled writers, and in reading the yellowing pages it is interesting to note how much more effective as a vehicle of horror and suspense is their restrained, selective coverage than the unbridled realism of present-day journalism. The defense summoned a formidable battery of legal talent, including Governor Whyte and Richard Gittings, leaders of the Baltimore bar; the prosecution was headed by J. Frederick Cockey Talbott, a young man of thirty-five, who lived to be considered the shrewdest politician in Maryland. Governor Whyte's opening speech, delivered with rolling impressiveness, is worth quoting, if only for its astonishing reasoning:

"The sternest of men," he boomed, "when called upon in the defense of one charged with the great crime of murder, feel the greatest of all responsibilities. You can understand with what anxiety I have entered into this case. In addition to a long life of experience in the law there was added the fact that the prisoner was a dear friend. Ten years ago I stood at the door of a palatial residence and saw a youth wearing the badges of mourning. Left fatherless and with a large fortune, I thought what temptations he would be subjected to from those who follow wealthy youths. Called professionally to counsel the mother, I told her to send him across the ocean, that he might be freed of these American influences. He went, and there remained until he neared his majority, then went to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he purchased a stock farm, and was only in Baltimore as a visitor, where he lingered unfortunately."<sup>7</sup>

During this reprieve from his Indiana rustication, Samuel McDonald had gathered with some "sporting" friends in the private dining room of a water-front tavern when he was told that one Berry Amos had entered the bar-room downstairs. There was bad blood between the two men. McDonald came downstairs, and there were witnesses to say he drew a knife as he descended and went over to where Amos was drinking. Hot words were exchanged, followed by confusion. Was Amos stabbed savagely by McDonald then and there, or was the stabbing done after the crowd surged out into the night on the bridge over Jones's Falls? If it was the latter, who could prove McDonald had done the

<sup>7</sup> Baltimore *Sun*, Oct. 8, 1874.

stabbing? Here was the point on which the defense centered its attack. Strange characters from the underworld, Dostoevskian urchins and simpletons testified and contradicted the testimony of others. The end was foreseeable, but the victory was not an easy one for the defense; the trial lasted five days, and then young McDonald was set free to return to the salubrious air of Indiana. Two years later he died there. As a footnote to his brief career, it might be added that in the possession of one of Governor Whyte's descendants is a hunting knife of fine English steel. In the leather sheath is a bit of yellowed paper reading "Knife with which McDonald killed Amos."

In 1872 Guilford, with all the contents of the house, was sold by Mrs. de Speyer, widow of William McDonald, to Arunah Shepherdson Abell, publisher of the *Baltimore Sun*. For 258 acres he paid the sum of \$461,205. Mr. Abell already owned a large country estate, "Woodbourne," and a city home at the corner of Charles and Madison Streets, and it is the opinion of surviving members of his family that he bought Guilford primarily as an investment. Certain it is that although he spent his summers there until his death in 1888, he never entrenched himself deeply. His many sons and daughters are all dead, but some of his grandchildren can tell of the pleasant, informal family life that went on in the immense house. The facts of Mr. Abell's active life are too well known to need repetition here. He was a genius in the field of journalism, and is entitled to a place beside Northcliffe, Hearst and Pulitzer. Like them he was capable of flashes of prophetic insight followed by decisive action. At the time he purchased Guilford he was at the height of his career; coming home weary in the evening he sought quiet and relaxation, and was constrained to apply gentle organization to his family of ten children. At breakfast, where they all assembled regularly, it appears that no one spoke unless addressed by the head of the house. His youngest daughter Margaret (later Mrs. John Irving Griffiss) read the *Sun* aloud while they sat at table.<sup>8</sup> Family parties rather than formal entertaining were the rule, and pictures survive showing that the art of getting pleasure from simple things had not been lost: there were boats full of young people on the lake, pretty girls on horseback, croquet parties in

<sup>8</sup> For this anecdote, I should like to give credit to Miss Katherine Scarborough, who has written delightfully of life in Guilford.

the shade of the huge oaks near the house, strolls to the green-houses or to the farm—an easy-going, summery life.

Mr. Abell died in 1888. Although there was some division of property at that time, Guilford remained in the family and was used for some years as a summering place. However, many of the young people married and left home; the difficulties of maintaining so large an establishment near a rapidly growing city increased, and in 1907 Mr. Abell's heirs agreed to sell it to the Guilford Park Company for \$1,000,000. This decision was followed by a private sale of the contents of the house to members of the family, in whose homes many of the pieces of furniture are still to be seen. For some time after the property changed hands it was leased by the purchasers to Mr. Arunah Abell, grandson of the former owner, and his family, who stayed on until the work of putting through streets got under way. Although there were would-be purchasers of the old mansion, the Company decided that its great size and its outmoded style of architecture would be at variance with the houses planned for the new development, and it was demolished in 1914.

Shortly before the end of Mrs. Arunah Abell's tenure at Guilford, the writer and a friend paid an evening call there, entering the lion-guarded gates on Charles Street and strolling up the long driveway to the house. It was at the end of a suffocating mid-summer day; as they came into the twilight of the great hallway there was a drop into coolness, like that of a Spanish church. Memory brings back the picture of enfiladed drawing-rooms with furniture sparsely scattered over vast areas of Chinese matting, and a broad staircase winding up into shadow. The architecture was of a period now frowned on, but it had style. Guilford had been conceived as the background for a spirited young man bent on having the biggest sort of a good time, and the visitors were saddened to think all this was about to be erased.

In setting the stage for living on the grand scale, sculptured lions have always played a definite part. They bring with them a suggestion of the baronial, the heraldic. At Guilford Billy McDonald treated himself to no less than eight of these noble animals: two in cast iron *regardant* at each of the gates of the estate, and four marble specimens, *couchant*, guarding the house. During her sojourn at Guilford, Mrs. Abell had formed a strong attachment for the lions, and when the property was sold she

reached an agreement with Mr. Bouton permitting her to take them all with her. Now Mrs. William Grafflin, wife of one of the chief stockholders of the purchasing company, had decided she could make use of the two lions at the Charles Street gate, and one day, to Mrs. Abell's great annoyance, they were mysteriously spirited away from their high perches, though they were very large and heavy. When Mrs. Abell learned they had been taken to Mrs. Grafflin's country place many miles distant she and her sons gave chase, with the necessary tackle; the lions were brought back to Guilford and taken into the house, where they were joined by the lions from the York Road gate, all four identical. Mrs. Abell then defied Mrs. Grafflin to come and pick out the beasts of her choice. This Mrs. Grafflin declined to do, preferring to have recourse to the law. The resulting suit was given wide publicity, to the delight of the citizenry of Baltimore. Mrs. Abell was the loser, the jury probably feeling that six lions were enough for one family. A pair of them may now be seen snoozing away at the door of the Abell home at 1119 Saint Paul Street.

The original members and chief stockholders of the Guilford Park Company, as it was first called, were William H. Grafflin (president), William A. Marburg, Thomas J. Hayward, Robert Garrett and H. Carroll Brown. Profit-making was not the sole aim of these purchasers, who were men of substantial means; they also had the purpose of preventing a beautiful tract of land, lying near the Johns Hopkins University, the new Episcopal Cathedral, and other fine projects, from being sold in small parcels for merely speculative building operations of the usual haphazard type. They determined that the property should be developed along the lines of the best modern methods of city planning, and T. T. Tongue, a prominent real-estate expert, was commissioned to prepare these plans and carry them out. Long before they had approached completion, however, Mr. Tongue died, and the members of the Company found themselves in considerable uncertainty as to how to proceed. Mr. Garrett, discussing this impasse recently, said that the seriousness of the situation weighed heavily on him while he was in training camp in 1911, and that one night the idea came to him with complete conviction that a consolidation must be effected between the Guilford Company and the Roland Park Company. The next day he left for Baltimore, consulted with his colleagues, and his suggestion was most fortunately adopted.



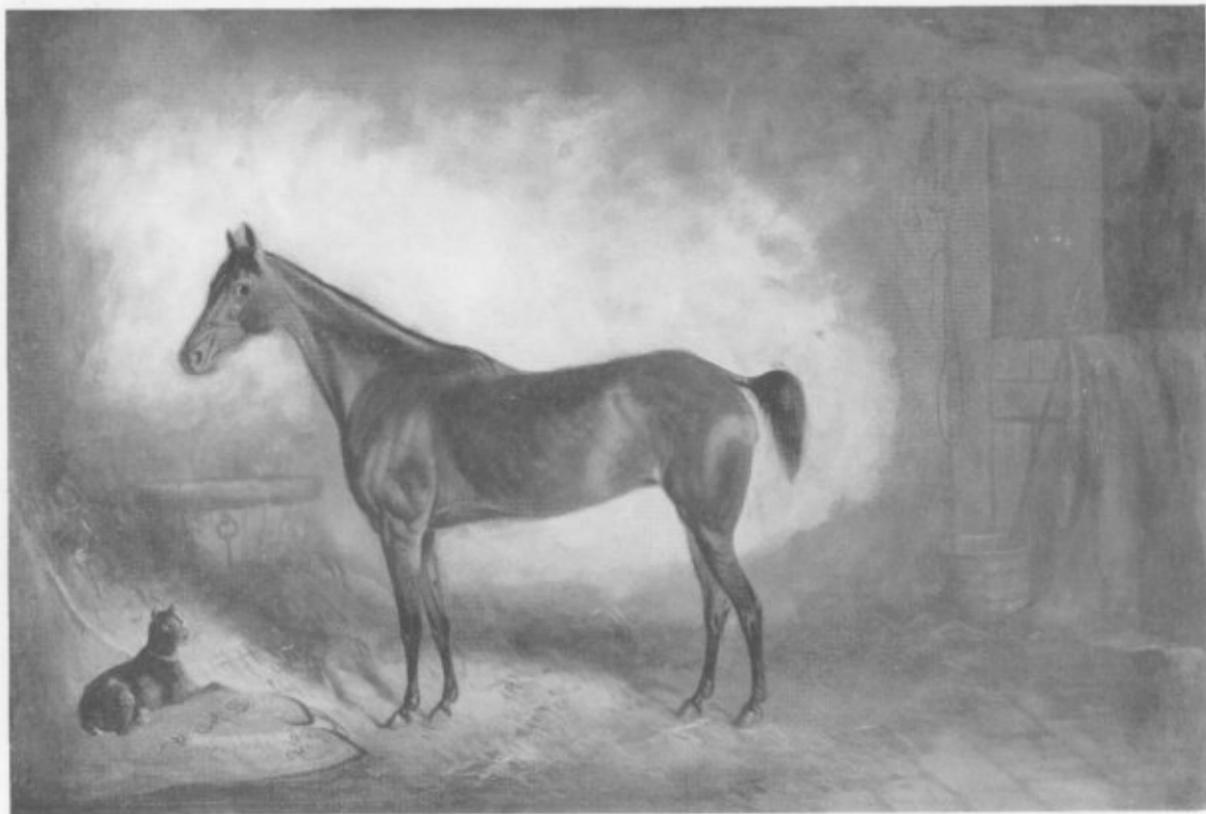
GUILFORD AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1890.



Gateway and Porter's Lodge at the York Road entrance to Guilford. A similar gate stood on Charles Street at the bend near Stratford Road.



Artificial lake created by William McDonald in the area now occupied by Stratford Green and Sherwood Gardens. To the left are the green houses and graperies built by McDonald.

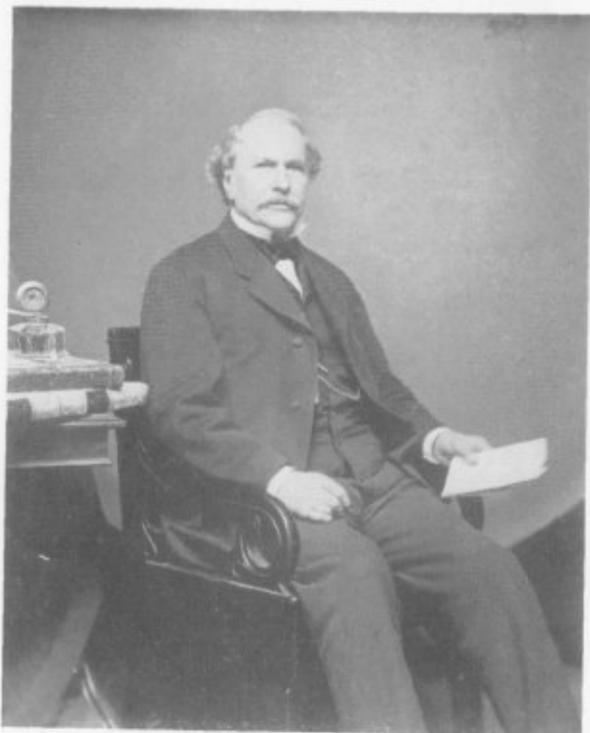


FLORA TEMPLE (1845-1877)

Holder of the harness record for eight years. From a hand-colored lithograph after the W. F. Attwood painting, 1859.  
The lithograph was presented to the Maryland Historical Society in 1952 by Mr. Henry M. Walker.



A Guilford bedroom filled with trophies from William McDonald's voyages to Europe and the Orient.



ARUNAH SHEPHERDSON ABELL  
(1806-1888)

Founder and publisher of the Baltimore *Sun*, who made his summer home at Guilford from 1872 until his death.



EDWARD HENRY BOUTON  
(1859-1941)

Distinguished landscape architect and developer of Roland Park, Guilford, Homeland and other Baltimore suburbs.

A few years before this, one Edward H. Bouton, a young man from Kansas City with some real-estate experience and a surpassing gift for selling anything, had come to Baltimore in the employ of an English investors' syndicate who saw profit in the suburban growth of American cities. They had bought a tract of land north of Baltimore, the beginning of the later Roland Park, and Bouton had set to work when a financial panic scared the Britishers away. Bouton had some heavy going before new backers were found, but he had won his foothold and kept it. His twin gifts of ice-keen business ability and deep aesthetic and architectural appreciation united in a driving force not far short of genius. By the time the Guilford Company turned to him for help, his distinguished work in perfecting Roland Park as a restricted development was bringing people from all over the country to study what he had done. Bouton's first step in absorbing Guilford into the Roland Park Company was to call in Frederick Law Olmsted, the famous landscape architect, as consultant, for these two men saw eye to eye. The procedure followed was much the same as in Roland Park: a respectful study of the terrain, with the object of preserving to the utmost its natural beauty, a skillful subdivision into lots, an equally skillful list of restrictions based on the subordination of the interests of the individual owner to those of the neighborhood. Though Bouton came from the democratic Middle West, he was quick to see the importance of the so-called "social values" in conservative old cities like Baltimore, and showed uncanny acumen in inducing the "right people" to spearhead the new development.

A full page advertisement appeared in the Baltimore papers of May 9, 1913, stating that in ten days the sale of home sites in Guilford would begin. By December 1st of that year one-eighth of the entire development had been bought. In 1939 there were over 700 houses in the community, with only twenty-four lots left unsold. Today, practically all have been taken. Guilford is ripe, mellow; the scars of excavation, the litter of new building are gone, and the well-harmonized houses have settled down comfortably into a landscape that General McDonald's ghost could easily recognize as his former domain.

Beyond the horizon, however, a new order is working itself out. Immense earth-moving machines are preparing broad tracts for building purposes by obliterating all trees and inequalities of

surface that lend character to land. On these artificial deserts new forms of houses are rising by thousands to be purchased before completion by the dwellers in brick rows. The move to the suburbs first started by Bouton is fulfilling itself in a way that would have amazed and rather horrified him. As a natural corollary of this encirclement, numbers of more affluent citizens of the type who settled in Guilford are going further out to try their luck with "country" life. What will be the effect of this exodus on Guilford and its like? While waiting for the answer, we may as well divert ourselves with piecing together the fragments of the known past.

## WAGES IN EARLY COLONIAL MARYLAND

By MANFRED JONAS

AMERICAN colonial development, culminating in a popular revolution, produced a society significantly different from its European contemporaries. Some portion of this result must be attributed to alterations in the prevailing socio-economic structure brought about by the nature of life in the New World. Fundamental to an investigation of these changes is a consideration of wage rates, a subject which has been little explored to date. No study comparable to that which Elizabeth W. Gilboy undertook for eighteenth-century England<sup>1</sup> has been carried out for the British colonies on this side of the Atlantic. Instead, the pertinent material available in New England records has been used to derive generalizations regarding the overall situation in America.

Wages in the southern colonies have been considered by few writers and no one has made a thorough study. Even Philip A. Bruce, in preparing a still useful economic history of seventeenth-century Virginia,<sup>2</sup> devoted only negligible space to wages and attempted no statistical compilation. Careful examination of the published *Archives of Maryland* reveals sufficient information, however, to permit at least a tentative approach to the subject, and indicates clearly the obstacles in the path of a more comprehensive effort.<sup>3</sup> The difficulties are most apparent in a consideration of the period to 1676, a time which saw not only the development of the economic basis of the colony through the emergence of tobacco as a significant commodity on the world market, but also

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth W. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1934).

<sup>2</sup> Philip A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—). Volumes I-V, VII, VIII, XIII, XVII, XLI, XLIX, LI, LIII, LIV and LVII contain the wage data discussed here. Except where specific citations are made, all subsequent references to the *Archives* deal with information scattered through these volumes.

the passage of the first important colonial legislation by the mother country—the Act of 1651 and the First Navigation Act of 1660.

The number of persons who may properly be classified as wage earners in early Maryland is difficult to determine with accuracy. The cultivation of tobacco, of course, requires a labor force and colonial authorities from the outset sought to stimulate the immigration of workers. Until 1682, in fact, land was granted to persons in England on the basis of the number of "servants" brought to the colony. Despite this, the proportion of such individuals to the total population seems never to have been greater than 1:6.<sup>4</sup> Since the best estimate that can be made places the population of Maryland in 1676 at about 18,000,<sup>5</sup> the number of servants was no greater than 3,000.

By no means all of these can be considered as wage earners. Many were indentured servants whose labor was sold in the colony to defray the expense of their passage. Such persons received only room and board until their debt was paid, although they were generally given clothing, tools, livestock and land according to the "custome of the Cuntry"<sup>6</sup> upon expiration of their obligation. There was also a sizeable group of redemptioners, individuals who disposed of their own services in the colony but the bulk of whose earnings still went to the shipmaster who had financed their crossing.

The *Archives* make it apparent, however, that aside from these categories there existed a group of so-called "hired servants." Individuals whose indentures had expired and those who had been able to pay their own way from England fell into this class of free laborers who may be said to have worked for wages. While the majority of these persons also signed long term contracts and only a small fraction hired out by the day, they did so freely and were able to command payment in tobacco in addition to their sustenance. The employer-employee relationship in the case of these workers is clearly indicated by a document made out in 1645:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Eugene I. MacCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore, 1904), pp. 16, 27.

<sup>5</sup> MacCormac estimated the population in 1660 as 12,000. The *Archives*, XXV, 255, give 32,258 as the figure for 1701.

<sup>6</sup> *Archives*, IV, 361.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 327.

I, Walter Guest, for and in consideration of 6000 lb. tobacco . . . doe hereby bynd my selfe to dwell with Edward Fisher for and during the full terme and tyme of three yeares . . . and doe such service and employment as sayd Edward Fisher shall imploye me in . . . and I the sayd Edward Fisher doe hereby promise to fynd and provide unto the sayd Walter Guest sufficient meate and lodgeing, washing and apparel during the sayd terme of three yeares.

One of the disconcerting features of such a contract is the lack of enumeration of duties which makes it impossible to determine whether Guest was hired to plant Fisher's tobacco or to tutor his children. The term "servant" was used in the early colonial period to describe all employed persons, and Bruce cites several examples of "servants" with considerable education and social standing who came to Virginia to assume secretarial positions.<sup>8</sup> It is possible to cull from the *Archives*, however, sufficient examples of wage contracts in which the internal evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the individuals hired were agricultural laborers. Some agreements were made for the planting and harvest season only, others covered the nine months of the year during which agriculture could be profitably carried on, and a few scattered ones actually mentioned that the employee undertook to work in the tobacco fields. The dates during which day laborers were hired also fall into the periods of peak farming activity. An attempt can therefore be made to determine the wages paid to agricultural workers. This group included the bulk of free labor in Maryland during the period and comprised over 2,000 persons by 1676.

Since most of the work was carried on in widely scattered plantations almost all employers supplied room and board. If the estate was sufficiently large, or was too far removed from a settlement, clothing was also provided. Even day laborers received their "diett" in most cases, a practice which seems to have been prevalent in England as well.<sup>9</sup> The hours of work can be determined only approximately. The sole legislation on the subject appears to be an act of 1640 which levied a five shilling fine on employers who used Sunday labor, an indication that this practice was considered to be both unusual and undesirable.<sup>10</sup> An appren-

<sup>8</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 572-575.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 578.

<sup>10</sup> *Archives*, I, 53.

ticeship contract entered into in 1662 is particularly explicit on the subject.<sup>11</sup>

I, Thomas Marise . . . bynd myselfe for too yeares . . . to Francis Wine to learn the trade of cooper and during the sayd time to have satterday in the afternoon to go where I please returning again upon monday morning following at nine by the Cloke.

Two English pamphleteers of the period also commented upon the hours of labor prevalent in the colony. John Hammond, whose *Leah and Rachel* appeared in 1655, noted:<sup>12</sup>

Little or nothing is done in the wintertime, none ever work before sun rising or after sunset, in the summer they rest, sleep or exercise themselves five hours in the heat of the day. Saturday afternoon is always their own, the old Holidayes are observed and Sabboath spent in good exercises.

Eleven years later George Alsop found the situation essentially the same. He wrote:<sup>13</sup>

Five dayes and a half in the summer weeks is the allotted time that they work in, and for two monthes when the sun predominates in the highest pitch of heat they claim an antient and customary privilege to repose themselves three hours in the day within the house . . . In the winter time which lasteth three monthes . . . they do little or no work.

While the picture thus painted may have been made deliberately favorable to attract new settlers, the absence from the court records of complaints of unfair treatment and the provisions of the labor contracts actually entered into in Maryland lend weight to the contention that working hours were relatively short and conditions generally better than in England.

Apparently a monthly wage was paid for twenty-three to twenty-five working days of ten to twelve hours each. The three winter months were not generally included within the terms of the labor contracts so that the annual wage would have to be computed as nine, and not twelve, times the indicated earnings per month. Persons hired for the day worked the same hours, but their employment was occasional or, at best, seasonal.

The chief difficulty in the accurate determination of actual earn-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, LIII, 462.

<sup>12</sup> John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel* (London, 1655), in Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 290.

<sup>13</sup> George Alsop, *Character of the Province of Maryland* (London, 1666), in Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

ings lies in the mode of payment. One of the characteristics of the colonial economy was the scarcity of money, largely due to British refusal to permit any to be exported from England. Throughout the seventeenth century only bullion, foreign coin and wrought silver could be brought in. Agitation for the establishment of a mint in the colony came to nothing, and not until 1733 was any paper currency printed.<sup>14</sup> As a result, after some experimentation with other commodities,<sup>15</sup> tobacco became the recognized medium of exchange. Unfortunately this product was perishable and had to be guarded against rain, cold, flood and fire. Furthermore it was difficult to transport, and a worker receiving several hundred pounds of it in return for his labor was hard pressed to remove and store it. While these problems were partly solved by the transfer of warehouse receipts in place of the commodity itself, tobacco, and not the receipts, was legal tender.<sup>16</sup> Chief of the difficulties inherent in the use of an agricultural product as currency was its fluctuating value. The planters were perpetually faced with the dilemma that raising production would force down the price of tobacco on the world market, while lowering it would cut down the domestic money supply. Since the effects of cutting production were more immediately apparent, the colonial assembly, composed largely of planters, never contemplated such a step, and the value of Maryland "money" was consequently determined in Europe. Since after 1660 tobacco could be exported only to England, the value of wages paid for colonial labor was, in fact, determined by the London merchants.

The most serious attempt to chart the fluctuation of tobacco prices has been made by Lewis C. Gray, but even he was forced to the conclusion that the task is difficult indeed.<sup>17</sup> Price quotation in journals of the period are scarce, business was carried on largely on a consignment basis, and there were no recognized commodity

<sup>14</sup> Curtis P. Nettels, *Money Supply of the American Colonies Before 1720* (Madison, 1934), p. 162; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), p. 126; Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland 1720-1765* (Baltimore, 1915), pp. 11 ff., 78 ff.

<sup>15</sup> In 1633 quitrents were payable in wheat. See Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1904), II, 35. A tonnage duty imposed in 1650 and again in 1661 was payable in gunpowder. See *Archives*, I, 23, 450.

<sup>16</sup> *Archives*, I, 162.

<sup>17</sup> Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York, 1941), I, 262.

exchanges. Nevertheless some useful information may be found. The *Archives* contain several laws which give tobacco equivalents for fines and license fees, Gray gives quotations culled from shipping records, Meyer Jacobstein offers a list based on similar sources, and Mereness also makes some attempt to define the value of tobacco.<sup>18</sup> A compilation of all the data thus made available provides a fairly continuous record of tobacco prices from 1631 to 1678.

TABLE I

TOBACCO PRICES, 1631-1678<sup>19</sup>

Year	Price /lb. (d)	Source	Year	Price /lb. (d)	Source
1631 (Va.)	6.0	j	1660	1.0	m
1640	1.2	g	1662	1.2	g
1642	0.6	a	1662	2.0	a
1645	1.5	g, j	1664	1.5	g
1646	1.5	g	1665	1.0	j
1647	1.5	g	1667	0.5	g
1649	3.0	m	1669	1.5	a
1655	2.0	g	1673	1.5	g
1657	2.4	g	1674	1.0	a
1658	2.4	g	1678	1.0	a

Sources: a — *Archives*  
g — Gray, *op. cit.*

j — Jacobstein, *op. cit.*  
m — Mereness, *op. cit.*

The validity or universal applicability of none of these figures can be guaranteed, but they are fairly consistent and all violent fluctuations can be explained. The above table can therefore be used, although with some reservations, for determining the sterling value of wages paid in Maryland.

It is evident that while there was considerable year to year fluctuation, the general trend was steadily downward. The high price paid for Virginia tobacco in 1631 was never approached after production began in Maryland. After 1649 the price never exceeded 3d per pound, and after 1662 it did not again reach 2d.

<sup>18</sup> *Archives*, I, 445; II, 220; III, 95, 504; V, 268. Meyer Jacobstein, *The Tobacco Industry in the United States* (New York, 1907), p. 23. Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 106.

<sup>19</sup> The *Yearbook* for 1908 of the U. S. Department of Agriculture lists the price of tobacco as 6.08¢ per pound for 1639, 1640 and 1647, and as 3.09¢ per pound for 1664. The pence equivalents are 2.9 and 1.5 respectively. Since no explanation as to the source of these figures was given, they were not included in the table.

Two unusually sharp drops occurred in 1642 and 1667. In the former year the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution in England prevented the sailing of the annual tobacco fleet, and the huge surplus thereby accumulated in Maryland warehouses was not eliminated for several years. The London plague of 1666 again interrupted transatlantic traffic. Since the period immediately preceding this had seen extraordinarily plentiful harvests in Virginia, the outlook for the planters was exceedingly gloomy. Violent storms and heavy rainfalls, however, virtually destroyed the 1667 crop, thus reducing the surplus and once again sending the price upward.<sup>20</sup>

Due to the absence of uniform marketing methods not every grower received the same price for his tobacco nor was all of it of comparable quality. Moreover, in the case of wage contracts there were undoubtedly variations in value between the date of the contract and the time of actual payment. Nevertheless the fluctuations in tobacco prices indicated in Table I are not great enough to prevent the determination of approximate sterling equivalents which can be used to establish the relationship between agricultural wages in the colony and those current in England. Monthly tobacco wages listed in the *Archives* have been converted in this manner in Table II. In those cases where no price data was available for the year in which the wages were paid, an estimate based on the nearest relevant figures has been made.

Except for a noticeable rise in the beginning, due probably to the expansion of land cultivation at a greater rate than labor supply, no trend is perceptible in the limited number of cases shown. The sudden spurt indicated between 1648 and 1660 may be attributed simply to improper sampling. It is possible, however, that it reflects the actual situation produced by the promulgation of the Conditions of 1648 by Lord Baltimore. Under their terms all freed servants of Irish or English extraction could obtain land from the proprietary in return for the promise to pay a small annual rent.<sup>21</sup> The resultant decrease in the number of persons seeking employment coupled with the increased need for labor, could, in view of the already inadequate supply of workers, have

<sup>20</sup> Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia under the Stuarts* (Princeton, 1914), pp. 115-145. This section deals also with the effects of the exclusion of Dutch merchants from the tobacco trade on the price of the commodity.

<sup>21</sup> MacCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

caused a sudden spurt in wages. Within a few years the high cost of labor and the difficulty in paying the rents<sup>22</sup> undoubtedly forced many small farmers to give up their holdings and return to the status of free laborers. While such speculation is necessarily not wholly conclusive, it is apparent that during normal

TABLE II  
MONTHLY WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

Year	Wages (tobacco)	Value (d/lb)	Wages (s)	
1638	#	—	8s	4d
1642	100 lbs.	0.6	5	0
1644	133	1.2*	16	8
1644	167	1.2*	20	10
1644	187	1.2*	23	4
1645	170	1.5	21	3
1647	170	1.5	21	3
1648	250	2.0*	41	8
1652	600	2.0*	100	0
1654	600	2.0*	100	0
1660	250	1.0	20	10
1660	200	1.0	16	8
1662	266	1.2	26	8
1667	600	0.5	25	0
1669	150	1.5	18	9
1669	125	1.5	15	8
1669	320	1.5	40	0
1670	175	1.5*	21	10
1676	300	1.0*	25	0

# not given

\* estimate

conditions the wage of a farm worker was approximately twenty-one shillings per month. Since he also received room and board he clearly had no difficulty in sustaining himself and was undoubtedly able to accumulate savings toward the purchase of land and livestock.

Day laborers in most cases did not get lodging although they received at least two meals at their job. Because the weighing

<sup>22</sup> Although quitrents amounted to only 2 shillings per 100 acres at this time, they had to be paid in currency which, as has been indicated above, was exceedingly scarce in the colony. Not until 1671 was tobacco accepted for rent payments.

and grading of smaller quantities of tobacco involved more time and effort than it was worth, wages were paid in multiples of five pounds. Persons were hired by the day only when additional labor was urgently needed, and this fact, together with their "living out," accounts for the somewhat higher wages paid them. Data contained in the *Archives* has been compiled below.

TABLE III  
DAILY WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

Year	Wages (tobacco)	Value (d/lb)	Wages (s)
1641	20 lbs.	1.2*	2s 0d
1642	15	0.6	0 9
1644	10	1.5*	1 3
1647	20	1.5	2 6
1648	15	2.0*	2 6
1649	10	3.0	2 6
1655	20	2.0	3 4
1655	25	2.0	4 2
1656	15	2.0*	2 6
1669	20	1.5	2 6

\* estimate

Again there is some evidence that, for reasons indicated above, wages were abnormally high in the 1650's, but no conclusive trend can be observed. The most common daily wage appears to have been 2s 6d.

While no survey of prices during the period can be undertaken here, it is of interest to consider the relation of these wages to the cost of some of the items which the laborers might wish to acquire. One significant figure is that of land rent. Since land was not sold until 1683 and all colonists of English or Irish extraction might receive a grant from the proprietary after 1648, rent was the only payment required of the prospective landholder. It amounted to two shillings per hundred acres per year after 1642. Attempts were made to increase it to four shillings in 1658 but in 1671 it was set at two shillings. After 1642 rent was payable only in sterling, a fact which represented a considerable hardship for the small landowner who had virtually no opportunity to acquire hard

currency. In 1671, however, assembly pressure forced the proprietary to accept tobacco in payment at the conversion rate of two pence per pound.<sup>23</sup> Under these conditions, one to two days of hired labor were sufficient to pay the annual rent on 100 acres and a month's clear wage was enough for 500 to 1000 acres. When in 1683 Lord Baltimore began to grant land outright to applicants, the price was 100 pounds of tobacco for 50 acres together with two shillings sterling yearly rent. This was soon increased to 120 pounds, and in 1684 was fixed at 480 pounds for 100 acres.<sup>24</sup> Even at this final figure the purchase of a plot of land required only about twenty-four days of seasonal labor or two months of steady employment. It seems reasonable to conclude that a thrifty individual could in two years' work for wages save enough tobacco to purchase 500 acres of uncleared land.

Wheat, the chief food staple of the colony, sold for four shillings per bushel in 1642 and 1692 and for five shillings in 1662. During most of the period it could probably be obtained for somewhere between two and four shillings.<sup>25</sup> Since the quantity of wheat adequate to nourish a family of medium size has been estimated as 0.019 quarters, or 0.16 bushels, per day, the purchase of the needed amount required no more than one third of the daily wage and frequently less than one fourth. It is generally agreed that English farm laborers used the whole of their pay to buy the necessary wheat before 1650, and more than two thirds of it for the remainder of the century. The price of the grain varied between three and nine shillings in England, or at about twice the level reached in Maryland.<sup>26</sup> In terms of this important commodity, therefore, the real wage of the colonial worker was at least two and probably more than three times that of his fellow worker in the mother country.

In the almost completely agricultural economy of Maryland the price of cattle is also of some significance. The *Archives* show that heifers ranged in cost from 150 to 450 pounds of tobacco, bulls sold for 200 to 250 pounds, steers for 350 to 500, cows with calves for 450 to 700, and hogs for 35 to 65 pounds. Again assuming reasonable thrift, the savings of two years' labor were sufficient

<sup>23</sup> Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 344.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 62. *Archives*, XVII, 143, 239.

<sup>25</sup> Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 174-175; *Archives*, I, 445.

<sup>26</sup> H. O. Meredith, *Outlines of the Economic History of England* (London, 1930), Chart B, ff. p. 406.

to acquire a bull and six to ten heifers, five to six steers, or fifty to sixty hogs. While cattle was thus not cheap it was by no means out of the reach of the laborer, a fact borne out by the large number of different cattle markings registered by the county courts.

Manufactured products, nails, clothing and imported goods were, of course, relatively more expensive. The use of such items, however, was not great by modern standards and a consideration of their price might tend to be misleading. On the whole it can be stated with some assurance that the wages paid to agricultural laborers during the period were sufficiently high to permit the accumulation of savings, and prices were sufficiently low to allow the acquisition of land and cattle. It was possible in the colony to rise from the status of a hired servant to that of at least a modest landowner, a situation which was completely at variance with English experience.

The proposition that both wages and conditions of labor were better in the colony than in the mother country can be accepted without serious reservations. John Hammond's claim that "the labour that servants are put to is not so hard nor of such continuance as husbandmen or handicraftmen are kept at in England,"<sup>27</sup> is borne out both by the contracts entered into in Maryland and by the lack of complaints in the court records. In regard to wages the case is even clearer. As has been shown, the day laborer in the colony received approximately 2s 6d for his services. Meredith places the daily wage in England at 10d in 1600 and indicates a gradual rise to 1s 3d by 1680. Henry D. Traill calls 1s the average wage in 1684 and estimates the normal weekly earnings of day laborers at 4s 3d for the early part of the century. Bruce takes an even dimmer view of prevailing conditions and makes an estimate of 4 to 5d per day between 1610 and 1640, and 8d per day in 1684.<sup>28</sup> Taking the most optimistic estimate of the situation in England, the Maryland worker still received twice the wages prevalent there, and very likely three times as much. Few figures are available by which to compare monthly earnings, but Bruce places the annual wage of an English plowman at 50 shillings, a figure which would make Maryland wages of nearly

<sup>27</sup> In Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

<sup>28</sup> Meredith, *op. cit.*, Chart A, ff. p. 406; Henry D. Traill, *Social England* (New York, 1894-7), IV, 476, 520; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 578-579.

200 shillings munificent indeed. The weekly wage of 4s 3d cited by Traill amounts to 18s 5d per month, which again is appreciably lower than the 21 shillings plus board and lodging received by agricultural laborers in the colony.

Beyond this, few conclusions can be drawn. The general increase in wages in the British Isles after the Restoration was not reflected in Maryland, nor did the Navigation Act of 1660 have immediate repercussions on this factor in the economy. Considering the small size of the free labor force and the vast amount of available land, the shortage of workers must always have been the overriding factor in determining wage levels in the colony. The fact that these levels were high in the early period created opportunities for the accumulation of savings which did not exist for the working class in England. Together with the absence of clearly established class lines and landholding traditions, this condition created a degree of socio-economic fluidity undreamed of in Europe. There can be little doubt that this situation had far-reaching effects on the political development of Maryland and played a major role in sowing the seeds of American independence.

## PARK HEAD CHURCH AND THE REVEREND JEREMIAH MASON

By MARY VERNON MISH \*

WHEN Park Head Church was erected in 1833 near Licking Creek Mills, now Pecktonville, Maryland, its founder and organizer was the Reverend Jeremiah Mason.<sup>1</sup> Today little is known of either the man or his works. In an effort to present an authentic account of Park Head Church, a glimpse into the background of its founder, once well-known for his good deeds and industry in Western Maryland, provides a few important clues.

The Reverend Mr. Mason had first come into Western Maryland as an itinerant preacher and, according to the idiom of the Maryland frontier, as a "culpo'cher," or seller of Bibles.<sup>2</sup> In a sense, it might also be said that he qualified as a missionary in that he gave away innumerable Bibles where sales were not practicable.

Extraordinarily good fortune was attendant upon this youthful hawker of Holy Writ. In some manner he came under the protection of the prominent Jacques family of Washington County. According to family tradition, a night's lodging at the home of Thomas Jacques stretched out into an indefinite period of residence

\* In the preparation of this brief history grateful appreciation for assistance is particularly due to Mr. Daniel R. Peck whose assembled notes on the Park Head Church served as a basis for this paper. The suggestions and corrections of Mr. Clarence B. Mason are here gladly acknowledged, along with the indispensable reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. George T. Prather. Land Office records from Annapolis pertaining to surveys are the generous contribution of Dr. Arthur G. Tracey, Hampstead.

<sup>1</sup> See datestone on building. The deed for Park Head Church was recorded June 25, 1836. Deed Book SS, fol. 157, Washington County Court House, Hagerstown, Md. On the Rev. Mr. Mason, see Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1906), II, 854.

<sup>2</sup> "Culpo'cher" was derived from colporteur, a peddler; usually an agent of a religious Society. The reminiscences in this and in the following paragraph were supplied by Mr. and Mrs. George T. Prather, Clear Spring. Mr. Prather is a grandson of the Rev. Mr. Mason.

and eventually resulted in marriage with his host's daughter, Ann. While this account appears to be basically correct, one deviation from the facts of the case must be noted: Thomas Jacques was already in his grave when Jeremiah was but a thirteen-year-old stripling.<sup>3</sup>

Although the date of arrival of the Reverend Mr. Mason in Western Maryland is not known, it is certain that he had resided within the vicinity of Licking Creek many years before he founded the Park Head Church. Judge Williams in his *History of Western Maryland* states that Mason was settled on a tract of land called Castle Howe around the year 1805.<sup>4</sup> This is possible since Washington County Court House records prove that in 1807, when he was only twenty-two years old, Jeremiah Mason married Ann "Nancy" Jacques, daughter of Thomas Jacques, former owner of Castle Howe.<sup>5</sup> Although a great-grandson of Jeremiah Mason lives today on Castle Howe, on the east side of Licking Creek, no county land record indicates that any deed was made out to the Reverend Mr. Mason prior to 1813, when he acquired his symbolically-named Mount Nebo, the first of eighteen tracts registered in his name.<sup>6</sup>

Because Jeremiah bore the notable colonial surname of his near neighbor, John Thomson Mason, nephew of George Mason, author of the famous Virginia Bill of Rights, there has been much speculation as to the relationship of these two Masons

<sup>3</sup> Inventory of Appraisal, Will Book B, 267, Apr. 21, 1798, Wash. Co. Court House. Although Ann Jacques Mason died while still a young woman, then, as now, she was referred to as "Grandma Jacques."

<sup>4</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 854. "Castle Howe" was a resurvey on "Leans Field," Nov. 20, 1746, for Thomas Mills, and patented to him on May 23, 1749. See Prince George's Co. Envelope No. 1264, Land Office, Annapolis, Md. This tract, as the word "castle" implies, had been the site of a frontier fort, possibly of the elusive Fort Mills, Mr. Prather thinks.

<sup>5</sup> Marriage Records, p. 29, Wash. Co. Court House, Apr. 28, 1807, Jeremiah Mason to "Nancy" Jacques.

<sup>6</sup> Deed Book Z, 253, executed July 17, 1813, and recorded a year later, Wash. Co. Court House. For a description of this property, located on the west side of Licking Creek, see Wash. Co. Survey Book No. 2, 143, June 1, 1793. It was from Mt. Nebo in Moab that Moses first saw The Promised Land.

The Rev. Mr. Mason must have remained for many years in residence on his wife's estate, Castle Howe. A neighboring storekeeper and blacksmith, Lewis Myers of Big Pool, carried an account against him as late as 1827. The ledger is now in the possession of Lewis Myers' great-great-grandson, F. A. Gearhart, Hagerstown, Md.

Mr. Clarence B. Mason, great-grandson of the Rev. Mr. Mason, is the fourth consecutive generation in his family to reside on Castle Howe.

of Western Maryland. In order to distinguish between the "Gunston Hall family" of Virginia and the Reverend Mr. Mason's, that of the latter has always been referred to as "the Castle Howe branch." Both John Thomson Mason and Jeremiah Mason had come into Washington County from Southern Maryland, the former having taken up residence near Clear Spring on Montpelier, the estate which he had inherited from his uncle, Richard Barnes, son of Abraham Barnes of Tudor Hall, St. Mary's County, Maryland.<sup>7</sup> Judge Williams is the sole authority, however, to identify the Reverend Jeremiah with Southern Maryland, where the latter's family was said to have been landowners and slaveholders since the 1600's.<sup>8</sup> Other than the tenuous geographical association which bound them together in the public mind, no known connection has so far been established between these two families who lived in Washington County at the start of the nineteenth century.

Although a devout and conscientious servant of the church, the Reverend Jeremiah Mason, after his arrival in Western Maryland, entered into a wide range of activities. He even engaged in politics, holding office under the Whig banner. His business interests, conducted through the medium of slave labor, fashionably identified him with the leading regional pursuits of his period as a planter, lumberman and miller.<sup>9</sup> In spite of various outside undertakings, his claim to distinction nevertheless seemed to rest securely upon his ecclesiastical reputation. We are assured, "His fame as a minister extended beyond the confines of the County."<sup>10</sup> He was an organizer and builder of churches,—a man who, like his namesake, Jeremiah the Prophet, was destined "to build and to plant."

<sup>7</sup> Martha Sprigg Poole, "Tudor Hall and Those Who Lived There," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (1951), 272 ff. See also Mary Vernon Mish, "Springfield Farm of Conococheague," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 331, n. 79; J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 1113 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 128, 374, 425-6. The respective dates for these two men, as indicated on their tombstones, are: John Thomson Mason, 1764-1824; Jeremiah Mason, 1785-1849.

<sup>8</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 854.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* In his role as miller, the Rev. Jeremiah Mason established the Licking Creek Mills on the east side of Licking Creek. After the flood of 1889 the Rev. Mr. Mason's grandson-by-marriage, Martin L. Peck, moved the mill site to higher ground, about 500 feet eastward. At this time the name was changed to Rosedale Mills, and the rolling process for making flour was substituted for the old, coarser-ground burr-stone method. In 1893 the site of Rosedale Mills was given the official U. S. Post Office designation of Pecktonville in honor of Martin L. Peck.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

Curious as it may be under these circumstances, the denominational affiliation of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason is uncertain. Even his grandson and two of his great-grandsons cannot today substantiate the wary suggestions of historians that he was a Methodist Episcopalian.<sup>11</sup>

In 1828 the Reverend Mr. Mason was associated with the building of the Mount Nebo Methodist Church at Boonsboro. Actually, this Church was non-denominational, but Methodist or Methodist Episcopal in spirit. The former denomination was said to have been the more influential in its organization.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to recall at this point that the Reverend Jeremiah Mason had named his first land holding "Mount Nebo."

Three churches are known to have been built through the efforts of the Reverend Mr. Mason. On May 13, 1828, simultaneously with the cornerstone-laying of the Boonsboro church, steps were taken for the erection of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Hancock. The site for this church was deeded on that date by Thomas C. Brent to nine trustees of whom Jeremiah Mason was chairman.<sup>13</sup>

In the year 1833 the Reverend Mr. Mason launched two additional churches upon their ecclesiastical courses: The Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring and the Park Head Church situated in the vicinity of present-day Pecktonville, near the mouth of Licking Creek, where this lively watercourse empties into the Potomac River. The original Minute Book of the former Church reads: <sup>14</sup>

At a meeting convened in Clear Spring January 5th, 1833 The Revd. Jeremiah Mason took the C[h]air and called the House to order; the following Business were entered into, Question, It is moved and seconded that we Incorporate ourselves into a Body according to the Law of the State [November session, 1802], the Style and Title of the Trustees of the Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring it is moved and seconded that we Elect Eleven Trustees.

#### The trustees of the Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring

<sup>11</sup> Grandson, George T. Prather; great-grandsons, Clarence B. Mason, and Daniel R. Peck.

<sup>12</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1263.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 552. The trustees were: Jeremiah Mason, William Vandike, William Edwards, Tobias Johnson, James Ayers, Joseph Mann, James Kincaid, Samuel Prather, and Abraham Kalb.

<sup>14</sup> The Minute Book of this Church is in the possession of Mr. George T. Prather.

were: Jeremiah Mason, Basil Prather, Tobias Johnson, Samuel Prather (son of James), Isaac Nesbit, John Bradshaw, Eli Mclain (sic), Charles Edelin, Perry Prather, Samuel S. Prather and James J. Beatty.

Again the Reverend Jeremiah Mason's name, not unlike Abou Ben Adhem's, "led all the rest."

According to these same Minutes, as kept by the trustees, other denominations were invited to make use of the Clear Spring Church, and it is evident, also, that this use was especially solicited with the passing years as a means of raising revenue for upkeep. In time the building was sold to the Lutheran Congregation. It was on the south side of this particular church that Jeremiah Mason was laid to rest in the old family burial-ground. His first wife, Ann, only daughter of Thomas Jacques, "nephew of Lancelot, the first,"; and his second wife, Sarah Prather, are interred within this same cemetery.<sup>15</sup>

While information on the founding of the Park Head Church is nebulous, there is, however, no reason to question Williams' statement that the Reverend Jeremiah Mason built and established the church at Park Head. From the day in 1833 when he was made acting chairman of the board of trustees until his death in 1849 at the age of sixty-four, the Reverend Mr. Mason was the guiding spirit of this church house with which his name was always closely identified.<sup>16</sup>

Three years after the Park Head Church was organized the original tract for the church was deeded on March 19, 1836,

<sup>15</sup> On the Jacques Family, see Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 854. For the second marriage see, Marriage Records, p. 155, Wash. Co. Court House, Jeremiah Mason to Sarah Prather, June 6, 1832. Although Ann (Jacques) Mason has no tombstone, her descendant, Mrs. Earl L. Chambers, is the authority for the statement that she is buried in this graveyard. The Rev. Mr. Mason's four children by his wife Ann are likewise buried here: Jeremiah Mason, Jr. (who died only three months after his father), 1816-1849; John Thomas Mason, 1814-1863; Ruth (Mrs. Tobias Johnson), 1809-1859; and Temperance (Mrs. Basil Prather), 1810-1886, named after her maternal grandmother. According to her tombstone inscription, Sarah Prather, second wife of the Rev. Mr. Mason, died July 10, 1867, at the age of seventy-one.

<sup>16</sup> Will Book E, 37, Wash. Co. Court House. Date of death and of administration recorded same day, Oct. 2, 1849. The Rev. Mr. Mason left a large portion of his estate to his second wife, Sarah, on condition that she would "relinquish her dower rights in my estate." She was to receive among other bequests, "all the chairs except my first family chairs." He likewise bequeathed to his widow his house in Clear Spring, "wherein I now dwell." Upon removal to Clear Spring the Rev. Mr. Mason had given Castle Howe to his son, John Thomas Mason.

from Anthony and Margaret M. Snyder to representatives of the new congregation at Park Head, a board composed of seven members of which the Reverend Mr. Mason was chairman.<sup>17</sup> Like the Clear Spring Church, Park Head was probably founded primarily as a Methodist Protestant Church, although the deed specifically stated that the edifice was to be used by Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Old Methodists, Roman Catholics and "all other persuasions of Christians that the above named trustees or their successors approve of," and that the Church was "to be for no other use than that of a house of worship for the different denominations as hereinbefore mentioned. . . ." Its datestone which is still intact reads, "M 1833 R." These initials, standing for the two words, "Mutual Rights," are reminiscent of the same expression of principles which, written out in full, once graced the Methodist Protestant Church of Clear Spring.<sup>18</sup> It is of interest that, faithful to this doctrine, one of the first sermons read in the Park Head Church was by a Catholic priest at the invitation of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason.<sup>19</sup>

In reviewing the history of the Park Head Church the romantic importance of its site should not be overlooked. Lying west of Licking Creek on the north side of "the Turnpike Road," nationally known as Route Forty, its small lot, measuring only forty-two by fifty-two feet, was once a part of one of Western Maryland's earliest land patents, "Lubberland," the fifty acre tract which had been surveyed for the settler, Thomas Wells, as early as January 15, 1739, and patented to him on October 3 of the following year.<sup>20</sup> It was described as lying "on the bank of potomac above the mouth of the Licking Creek." The name of the church was derived from a 2,646¼ acre tract of land patented under the name of Park Head Amended, which lay "immediately below the mouth of Licking Creek."<sup>21</sup> Park Head

<sup>17</sup> See Note 1. The deed, as recorded, described "a certain Lot or parcel of Land Whereon a Brick Church house now stands on the north side of the Turnpike Road west of Licking Creek being a part of a Tract of Land called by name Lubber Land. . . ." The original trustees of Park Head Church were: Jeremiah Mason (chairman), John A. Brewer, Tobias Johnson, Christian Bair, Jacob Hartman, Thomas Mills, James P. Mills.

<sup>18</sup> Information supplied by George T. Prather.

<sup>19</sup> The now-dismantled Catholic Chapel, near Mooresville, had not then been built.

<sup>20</sup> Certificate of Survey, P. G. Co., Envelope No. 1365; patent, P. G. Co., Deed Book IC No. 5, fol. 508, Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>21</sup> Survey, Parkhead Enlarged & Amended, Apr. 13, 1790, to Lancelot Jacques

Amended was a resurvey made on several tracts, one of which was Ross' Chance, a seventy-eight acre tract which had been originally patented to Dr. David Ross in 1761.<sup>22</sup> On this site before the French & Indian War Dr. Ross operated the Fort Frederick Forge.<sup>23</sup> Early settlers were supplied from here with tools and implements, and during the springtime freshets many rafts weighted down with bar- and pig-iron from the Fort Frederick Forge and Furnace were floated out of Licking Creek, into the Potomac, and onward to a tidewater market.

Long before the advent of pioneers and ironmasters, Indians had likewise presumably looked upon this land and found it agreeable to their needs. Utensils made of schist, steatite, pottery and iron, found in recent years in this vicinity, tell in a kind of Human Progress Report their own story of those who, picking their way through a primeval forest, opened up a roadway beside which in time the Park Head Church was built.<sup>24</sup>

Since 1833, when Park Head Church was erected, it has known something of both war and peace. For nearly thirty years after its founding the history of the Park Head Church was tranquil, but in 1861 it could be truly said of its congregation, even as in the Book of Jeremiah, "We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of health, and behold trouble!" Federal troops moved in for the duration of the war. In those days, when Maryland was a borderline state between the North and the South, picket duty on the Potomac had an unequalled priority.<sup>25</sup>

and Denton Jacques for 2646¼ acres; Patent Book No. 2, fol. 86, Wash. Co. Court House.

<sup>22</sup> Ross' Chance, surveyed Dec. 21, 1760, Fred. Co. Cert. No. 4167; patented June 24, 1761, BC & GS No. 15, fol. 34, Land Office, Annapolis. The date of June 24, 1760, is erroneously given in the patent. See the back of original certificate for the correct year. (Courtesy of the Land Office.)

<sup>23</sup> Concerning Dr. Ross, brother of George Ross, Signer, see Mary Vernon Mish, "Springfield Farm of Conococheague," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 318. One of Dr. Ross' partners was Lancelot Jacques, "Iron Master," a grand uncle of the Rev. Mr. Mason's wife, Ann. For Fort Frederick Forge, see *Ibid.*, 321, n. 41; Lease, Liber BD No. 1, fol. 180, and Mortgage, Liber BD No. 2, fol. 70, Fred. Co. Court House. Also, Charles Varlé Map, 1808. This Forge was located on the east bank of Licking Creek, north of Route 40.

<sup>24</sup> Artifacts found in the vicinity of "Braddock's Road" by Daniel R. Peck. The old "Waggon Road" leading from Fort Frederick Forge and Furnace to the west side of Licking Creek is still known locally as Braddock's Road. Here, in part, Dunbar's command under General Braddock fanned out on the Maryland side of the Potomac in the course of its ill-starred march on Fort Duquesne in 1755.

<sup>25</sup> Picket duty may have been observed here by the end of the year 1860. See Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 552, for Civil War history of Episcopal Church, Hancock.

As hardship has an unfortunate way of piling up, the end of the Civil War did not spell out a surcease of disaster for the little red brick church near the mouth of Licking Creek. Sometime between the close of the war and 1887 a formidable "Southeaster" blew in the south gable, causing the roof to collapse.<sup>26</sup> Promptly repaired, services have been held there continually for the last sixty-seven years.

The repairs undertaken around the year 1887 were so extensive that when the work was completed the Park Head Church was rededicated. It was, in fact, rededicated by an Episcopal minister, the Reverend Coupland R. Page, in memory of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason who was "largely instrumental in the first building of this Church House."<sup>27</sup>

Refurnishing followed closely upon the heels of the repairs, and it was at this time that a praying-desk, reading-desk, altar and chancel-rail were installed. An interesting architectural feature was also restored: the balcony which was supposed to have been built for the benefit of the Reverend Jeremiah Mason's slaves.<sup>28</sup>

In the long line of clerics who faithfully served the non-sectarian Park Head Church there were, besides its founder, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Evangelical ministers. The Reverend Mr. Page, Episcopalian, who is favorably recalled to mind to this day, was regarded as "a kind and good man" and one who was "highly esteemed by this and the surrounding communities."<sup>29</sup>

Serving the Church simultaneously with the Reverend Mr. Page was the Presbyterian minister, the Reverend J. M. Clymer, later to be a trustee of the Presbyterian Church of Hancock.<sup>30</sup> The Reverend Mr. Clymer is likewise remembered as having been "a minister of high ideals, a valiant defender of the Truth, with respect for the House of God."<sup>31</sup> This venerable servant of the

<sup>26</sup> Except where otherwise noted, information on the Park Head Church in this and in the following paragraphs was obtained from the Minute Books of the congregation.

<sup>27</sup> In 1881 the Rev. Mr. Page was rector of St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Clear Spring. See Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1078.

<sup>28</sup> The Rev. Mr. Mason's slaves were freed by his will of 1848. See Note 1. Also see Deed of Manumission for 1835, Deed Book PP, 532, Wash. Co. Court House.

<sup>29</sup> Information supplied by George T. Prather.

<sup>30</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 552.

<sup>31</sup> Reminiscences of D. R. Peck concerning the Rev. Mr. Clymer.

Church, passing through the countryside in his "high two-wheeled cart, drawn by a sleek, gentle black horse" has left behind him an enduring recollection.

In 1890 and 1895 two Evangelical ministers successively conducted services at Park Head. In 1890 the Reverend Charles F. Garrett began a four-year association with the Church which was, in every sense, evangelistic and also was highly successful in adding many members to the congregation. Upon his departure he was followed by the Reverend Aaron S. Baumgardner, who was no doubt delighted with the size of the flock left to his care by the Reverend Mr. Garrett.

The Evangelical minister, the Reverend A. S. Baumgardner, knew how to make the best of the happy situation which he inherited. Being, among other things, talented in both vocal and instrumental music, he developed the musical abilities of his congregation. He also gained the support of the board of trustees in making additional repairs to the Church, rendering it both more comfortable and more attractive. As a result of this minister's individual efforts, on November 16, 1895, Abraham Ditto, chairman of the board of trustees (and a Presbyterian), offered as a resolution that a vote of thanks be rendered to the Reverend A. S. Baumgardner for the active part which he had taken in soliciting funds for the repairs on the church building. It has been noted by Mr. Peck that "His attitude, methods, activities and ideals were wholeheartedly in sympathy with those of the founder of this Church. Creeds were no barriers to him; all were welcome to his services."<sup>32</sup> It is no more than just to say that up to 1900 the Reverend Mr. Baumgardner was definitely one of the leading spirits of the Park Head Church.<sup>33</sup>

Disaster struck again in 1931 when another southeastern storm made havoc of the Park Head Church House. On July 25 powerful

<sup>32</sup> Mr. Peck nostalgically recalls how, as a boy, he admired the Rev. Mr. Baumgardner's beautifully curried and well-cared-for black horse, "Nellie," which had been trained by her master to shake hands by raising her right foreleg and foot.

<sup>33</sup> Of the lay members of the congregation, Abraham Ditto, chairman of the board of trustees, and Martin L. Peck, secretary, deserve special recognition as leaders in the Park Head Church. Following nonsectarian principles, Mr. Ditto, though a Presbyterian, taught both Presbyterian and Evangelical Sunday School classes. Mr. Peck, a Primitive Baptist (or Old School Baptist), born in Fulton County, Pennsylvania, conducted Bible classes where needed, and, as secretary of the board of trustees, kept the Minute Books for many years.

winds lifted off its entire roof and deposited the wreckage fifty feet away. Again the south gable fell, most of the rubble coming to rest inside of the little church building. It would seem, however, that the spirit of the Church's founder was not lost to his congregation. The solemn obligation of rebuilding was immediately assumed. By August 15 actual restoration work was begun. By December 26 of that same year, 1931, it was completed.

In the passing years a few important alterations were made upon the Park Head Church. The original seats were replaced by a more modern type, providently obtained from another church house; the balcony was remodeled; a brick vestibule was added; new windows were installed; and a new chimney was erected. These improvements were completed by 1951.

To have maintained a place of worship continually for 121 years throughout good times and grievous ones is concededly an achievement worthy of being recorded. A bronze tablet has accordingly been inscribed with these words:

#### PARK HEAD CHURCH

BUILT 1833

Land deeded from Anthony and Margaret M. Snyder

#### TRUSTEES

Jeremiah Mason, Chairman

John A. Brewer	Tobias Johnson
Christian Bair	Jacob Hartman
Thomas Mills	James P. Mills

For the benefit of the following denominations

Methodist Protestant	Presbyterian
Lutheran	Episcopalian
Old Methodist	Roman Catholic

and all other persuasions of Christian faiths,  
approved by the trustees

#### DEDICATED

1954

#### TRUSTEES

George W. Pitman, Chairman

Clarence B. Mason	Alfred E. Shives
John R. Malcolm	R. Kenneth Andrews
Daniel R. Peck	Warren E. Reed.

A sturdy, if modest, memorial, this tablet records the simple intent of the Park Head Congregation: To maintain faithfully in the midst of a turbulent world "the noiseless tenour" of its appointed way. Others more renowned than the Reverend Jeremiah Mason have not always left behind them so telling a legacy.

## CHARLES WALLACE AS UNDERTAKER OF THE STATE HOUSE

By MORRIS L. RADOFF

AT the end of the long harassing years devoted to building the present State House at Annapolis, a Committee of the General Assembly which had been appointed to examine the progress of the work reported that the building was almost done. It also pointed out that the original copper roof had been blown off by the hurricane of September, 1775, and that the contractor Charles Wallace finding it impossible to restore it had sold the copper "as by his memorial will appear."<sup>1</sup> When the writer was preparing a study of the public buildings at Annapolis a search was made for this memorial in the expectation that it would clarify the baffling history of the State House roof.<sup>2</sup> The search was fruitless, however, and the story of the successive roofs had to be reconstructed from widely scattered and less authoritative evidence.

Now the memorial has been found. It not only explains the roofs, which was the most that had been hoped for, but it gives a step by step account of Charles Wallace's work as "undertaker" of the State House beginning with the signing of a contract with the State, June 20, 1771, and ending December 28, 1779, a few short months before the building was occupied. There is even a prologue which provides answers for some additional questions. On January 4, 1770, the superintendents of the new buildings, which had been authorized the month before<sup>3</sup> advertised for plans and bids.<sup>4</sup> We have long thought that if we found some records

<sup>1</sup> *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, November Session, 1779 (December 28, 1779), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Morris L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1954).

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 14, Acts of 1769, November Session.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Maryland Gazette* for that date, the advertisement appeared every week at first, then from time to time until the end of February after which it ceased

of the response to this advertisement we would discover who was the architect. It now appears, according to Wallace, that no plans were submitted since the amount of money appropriated for the purpose was generally considered insufficient. His own proposal was not made and accepted until June of the next year, but whether the plans were his own or prepared for him by someone else is still an unresolved question.

Otherwise the memorial will speak for itself. The editor ought to add that there is no reason to doubt any of the facts given by Wallace. He was a prominent merchant of Annapolis who enjoyed an excellent character. Moreover, wherever there is other evidence of the facts which he recites his version is fully sustained in every case.

Because the memorial has suffered badly at the folds it was not always possible to be sure of the reading. In the transcript which follows the uncertainties are clearly indicated.

To The Honorable The General Assembly of Maryland  
The Humble Petition of Charles Wallace

Sheweth

That soon after the passing the Act of Assembly in 1769 for building a State House, the Superintendants for that purpose who then acted gave repeated public invitations to Architects and Workmen to lay before them Plans Estimates and Proposals for building and finishing the said house but nothing conclusive or satisfactory was done or offered by any person nor was likely to be proposed for carrying on the said Building, the common opinion being that the £7,000 granted was hardly sufficient for the purpose and your petitioner impressed with an idea that the building might be compleated for the Money with good Management, though fully satisfied that no great profit could be made by any undertaker proposed to the then acting Superintendents to undertake the Building and finishing the said State House for the said £7,000 Sterling which proposals were agreed to, and in consequence thereof, on or about the Twentieth Day of June 1771 your petitioner entered into Articles with the then Acting Superintendants, whereby he agreed for the said £7,000 to build and finish or procure to be built and finished in a substantial workman like and neat manner the State House upon the plan annexed to the said articles. Your petitioner drew pursuant to the said articles and for which he gave his bonds with security according and subject to the said agreement on the said 20th day of June £2,500 sterling and £3,000 sterling and on the 18th day of April 1772 £1,500 sterling making

to appear. The date on which plans were to be submitted, April 17, passed without comment in the *Gazette*.

in the whole the £7,000 sterling being [?] the money appointed by the said Act.

That your petitioner prosecuted the work with such diligence that in the year 1772 the basement and first story were up and early in 1773 the second story was up, and the building would have been covered in that year if the best and indeed universal opinion had not been that a slate cover would not answer the purpose. In June in the same year the two houses of the then Assembly disagreed whether the building should be covered with shingles or copper so that your petitioner could not go on with either, and by the advice of gentlemen of both houses, in expectation that the two houses would afterward agree, he forbore to proceed till the next session which happened in November, sometime in that session and late in December an Act passed directing the covering to be of copper and appropriating for that purpose £1,440 sterling. Your petitioner immediately sent for it, got it in the summer of 1774, proceeded on with the building, got it covered in and four of the upper rooms finished, but the September storm in 1775 blew the cover off and ruined the inside work. The copper was so spoiled that it could not be applied again to the same use none could be imported and the roof was much too flat for shingling, wherefore your petitioner employed all the hands he could, and at a very heavy expence in the course of the winter framed a new roof and covered it with shingles.

From that time till the month of August 1777 when the British Fleet came [?] up the Bay your petitioner had in his employ a number of exceeding good workmen, but upon the Fleet's coming up the Bay most of the inhabitants left Annapolis for a while amongst them your petitioner and most of the workmen then in his service and upwards of twenty of them have not returned to him. Since that time your petitioner could procure but very few workmen whose wages have rose with the Depreciation of the money as far as from 5/ [?] your petitioner's estimates and what he actually paid to six pounds per day.

That in the year 1777 your petitioner undertook for five hundred pounds current money to build two galleries, one in the room of each House of the Assembly, since which the depreciation of the money has been rapid and continual, and to enable your Petitioner the better to sustain the many charges occasioned by a variety of unexpected events he disposed of and sold the copper which was blown off and spoiled as aforesaid.

Your petitioner has finished the State House (except four of the commonest Rooms and some ornaments in the front which the plan will show) and the galleries in a much more expensive and elegant manner than could be claimed from his contract or he believes was expected, and, as he hopes to give satisfaction to your Honors and reflect credit on the State.

He has prosecuted the work with diligence and can truly affirm that instead of his being a gainer by seven years application and fatigue on a public work, he is a very great loser, for though the sterling money for

the several purposes aforesaid was drawn when it was at par it could not be wholly laid out whilst it . . . . . and would have depreciated had it been kept in cash, as it has with your petitioner's other property in the hands of many of his debtors. He therefore prays your Honors will direct that his contracts and bonds be given up to him, that he be discharged therefrom, and from doing anything further on the said building and that he may be indemnified in selling and disposing of the copper aforesaid and in applying it as aforesaid and that he may be paid a sum of money equal to the £500 in 1777 which is yet due for building the galleries or a sum adequate to that service independent of any agreement.

And your petitioner as in duty bound will pray.

*Verso*

Petition of Charles Wallace December 28, 1779 Read the first time.

## SIDELIGHTS

### TWO LETTERS OF SIDNEY LANIER

The two letters of Lanier which follow have not hitherto been published.<sup>1</sup> The first, to Gibson Peacock, becomes the second surviving letter to the man who "more than any other one person . . . helped Lanier achieve a national reputation."<sup>2</sup> Peacock, the son of James Peacock and his first wife, Frances C. Gibson, was born in 1822 or 1823 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where his father was editor of the *Pennsylvania Republican*. Young Peacock joined the staff of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* around the year 1848 and was made editor in 1859, when he became part owner. He remained as editor until his death on April 1, 1893, aged 70.<sup>3</sup> He was sternly adverse to any publicity about himself or his activities. The obituary editorial in the *Bulletin* gives little information about him, although it remarks that he "was fond of music, and of the stage, of polite literature, and of the companionship of men of letters. In his early days he was one of the most welcome, although the least assertive, of the wits and choice spirits that were gathered in the circle of Boker, McMichael, Daugherty, and a kindred group of Philadelphians. . . ." <sup>4</sup> Peacock's perceptive and generous reception of "Corn" deeply moved Lanier, as his letter of January 26, 1875, to the Philadelphian reveals; and he again expresses himself feelingly in this new letter of February 3, reassured by a reply from Peacock, which has apparently not survived, to the earlier letter.

" 64 Center St.  
Baltimore, Md.  
Feb. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1875.

" Dear Mr. Peacock:

Your letter has given me a great deal of pleasure. It is really curious

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. R. Norris Williams, 2nd, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for their permission to publish these letters. The words in brackets in the text of the letters were deleted by Lanier.

<sup>2</sup> *Centennial Edition of the Works of Sidney Lanier*, ed. Charles R. Anderson et al. (Baltimore, 1945), IX, 149, n. 27—hereinafter referred to as *Works*. See also Aubrey Harrison Starke, *Sidney Lanier, A Biographical and Critical Study* (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> See "Answers to Queries," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 15, 1955, p. 31. See also J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), III, 2016-2018.

<sup>4</sup> *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, April 3, 1893, p. 4. According to the obituary in the *New York Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1893, p. 2, Peacock was a widower; but no mention is made of children.

how your generous recognition of my little poem has descended upon me in various Avatars of beneficence. One of the most delightful of these was that which took the form of a charming acquaintance with Miss Cushman:<sup>5</sup> and I do not at all know how to thank you for having been the *causa causans* (as the Schoolmen used to say) of bringing me into the presence of that great Artist.

—But I only sat down to beg that you will let me know precisely what day you will arrive in Baltimore, and at what hotel you will stop.

Many thanks for the papers, wh. arrived safely.

Your friend

Sidney Lanier "

The second letter, to J. B. Lippincott & Company, is one of the few surviving letters to that firm.<sup>6</sup> In it Lanier discusses one of the textbooks for which he was making plans in 1879 and 1880. The work that he discusses, "How To Read Chaucer," is perhaps the same as, or similar to, the "Chaucer" he mentions in a letter to Daniel Gilman dated July 13, 1879,<sup>7</sup> and from it he may have developed the *Chaucer and Shakespere*, which was not completed.<sup>8</sup>

" 435 N. Calvert St.

Baltimore, Md.

Feby. 6<sup>th</sup> 1880.

" Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co.:

Dr. Sirs:

Will you be kind enough to let me know the lowest sum for which you can print and make one thousand copies of a work which I send today by express called "How To Read Chaucer." For size of print, binding and general style, take the editions of Shakespere's separate plays by W. J. Rolfe,<sup>9</sup> published by Harper & Bros. as model. Please make the estimate for plates distinct from that for printing and manufacturing. Inasmuch as I have now many pupils waiting for this book, and as there are other reasons why I should desire to get it in print as soon as possible, I specially ask that you will let me have the estimate by Tuesday of next week, so that I might come over on the following Friday—which is my [free] off day from lectures, here—in order to arrange details.

Perhaps I should add that this book is the first of a series which I hope to print—if I should find it within the means at my control—specially designed for a course in English literature which I have arranged with particular reference to bringing the student in contact with the literature itself rather than the *history* of literature—which is all that the current

<sup>5</sup> For Charlotte Saunders Cushman (1816-1876), the famous actress, see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>6</sup> *Works*, VII, lxiii and n. 160.

<sup>7</sup> *Works*, X, 132.

<sup>8</sup> *Works*, IV, 304-345. See also X, 207-208, 213-214, 266-268.

<sup>9</sup> For Rolfe (1827-1910), teacher, editor, philologist, see *DAB*. Copies of his forty volume edition of Shakespeare (1871-1884) for Harper & Bros. can be found in almost every library of size in the country.

manuals attempt. These books are to be so arranged as to suit both the general reader, and the academic student in want of a text-book; and their controlling principle is to be the presentation of *complete works* of every author selected, in *original texts*, strictly *expurgated* for reading in families and in girls' schools, [and] rendered accessible to every reader by interlinear translations where necessary, and with the smallest amount of comment. The series will embrace ten works.

The *ms.* I send is only partially edited, but the plan is clearly stated and exemplified

Very truly yours,  
Sidney Lanier"

DAVID BONNELL GREEN

*Bryn Mawr College*

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### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN NELSON

The autograph collection of a life-long resident of New Jersey contains a document of special Maryland interest. William Nelson, the collector, assembled among his autographs more than a score of documents written by Nelsons, to many of whom no doubt he was related. The autobiography of John Nelson (1796-1860), printed on the following pages provides some new information about this little-known Marylander. It is written on a blue folio double-sheet typical of the mid-19th century. There is no explanation of the reason for its preparation. We can date the document by the references to the close of the John Tyler administration (1845). The autobiography corrects statements that appear in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1927), p. 1351, and in Howard Marraro's article, "John Nelson's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 1831-1832," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (1949), 150. The text follows:

"I was born in Frederick Maryland, on the 1st day of April 1796 and received the usual English and classical education in the Academy of that Town—

"In 1808 I was placed under the guardianship of Bishop James Madison, the then President of William and Mary College, at Williamsburg Virginia, and graduated in that institution on the fourth of July 1811—

"Returning to the place of my birth, I entered the Law Office, of my father General Roger Nelson, and in 1815 was admitted to practice at the Bar of Frederick which then ranked high for talent, the present venerable Chief Justice<sup>1</sup> being at the head of it, and at zenith of his professional reputation—

<sup>1</sup> Roger B. Taney.

"I was at once introduced into a very large and profitable practice which I pursued with great assiduity, when in 1820 I was elected to Congress and served in the house of Representatives during the sessions of 1821 & 1822—

"Declining a re-election I again devoted myself laboriously to my profession, until 1825 when the Electoral College of Maryland, in spite of my earnest protestations elected me to the Senate of the State, composed of some of the most eminent men of the Commonwealth, amongst whom were Genl. [Edward] Lloyd, Reverdy Johnson, John C. Herbert and others equally distinguished—

"My term of service expired in 1831, in October of which year I was most unexpectedly invited and urged by General [Andrew] Jackson to proceed to Naples on a special Mission to demand compensation for injuries inflicted upon American Commerce during the reign of Murat—<sup>2</sup> This object I accomplished with complete success after a most arduous negotiation, the particulars of which may be found in Senate Documents No 70, 2 Session 22d Congress The treaty of which it was the result of the 14th Oct. 1832 was the most liberal and satisfactory of our foreign Indemnity arrangements—

"Upon my return to the United States I resolved to remove to Balto., where I resumed my professional Labours and continued there 'til July 1843 when upon the death of Mr. [Hugh S.] Legare I was invited by President Tyler to accept the Office of Attorney General of the U. States—the duties of which I continued to discharge to the close of his administration— Besides attending to the appropriate functions of that office I took a special and active part in conjunction with the lamented Judge [Abel P.] Upshur in the negotiation of the Treaty for the admission of Texas into the Union—and upon the occasion of the accident on board the Princeton which deprived the country of the eminent services of Judge Upshur I was commissioned by President Tyler as Secretary of State ad interim, and occupied that department until I was superseded by Mr. [John C.] Calhoun—

"Of the manner in which the duties incident to these important offices were discharged it does not become me to speak—

"Since the close of Mr. Tylers administration I have been, as before, engaged laboriously in my profession—

"Originally a democrat, I have [served my country <sup>3</sup>] without wavering my connexion with my party—"A rough evil and the rough good report"—and have lived to see its principles vindicated by experience, and recognized by the nationally patriotic throughout the Land—"

FRED SHELLEY

*New Jersey Historical Society*

<sup>2</sup> Joachim Murat (d. 1815), brother-in-law of Napoleon, King of the Two Sicilies, 1808-1815.

<sup>3</sup> One or two words not deciphered; the sense "served my country" is inserted in brackets in the text.

## MEXICAN PRESIDENT IN BALTIMORE

In 1886 Baltimore took little note that a Mexican lad, one Francisco Indalecio Madero, was enrolled in St. Mary's College as a student.<sup>1</sup> This teen-age boy with the burning eyes and short stature was destined as President of Mexico, 1911-1913, to usher in the stormy birth of modern Mexico.

St. Mary's College in that day was located at the site of the present seminary, Druid Hill Avenue and Paca Street. With the boy Francisco were brother Gustavo and other relatives. They were hopeful of learning American customs and language as well as other subjects. Unfortunately, Francisco confessed later, he learned very little due to his language limitations. In his own idiom he had done rather well at the College of San Jose in Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Full of wonder and excitement the boy keenly observed his new surroundings in a strange land.

At thirteen Francisco took great delight in the Baltimore out-of-doors. With great zest he experienced the new-found joys of snow. Speedy descent by sled down vertiginous hills was an exhilarating sport, and gliding along via sleigh-ride added further pleasure. Ever fond of horse-back riding, he used frequent opportunities in Baltimore to remind him of his favorite sport on the ranches of his well-to-do family in Coahuila, Mexico. Possibly the outdoor moments proved more stimulating and memorable than the classroom, Francisco admitted in later years.

With great affection and devotion Madero recalled Brother Lagarde of the faculty of St. Mary's. A member of a French New Orleans family and a friend of the Madero clan, Brother Lagarde struck a responsive chord of rapport with the young Francisco. Lagarde's kindness, friendliness, and hospitality ever remained a bright note in Madero's recollections. With deepest gratitude Francisco recorded the merit of this revered tutor.

Vividly Madero described a momentous occasion at school: a battle. During a short recreation period an American classmate and Francisco were at odds; a fight was brewing between them. Soon the other boys were gathering about and encouraging a full-scale fight, but the two checked themselves when they observed the approach of one of the brothers supervising the group. Francisco was shocked to find that the brother openly spurred, rather than prevented, the contest. A full-fledged bout of fisticuffs ensued. As the two squared away, Francisco was dismayed to note that he was on a lower level than his rival, a further handicap in addition to his short height. Momentary relief at the arrival of another brother higher in the hierarchy again faded to dismay when he also approved the proceedings. The flurry of arms and fighting bodies mounted in intensity for several minutes amid the circular wall of a

<sup>1</sup> Francisco Madero, "Mis Memorias," in *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, Book I, cuarta época, 1922, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the college of that day resembled the academy of the United States, a sort of preparatory school.

frenzied audience. At the close of the fifteen-minute recreation period the fight came to an end. Both boys walked off with "eyes inflamed, noses spurting blood, and faces torn with contusions." But at the fountain each courteously offered the other the first precious drink of water. A polite handshake was exchanged to close the incident.

During this eventful year came news of the death of a favorite brother, Raulito, whose intelligence and noble spirit had endeared him to everyone. An accident with an oil lamp had resulted in a horrible burn, and after a tortured forty-seven hours Raulito had died. Through these hours of intense suffering the boy had preserved a remarkable calm and courage. Francisco felt that the departed brother remained as a sort of guardian angel always.

This school year brought an opportunity for a trip to Paris with other relatives, and Madero continued his education abroad in a city where custom seemed closer to his native land despite greater distance.

HERMAN BAINDER

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### THE REVEREND WILLIAM HAZLITT IN MARYLAND

On May 26, 1783, the Reverend William Hazlitt with his wife and four children, John, Margaret, William, and Harriet, landed in New York, whence they proceeded to Philadelphia. After living in the city of William Penn for fifteen months, the Hazlitt family moved to Boston, remaining in the vicinity of that city, in Weymouth and Dorchester, for more than two years. During his stay in America, the Reverend William Hazlitt, who was one of the earliest supporters of Unitarian principles in this country, preached in numerous places, but failed to find a permanent position. As a result, he returned to England in December, 1786, and his family followed him the next year, arriving at Portsmouth in August, 1787.

Almost forty-eight years later, in 1835, Margaret Hazlitt began to note down recollections of her father to gratify her nephew, the son of her brother, William Hazlitt, the English critic and essayist, and to record her reminiscences of the various events in the life of the Hazlitt family in America. This invaluable manuscript source of information is now in the possession of the Library of the University of Delaware.

In her account of their life in Philadelphia, based upon old letters and other family papers, as well as her own memories, Margaret Hazlitt wrote:<sup>1</sup>

"Soon after the death of Esther [an infant sister, who died in Philadelphia on September 12, 1783] my father was invited to preach in Maryland. It was a township (as they call their scattered villages, where a field or two intervene between every house). And here in the midst of the forests, & at a distance from the cities, on the coast, he found a respectable & polished society, with whom he would have been happy to

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<sup>1</sup> "Margaret Hazlitt's Recollections" (MS, Library of the University of Delaware).

spend his days, & they were very anxious to have him for their pastor. But on the second sunday he was seized with the fever of that country & fainted in the pulpit. Although he might himself, after so severe a seasoning, have been able to have borne the climate, he feared to take his family there. And a stop was put to our being settled with a people so very suitable in many respects. I forget the name of the place, but to Mr Earl, & his family, our everlasting gratitude is due. At this gentleman's house, he was hospitably entertained, & but for the great care, & attention with which he was nursed, he must have died. Nothing could exceed the kindness with which they watched over him, even sending twenty miles for lemons & oranges for him, & providing him with every comfort. Two black men sat up with him every night, & he partly ascribed his recovery to a large draught of water that he prevailed on them to let him have, which, however, had been strictly forbidden. For a long time his family were ignorant of his situation, but at last Dr Ewing & Mr Davidson came to break the matter to my mother, who very naturally concluded he was dead, & it was some time before they could make her believe it was not the case. At length she was convinced that he was recovering, and the next morning my brother John set off to go to him. He went alone, on horseback. He rode through woods & marshes an hundred & sixty miles, in 56 hours, over an unknown country, & without a guide. He was only sixteen at that time, & how he performed so difficult an enterprize astonished every one who knew it. But he was wild with his fears for his father & his affection for him made him regardless of every danger. He found him slowly recovering, but dreadfully weak, & after staying there some weeks, they both returned together. How they got on, I cannot think, but when they came to the door, my father could not get off his horse without help. It was november, & the snow fell for the first time that day. My father was very ill, & weak, for a long time after his return. I recollect he looked very yellow, & sat by the fire, wrapped in a great coat & taking Columbia root. The 23rd of this month, we felt the shock of an earthquake."

In the September, 1920, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* appeared a note on the Reverend William Hazlitt in which the writer mistakenly attributed the passage just cited, as published in William Carew Hazlitt's *Four Generations of a Literary Family*, to William Hazlitt, the author. The writer of this article wondered in which Maryland parish the Reverend William Hazlitt preached, and observed that the mention of the name Mr. Earl suggested Queen Anne's County. Although his reference to Margaret Hazlitt's "Recollections" as the work of her brother William was wrong, the writer's guess of Queen Anne's County as the place where the elder William Hazlitt had visited was right. In his *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development*, Frederic Emory wrote that on October 4, 1783, according to vestry records, "on application of the Rev. Mr. William Hazlitt to be admitted into St. Paul's parish

as a minister and preacher of the gospel, the vestry was unanimously of opinion, he being a dissenter, that they have no authority for admitting him." <sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note that, contrary to Margaret Hazlitt's version of her father's failure to settle in Maryland, the Reverend William Hazlitt was denied admission into St. Paul's Parish as a minister and preacher. It is also interesting to speculate concerning the career of William Hazlitt if his father had been accepted in Centreville, Maryland. Living on the Eastern Shore, would he have become as great a figure in American literature as he did in that of his native land?

ERNEST J. MOYNE

*University of Delaware*

<sup>2</sup> Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 176.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685-1763), and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797).*

By AUBREY C. LAND. Studies in Maryland History, No. 3. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, xviii, 390 pp. \$6.

In the hands of devoted genealogists, family histories sometimes read like an Old Testament chronicle of "begats," with vast attention to the marriages and kinships of the family connections but little concern about the family's relation to the history of the times. Fortunately Professor Aubrey Land is more concerned about colonial history than he is about the ultimate cousins of the Dulanys, and he has written a work of genuine importance. His treatment embraces the social and economic history of colonial Maryland as well as the involved and complex political relationships between the proprietary government, the people of the colony, and the British government.

Though the Dulanys left no great archive of family letters, they were so prominent in Maryland that Professor Land has been able to trace most of their activities in the various official records of the colony. "The value of court records," Mr. Land remarks, "has been so often the subject of commentary that another mention would be superfluous were it not that these rewarding and very complete series for colonial Maryland have been insufficiently exploited by students of economic and social history." His own skill in exploiting the colonial records has given a demonstration of method that might be profitably followed by other historians in this field. From bits of evidence gleaned from many scattered sources he has made a synthesis that is authoritative without being pretentious. His documentation is sound without being obtrusive, and his writing is clear, succinct, and highly readable. A book that in the hands of a less skillful craftsman might have been tedious and dull, succeeds not only in bringing to life the Dulanys but in making vivid their milieu.

The rise of the Dulany family is characteristic of the development of many American family dynasties in the colonial period and later. Daniel Dulany the immigrant was a Protestant youth from Queen's County, Ireland, who arrived in Maryland in 1703 with his two brothers. All three came as indentured servants. Daniel, who had spent some time at the University of Dublin, had the good fortune to be sold to Colonel George Plater, who needed a clerk in his law office. The law proved an avenue to advancement, as has so often happened in history, and young Dulany in less than ten years was a practicing lawyer, a landowner, and a respected

citizen of Prince George's county. He had also made a good marriage to Rebecca, daughter of well-to-do Colonel Walter Smith. If anybody looked down on him because he had come over as an indentured servant, that fact was no hindrance to the growth of his reputation and the esteem in which he was held. The origins of colonial immigrants mattered very little provided they had the means of acquiring land and the intelligence and character to make use of their new opportunities as landed proprietors.

Dulany, like many Americans after him, grew wealthy, not merely from the dual activities of lawyer and planter, but from shrewd investments in land. He was one of the first to realize that the rich bottom lands in the interior—what was then the West—represented potential wealth, and he was a forerunner of the land speculators of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Dulany's son Daniel was a worthy successor to his father, and his other children, both sons and daughters, made up a dynasty of social significance to the colony. The elder Dulany was the author of a famous pamphlet, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (1728), but he ended up defending the rights of the proprietary government. His son, regarded as one of the most learned lawyers in the colonies, could not bring himself to use his talents against the mother country, where he had been educated, and he ended by adopting the role of passive loyalist. The country had no use for men who could not serve the new nation with enthusiasm and the Dulany dynasty was left after the war without a political part to play. The male members of the family were scattered and only Daniel Dulany the younger, now no longer young, was left in Maryland to bear the name. The Dulanys were moderates who found it difficult to tear their shirts over any cause, and they suffered the penalties often meted out to moderates.

Besides Dulanys, many other characters come to life in Mr. Land's book. One of the most interesting of these is Thomas Cresap, a person of importance in the new westward movement, one of the farsighted men who perceived the things to come. No one interested in the development of colonial America can afford to ignore Mr. Land's able work, a work that is significant for its grasp of local history in relation to the larger complex of national development.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

*The Folger Library*

*Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1808-1861.* By HUDSON STRODE. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955. 460 pp. \$6.75.

Across the imperishable canvas of the American Civil War strides a figure about whom the aura of defeat, coldness, and tragedy persists above all others. This man was the first and last president of the Confederate States of America, Jefferson Davis. Above him, Lincoln towers sublimely; and Lee stands supreme as the great hero of the lost cause. The marble figure is yet to be defined for posterity.

Into such a stern and rigid mould has Davis been cast since Appomattox, that biographers have, to a considerable degree, been repelled by him. There exists no thoroughly satisfactory study of this aloof and chilling symbol of the Old South. Perhaps the best efforts to date have been the works by William E. Dodd and Robert McElroy, with that of H. J. Eckenrode running a poor third. Now, Hudson Strode, teacher of Shakespeare and of creative writing at the University of Alabama, and author of some eight travel books, takes up the unenviable task of attempting to breathe life and fire into one of the most controversial and enigmatic figures of the American past. *Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1808-1861*, is the first of a two-volume undertaking by Mr. Strode, the second volume to be a study of Davis as Confederate president and ex-president.

The author's first volume deals with his subject in what may be called his national period. It may surprise the casual lay reader to learn that Jefferson Finis Davis was born in Kentucky amid modest middle-class surroundings, which were unimproved at first after the large family's movement to Mississippi. Young Davis' early years, his sojourn at Transylvania University, his years at West Point and at bleak army posts in the West are beautifully chronicled, as are his marriages to Zachary Taylor's daughter, and, after the latter's early death, to the gracious Varina Howell. He was then established by his wealthy brother, Joseph, on a fine plantation—Brierfield—overlooking the Father of Waters.

An avid reader of history and politics, Davis early formed his consistent and sympathetic views toward state rights. After a short time in the United States House of Representatives, he entered the Mexican War as commander of the "Mississippi Rifles." Wounded in that conflict, he emerged with a minor, though well-deserved reputation for meritorious conduct at the Battle of Buena Vista.

Upon the death of the Southern champion, John C. Calhoun, Davis became one of the foremost spokesmen for state rights in the United States Senate. Although known as a moderate, he still desired to acquire Cuba and Yucatan for Southern expansion, and stoutly maintained that the Union—which he time and again defended—could be preserved only by permitting slavery to spread to the western territories. He conceived of the South almost as a separate nation within the Union. In 1853 he was named Secretary of War by his good friend, Franklin Pierce, who came to be recognized by many as a Northern man with Southern principles.

Davis reached perhaps his peak of performance in this new post. He tightened up the operating efficiency of the department, sent a military mission—including young George B. McClellan—to the Crimean War, experimented with camels in the southwest, had surveys made of possible routes for a transcontinental railroad, and supported the Gadsden Purchase. He sought to build up the South so as to be equal again with the booming, industrial North in national politics and prestige. After his term as Secretary ended in 1857, Davis resumed his seat in the Senate arena, where he spoke with increasing fervor for the Southern cause. When Mississippi seceded from the Union, Davis acquiesced in her action by leaving the Senate. He was shortly afterward named president of the newly-formed Confederacy.

Mr. Strode has told this story well, with considerable literary skill, and in such a way that interest never flags. And he has done more. He has made of Davis a real and believable human being—a man possessed of great personal charm and grace, both with his intimate friends and social inferiors. He has introduced some hitherto unused Davis correspondence which tends to reveal his subject as anything but the ever-frigid, distant figure history has made of him. However, Mr. Strode has been unable to convince this reviewer that Davis was warm-hearted in his official dealings with persons other than his close coterie of friends. The author's viewpoint is that of a Southern admirer of Davis, one who condones most of his actions and admits of but few minor faults. In short, Mr. Strode has at times overstated his case.

Also, the work is marred in places by either careless work or by unfamiliarity with well-known works. A number of names are misspelled; such as, McClelland for McClellan, Mearnes for Mearns, Chestnut for Chesnut, and Cullom for Cullum. There are no maps of the military actions, and the index leaves much to be desired. Then, too, Mr. Strode gives undue credence and weight to stories told by aged people of events recollected from their childhood, and to accounts of intimate friends, relatives, and close supporters of Davis. The work—largely undocumented—is based to a considerable degree on secondary works, and ignores many well known monographs and studies of merit, such as Roy F. Nichols' *Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* and *Disruption of American Democracy*, and Allan Nevins' *Ordeal of the Union*, to mention only three. Mr. Strode distorts or is unaware of the true nature of the tariff after 1846, the origins of the Ostend Manifesto, and the motivation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The author's gravest error is his apparent acceptance of Davis' view that the North was involved in deliberate efforts to exclude the South from a position of equality in the Union. Davis' inability to perceive that it was the inevitable results of economic and social forces that was pushing the South into an inferior position in the Union was a limitation of his powers of observation. So too is Mr. Strode's inability to recognize the true nature of these situations a shortcoming of his otherwise useful and stimulating book. Even so his volume must be saluted as the best one yet to appear on the pre-Civil War Davis. We look forward hopefully to his second volume on this important Southerner.

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

*The Pennsylvania State University*

*The Loyalists of New Brunswick.* By ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT. Fredericton, New Brunswick (Address inquiries to author, 407 Island Park Drive, Ottawa 3, Canada), 1955. 365 pp. \$4.50.

This addition to the growing body of literature dealing with those who remained loyal to the Crown during the Revolution is most welcome.

Eventually such monographs will make possible a properly comprehensive study of the loyalists, a study which will supersede the standard work written a half-century ago by C. H. Van Tyne.

Dr. Wright, trained in economics yet a competent amateur genealogist, has produced a sound and interesting history and presents the social realities of the settling of the loyalists in New Brunswick. She has worked from official papers, from the archives of eight counties, of two provinces, of the Dominion and of the Empire. She has used, also, the military papers of Henry Clinton, and those of Guy Carleton. Secondary writings are little used; apparently few exist in the field of New Brunswick history.

No doubt the major contribution is the social analysis of some six thousand male adults who arrived in New Brunswick during the years 1783 to 1785. Contradicting the belief common in New Brunswick today, Dr. Wright reports that among those soldiers and refugees, aristocrats and college graduates were few and that but six per cent hailed from Massachusetts. Of the six thousand listed forty per cent had resided in the province of New York, twenty-two per cent came from New Jersey while thirteen per cent were from Connecticut. Furthermore, Dr. Wright affirms that sampling shows fully ninety per cent of these New Brunswick loyalists as being American by birth, a signal corrective to Van Tyne's conclusion that loyalists were loyalists, in the main, because they were not native Americans. As long ago as 1915, H. E. Egerton pointed to Van Tyne's error in method, but historians have done little since to test Van Tyne's conclusion. By a curious reversal, extensive sampling of the individuals composing the Pennsylvania Line has indicated that the soldiers making up that revolutionary corps were but thirty per cent American-born. Obviously, it is unwise to deduce merely from data on geographic origin either toryism or whiggery.

In a most valuable appendix, Dr. Wright lists the six thousand New Brunswick loyalists in alphabetical sequence with condensed data on each. This catalog is comparable in scope and authority to Ontario's famous U. E. List.

It must be said, however, that the single map provided by the author serves the reader's purposes but poorly. Moreover, annotation is a little less than complete, especially for chapter IX where most of the notes were somehow lost.

Maryland readers of Dr. Wright's volume will find but scattered references to their own state, since few Marylanders reached New Brunswick. There was in existence in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland an extensive pro-British "underground" known as the Associated Loyalists; however, few of the group migrated. In 1782, as the struggle was drawing to an end, they notified the Crown that they would assist, "to the last drop of their Blood," in restoring royal authority, but declared that should Britain weakly relinquish its claim they must consider themselves to be "a deserted People, left in a State of Nature and at Liberty to become Subjects" to the newly-founded governments. All signs indicate that such was their course of action, that most of those who during the war period were loyalist in sympathy remained in their homes and at peace with the new regime.

Marked exceptions were the ill-fated veterans of that provincial regiment known as the Corps of Maryland Loyalists, but only a handful of these survived to reach haven under the flag of the Empire. Disease and the attacks of the Spanish during their tragic tour of duty in West Florida and in the Carriibbean had reduced them to 115 officers and men by the time they mustered at New York in 1783. Of these, 37 soldiers with 16 dependents and 4 servants subsequently perished by shipwreck in the Bay of Fundy. The regimental lands reserved opposite Fredericton, New Brunswick, knew but ten of the Corps as permanent settlers.

Perhaps it is legitimate to employ this review as the medium for an appeal that some scholar produce a study of Maryland's loyalists. The records required for such a study exist, and the work is sorely needed.

HENRY J. YOUNG

*Pennsylvania Historical and  
Museum Commission, Harrisburg.*

*Andersonville.* By MACKINLAY KANTOR. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1955. 760 pp. \$5.00.

The rural calm and remoteness of Sumter County, Georgia, was suddenly shattered by the bite and ring of axes into the tall pines near Anderson Station in February of 1864. Negroes and mules sweated and strained to the commands of gray-uniformed overseers as better than fifteen acres of pine wood became a well-defined clearing surrounded by a stockade of perpendicular pine logs. In the official records of Confederate prison camps this was Camp Sumter, but it lives in history simply as Andersonville. During the fourteen months of its existence more than 50,000 Yankees suffered, starved, died, or survived there.

The attritive process undergone by the prisoners is told by several biographies of individuals who are easily recognizable types. The impact on the community is narrated through the lives of Ira Claffey and his family whose small plantation adjoins the prison. Their story ranges from deep tragedy to a full-blown love affair complete with details of suffering and sex.

Of particular interest to Marylanders will be the author's treatment of General John H. Winder, one of the few historical characters, and the only Marylander, in the book. As commandant of all Confederate prisons he is cast as one of the most depraved characters in a book singularly marked by depravity. As a man whose main concern in life is to kill Yankees General Winder becomes the chief villain of Andersonville. The author paints a vivid picture of his machinations but is strikingly weak in explaining his motivation which was, according to the author, an adolescent trauma occasioned by overhearing some of his boy friends call his father, General William H. Winder, a coward for failing to halt the British at the Battle of Bladensburg in 1814.

That this is a very long book will become apparent to the reader without

checking the number of pages. As good history it leaves much to be desired, for, although the chronology is correct, the text does not justify the interpretation drawn from it, and other problems are avoided by omission. As a novel it is rather static, lacking in both internal unity and suspense. The author, unfortunately, fails to draw any real meaning from all the suffering he recounts despite the great amount of time he devotes to it.

HOWARD P. SNETHEN

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West.* By SOLOMON NUNES CARVALHO. Edited with an Introduction by Bertram W. Korn. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954. 328 pp. \$4.50.

In the fall of 1853, Colonel John Charles Fremont led his fifth expedition to the Far West to search for the most desirable route for a rail line to the Pacific. In the party, accompanying him as artist and daguerreotypist, was Solomon Nunes Carvalho who enjoyed the unique distinction of having been the first official photographer to be appointed to the staff of an exploring party anywhere in the world. This volume, a republication of the 1857 edition on the centennial of the journey, is the only account of the expedition with a description of all the dangers, hardships, and privation which the party endured. Although Carvalho did not accompany Fremont to the end of the expedition, this book is of value because no other members of the party left behind any written accounts.

The expedition left Westport, Kansas, on a journey which took it through the area now included in the states of Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California. In addition to his description of the places visited, Carvalho has also given us some valuable details of early photographic endeavors as well as an account of the geography of the region. His journal further reveals the great admiration and esteem which many people felt toward Fremont together with Carvalho's recommendation that Fremont should become a candidate for the presidency. Carvalho's accounts are both entertaining and absorbing and in the editor's words, the volume is one which can be both read and enjoyed.

This book should be of interest to Baltimoreans because of Carvalho's participation in the life of the Jewish community of the city. Furthermore, the Maryland Historical Society possesses several of his paintings.

The editor has provided a valuable introduction to the *Incidents* which traces Carvalho's early career, his political activities in behalf of Fremont, and his subsequent business career. For the general reader not too familiar with the history of the American West, this introduction will prove most helpful. Also of value are his biographical notes and his account of his search for extant Carvalho paintings. The Jewish Publication Society is to

be commended for once more making this readable, valuable, and amusing volume available. Its republication should encourage the preparation of additional travel accounts long out-of-print or heretofore unpublished.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*National Records Management Council*

*The Diamond Cutters and Other Poems.* By ADRIENNE CECILE RICH.  
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. 119 pp. \$2.75.

Adrienne Rich has won increasing attention since her first book was selected in 1951 for the Yale Series of Younger Poets Award. Her new volume, *The Diamond Cutters*, will further enhance her reputation. It contains many charming and graceful poems, as well as some which sound a deeper note, and reveals its author as a true poet who knows how to combine the sincere poetic impulse with a remarkably smooth and expert technique.

Miss Rich is not an innovator, her writing shows the influence of many traditional and contemporary styles, but she brings to every theme a freshness of treatment and viewpoint which removes her better poems from the conventional and imitative and gives them life and individuality. Here is a poet who is always thinking. Her sensibility is keenly alert. She seems to be examining each subject from every angle, as one might hold up a crystal goblet to the light and turn it slowly to observe each detail. Indeed some such analogy expresses her own idea of the poet's craft: "Poetry ought to bring a new grasp on reality, to act as a prism-glass on the ordinary light of day," she said in an address before the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>1</sup> So, whether she is contemplating the English countryside from a train, walking in a foreign town on a Christmas morning, or listening to recorders in Italy, she succeeds in making these events vivid by making them meaningful. Considering the position of a tourist abroad, she thinks of him as detached from reality—

Here he goes untouched,  
And this is alienation. Only sometimes  
In certain towns he opens certain letters  
Forwarded on from bitter origins,  
That send him walking, sick and haunted, through  
Mysterious and ordinary streets  
That are no more than streets to walk and walk—  
And then the tourist and the town are one.

And so she reaches the conclusion:

To work and suffer is to be at home.  
All else is scenery.

Descriptions—and they are often beautiful descriptions—of Merton College, Versailles, the Charles and Concord Rivers, all show this same pre-

<sup>1</sup> Adrienne Cecile Rich, "Some Influences of Poetry upon the Course of History," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952), 281.

occupation: to catch the philosophical or psychological meaning of the scene and reveal it to us in colors hitherto unguessed.

Yet though, in the title poem, Miss Rich likens the poet's craft to that of a diamond cutter, dealing with hard, intractable material, there is nothing cold, contrived, or purely cerebral about her work. One feels indeed she "kept silent until she had something to say." That is why this little volume can be read with real pleasure, even though it is permeated by a strain of sadness—the traditional, elegaic strain of English poetry—for it conveys a sense of song and warm sincerity.

F. GARNER RANNEY

*Maryland Historical Society*

*The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.* By FREDERICK L. WEIS. Boston, 1955. vii, 100 pp.

This, the fourth in a series of volumes listing colonial clergy, is a volume of interest to Maryland readers. Many of the Virginia clergymen (two-thirds of the list) served also in Maryland. Virginia and Carolina records, of course, often aid in Maryland genealogical research. Eight Maryland ministers, omitted from the appropriate volume, are listed in the addenda on page ninety-nine.

It is no disparagement of the sincere and devoted colonial clergy to wonder if such a man as Patrick Lunan was "an unquestioned leader in his time and place" (pp. vi, 32). The straightforward account in G. M. Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, II, 324 ff. disagrees. Indeed the compiler often claims too much in his laudatory treatment of the clergymen.

FRED SHELLEY

*New Jersey Historical Society*

*Acadian Odyssey.* By OSCAR WILLIAM WINZERLING. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. 224 pp. \$4.85.

Obviously a product of careful research, *Acadian Odyssey* describes the exile of a people known to many laymen only through Longfellow's "Evangeline." Although the Maryland settlers and others are mentioned it chiefly concerns the large number of Acadians who were exiled first to England, then to France, and who, after many weary years, were finally settled, under a Spanish king, in Louisiana. The book contains many statistics, an impressive bibliography and is fully annotated and indexed.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

*Famous Signers of the Declaration.* By DOROTHY H. MCGEE. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1955. vii, 307 pp.

There are few more famous groups of men in history than the fifty-six who signed the Declaration of Independence. Coming from many walks of life and representing thirteen scattered states, these men pledged lives, fortunes, and sacred honor when they affixed their signatures to the immortal document. Some of their names are known to us all, but others are hard even for the specialist to recognize. The book under review, designed primarily for readers of junior high school age and up, should serve splendidly to instruct younger readers and remind others of the men and circumstances that brought about the Declaration. Miss McGee has used standard studies and recent books, supplemented by research in each original state.

Maryland readers will turn quickly to chapters twenty and twenty-one. Charles Carroll of Carrollton is given a whole chapter. Samuel Chase gets the lion's share of the other chapter, while William Paca is allotted one page and poor Thomas Stone is discussed in four lines. One wonders if a local scholar should be commissioned to write an exhaustive article on Stone for future publication in this journal.

The illustrations, the format, and the style commend the book to younger readers and to those who would encourage their reading of patriotic subjects.

FRED SHELLEY

*New Jersey Historical Society*

*The Abbé Correa in America, 1812-1820: The Contributions of the Diplomat and Natural Philosopher to the Foundations of Our National Life: Correspondence with Jefferson and Other Members of the Philosophical Society and with Other Prominent Americans.* By RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955. 111 pp. \$2.

In accordance with a fashion which was still prevalent in the days of the Abbé Correa, Professor Davis has given a summary of his book on the title-page, a practice abhorrent to all bibliographers, but not without a certain amount of utility for the prospective reader. About one third of the work is devoted to a biographical sketch of the Abbé and his contributions to our national life; the remainder consists of letters which passed between the natural philosopher-diplomat and his American friends, including a few from the Abbé's son to the friends.

A liberal-minded and patriotic Portuguese whose intellectual accomplishments were highly regarded among Europeans, but whose political philosophy was distasteful to the ultra-conservatives of his own country and Napoleonic France, the sixty-two year old Abbé Correa da Serra left reactionary Europe and arrived in America in 1812 full of enthusiasm for

the budding democracy. His brilliant conversation, liberalism and scientific interests quickly put him in the center of the Jeffersonian circle. His knowledge and industry were utilized on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences and young devotees of science with much benefit to American culture.

When he was appointed in 1816 as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States by his native country of Portugal, the cordiality between the Abbé and the Americans began to cool, for the activities of the Americans in Brazil and their attitude towards the Latin American countries were inimical to the interests of Portugal, loyally defended by the Abbé. By the time he took his leave of America in 1820, the aged, weary, and frequently sick diplomat was somewhat disillusioned by the bent on gain and political chicanery he had seen in the backwoods democracy, but the natural philosopher left behind him a leavening influence in the arts and sciences, as Professor Davis has shown. While the Americans were entering a period of political isolationism, the Abbé provided one of the links for the transmission of European civilization into American culture at a time when the growth of learning in the New World was dependent on European leadership.

F. C. H.

*Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940.* By STEVENSON WHITCOMB FLETCHER. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955. xx, 619 pp. \$3.50.

A companion volume to the author's *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (1950), this work completes his history of technological, economic and social advance of Pennsylvania agriculture through three centuries. The land, the farmer, crops, dairying, transportation and marketing are reviewed and analysed in terms of economics and technology while on the social aspect the author discusses the agricultural organizations, agricultural education and research, the farm home, country life and rural schools and churches. The work is based on extensive source materials and brings into focus the transformation of agriculture in Pennsylvania from a simple self-sufficing occupation to a highly commercial enterprise.

*A Bibliography of Indiana Imprints 1804-1853.* By CECIL K. BYRD and HOWARD H. PECKHAM. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau: 1955. xxi, 479 pp.

A work begun in an effort to combine existing bibliographies of Indiana imprints and to extend the range of inquiry to cover the first fifty years of publishing in the state, this bibliography should prove useful to students of Indiana history. It includes broadsides and sheet music as

well as books. Users are warned by the compilers that the list of copies in the *Bibliography* is not a census, since after a half dozen copies of an item were located, no further effort was made to find additional ones. It is interesting to note that Maryland libraries are sometimes mentioned among the locations of copies.

The format of the *Bibliography* is attractive and practical, and there is little doubt that this will be the standard work on the subject of Indiana imprints for the years covered.

*Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register, 1675-1679, West Side Delaware River, from Newcastle County, Delaware, into Bucks County, Pennsylvania.* Edited by ALBERT COOK MYERS. Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1955. 112 pp. \$4.

The original Register comprises thirty-six written pages, nearly all in the handwriting of Wharton himself, containing fifty surveys (only seven of which have been printed before) of tracts of land from Saint Georges Creek (now New Castle County, Delaware) northward to Neshaminy Creek (now Bucks County, Pennsylvania). Over 100 names of early Swedish, Dutch, and English settlers of Delaware and Pennsylvania are included in the index. In addition to the intrinsic antiquarian interest in the document, it will prove valuable to genealogists and those seeking information on old patents and place names.

*Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution. Books G.-H.* Edited by WYLMA ANNE WATES. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955. vii, 123 pp. \$3.50.

South Carolina faced the problem of carrying on the Revolution while occupied by the enemy after the fall of Charles Town in 1780. To keep the army in the field a remarkable system of credit was used. In return for military duty or supplies, receipts were given with a promise to pay when conditions were more stable. Now in a collection called *Accounts Audited*, these receipts being edited by Wylma Wates provide a wealth of economic information about Revolutionary South Carolina and in many cases furnish the only proof of military service by an individual.

*The Parish Under God, 1855-1955.* Baltimore: The Church of the Redeemer, 1955. 124 pp.

This attractively printed and illustrated history of the Church of the Redeemer and review of its activities is a deserving tribute to the Church

itself. Included in the history is a sketch of the Perine family, so influential in the establishing of the Church, and the seven rectors of the Church, the Reverend J. Campbell White, Samuel Rowell Sargeant, George Clement Stokes, Milton Horace Mill, Charles Albert Hensel, Richard Henry Baker, and Bennett Jones Sims. Well-written, and informative, the inherent interest in the history will be heightened for many by the inclusion of charming anecdotes.

*A History of Bethel Evangelical United Brethren Church of Chewsville, Maryland.* By the REV. D. HOMER KENDALL. Quincy Orphanage Press, [1955]. 69 pp.

In celebration of its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, the Reverend Mr. Kendall has prepared this interesting and informative history of the Bethel Church whose founding was to a large extent the result of the labors of George Adam Geeting, friend of Philip Otterbein. Many lists, charts, tables and photographs add to the completeness of the history.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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*House and Garden Pilgrimage and Forum*—In connection with the 1956 Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage a forum for discussion of the arts and interior decoration will be held on two succeeding days, April 30-May 1. The dates for the Pilgrimage are Wednesday, April 25 through Sunday, May 6. Full information regarding the tours can be obtained from the Pilgrimage Headquarters, 217 Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, or from the Washington office of the American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street, N. W.

The Forum will be sponsored by the Maryland Historical Society, the Federal Garden Clubs of Maryland and the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. The program follows:

*Monday, April 30, 2:30 P. M.*—"Some Regional Aspects of American Furniture," by Ralph E. Carpenter, Jr., Newport, R. I.; 3:30 P. M.—"Clothing Worn by Our Maryland Ancestors," by Margaret W. Brown, Smithsonian Institution; 8:30 P. M.—"How to Restore An Old House," by Charles E. Peterson, Architect, National Park Service.

*Tuesday, May 1, 10:30 A. M.*—"Early American Silver and Silver-smiths," by Louisa Dresser, Worcester Art Museum; 11:30 A. M.—"European Influence on American Glass," by Thomas S. Buechner, Corning Museum of Glass; 2:30 P. M.—"Antiques, Real and Imaginary," by Alice Winchester, Editor *Antiques Magazine*; 3:30 P. M.—General discussion, Professor Richard H. Howland, Johns Hopkins University, Moderator.

Admission to Forum—both days, \$6.00 if purchased in advance; one-day both sessions, \$3.50; one session only, \$2.00.

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*Coe College Midwest Heritage Conference*—A conference on the heritage of the American middle west will be held at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 5-7. The "Beginnings," the "Intellectual Heritage" and "Culture and Society" will form the subject matter of each successive day, highlighted by talks on particular subjects by well-known historians. Reservations or further information may be secured from Dr. John J. Murray, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

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*The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*—For the information of interested readers this Society, founded in Baltimore in 1886, has its office at 1212 Cathedral Street, Room 21, Baltimore 1, Md. Its president is Professor William Kurrelmeyer of the Johns Hopkins University and its secretary is Professor Dieter Cunz of the University of Maryland.

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*Augustine Herman Czech Society*—It would be greatly appreciated if the descendants of Herman who are not members of this Society would contact Mrs. Agnes Svejda, 3912 Loch Raven Boulevard, Baltimore 18, Md. The Society will celebrate the naming of Maryland State Highway 213 as the Augustine Herman Highway on April 22 at the Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel. A pilgrimage to Bohemia Manor will also be made in the Spring, but the date has not been set at this time. Please contact Mrs. Svejda about April 1 for information on this event.

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*Presbyterian Meeting House*—The Old Presbyterian Meeting House in Alexandria, Virginia, has been the recipient of a grant from a foundation to undertake historical research and restoration, with particular emphasis on its graveyard. Any information on the church and its ministers, or any newspaper notices, manuscripts, broadsides, or a copy of the lottery held for the laying out of the graveyard would be most welcome. Two U. S. Presidents have been buried from this church. The tomb of the Child of the Revolution lies in the yard. Please contact the Research and Restoration Committee of the Meeting House if you have any material.

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*Old Dover Days*—The Friends of Old Dover are sponsoring tours of Dover, Delaware, Saturday, May 5, and Sunday, May 6. Descriptive folders may be obtained by writing to Mrs. C. Douglas Motley, P. O. Box 44, Dover, Del.

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*Instruments of Punishment*—If anyone knows of the whereabouts of Colonial instruments of punishment, such as leg irons or whips, please contact

HUGH F. RANKIN, Research Associate,  
Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va.

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*Fitzhugh of "Chatham"*—I solicit information in regard to William Fitzhugh, Esq. (1741-1809) builder of "Chatham," in Stafford County, Va. Particularly wanted are his ledgers, accounts, letter books and correspondence of any kind. William Fitzhugh moved from "Chatham" to Alexandria, Va. circa 1800. He was one of the wealthiest men of his time owning besides "Chatham," "Ravensworth" in Fairfax County, and "Somerset" and "Eagle's Nest" in King George County as well as large acreage in Spotsylvania and Fauquier Counties. He married Ann Randolph (1747-1805) of "Chatsworth," Henrico County. Their only son, William Henry Fitzhugh (1792-1830) married Anna Maria Goldsborough (1796-1874) of Maryland and it is said she was possessed of some of the Fitzhugh papers. The only child of William and Ann (Randolph) Fitzhugh to leave issue was Mary Lee Fitzhugh (1788-1853) who married George Washington Parke Custis of "Arlington" and their daughter Mary Ann Randolph Custis married General Robert Edward Lee.

GEORGE H. S. KING

1301 Prince Edward Street, Fredericksburg, Va.

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*Smith*—I am seeking the names of the parents, date of birth, and other information about Gilbert Hamilton Smith, a tobacco planter in Ann Arundel County who married Miss Lidia Kilty, sister of Chancellor William Kilty, in 1774.

MALLORY PAGE HULL

1423 First Street, New Orleans 13, La.

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*Benson*—Information is requested on the parentage, brothers and sisters of Catherine M. Benson who was born in Talbot County around 1790. Her maiden name may have been Townsend. She married James Benson in 1808 or 1809, and died in 1845.

Mrs. HORACE K. ARMOUR

114 Goldsborough St., Easton, Md.

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*Leeds*—I am trying to ascertain the name of the wife of Timothy Leeds. He came to this country in 1607 with Captain John Smith. I would also like to know the name of the wife of Timothy Leeds' son William.

HENRIETTA KERR HALL

Glenndale, Md.

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*Griffin*—I will pay \$10 for the names of the parents of George Griffin, millwright, who lived in Baltimore for 87 years. He married Ann Nichols, Sept. 8, 1808, fought at North Point and Fort McHenry in 1814, and died Apr. 9, 1872. His daughter Hester Ann Griffin married on Dec. 14, 1843, William G. Fletcher.

ROBERT GRIFFIN SMITH

827 South Minnesota St., New Ulm, Minn.

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*Dashiell*—I am trying to bring up-to-date that portion of the Dashiell genealogy which stems from Thomas Dashiell (1666) and would appreciate any information available.

E. STEWART DASHIELL

Old County Road, Severna Park, Md.

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*Crawford*—I would like to contact descendants of James Crawford, who, in 1724, lived near St. George's Parish, Baltimore (now Harford) County, Md., on a plantation known as "Double Purchase." He died there in 1755. He was a Quaker and a member of the Deer Creek Friends Monthly Meeting at Darlington, Md. His children, also members of Deer Creek were: James, Josiah, Mordecai, John, Elias, Jennett, Rachel, Ruth, Sarah, Hannah, and Rebecca; the first two of whom—James and Josiah are known to have gone with their families to what is now Fayette County, Penn., where they were living in 1765.

HAMMOND CRAWFORD

Bunnydale Farms, Mantua, Ohio.

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*Filson*—I request information about William Filson, "now of Linganore Hundred, Frederick County," June 8, 1767. He died intestate before Mar. 17, 1768. His wife's name was Jane, and they had ten children. Three were named John, Christopher, and David. I would also like to have the names of the other children.

JOHN WALTON,

P. O. Box 422, The Johns Hopkins University  
Baltimore 18, Md.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

NATHALIA WRIGHT, Associate Professor of English at the University of Tennessee, is writing a biography of Horatio Greenough, for which she received a Guggenheim Fellowship, 1953-4. She is also the author of *Melville's Use of the Bible* (1948). ☆ J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL, vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society, is well-known in Baltimore as an active participant in civic, cultural and social organizations. Author of numerous books, articles and reviews, Mr. Paul is a resident of the Guilford area about which he writes. ☆ MANFRED JONAS has taught history at the City College of New York and the University of Maryland European Branch. He was employed three years on a research project of the U. S. Air Force, and is now teaching in the General Education Program at Harvard University. ☆ MARY VERNON MISH (Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr.), author of the article on "Springfield Farm" in the *Magazine* (Dec., 1952), is an authority on Western Maryland History, a leader in the restoration of the Hager House and former president of the Washington County Historical Society. ☆ MORRIS L. RADOFF, Archivist of the State of Maryland, is the author of many publications. His article on Charles Wallace gives further information on the subject of his recent authoritative *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (1954).

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—The Pennsylvania capitol at Harrisburg was destroyed by fire with a loss of \$1,000,000—February 2.

—The Pasteur treatment for rabies was begun at the City Hospital, Baltimore—April 13.

—The Golden Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria's reign was opened in London—June 19.

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