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IN 1903—

when we reached the age of 24

Guantanamo, Cuba, was leased to the United States as a naval base—*Feb. 24.*

The Czar of Russia issued a decree granting religious freedom throughout his domains—*Mar. 12.*

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J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, For Latrobe Papers and other purposes.....	8,451.77
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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PUBLICATIONS



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Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 4.00
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff. 1958	\$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

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Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959	\$ 1.80
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961	\$ 4.50
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Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927	\$15.00
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The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary- land. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962	\$10.00
The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland). By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959	\$ 2.00

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HENRY WINTER DAVIS: ORATOR FOR THE UNION

By RAYMOND W. TYSON

IN a letter to Whitelaw Reid, April 12, 1877, James G. Blaine observed: "One hundred years ago today Henry Clay was born . . . the most eloquent man who ever spake in the H. R., except Winter Davis."¹ Although Henry Winter Davis, fiery and eloquent Baltimore congressman of the Civil War era, and one of the most controversial personalities in the public life of that time, can scarcely be bracketed with Henry Clay for historical distinction, of the many Marylanders who have played a prominent role in the life of this nation, this Baltimorean deserves to occupy an honored place.

It would appear, however, that Noah Brooks, the well-known journalist and a close friend of Lincoln, was prophetic when he

¹ Royal Cortissoz, *The Life of Whitelaw Reid* (New York, 1921), I, 377.

stated that Davis, "except for his record as a persistent and radical critic of Lincoln's reconstruction policy, has not left any lasting trace of his public career."² Despite the fact that Davis did leave a deep impress on the period in which he was destined to live, he has become a vague figure, one lost among the multitude of personalities and events that make up a tragic chapter of our nation's past.

If the *Marylander* is remembered it is primarily as one of the authors (the principal one) of the Wade-Davis Manifesto, a document judged by many critics as unparalleled for its merciless attack upon a President of the United States. Davis denied the right of Lincoln to reconstruct the states which had seceded, claiming that power resided with Congress. When the President gave a pocket veto to the congressional plan introduced by the young Baltimorean in the House of Representatives, and passed by both Houses of Congress, the result was the scathing Manifesto which first appeared in the press in early August, 1864.³ The President's refusal to approve the congressional bill impelled Davis to declare that "a more studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people has never been perpetrated."

The hostility of Davis toward Lincoln and his administration began before the commencement of the epic struggle on reconstruction. Although not a Republican in 1860—he had supported Bell and Everett—the *Marylander*, because of his exceptional abilities and influence, and the fact that he came from a border state, was asked if he would accept the nomination for Vice President at the Republican national convention in Chicago.⁴ For various reasons Davis rejected the offer to be Lincoln's running mate. After the election he was strongly recommended for a cabinet post, a position which he very much desired. He had, in addition to substantial backing from his own state, the vigorous support of his cousin, the influential David Davis, and the Thurlow Weed-William H. Seward faction of New York.⁵ At one time on his behalf, "Governor Lane of

² *Washington In Lincoln's Time*, ed. by Herbert Mitgang (New York, 1958), p. 28.

³ *New York Daily Tribune*, August 5, 1864.

⁴ Thomas H. Dudley, "The Inside Facts of Lincoln's Nomination," *Century Magazine*, XL (July, 1890), 478.

⁵ Willard L. King, *Lincoln's Manager David Davis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 174-175.

Indiana and sixty-nine members of Congress petitioned the President-elect for Winter Davis's appointment as Postmaster General." ⁶ Rumors of his being appointed to the cabinet persisted as late as February, 1861.⁷ It was even announced that Lincoln would nominate him for the Supreme Court.⁸ The President, however, refused to include the Baltimorean in his official family, selecting instead the equally controversial Montgomery Blair, a fellow-Marylander and bitter rival of Davis for political control of that all-important border state. Of the Blair-Davis feud, one historian wrote: "It is a familiar fact that Abraham Lincoln was beset by countless problems during his service in the White House. Few situations, however, proved so difficult for the War President as the fierce rivalry of Henry Winter Davis and Montgomery Blair, the two most influential Union leaders in Maryland."⁹

The rebuff by the President deeply wounded the pride of the ambitious Davis, and from that time on, Lincoln found himself with a sharp and unrelenting critic who appeared to seize every possible occasion to vent his attacks upon the policies of the administration. The foreign policy of Secretary of State Seward and the management of the Navy by Gideon Welles were among the prime targets for assault by Davis on the floor of the House of Representatives. He exhibited little tolerance for the temporizing tactics which Lincoln occasionally displayed on some issues. As a bitter foe of the President's plan for the reconstruction of the South, which the Marylander deemed too lenient, as well as being a gross usurpation of the legislative prerogative, he was one of the major irritants that the President had to contend with throughout his turbulent administration. In fact, claimed the *New York Times*, "President Lincoln had few more formidable opponents than Winter Davis."¹⁰

Henry Winter Davis was born on August 16, 1817, at Annapolis, Maryland. His father, an Episcopal rector, was for a time president of St. John's College. Young Davis was gradu-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷ See *New York Times, Herald, Daily Tribune*, from November, 1860, through February, 1861.

⁸ *New York Times*, February 21, 1861; March 29, 1861.

⁹ Reinhard H. Luthin, "A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: The Davis-Blair Controversy," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (March, 1944), 25.

¹⁰ September 7, 1866.

ated from Kenyon College in 1837, where he received a sound classical education and laid the foundation for his skill in public address in later life by his enthusiastic participation in the speaking and forensic exercises of the literary societies. After studying law at the University of Virginia for the term 1839-40, he began the practice of his profession at Alexandria, Virginia. In 1850 Davis moved to Baltimore, and that city became his home for the remainder of his life. He had by that time established himself as a very successful lawyer, and at once took an active part in the cultural and political life of the city.¹¹

Originally a Whig, Davis, at the dissolution of that party with the defeat of Scott in 1852, joined, as did so many Southern Whigs, the American or Know Nothing party. As a member of that organization he was first elected to the House of Representatives for the Thirty-fourth Congress in 1855 from the Fourth Congressional District of Baltimore. He was returned to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses. Davis's campaigns for re-election were violent and bloody, and on two occasions his opponents contested his right to a seat in the House. A militant segment of his supporters was composed of one of the most vicious mobs in the city of Baltimore, the notorious "Plug Uglies." How Davis, an aristocrat by temper and training, was able to dominate this brutal element of his constituency was much debated in his day, and still remains one of the enigmas of his public life. He was never able to erase completely the stigma of that association or his open avowal of the principles of Know Nothingism.

In a remarkably short time the Maryland Representative became the leading spokesman for the American party in the House. By the boldness of his statements and the compelling manner in which they were pronounced, Davis attracted national attention very early in his congressional career. The South became incensed by his refusal to support their interests and by his blistering attacks on the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan. His speeches during the sessions of the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses were, for the most part,

¹¹ Bernard C. Steiner's *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore, 1916), is the only full-length biography of the Baltimorean.

political harangues in which he extolled the virtues of the American party and ascribed all the ills of the country to the Democratic party. But one speech made only a few months after his election to the House was significant. On August 7, 1856, the *Marylander* delivered a severe criticism of the administration and the newly-formed Republican party. Two places in the address, however, lifted it above the ordinary political fustian, and presaged the stand Davis would take when the great crisis finally arrived in 1860-61. He denounced the threats of disunion which had been made by Southern members in the event Fremont was elected, declaring dissolution of the Union "means death, the suicide of liberty, without hope of resurrection—death without the glory of immortality . . . ; they who speak in earnest of a dissolution of this Union seem to me like children or madmen. . . . Sir, it is portentous to hear the members of a party contesting for the Presidency, menace dissolution and revolution as the penalty they will inflict on the victors for defeating them. People who do not hold the Union worth four years' deprivation of office are scarcely safe depositaries of its powers!" As for Maryland, Davis wanted it to be known that "she knows but one country and but one Union. Her glory is in it. Her rights are bound up in it. Her children shed their blood for it, and they will do it again."¹² With this address Henry Winter Davis took his stand, a stand from which he was never to waver; with this address he served notice to his Southern colleagues that he was not to be identified with their interests or objectives. It was with this speech that the young Baltimore lawyer first emerged as a forceful and eloquent spokesman for the Union. Before his first term in Congress had ended, a Washington reporter for the *Charleston Courier*, though reprimanding Davis for his "want of fidelity to the institutions he represents," informed his paper that the *Marylander's* "maiden speech was pronounced to be a masterpiece, even his opponents admitting that his oratory was copious and brilliant. . . . We consider him proficient in the formal parts of the higher order of oratory."¹³ The *New York Times* concluded that "few members of

¹² *Congressional Globe*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1245.

¹³ Quoted from the *New York Times*, January 21, 1857.

Congress have achieved a more marked success, or made a more brilliant *debut* in public life, than Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland.”¹⁴

During his second term in Congress Davis infuriated the South by his opposition to the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution and by his extremely caustic denunciations of the Buchanan administration. The *Atlanta Intelligencer* reflected the prevailing sentiment of that section when it considered that “no one is doing the South more injury by his course in Congress than is Henry Winter Davis.” But this paper did concede that the Marylander was “undoubtedly a man of great ability. As leader of the American party . . . in Congress, he is without a peer, standing head and shoulders taller than any of his party there, and exercising an influence that not any five of them can claim to exert.”¹⁵ A less charitable view was expressed by the *Semi-Weekly Mississippian*, which labeled Davis a “political traitor,” and asserted that he “was not a fit Representative for a Southern constituency.”¹⁶

But it was during the tumultuous proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Congress, which convened on December 5, 1859, that Winter Davis was to become, what the *New York Times* had observed over a year before, “one of the best abused men of the day.”¹⁷ This Congress was a crucial one; it was the last session in which the North and South were to meet in the legislative arena until after the momentous years of 1861-65. The Republicans had a slender majority, but were unable to organize the House and elect the Speaker without the support of the American party. With the aid of the Americans, the Democrats had a good chance to elect the Speaker. In an atmosphere of mutual recrimination and violence the balloting went on for seven weeks, until Davis broke the deadlock by casting his vote for the Republican candidate, William Pennington of New Jersey. For that act of alleged apostasy he was censured, by a vote of 62 to 1, by the House of Delegates of the Maryland Legislature.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 21, 1857.

¹⁵ Quoted from the Jackson *Semi-Weekly Mississippian*, March 5, 1858.

¹⁶ September 16, 1859.

¹⁷ January 30, 1858.

¹⁸ *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1860, p. 354; *New York Times*, February 10, 1860.

The fury of the South knew no bounds, and practically the entire Southern press let loose a torrent of editorial virulence on the Baltimorean, accusing him of deserting the South at a critical time by voting for a "Black Republican" for Speaker. The *Washington Constitution* indicted Davis as "an unworthy son who deserves to be driven from the home he has betrayed . . . the most deadly enemy of the Union, and particularly of the Southern States."¹⁹ The *Daily Picayune* of New Orleans condemned "the treachery of Davis," and prayed that "he be rewarded according to his work."²⁰ George Dennison Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Daily Journal*, declared that in the great emergency Davis, "an American member of Congress from the city of Baltimore, representing a slaveholding district, betrayed, basely betrayed, a constituency . . . betrayed them into the hands of their enemies—and betrayed them without apology or sign of remorse."²¹ Throughout the South the name of Winter Davis was anathema; he was pilloried in paper after paper, and in some places hanged in effigy.

Davis made two speeches in the Thirty-sixth Congress which won him wide acclaim and entitled him to be ranked among the foremost orators for the Union. On February 9, 1860, the Maryland House of Delegates passed its resolution of censure. The young congressman answered this act of his state legislature on February 21, by castigating with withering sarcasm the Democratic legislators for their action. He accused them and their party of treasonous activity in the state, repudiated the charge that the Republican party was involved with John Brown, and concluded with a defiant and compelling defense of his vote for Pennington.²² In the course of the address, Davis made his position as a representative unmistakably clear: "I, sir, have no apologies to make. . . . I told my constituents that I would come here a free man, or not at all; and they sent me here on that condition. I told them that if they wanted a slave to represent them, they could get plenty; but I was not one." The speech, and its presentation, was an impressive performance; even in reading it today one catches more than a

¹⁹ February 3, 1860.

²⁰ February 7, 1860.

²¹ Quoted from the *Natchez Daily Free Trader*, March 10, 1860.

²² *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 117-121.

little of the force and spirit and indignation which motivated the eloquence of the speaker. James G. Blaine thought the address a brilliant defense, and wrote that for "eloquence of expression, force and conclusiveness of reasoning, it is entitled to rank in the political classics of America as Burke's address to the electors of Bristol does among those of England."²³ Years later, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in a reference to Davis and the occasion, stated: "I heard him deliver from the floor of the House one of the most effective, if not the most effective speech I ever listened to."²⁴

The other notable speech delivered by Davis in this Congress came on February 7, 1861.²⁵ This was the most important speech in his career to that time. Considering the strong secession sentiment in Maryland, and especially in Baltimore, the address was an act of personal and political courage. After asservating the strongest devotion to the Union, and appealing for a united front against all those who would destroy the nation, the Marylander proclaimed that Maryland would not secede. He said he spoke for "the people of Maryland, who are loyal to the United States," and continued by declaring: "In Maryland we are dull and cannot comprehend the right of secession. We do not recognize the right of Maryland to repeal the Constitution of the United States. . . . We in Maryland will submit to no attempt of a minority, or a majority, to drag us from under the flag of the Union." The speech was received with great enthusiasm by all those loyal to the Washington government. Coming at an extremely critical time, with confusion and indecision prevailing among Northern leaders, and from one of the most influential political figures of the border states, the fearless and decisive utterances of Davis contributed measurably to strengthening the morale of Union supporters. Of the Marylander's activity in the trying days of the Thirty-sixth Congress, Henry Adams wrote: "Mr. Winter Davis in the House struck out fiercely at disunion like Andrew Johnson in the Senate, and with the same success."²⁶ The speeches of Davis through this

²³ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 499.

²⁴ Charles Francis Adams—*An Autobiography* (Boston, 1916), p. 46.

²⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 2d Session, Appendix, pp. 181-185.

²⁶ *The Great Secession Winter of 1860-61 and Other Essays*, ed. by George Hockfield (New York, 1958), p. 14.

period merit inclusion among the best oratory of the Civil War era. But his vote for Pennington and the vigorous activity of the secession element in his district helped to defeat him in his bid for re-election to the Thirty-seventh Congress.

In 1863 Davis was returned as an Unconditional Unionist to the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was made chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and in that capacity launched his attacks on the foreign policy of Seward, asserting that Congress had the right "to proclaim and prescribe the foreign policy of the United States."²⁷ When an appropriation bill for the Navy was reported to the House, the Marylander criticized the administration of that branch of the armed service, and advocated the creation of a Board of Admiralty to manage the affairs of the department.²⁸ The proposal, if it had been adopted, would have taken from the Secretary much of his administrative authority. Gideon Welles never forgave the congressman for that action. Davis's strenuous opposition to Lincoln's plan for reconstruction was voiced in the sessions of that Congress.²⁹ To many of his contemporaries he became, as Nicolay and Hay put it, "one of the most severe and least generous critics of the Administration in Congress."³⁰ The *Baltimore American* snappishly reminded its readers that "Mr. Davis has devoted his whole time in Congress to embarrassing the Administration. . . ." ³¹ Before the famous Thirty-eighth Congress expired, he had become one of the leaders in the House for the Radical faction of the Republican party. According to the historian William E. Dodd, during that period Davis "was more the master of that body than Thaddeus Stevens himself."³²

But the efforts of Winter Davis in the Thirty-eighth Congress extended far beyond the role of gadfly to the Lincoln administration. He distinguished himself by bringing his superior talents to the support of some of the most vital questions of the hour. In a dynamic speech he defended the right of the

²⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 48-53.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 34-40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1st Session, Appendix, pp. 82-85; 38th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 969-970.

³⁰ *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1917), IX, 114.

³¹ June 8, 1864.

³² "Henry Winter Davis," *DAB* (New York, 1930), V, 120.

Negro to remain in this country when it was proposed to expatriate the freed slaves. He deemed any plan of colonization as unthinkable. Since "the folly of our ancestors and the wisdom of the Almighty . . . having allowed them to come here and planted them here, they have a right to remain here, and they will remain here to the latest recorded syllable of time."³³ When the question came before the House to expel Alexander Long of Ohio, for statements uttered on the floor which were construed as treasonous, Davis gave one of his most stirring presentations. Long, with other Peace Democrats, had advocated recognition of the Confederacy and bringing the war to a close. The Marylander delivered a smashing attack on this proposition, and was unsparing in his invective on those who were disposed to negotiate a settlement with the Richmond government.³⁴ The speech was a powerful appeal for the utmost in sacrifice to bring the war to a triumphant conclusion.

In the opinion of many of his colleagues, Davis attained his highest level of statesmanship, as well as achieving his greatest oratorical success, in the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress. He came out on behalf of an amendment that no person should be tried by a court-martial, or a military commission in any state or territory where the Federal courts were open, except persons actually in the military service or those persons charged with being spies. He vehemently and eloquently defended the right of every citizen to his personal liberty, and with extreme bitterness denounced Secretary of War Stanton for the arbitrary arrests of civilians and the use of military courts to try civilians. He gave two outstanding speeches on this issue, the second, on March 2, 1865, was his last major address in the House.³⁵ Whitelaw Reid judged these presentations to be "of magnificent power and unsurpassed bitterness."³⁶ One critic, not favorably disposed towards Davis because of the latter's hostility to Lincoln, wrote that the Marylander's "zeal for civil liberty will contribute his best claim to the gratitude of posterity," and added that the orator "possessed literary gifts scarcely surpassed by any statesman then in public

³³ *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, pp. 44-46.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1549-1552.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2d Session, pp. 318-320; pp. 1324-1328.

³⁶ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

life.”⁸⁷ An Ohio Democrat, Samuel S. Cox, who had opposed Davis on more than one question, stated that in these speeches Davis “reproduced the elegance of Pinckney, with the cogency of Wirt.” At a time when personal liberty “became almost as indispensable to our country and its institutions as the Federal Union itself,” wrote the Ohioan, “it was Henry Winter Davis who rose to the front rank of debate, and by his silvery style and cogent logic held Congress almost enthralled until something was accorded to the dignity of personal and public liberty which had been invaded by the excesses of the war.”⁸⁸

The speaking of Davis for the Union cause was not limited to the floor of the House of Representatives. Throughout the war period he spoke frequently at large Union mass meetings all over the North. Many of these addresses were reported in their entirety, and on the front page, in the major newspapers of the North. He spoke in Philadelphia, Newark, Brooklyn, New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Baltimore, and in many smaller cities. He was in constant demand as a speaker for these Union rallies and was always received with the greatest enthusiasm. Davis's reputation as a platform orator equalled, if not surpassed, his legislative one. These occasions provided a much wider area for his oratorical talents. He was able to indulge much more freely in emotionally charged language, sarcasm, and invective; he was restricted neither by the limitations of time nor the necessity of observing parliamentary decorum. In all speeches of this type Davis urged an unswerving allegiance to the Union, and bitterly lashed out at persons and factions impeding a vigorous prosecution of the war effort. He was not above criticizing the administration for failing to achieve speedier results, and for failing to institute more decisive measures. As an example, in a speech at Philadelphia he argued for the arming of Negro troops, a step opposed by many conservative Republicans and the Democrats. “No better illustration of platform eloquence,” wrote a local historian, “can be desired than the masterly speech by the Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on September 24, 1863.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Charles H. McCarthy, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction* (New York, 1901), p. 283.

⁸⁸ *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* (Providence, R. I., 1885), pp. 234, 238.

⁸⁹ *Chronicle of the Union League of Philadelphia, 1862-1902* (Philadelphia), p. 149.

Despite his antagonism to Lincoln, which eventually culminated in his expending considerable effort to prevent the President's renomination, Davis never wavered in his loyalty to the Union. From the very beginning he was an arch-enemy of secession and remained to the end an eloquent advocate for a relentless prosecution of the war. Although born in a slave state, and at one time a slaveholder, he disliked intensely the institution of slavery, and played a leading role in the emancipation movement in his state. In his eulogy on Davis in the House of Representatives, February 22, 1866, John Creswell, then United States Senator from Maryland, declared that the Baltimorean's "crowning glory was his leadership of the emancipation movement."⁴⁰ Noah Brooks, certainly no champion of Davis, was moved to write: "Henry Winter Davis . . . was a constant and ardent supporter of all measures that had for their purpose the abolition of slavery. . . . As a stump speaker [he] was brilliant, effective, and widely popular; and his services in the emancipation movement in Maryland were above all value."⁴¹

Maryland, as a border state, was of the utmost importance to the Union. A great deal of the credit for keeping Maryland from joining the Confederacy has been attributed to the work of Davis. "To him before and above all other men is due the maintenance of loyalty in Maryland," wrote James G. Blaine.⁴² Creswell in his eulogy proclaimed: "Let free Maryland never forget the debt of eternal gratitude she owes to Henry Winter Davis."⁴³ Ainsworth Spofford, for over thirty years in charge of the Library of Congress, expressed the sentiment of a great body of his contemporaries when he stated that Maryland was kept in the Union "by the influence of a few patriotic leaders, of whom Henry Winter Davis was the foremost."⁴⁴ At the time of his death, the *New York Times* noted that the Marylander, "though a man of strong Southern feeling, remained faithful to the government, and exerted his great influence and personal popularity to keep his State from joining the Secession govern-

⁴⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 162.

⁴¹ Noah Brooks, *Statesmen* (New York, 1893), p. 183.

⁴² Blaine, I, 498.

⁴³ *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 163.

⁴⁴ "Washington Reminiscences," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI (June, 1898), 753.

ment. For this course he was exposed to much abuse and misrepresentation from old associates and friends;" ⁴⁵

But what especially has been forgotten today, is that in a period which called forth some of the best political oratory in our history, Henry Winter Davis was judged to be not just a *good* speaker, but a speaker of electrifying effectiveness, an orator of rare distinction. "They are burying there [Baltimore]," lamented Whitelaw Reid at the time of Davis's funeral, "the most brilliant orator and lucid thinker who has strengthened our national councils through the war for the Union." ⁴⁶ This was, to be sure, a highly partisan judgment; it was, nonetheless, one held by many qualified and discerning critics of the day. It is an interesting fact that there have been few men in our history who have received greater encomiums for their eloquence than the oratory of Davis elicited from his contemporaries. There were sharp and intense differences of opinion regarding many of his political activities and the motives underlying some of his public behavior. A close investigation of his career reveals that he was far from being always right in his judgments or in the course of action which he on occasion pursued. On the subject of his effectiveness as a speaker, however, there was an astonishingly high degree of unanimity. His power with the spoken word was seldom described without the use of superlatives or in an excessively laudatory manner. From the very inception of his professional and public life the young Baltimorean's oratory was the object of unqualified admiration.

Long after Davis's death there were expressions of lavish praise from men who had had the opportunity of listening to him in the House and on the hustings. Chauncey Depew, in a speech at Albany, New York, January 10, 1897, in reminiscing about some of the outstanding personalities and events it had been his good fortune to witness in his younger days, declared, among other things, that he had "listened to one of the most electric and magnetic debaters who ever stood in a representative body, Winter Davis, of Maryland." ⁴⁷ "Among

⁴⁵ December 31, 1865.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁴⁷ *Orations, Addresses and Speeches of Chauncey M. Depew*, ed. by John Denison Champlin (New York, 1910), II, 213.

the living orators of the country," wrote Charles Sumner in a lofty tribute, "he had few peers."⁴⁸ To Carl Schurz, Davis was "an orator of rare brilliancy,"⁴⁹ while to Henry Wilson, whose public service included terms in the House and Senate, and as Grant's Vice President, he was "an orator with few to contend his palm of superiority." Wilson added that, "few men ever addressed either house with more commanding and thrilling eloquence."⁵⁰

From his colleagues in the House of Representatives there comes a substantial body of testimony of the exalted place accorded to the Marylander as an orator. Many of these men, distinguished speakers themselves, asserted that Davis had no rival as an orator. Samuel S. Cox, a veteran of over a quarter of a century service in the House, recorded this judgment: "In the writer's opinion he was the best orator, in every sense of the word, whom he ever heard in Congress."⁵¹ Although John Sherman of Ohio, another veteran of Congress and public life, thought Davis "a poor parliamentarian, a careless member in committee, and utterly unfit to conduct an appropriation or tariff bill in the House," he did think he "was the most accomplished orator in the House while he was a member."⁵² Maine's Justin Morrill labeled Davis "the most eloquent speaker in the House of Representatives,"⁵³ and Indiana's George W. Julian declared he was "the most formidable debater in the House."⁵⁴ One of the Marylander's orations was judged by Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, with whom Davis had more than one verbal clash on the reconstruction issue, of such "grandeur and force" that "it will suffer in comparison with none of the great orations, ancient or modern, which have become classic standards."⁵⁵ "In all that pertained to the graces of oratory," exclaimed Blaine, "he was un-

⁴⁸ Steiner, p. 381.

⁴⁹ *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, ed. by Frederic Bancroft and William A. Dunning (New York, 1908), III, 102.

⁵⁰ *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, 1874-1877), III, 38-39.

⁵¹ Cox, p. 237.

⁵² *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (Chicago, 1895), I, 194.

⁵³ "Notable Letters from My Political Friends," *Forum*, XXIV (September, 1897), 137.

⁵⁴ *Political Recollections, 1840-1872* (Chicago, 1884), p. 360.

⁵⁵ "Has Oratory Declined?" *Forum*, XVIII (October, 1894), 147.

rivalled.”⁵⁶ James A. Garfield once said of Davis that his eloquence was “clear and cold, like starlight.”⁵⁷

Some of the leading journalists of the Civil War era, who had witnessed the young orator from the press gallery in the House and elsewhere, were equally impressed with his oratorical power and his skill in commanding the attention of his auditors. Whitelaw Reid, who covered Washington for the *Cincinnati Gazette* during most of the war years, in describing the extreme difficulty that a speaker encountered in attempting to hold the attention of the House, an assembly which exhibited in those days on occasion the rowdiest kind of behavior, wrote this tribute to Davis’s ability to secure the attention of his legislative colleagues:

At times he was a frequent speaker; and the House always reprobates much speaking by refusing to listen to it, yet of all the House he was absolutely the only member who could at any moment, or under any circumstances, command its undivided attention. I have seen even Thad. Stevens speaking in the midst of as much confusion as ever prevailed in a large primary school during a temporary absence of the teacher; but I never saw Winter Davis address the Chair two minutes till there was a sudden hush among all the members, and every eye was turned from documents or letters to the member from Maryland.⁵⁸

Henry Adams noticed Davis’s compelling manner in getting and sustaining the attention of the House: “It is very seldom in that noisy, tumultuous body that any member can command silent attention; but when Mr. Davis rose, members dropped their newspapers, put down their pens, stopped their conversation and crowded around him. He regularly conquered their admiration. . . .”⁵⁹ Noah Brooks did not think the Marylander a “ready debater,” but he considered him “an eloquent and able man . . . a brilliant speaker,” and possessing “a compact and direct way of putting things which always commanded close attention.”⁶⁰ The recollections of Spofford corroborated these observations. He, too, noted “the characteristics of Henry

⁵⁶ Blaine, I, 499.

⁵⁷ Brooks, p. 28.

⁵⁸ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁵⁹ Adams, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Brooks, p. 28.

Winter Davis as an orator were so marked as always to hold the attention of his hearers. I heard him often in the House of Representatives, when the hush of absorbed listeners was such that even his slightest tones penetrated to the remotest corners of the galleries."⁶¹ The publisher of the *Washington Daily Chronicle* at that period, John W. Forney, who had also served as Clerk in the House, contended that Davis was "the most incisive and brilliant orator of his time."⁶² Horace Greeley wrote that the House of Representatives had listened to Davis as it listens to few men.⁶³

Winter Davis was slightly above medium height, and was noted for the neatness of his dress. Henry Adams thought that Davis's "very appearance told to a certain degree in his favor," and referred to the "scrupulous nicety of his dress." To Adams, Davis "was among the very few men in the House who appears like a quiet, educated, well-bred gentleman."⁶⁴ The young Charles Francis Adams also commented on the Baltimorean's quiet manner and the fact that he "was extremely careful in his dress."⁶⁵ Sumner felt that "nature had done much for this remarkable man. Elegant in person, elastic in step and winning in manner, he arrested the attention of all who saw him, and when he spoke, the first impressions were confirmed."⁶⁶ At the time of his vote for Pennington for Speaker in the Thirty-sixth Congress, a Washington correspondent for the *New York Times* who signed his dispatches "Nobody," gave this remarkably accurate pen portrait of the Marylander:

This slave-holding Plug Ugly Republican, Winter Davis, is one of the most striking and graceful men on the floor—certainly not surpassed by any member. He is a young man of middle height, broad-chested, roundly built, with a large and well-balanced head, regular features, pale complexion, a neat brown mustache, large and sparkling eyes, brown hair, and the expression of habitual study. He wears a frock coat buttoned in the English fashion, broad shirt collar turned down over a loose black neck-tie, and, on the whole, he somewhat recalls the familiar portraits of Lord Byron. As a speaker he bears the very first reputation in the House. . . .⁶⁷

⁶¹ Spofford, p. 753.

⁶² *Anecdotes of Public Men* (New York, 1873), I, 374.

⁶³ Steiner, p. 380.

⁶⁴ Adams, p. 18.

⁶⁵ *Charles Francis Adams*, p. 46.

⁶⁶ Steiner, p. 380.

⁶⁷ February 3, 1860.

One of the characteristics of the young orator which caught the attention of so many of his contemporaries, was the boyishness of his figure. Cox, who recalled "a certain boyishness in manner and figure," stated, however, that "this wore off the moment he began to speak."⁶⁸ Most observers confirm the fact that Davis was reserved in manner, even haughty, aristocratic in bearing, and always well dressed and in fashion. He was not, in the words of Whitelaw Reid, "'popular' in the coarse sense of that word."⁶⁹

There is some evidence that Davis's vocal quality contributed more than a little to his effectiveness as a speaker. Brooks stated that "he had a high, clear, ringing voice, and a manner of speaking which was peculiar in its sharpness and firmness."⁷⁰ Spofford, waxing somewhat more poetically, described his voice as being "a finely modulated voice . . . singularly sweet, almost musical in its more effective tones, and in loftier passages rousing the hearer like the sound of a trumpet."⁷¹ A writer for the *Charleston Courier* gave this typical nineteenth-century critique of Davis's voice: "He possesses, in a high degree, a facility of fluent and sonorous speech, and an imposing and well-rounded elocution. He has a peculiar mellowness and deep sweetness of voice, the lower tones of which might be compared to the most delicate notes of an organ."⁷² Forney referred to Davis's "sharp tenor voice,"⁷³ a description probably closer to its actual character. There is considerable testimony from his contemporaries that the Marylander had an energetic and forceful delivery style. "The rapidity of his utterance, and the impetuosity of his speech," wrote one admiring colleague, "bore down everything before it."⁷⁴ Charles Sumner was quoted as saying that Davis "was rapid and direct. He went straight to the point."⁷⁵

The Baltimore Unionist, however, brought much more than neat and fashionable dress, aristocratic bearing, and a clear and well-modulated voice to the public life of his day. He brought a thoroughly good mind and superb intellectual equipment. More than one of his colleagues recognized his superior

⁶⁸ Cox, p. 237.

⁶⁹ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁷⁰ Brooks, p. 28.

⁷¹ Spofford, pp. 753-754.

⁷² From *New York Times*, January 21, 1857.

⁷³ Forney, I, 57.

⁷⁴ Julian, p. 360.

⁷⁵ Steiner, 380.

intelligence. Davis was a scholar, "that rare specimen of the scholar in politics," as one contemporary noted. He was extremely well read in the classics, English literature, history, philosophy, and the law. He had an excellent reading knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, and German. The majority of the examples used by Davis in his speeches were taken from American political and judicial history, although his intellectual tastes were eclectic and illustrations abound in his addresses from the literature and history of other nations and times.

Most of Davis's speeches possessed an incisive quality; they were direct, compact, and reasonably free from the diffuseness which characterized the congressional speech of his day. Devoid of rhetorical extravagances, his speeches seldom lost their cogency. This attribute of clarity was one of the primary virtues of his presentations in the estimation of his contemporaries. As one reads his speeches today, it is not difficult to see how his listeners judged them to possess that quality: they read easily, smoothly. Whitelaw Reid stated that "the great characteristics of Mr. Davis's oratory were its lucidity, its condensed logic, its elegant, epigrammatic style, and its apparently perfect spontaneity."⁷⁶ A modern student has written that "his rhetorical style reads grandly, even today."⁷⁷

Davis did not employ humor of a warm and genial nature in his speeches; he was usually in deadly earnest, and there was an urgency and intensity in his purpose and manner that left little room for the light touch. He could be witty, but it was wit with a sting. Like most of the political speakers of his day, the Marylander was at times caustic, and his sarcasm had a sharp and cutting edge. He was unsparing in its use against his opponents. Davis had great power over audiences; he was a master in the use of language and had a keen understanding of audience psychology. Although he could arouse intense bitterness in his political harangues, he apparently had great power to lift his auditors by lofty appeals, a fact that has been recorded by numerous persons who were enthralled by his soaring eloquence.

Henry Winter Davis died on December 30, 1865, at the age

⁷⁶ *New York Times*, January 14, 1866.

⁷⁷ Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960), p. 65.

of forty-eight. One can only speculate what his attainments might have been if he had been granted a longer life. He was a singularly alert and a singularly violent politician. His short excursion into the public life of his era was unusually active and violent, even for a day characterized by violence. Davis was thoroughly independent in politics. As his cousin, David Davis, once said, "he bent the knee neither to power nor constituents."⁷⁸ To his friends, he was one of the most dynamic and gifted of personalities, a man who brought talents of consummate quality to bear on the problems of his generation. To his enemies, he was an opportunist, a person of a restless, intriguing nature, whose primary capacity was to disrupt and divide, and who contributed little of merit to the solution of the evils then tearing America apart. His antagonism to Lincoln lost him friends and support, and, as would be expected, has jeopardized his status in history.

At the time of his death, the *New York Times* considered that Maryland had been deprived "of her most distinguished citizen."⁷⁹ The *Nation*, while admitting that his "successes in Congress were brilliant," and conceding that he was "well fitted to lead," concluded that Davis was "not always safe to follow."⁸⁰ But in the space of the very few years in which he blazed forth, his capacities were judged to be extraordinary, and his oratory second to none. Although possessing a fine mind and no little courage, it was by the power of the spoken word that Winter Davis was able to leave a deep imprint on the minds and hearts of his generation. To a surprisingly large number of his contemporaries he was the greatest orator of his day, a Southern orator of rare quality who spoke for that section of the South that remained loyal to the Union. Blaine, in his appraisal of the young Marylander, wrote: "Had he been blessed with length of days, the friends who best knew his ability and his ambition believed he would have left the most brilliant name in the Parliamentary annals of America."⁸¹

⁷⁸ King, p. 308.

⁷⁹ December 31, 1865.

⁸⁰ January 11, 1866, p. 33.

⁸¹ Blaine, I, 499.

THE RECRUITMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS IN MARYLAND

By JOHN W. BLASSINGAME

THE long sectional conflict between the North and the South reached its climax when the American Civil War began on April 12, 1861. Without becoming enmeshed in the highly controversial issue of what precipitated the war, one might safely conclude that the immediate cause was the firing on Fort Sumter. Certainly a myriad of events, emotions, differences in "cultures," variances in economic systems, and Negro Slavery (whether a moral wrong or a positive good) all contributed to the chain of crises that culminated in the firing on Fort Sumter. With the first shot, volunteers rushed with unbridled enthusiasm to enlist and to defeat the Confederates in "ninety days."

Later in the war, the Union resorted to large bounties, a conscription law, and repeated calls in order to raise an army. As a result of the decrease in the enlistment of white volunteers, soon after the outbreak of hostilities, the Lincoln administration realized the importance of Negro manpower. Lincoln made public this realization when he asserted in the Emancipation Proclamation that the freeing of the slaves and their participation in the war effort was a "necessary war measure." Although the enlistment of Negroes had begun in 1862, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton accelerated recruitment in March, 1863, when he ordered Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas to recruit Negroes in the Southwest. The War Department centralized control of colored troop recruitment when it set up the Bureau of Colored Troops in May, 1863.¹

¹ Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, *Stanton, The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York, 1962), p. 263; Stanton to Thomas, March 25, 1863, Negroes in the Military Service of the United States, Vol. III, part 1, 1138-41. Adjutant General's Office (AGO), Record Group (RG) 94, National Archives (NA) (hereinafter cited as NIMS); General Orders, No. 143, May 22, 1863, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series 3, III, 215 (hereinafter cited as the OR).

However we touch upon the recruitment of Negroes during the Civil War, we come back for proper perspective to the activities of the "Border States." In fact, by virtue of their geographical location, manpower and economic resources, they were in a position to provide aid of inestimable value to either side. Maryland, bordering on the Union capital and serving as a passageway between the warring sections, stood out as one of the most important of the "border states."

As early as July, 1863, the Bureau of Colored Troops had been directed by Stanton to order Colonel William Birney, son of abolitionist politician James G. Birney, into Maryland to recruit free Negroes. The small, non-slaveholding farmers, who were dependent on free Negro labor, raised a vigorous protest against Birney's recruitment of free colored persons. The farmers believed that if the free Negroes were taken out of the state they would have been forced to hire slave labor at ruinous rates. The farmers were furious at the thought of being dependent on the slave owners and their anger increased in proportion to the number of free Negroes recruited in Maryland. Because of the growing resentment against the small slaveholding element (13,783), such influential Marylanders as Baltimore's Circuit Judge, Hugh L. Bond, Congressman Henry W. Davis, and former State Senator Henry H. Goldsborough, commandant of the drafted militia, began to suggest that Stanton enlist slaves, with or without compensation to the owners.² Their sentiments must have appealed to Stanton for according to the census of 1860 there were 83,942 free Negroes and 87,000 slaves in Maryland.³

Despite the outcries of the small farmers, the slaveholders stubbornly resisted any attempt to enlist slaves. In fact, their resistance grew when, even without War Department orders, some recruiters took the slaves of loyal owners. In retaliation, the slaveholders in Frederick (after consulting with officials in Annapolis) arrested one of Birney's recruiting agents, John P.

² Charles B. Clark, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, 1952), p. 100; Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* (3 vols., New York, 1950), I, 514; Bond to Stanton, August 15, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1484-90; *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), pp. 476-477.

³ U. S. Bureau of Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington, 1918), p. 57.

Creagher, Marylander, in August, 1863, for illegally enticing slaves away from their masters. Because he was a citizen of Maryland—and punishable according to its laws—the War Department refused to defend Creagher. Senator Reverdy Johnson, Unionist, represented the interests of Maryland slave owners when in Congressional debate he complained of the injustice of the recruitment of slaves without providing compensation for their masters. Former Governor Thomas H. Hicks, a staunch Unionist who had possibly saved the state from secession by refusing to call a special session of the legislature in 1861, expressed the anxiety Marylanders felt at having Negroes recruited, especially during harvesting and planting time.⁴ He wrote to Lincoln on September 4, 1863, expressing his views about Negro troops:

I do and have believed that we ought to use the Col'd people, after the rebels commenced to use them against us. What I desire now is that if you can consistently do so you will stop the array of uniformed and armed Negroes here.⁵

As the congressional elections neared in September of 1863 Hicks expressed even more concern that agitation of the "Negro question" would embarrass the administration.

In the election, the citizens of Maryland, under the benevolent "guidance" of the Union Army, overwhelmingly chose candidates of the Unconditional Union Party (radical) over Democrats and Governor Bradford's Union Party (conservative).⁶ Governor Augustus Williamson Bradford, slaveholder, Unionist, Maryland delegate to the Peace Conference in Washington in February, 1861, opposed the radical programs (enlistment of Negroes and immediate emancipation) of the Unconditional Unionists.⁷ Yet, he wanted to end slavery for he believed it was the cause of the war and as a result of it was dead as an institution. Undaunted by the victories of the

⁴ "Thomas H. Hicks" *DAB* (21 vols.; New York, 1932, 1933), V, 8-9; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1882), I, 211-226; *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 38th Congress, pt. I, 225-227, 633-634; Birney to the Adjutant General, August 20, 1863; C. W. Foster, Chief of the Bureau of Colored Troops, to Birney, September 9, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1508-10, 1565.

⁵ NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1555-1557.

⁶ Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, pp. 99-114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-72; Heinrich E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland . . .* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 178-183.

Unconditional Unionists, Governor Bradford held conversations with Lincoln and Stanton immediately after the elections about discontinuing the recruitment of slaves. They assured him that it had not been decided to recruit slaves and no one had been authorized to do so. Fearing that Democrats would take over control of the state government, Bradford endeavored to halt the "illegal" recruitment of slaves as well as Negro troops from being quartered in Maryland. However, recruiters, without authority, continued to recruit slaves.⁸ As a result of the Governor's entreaties and the unrest caused by quartering Negro troops in the state, on October 1, 1863, Lincoln ordered the suspension of the recruitment of colored troops in Maryland.

The suspension of recruitment impaled Lincoln on the horns of a dilemma: he did not wish to antagonize Marylanders by recruiting Negroes, yet he was in dire need of Negroes to serve in the army. In an effort to solve his perplexing problem, Lincoln ordered Stanton to meet with Governor Bradford toward the end of September. At that meeting, Bradford agreed: that free Negroes should be enlisted; that slaves would be enlisted with the consent of their owners; or without their owners' consent "if it were necessary for the purposes of the Government" provided the owners received just compensation. Stanton on October 1, 1863 (ironically on the same day that Lincoln suspended recruitment), expressed the belief that it was necessary to draft Negroes in Maryland, for it was the center of the war in the East. Surveying the situation, Stanton reported to Lincoln, "There is therefore, in my judgement, a military necessity, in the State of Maryland . . ., for enlisting into the forces all persons capable of bearing arms on the union side without regard to color, and whether they be free or not."⁹

Lincoln quickly approved the recommendations of Stanton, but with two provisos which illustrated the care with which he wanted recruitment conducted in Maryland. Lincoln asserted succinctly: "To recruiting of slaves of loyal owners *without* consent, objection, *unless the necessity is urgent*. To conducting offensively, while recruiting, and to carrying away slaves not suitable for recruits, objection."¹⁰ On October 3, 1863, the

⁸ Bradford to Austin W. Blair, September 11, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1568.

⁹ Stanton to Lincoln, October 1, 1863, *ibid.*, 1642-44.

¹⁰ Lincoln to Stanton, *ibid.*, 1644.

War Department in General Orders No. 329 set up regulations for recruiting free Negroes and slaves in Missouri, Tennessee, and Maryland. Under this order the Chief of the Bureau of Colored Troops received authority to establish recruiting offices in Maryland where free Negroes and slaves, with their masters' consent, could be enlisted. If county quotas were not filled in thirty days, slaves would be enlisted without their masters' consent. All loyal masters whose slaves were taken or who consented to their enlistment could receive as much as \$300.00 compensation upon filing a deed of manumission. When slaves enlisted the owner would receive a descriptive list of each of his slaves and certificates of enlistment. Rolls and recruiting lists were to be made public and anyone showing proof of ownership and loyalty within ten days after the posting of the announcement could present his claim to a commission to be established for that purpose.¹¹

On its surface General Orders 329 indicated firm resolve, in the face of adverse public opinion, on the part of Union officials. However, the Lincoln administration had not resolutely determined its course, for this order was "confidential, and not promulgated with the general series of order."¹² As late as October 19, 1863, the War Department continued to refrain from issuing a public announcement that slaves were to be enlisted. The order was not promulgated, in all probability, because of the earnest appeal of Governor Bradford that it be delayed in order to allow time for discussion and the dissipation of prejudice on the subject of Negro enlistment in Maryland.¹³ Stanton deferred enforcing the order until the end of October and then he moved forward vigorously and efficaciously to set up the recruiting system in Maryland. On October 26, 1863, he appointed Hugh L. Bond, Thomas Timmons and L. E. Straughn as members of the Maryland Board to award compensation to loyal owners. The Board granted a claim of \$100 for slaves owing to their masters at the time of enlistment more than three years and less than five years service, \$200 for services of more than five years and less

¹¹ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, January 5, 1864.

¹² Editor's Note, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1656.

¹³ Bradford to Stanton, October 3, 1863; Foster to Birney, October 19, 1863, *ibid.*, III, pt. 1, 1652-53, 1683.

than ten, and \$300 for slaves owing more than ten years service or life.¹⁴ Circular No. 1, October 26, 1863, from the Bureau of Colored Troops established nineteen recruiting stations for colored troops in Maryland, thus systematizing colored troop recruitment.¹⁵

When the War Department established a definite system, recruiting agents, under the direction of William Birney until February 12, 1864, and subsequently under Colonel S. M. Bowman, 84th Pennsylvania Volunteers, entered energetically upon their work. Armed Negro troops went out to obtain recruits and to protect those who wished to join. Recruiting officers held public meetings to change public opinion and to attract colored recruits. In addition, the recruiters had a Negro band which they used in parades and performances in efforts to entice Negroes into the army.¹⁶ Some persons, primarily slaveholders, alleged that the recruiting officers forced Negroes to enlist, often threatening to shoot them if they did not. The officers answered these allegations by stating that they always obtained the will of the Negro before he enlisted, and further, that they had frequently refused the request of masters "to take by force their slaves, whom they could not make work, and wished to put into service."¹⁷ If an owner claimed a Negro had been impressed, Birney would ask the recruit, in the presence of the owner, if he wished to return; the slave always refused to return to the plantation. On the other hand, the other commissioner for the recruitment of colored troops, S. M. Bowman, admitted that he had impressed Negroes. Late in April, 1864, Bowman reported, "No recruits can be had unless I send detachments to particular localities and compel them to volunteer as I have done in many instances heretofore."¹⁸

Whether recruiting agents impressed Negroes, or convinced

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, pt. 1, 1699, Captain Le Grand Benedict, A. A. G., to Foster, October 10, 1864, Letterbook of U. S. Colored Troops, I, 31-32, AGO, RG94, NA.

¹⁵ Some of the stations were: Baltimore, Chestertown, Oxford, Havre de Grace, Benedict, Lower Marlboro, Hagerstown, Queenstown, Monocacy, Leonardtown, and Annapolis, *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1863* (42 vols., New York, 1863-1903), III, 615.

¹⁶ General Orders, No. 70, February 12, 1864; Foster to Birney, February 26, 1864, NIMS, IV, 2379, 2397.

¹⁷ Birney to the Adjutant General, February 4, 1864; Bradford to Lincoln, May 12, 1864 (enclosures), *ibid.*, IV, 2358, 2534-38; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1864*, IV, 496.

¹⁸ Bowman to Foster, April 29, 1864, NIMS, IV, 2521.

them to enlist by the use of patriotic appeals, they were thorough in their work. On March 15, 1864, Colonel S. M. Bowman received authorization to send his officers to "jails, slave-pens or other places of confinement . . . to enlist all colored men found in such places." No man could enlist unless he passed a surgeon's examination and provided "none so enlisted are held under criminal process."¹⁹ By this move, the recruiters sought to circumvent the efforts of slaveholders to keep their slaves from enlisting by incarcerating them. The officers rejected a large number of slaves for physical reasons, and when, or if, they returned home their masters abused them. To alleviate this lugubrious situation the War Department instituted the practice of enlisting disabled Negroes, transferring them to a Staff Department and mustering them out, thus making them free and giving them a job.²⁰

Natives of Maryland perceived the recruitment of Negroes with mixed emotions which varied with each section. Many Marylanders agreed with Congressman Benjamin G. Harris, Democrat, that it was a "degradation" of the Nation and the flag to call upon Negroes to defend it.²¹ Many of the Provost Marshals resigned when slaves were enrolled "because they were required to enroll white and 'colored' together . . . one enrolling officer in Montgomery County, on taking his lists home at night had them burned by his indignant wife."²² As a result of the large number of free and prosperous Negroes and the relatively small (4,487) number of slaveholders, according to recruiters, opinion was favorable to the enlistment of Negroes on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay.²³ There were some rebel sympathizers who called for armed resistance but they were not widely supported. Nevertheless, demagogues were vociferous enough to compel Lincoln to halt recruiting of Negroes in October, 1863.

The equivocation of the Lincoln administration did much

¹⁹ General Orders, No. 11, 8th Army Corps., *ibid.*, IV, 2431.

²⁰ Foster to Bowman, June 17, 1864, *ibid.*, IV, 2632; Bradford to Colonel James B. Fry, Provost Marshal General, May 9, 1864, *O. R.*, Series 3, IV, 279, 280.

²¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 38th Congress, pt. I, 597-598.

²² Captain J. C. Holland, Provost Marshal, 5th District, to Fry, June 12, 1865, NIMS, VI, 3660-64.

²³ Clark, *Eastern Shore*, I, 514-515, 552; John Frazier, Jr., Provost Marshal, to Stanton, September 21, 1863; Birney to the Adjutant General, January 26, 1864, NIMS, III, pt. I, 1593-94; IV, 2338.

to sustain resistance to the recruitment of Negroes. Hugh L. Bond and others believed that if Lincoln had proclaimed in a forthright manner that the government needed the slaves, all objections to their use would have vanished quickly. The objections eventually vanished because the poor whites saw the enlistment of the Negro as their salvation from the draft, while a large number of slaveholders saw the enlistment of slaves, with compensation, as a way to get something out of "property" that would have soon been expropriated. However, by October 10, 1864, the slaveholders had received only \$14,391 for their enlisted slaves and many of them were chagrined at the reluctance of the War Department to pay their claims. On February 1, 1865, Congressman John A. Creswell, Unionist, representing the First District, introduced a resolution inquiring into the payment of the claims of slave owners in an effort to prod the War Department into paying them. On the other hand, the abolition element visualized, in the enlistment of Negroes, not profit but the death knell of slavery.²⁴ The slaveholding element on the Western Shore offered the stiffest resistance to the recruitment of slaves. It was on the Western Shore, near Benedict, that two slaveholders murdered Lieutenant Eben White, 7th U. S. C. T, while he was recruiting for his regiment. The implacable "Colonel" John H. Sothoron, former State Senator and member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and his son shot White as he attempted to enlist some of the Sothoron slaves and then escaped into Confederate lines. Lincoln became quite upset over the murder of White because it represented the animosity held toward his policy in Maryland.²⁵

Once launched upon a program of enlisting slaves the state government cooperated with the administration to fill Maryland's quota. On February 6, 1864, the legislature passed a law authorizing the governor to pay anyone enlisting except Negro slaves, before March 1, 1864, \$300 bounty in addition to the United States bounty. One hundred and fifty dollars would be paid at the enlistee's muster in and twenty dollars

²⁴ L. C. Benedict to Foster, October 10, 1864, Letterbook U. S. Colored Troops, I, 31-32; *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 38th Congress, pt. I, 539.

²⁵ Lincoln to Schenck (telegram) October 22, 1863, NIMS, III, pt. 1, 1692; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 22 and 24, 1863.

per month for the first five months thereafter and fifty dollars at the end of his three year service. To any person re-enlisting \$325 would be paid the same as above with seventy-five dollars at the end of his service. To each slaveowner who agreed to enlist his slave, one hundred dollars would be paid to the owner, in addition to the \$300 he would receive from the National Government, and fifty dollars to the slave when he enlisted and fifty when he was mustered out. If a person died in service, the remainder of his bounty would go to his wife or children, "Provided: that if said wife or children be a slave or slaves the same unpaid balance shall revert to the State."²⁶

Doubtless, the lucrative bounties attracted many Negroes to Union arms. However, many of them found that they could not rely on being paid, or they were not paid as quickly as white troops. To aid them the War Department refused to give descriptive or enlistment lists or accept the claims for slaves unless the slave had received the state bounty.²⁷ Some of the slaves refused to join the service when they saw that recruiting officers gave descriptive lists (which they thought represented bills of sale) to their masters. Many slaves donned the accouterments of war because they hoped, by doing so, to throw off the manacles of slavery. The large number of free Negroes in Maryland, to whom the army did not offer such boons as freedom and money, expressed less enthusiasm than slaves for army life. Moreover, many of the wealthy free Negroes, as did their white counterparts, furnished substitutes when they were drafted.²⁸ When a Maryland convention provided for the emancipation of slaves by November 1, 1864, even the slaves lost some of their desire to enlist.²⁹ Inequality of pay between white and colored union troops served to dampen the ardor of both slave and free Negro. However, one Negro probably expressed the view of most Maryland Negroes when he reportedly prayed:

²⁶ *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, February 8, 1864.

²⁷ Foster to S. M. Bowman, June 7, 1864; Foster to S. F. Streeter, June 8, 1864, Letterbook U. S. Colored Troops, II, 734, 739-40.

²⁸ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 30, December 11 and 15, 1863.

²⁹ Foster to Bowman, October 31, 1864, Letters Sent, III, 2832, Colored Troops Division, AGO, RG94, NA.

Great Doctor ob doctors, King ob Kings and God ob battles help us to be well. Help us to be able to fight wid de union sojers de battles for de Union. Help us to fight for de country—fight for our own homes and our own free children and our children's children.³⁰

The "God ob battles" inspired more than 8,718 Maryland Negroes to volunteer to serve in six regiments that participated in some of the most trying engagements of the war—the siege of Petersburg and Richmond and at Appomattox—and generally to acquit themselves with honor.³¹

³⁰ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, October 23, 1863.

³¹ A. Briscoe Koger, *The Maryland Negro in Our Wars* (Baltimore, 1942), p. 8; Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1961), pp. 124-27.

CEDAR PARK, ITS PEOPLE AND ITS HISTORY

By J. REANEY KELLY *

NEAR Old Quarker Burying Ground, in a peaceful setting reminiscent of an ancient era, Cedar Park, a rugged seventeenth century dwelling looks out upon West River and Chesapeake Bay. Unlike its neighbors, Tulip Hill and Sudley, the house was built on comparatively level land close to the water to utilize the first rising terrain as shelter from the north and west winds. Giant oak, linden, beech and sycamore trees guard its land approaches, while the garden, on the water side, is partly enclosed by holly and rose hedges. A gently rolling meadow, at one time a deer park, partially surrounds the house. This has not been plowed for the past one hundred years and probably never been laid bare for cultivation.

In this picturesque setting Cedar Park has had many and varied personal and historical associations. The land on which the house was built was in possession of Captain Richard Ewen as early as 1656. As Ewens it was first surveyed for Charles Calvert, Esq. (later the Third Lord Baltimore), then Governor of the Province. Referred to as the "house of Benjamin Lawrence," Cedar Park was the site of a Yearly Meeting of Friends, in 1684, making it the only surviving structure in Anne Arundel County in which religious services were held at such an early date. Other Quaker Meetings were held there during the rest of the seventeenth century. Since 1697 the property has been owned by the Galloway, Sprigg, Mercer and

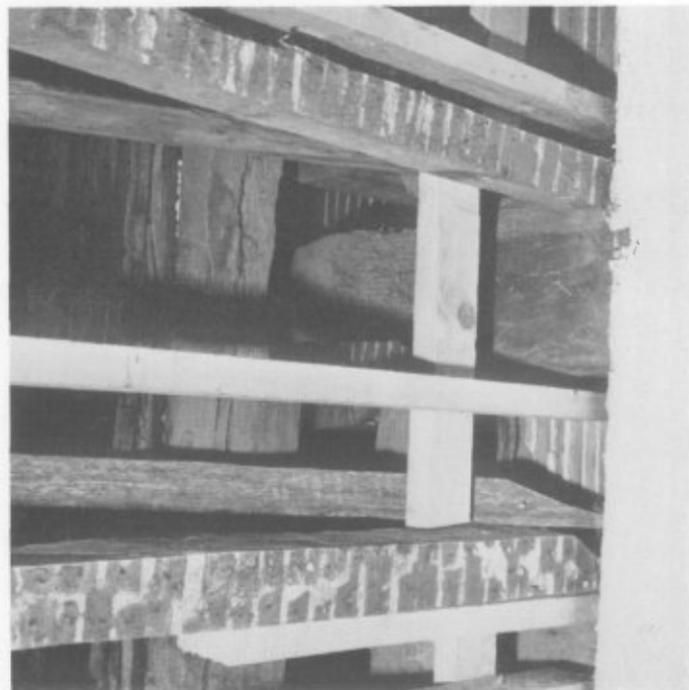
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Grave yard at Cedar Park



Cedar Park, side view.



The tree trunk used in the construction of the original house.



The rotted butt of one of the corner posts.



The fireplace and paneling at the end of the great hall during and after restoration.



Roof rafter marks at the end of the old frame house.



The end of the original frame house and shingles on its roof.
Also the extended brick house.

Murray families, all descendants of Richard Galloway I, founder of the family in Maryland, and his son Richard II, to whom much of the Cedar Park house is credited.

Current renovation has revealed much of the foundations, framing, sills, joists, plates and rafters of the venerable old house. It is evident that, while most generations have left their imprint in the form of changes, removals and substitutions, many of the original emplacements remain. The first structure was built of hand hewn native timber and its construction is so primitive that it dates well back into the seventeenth century. On the basis of what can now be seen, and in the opinion of several well known architects and antiquarians, it would appear to have been of the typical early Maryland colonial style, laid out in five approximately ten foot sections. There were two rooms on the first floor with chambers and, possibly, a balcony above under a very steeply pitched roof. The chimneys were within the gable ends. Rived oak siding was used to seal the structure on the sides, ends and roof. Some of what appears to be the original roofing, now partly covered with shingles, can be seen. It is laid clapboard fashion with four to six foot boards feathered at each end where they are overlapped to secure a tight vertical joint. In the basic construction the corner posts were adapted from twelve foot logs some fourteen to eighteen inches in diameter. The butts were left untouched and sunk into the earth, while the remainder, above ground, was roughly squared to receive the other framing and siding. These posts and other vertically spaced log type supports carry six twelve by twelve inch summer beams spaced roughly ten feet apart and upon which rest the larger or main roof rafters. This primitive construction, and particularly the size and crude fashioning of the original timbers, appears to antedate anything this writer has seen in Maryland's oldest houses. It is now known that the original house was later lengthened about eight feet, four at each end, and the chimneys rebuilt outside its gable ends.

There is firm documentation on the size and appearance of the old dwelling during the period between 1690 and 1736. At the death of the owner, Richard Galloway II in 1736, a unique inventory was made of his estate wherein the furniture and other household effects are listed and grouped in certain

named rooms. Seven rooms are designated in addition to a kitchen, which was detached, and a store. The great quantity of furnishings listed makes it likely that the original house was enlarged during that period.

The tract of land on which the old house stands, first called Ewens, was surveyed for Charles Calvert, Esq., Governor of Maryland, in 1665. A Certificate of Survey for 400 acres was issued to him in October of the same year.¹ The Governor promptly assigned his Certificate to Richard Ewen who applied for and was granted a Patent for the property as Ewen upon Ewenton in 1666.² A Captain Richard Ewen had been in possession of this 400 acre tract as early as 1656.³ There is also proof that a person of the same name lived there in 1662 and in 1664, and obtained grants of adjoining properties in those years, namely, Ewens Addition, for 90 acres⁴ and, Barron Neck, for 250 acres.⁵ In each instance the grant was identified as "next to the plantation Richard Ewen liveth upon." Captain Richard Ewen, who was in possession in 1656, was a Puritan Commissioner appointed in 1654 by Richard Bennett and William Claiborne to govern most of the Province of Maryland. He was Speaker of the Puritan Assemblies and sat in judgment of Captain William Stone and his loyal Marylanders after the Battle of the Severn in 1655.⁶ He is presumed to have died in 1659 or 1660;⁷ thus the Richard Ewen named in the grants of 1662-1664 and 1666 must have been his son. On March 14, 1665, Governor Charles Calvert appointed Richard Ewen, Jr., High Sheriff of Anne Arundel County, showing a relationship that could hardly have been shared with Richard Ewen I. A daughter of Richard Ewen I, and sister of Richard Ewen, Jr., married Richard Talbott of adjoining Poplar Knowle, now Tulip Hill, before 1663.⁸ There is also evidence that the

¹ Certificate of Survey, Liber 9, f 89—Liber 10, f 378, Land Office, Annapolis (hereafter L. O.).

² Patents, Liber 12, f 78, L. O.

³ Anne Arundel County Land Records, Liber W. H. No. 4, Hall of Records (hereafter H. R.), ff 46-47.

⁴ Patents, Liber 5, f 624, L. O.

⁵ Patents, Liber 5, f 479, L. O.

⁶ *Arch. Md.*, III, 312.

⁷ Ida M. Shirk, *The Talbott Family of West River, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1927). Also see *Arch. Md.*, III, 517-518.

⁸ Lawrence Buckley Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1896), p. 478.

widow of Richard Ewen I married, secondly, Colonel William Burgess of South River.⁹

While there is no proof that either the first Richard Ewen or his son became Quakers, there is some evidence that they may have been. The Ewen family had first claimed land in the Broadneck Hundred.¹⁰ Yet, by 1656, during the time Elizabeth Harris, Maryland's first Friend, was laboring in Anne Arundel County, Richard Ewen I was seated at West River. A move of this kind followed the pattern set by many early Friends from the Severn area to southern Anne Arundel County or to the Eastern Shore. In 1657 Richard Ewen was excused from taking an "Oath of Commissioners of Justice." Alleging that it was unlawful to swear,¹¹ William Burgess of South River and Thomas Meeres (Mears) were fined. While Burgess later recanted, Meeres remained a Friend. Also, two of the daughters of Richard Ewen I married into families of Friends: Elizabeth into the Talbott's and Richardson's, and Susannah into the Billingsly's.¹²

About the time of George Fox's visits to West River in 1673, Benjamin Lawrence, a Friend, acquired the Ewen Plantations.¹³ He married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott. Lawrence lived at West River for some twelve years, dying there in 1685.¹⁴ His last Testimony was read at the West River Quaker Meeting, April 17, 1685.¹⁵ A son, Benjamin, inherited his West River property.¹⁶

On August 17 and 18, 1685, transfers of the original Ewen properties at West River were recorded from Benjamin Lawrence, Jr., to Thomas Curtis, and John Smith;¹⁷ and then by Thomas Curtis, "Woolen Draper," and John Smith of Marlborough, England, to John Taylor for 280 pounds.¹⁸ At that time the plantation was described as bordering Talbotts, Ewens,

⁹ J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 53.

¹⁰ Rent Rolls, Broadneck Hundred, Anne Arundel County, L. O.

¹¹ Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Also see *Arch. Md.*, III, 351.

¹² Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 477. Also, Wills 1, f 199 (H. of R.).

¹³ Anne Arundel County Land Records, Liber W. T. No. 1, f 14 (H. of R.). (Hereafter A. A. Co. L. R.).

¹⁴ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹⁶ Wills 4, ff 142-143 (H. of R.).

¹⁷ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W. T. No. 1, f 123 (H. of R.).

¹⁸ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber I. H. No. 2, f 224 (H. of R.).

Miles Creeks and West River. They are now called Tenthouse, Inspecting House, and Muddy Creeks, respectively.

In 1686 Elizabeth Talbott Lawrence, widow of Benjamin Lawrence, married Richard Galloway II, a great uncle of Samuel Galloway III who later built Tulip Hill. As recorded in the records of The West River Meeting,¹⁹ the Certificate of Marriage contains the names of thirty-two witnesses. Most of those who signed were of the Western Shore. However, William Edmonson and Joseph Richardson were from the Eastern Shore. All were Friends who helped plant Quakerism in Maryland. They were Samuel Galloway I, (Bro. of Richard II), Edward Talbott, Wm. Coale, Jr., Philip Cole (Coale), Samuel Coale, Richard Harrison I, William Richardson, Sr., Wm. Richardson, Jr., M. (Mordecai) Moore, Joseph Chew, Wm. Edmonson, Thomas Hooker II, John Belt, Joseph Holland, Elizabeth Lawrence, Elizabeth Talbott, Elizabeth Coale, Elizabeth Carter, Elizabeth Belt, Elizabeth Richardson, Sarah Thomas, Elizabeth Lockwood, Sarah Hooker, Milleson Batty (Battee), Mary Knighton, Elizabeth Knighton, John Free (?), Jos. Richardson, Soloman Sparrow, Mary Giles, Jane Holland, and one Elizabeth.

Richard and Elizabeth Lawrence Galloway lived at Ewen upon Ewenton. There were two children born of this union. A daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Rigbie,²⁰ and a son, Richard, Jr., born in 1691,²¹ who married Sophia Richardson on September 19, 1715.²² Richard Galloway II was in possession of Ewen upon Ewenton in 1694 when Herring Creek (St. James) Parish was laid out.²³ He represented the owner, John Taylor, by an agreement, dated February 6, 1690.²⁴ He purchased the property from Taylor in 1697, paying him 317 pounds. It had cost Taylor only 280 pounds.²⁵ Possibly some changes in the house had been made. At this period Richard Galloway II was listed as a merchant.

¹⁹ Marriage Certificates of the West River, Herring Creek and Indian Spring Meeting No. 116. Friends Library, Stony Run Meeting House, 5116 North Charles St., Baltimore (hereafter Stony Run).

²⁰ Wills 11, ff 28-29 (H. of R.).

²¹ Records of Births and Deaths, Stony Run.

²² Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

²³ Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), pp. 62-63.

²⁴ Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 219.

²⁵ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W. T. No. 1, f 4 (H. of R.).

It is not clear when or by whom the original installation, now the frame inter-structure of the present Cedar Park house, was built. There is a strong family tradition that it was "Lord Baltimore's Hunting Lodge." This must have been after 1675 when Charles Calvert became the Third Baron. The fact that Charles Calvert, then Governor of the Province, obtained the first Certificate of Survey for Ewen upon Ewenton in 1665, might tend to support the theory that it was *his* hunting lodge. However, the first Richard Ewen lived on the land as early as 1656 and later, his son was in possession until 1673. Either one of them could have built the original emplacements. Charles Calvert, Esq., did not come to Maryland until 1661. Likewise, there was a house there in 1684 which could have been constructed by Benjamin Lawrence.²⁶ The original frame house with its steeply pitched roof has been absorbed in the present brick structure. It has been lengthened, as before stated, and enclosed in substantial brick walls. On the land side small cell rooms were added opposite the hall and parlor and the roof swept out to cover them. Under the extended roof can be seen the ends of the original frame house, its overhanging eave and the old "fish scale" shingles over the rived oak roofing. Much of the present main house is credited to Richard Galloway II as of 1697 when he purchased the property, although he was in possession some seven years before that. After his death in 1736 an inventory of his furniture and personal effects also named the rooms of the house and what each contained. The rooms listed were a hall and parlor; a hall chamber and a parlor chamber; a porch, a porch chamber and a peake room.²⁷ This would indicate that in 1736 the house was of either a typical cross or T design. It is believed that this is the first time the rooms of such a dwelling have been contemporarily named. The following is the inventory:

AN INVENTORY of the goods and Chattels of Richard Galloway of late Ann Ar [Anne Arundel] County Dece'd App [appraised] in Current Money by us the Subscribers this 25th Day of March Anno Dom: 1736—

²⁶ In 1683 a Yearly Meeting of Friends was held "at the house of Benjamin Lawrence." Minutes of the West River Quaker Meeting, Homewood Meeting House Library, 3107 North Charles St., Baltimore.

²⁷ Inventories, Liber 30, ff 384-391 (H. of R.).

Impr. To his Wearing Apparell	£52.	-	-
Cash in Gold and Silver	12.	9.	5.
Paper Currency	108.	8.	6.
Copper Money	3.	10.	5.
Plate 15 lbs. 3 oz. at 12/ fashion included.....	109.	16.	-
A parcel of new Goods prime	}	371.	10. 4.
Cost £185. 15/ 2 pence at 100 pc adva. {			

Negroes

1 Man Charles ab[ou]t. 30 yrs. old	60.	-	-
1 Do Tom 28 Do	60.	-	-
1 Do Robin 25 Do	60.	-	-
1 Do Ben 43 Do	54.	-	-
1 Do Duce 35 Do	60.	-	-
1 Do Nedd 25 Do a Legacy...	60.	-	-
1 Do Bocassy 43 Do	40.	-	-
1 Do Bacon, an old man.....	12.	-	-
1 Do Harry 20 yrs. old, a Legacy...	50.	-	-
1 Woman named Joan	36.	-	-
1 Do Jenny 26 Do & a Child 4 mo.	62.	-	-
1 Do Maria abt. 16.....	54.	-	-
1 Do Marcy abt. 15 yrs. old.....	50.	-	-
1 Do Hagar blind & a Child 4 mo.	6.	-	-
1 Boy Sam 14 yrs. old, a Legacy.....	40	-	-
1 Do Barcas 9 yrs. well grown	40.	-	-
1 Girl Nanny 11 Do	40.	-	-
1 Do Patience 8 Do	26.	-	-
1 Do Dinah 7 Do	22.	-	-
1 Boy Phill 7 yrs. old	26.	-	-
1 Do Monday 5 Do	20.	-	-
1 Do Daniel 3 Do	16.	-	-
3 p[ai]r of holland sheets.....	2.	12.	6.
2 pr. of Do older	5.	8.	-
3 pr. of new flaxen sheets	3.	-	-
2 pr. of Irish Do	2.	12.	-
1 pr. Do 26/, Eight pr. of old sheets 7.4.0.	8.	10.	-
5 pr. Do older	2.	-	-
1 Damask table Cloth & 10 napk	2.	10.	-
2 Diaper Do & 13 napkins	3.	10.	-
1 large Coarse Do 30/. 2 smaller cloths 35/.	3.	5.	-
2 Do smaller 20/. 18 napk. 36/. old	2.	16.	-
2 Huckaback table Cloths	-	18.	-
2 Do newer 20/. 2 Do smaller 12/.	1.	12.	-

12 Do napkins	1. 4. -
5 small table Cloths	- 10. -
4 huckaback towels 8/. 3 Do older 3/.	- 11. -
6 Irish Do 18/. 7 Cupbd. Cloths 30/.	2. 8. -
3 new Holland pillow Cases	- 12. -
6 pr. Do older 15/. 4 pr. Coarse sheets 40/.	2. 15. -
3 Cotton Counterpains	2. - -
3 Callico Do and 2 Linnen Do	4. 3. -
7 pr. of Checked Pillow Cases	1. 1. -
11 ozna [bourg] Towells 11/. 7 Do table Cloths 18/.	1. 9. -
4 small Do and 4 ozna napk.	- 9. -
4 knife Cloths 16 pence. 8 Crocus Towels 6/.	- 7. 4.
2 Dresser Cloths & a parcel old linn[en]. ..	- 4. -

In The Hall

12 Russia Leather Chairs & an Elbow Do ...	5. 15. -
1 Easy [chair] Cushioned Do	5. 15. -
1 Clock £11. One large looking glass £4....	15. - -
2 Class Sconces 16/. One Escrulose [Escritoire] £4	4. 16. -
1 large Ovol Table & 1 small Do	2. 4. -
A large Book Case £3. One tea table 6/.	3. 6. -
1 pair of Pillows	1. 5. -

In the Parlor

1 Bed & furniture	17. - -
1 Do with Do £14. A Chest of Draw. £3	17. - -
1 large Looking Glass	2. 10. -
Small table & an old trunk	- 15. -

In the Hall Chamber

1 bed & furniture	17. - -
1 Do with Do	12. - -
1 Chest of Drawers	3. 10. -
1 Dressing table and glass	3. 15. -
9 Cain Chairs & an elbow Do	8. 4. -
2 pr. Window Curtains with Iron rods	- 5. -
1 Couch with a Bedd	1. 10. -

In the Parlor Chamb.

1 feather bed & furnit.	11. 15. -
1 trundle Do with Do	7. - -

1 Flock	Do with Do	3.	-	-
A parcel of Bed Cloaths		1.	13.	-
A parcel of old Pillows		1.	10.	-
1 Chest of Drawers & Cover		1.	12.	-
A small bedsted		-	7.	-
3 old Cain Chairs		1.	4.	-

Porch Chamber

6 Cain Chairs	£4. 10.	A Dressing Case	40/.	6.	10.	-
A Chest of Drawers inlaid				7.	-	-
1 Do	45/.	1 large looking Glass	50/.	4.	15.	-
1 small looking glass with Frame				1.	-	-
1 Feather bed and furnit.				18.	-	-
1 pair of Window Curtains				-	9.	-
6 Russia Leather Chairs	at 6/.			1.	16.	-
6 Do	48/.	6 old low Do	36/.	4.	4.	-
6 Do	48/.	2 old Do	3/.	2.	11.	-

In the Peake Roome

1 Bedd and furniture		11.	-	-
1 Table and looking glass		2.	10.	-
A Spice Box & glass Case		2.	-	-

In the Porch

1 old trunk & a Chest		-	19.	-			
A speaking Trumpet	6/.	}	2.	6.			
2 Gunns	40/.						
1 Oval table	15/.	1 Do	10/.	1.	5.	-	
1 old Cupboard	12/.	33 sickles	16/.	6 pence.	1.	8.	6.

In the Kitchen

5 Doz. & 10 Plates	at 12/ per doz.	3.	10.	-
113 lbs. of pewter	at 16 pence per lb.	7.	10.	8.
11 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of Do	older at 9 pence	-	8.	10.
2 old Limbecks		1.	4.	-
3 pr. of Brass Candlesticks		1.	-	-
2 Iron Do	18 pence. 1 Brass screen	-	4.	-
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of old Brass	at 12 pence per lb.	-	11.	6.
1 Brass Plate Rail		2.	5.	-
3 Iron spitts	Wt. 24 lb. at 8 pence per lb.	-	16.	-
3 Dripping pans	19 lbs. at 8 pence	-	12.	8.
1 large Bell mettal mortar		4.	-	-
1 large Do	. A skillet	1.	5.	-
1 Do smaller	10/. 1 Grid Iron	-	14.	6.

14½ lbs. of Pot Hooks	-	12.	1.
2 Chaffing Dishes 10/. A Barber's Pott 5/. ..	-	15.	-
An old Copper Sauce pann	-	6.	-
1 small pann & 7 scewers	-	2.	-
1 Iron kettle Wt. 24 lbs. at 4 pence per lb. ..	-	8.	-
1 Tin fish kettle & 2 Dish Covers	-	9.	-
1 Pewter Still and frame	-	14.	-
3 old Coppers Wt. 185 lb. at 17 pence per lb.	13.	2.	1.
A parcel of Cooper's & Carp. tools	2.	3.	-
1 Tinn Cullender 1/. 1 pr. old Sheep Sheers 2/.	-	3.	-
9 Iron potts Wt. 367 lbs. at 4 pence per lb. ..	6.	2.	4.
2 Spitt Racks Wt. 61 lb. at 8 pence per lb. ..	2.	-	8.
4 pot Racks Wt. 39 lbs. at Do	6.	12.	-
2 frying panns	-	8.	-
3 pr. fire tongs & 2 shovels	-	10.	-
An old Copper Tea kettle & frame	-	6.	-
7 groce [gross] of Corks 35/. 2 Corner Cupboards 40/.	3.	15.	-
2 Cloth brushes & 2 hatt Do	2.	6.	-
146 Bas[ket]. of Indian Corn @ 9/.	44.	14.	-

In the Store

1 large Oval Table	2.	-	-
1 Scasch 8/. 8 good Chests £5. 12/.	6.	-	-
3 pr. negr. Shoes 18/. 2 pr. Cotton Socks 8/.	1.	6.	-
29½ lbs. of Curried Leather	2.	12.	-
A parcel of Boxes & Tubbs	2.	-	-
1 Copper Coffee pott 7/. 6 pence. 1 Do Chocol- [ate]. 7/. 6 pence	-	15.	-
1 pr. of Garden Sheers	-	3.	-
27 tinn milk panns at 14 pence	1.	11.	6.
A parcel of glasses 23/. 2 tin kettles 6/.	1.	9.	-
1 horse Bell and hand Do	-	5.	-
2 China Bowls 6/. A set of China 40/.	2.	6.	-
A parcel of Earthen Ware	1.	19.	10.
28 patty panns 3/. A lanthorn 18 pence	-	4.	6.
A Copper Saucepan & a pr. old Scales	-	5.	-
A pr. of old Candle Snuffers & Stand	-	4.	-
1 Trunk 16/. 3 Spades 8/.	1.	4.	-
1 Iron Crow 12/. 2 Cases & 12 bott. 16/.	1.	8.	-
2 Stone jugs & 2 old pickle Cases	-	7.	-
3 Chests 24/. Four Sifters 8/.	1.	12.	-
3 pr. of old Sheep Sheers	-	3.	-

1 new Curb bridle 2/.	1 old saddle 25/.	1.	7.	-
1 old Do and Bridle		-	8.	-
17½ Bushels of Beans		2.	3.	9.
980 gall. of Cyder at 6 pence per Gall.		24.	10.	-
1 gross of quart bottles		1.	10.	-
6 Pottle Bottles		-	4.	4.
24 Bushels of Wheat at 4/.		4.	16.	-
250 lbs. of hoggs Lard £5.15/.	}	8.	5.	-
100 lbs. tallow 50/.				
3 Box Irons and heaters		1.	4.	-
1 Warming pann 20/.	A Whip Saw 40/.	3.	-	-
30 Bushels of Oats 50/.	12 Do Barley 48/.	4.	18.	-
51 lbs. of Sheet Lead 6/.	7 pence. 3 old Chests 15/.	1.	1.	7.
99 lbs. of uncurried Leather		3.	6.	-
A parcel of old Window glass		-	7.	-
98 lbs. of Cordage 20/.	56 Bush. Salt 7£	8.	-	-
5 gall. Tarr 30 pence.	5 tubbs 25/.	1.	7.	6.
A part of a Barrel of Pitch		-	13.	4.
A Boat 17 feet Keele with Sails C		31.	-	-
15 Cyder Casks £7.10/.	Twelve Do £4. 4/.	11.	14.	-
2 Anchors 8/.	1 Spyeglass 10/.	-	18.	-

Stock

11 Barrows 2 yrs. old at 11/.		6.	1.	-
4 Sows and piggs at 10/.		2.	-	-
7 Sows 56/.	2 Boars 16/.	3.	12.	-
18 Hoggs abt. a year old		5.	8.	-
13 Shotes at 3/.		1.	19.	-
15 Steers between 5 & 7 yrs. old		5.	8.	-
3 Bulls & 5 Spaid heifers		16.	-	-
17 two year old at 25/.		24.	10.	-
4 three year olds at 30/.		6.	-	-
15 yearlings at 12/.		9.	-	-
1 old Cow 30/.	1 Do older 20/.	2.	10.	-
23 Cows £57. 10/.	4 Do Calves £12	69.	10.	-
21 Steers & heifers Between 3 & 4 years old		47.	5.	-
One fattening Steer		4.	10.	-
42 Sheep at 7/.		14.	14.	-
One fine pacing Sorrel Horse		20	-	-
1 Small black Do		9.	-	-
1 young Spaid Mare		10.	-	-
1 large Do and Colt		10.	-	-

1 young Grey Horse	8.	-	-
2 old Plow Horses	3.	-	-
1 young Horse unbroke	4.	-	-
A parcel of horse harness	3.	18.	-
An old Harrow	-	7.	-
A parcel of Negroe's bedding	9.	3.	-
9 old narrow Hoes & 7 broad Do	1.	5.	-
8 narrow Axes 24/. 4 Maul Rings 8/.	1.	12.	-
5 Iron Wedges Wt. 29 lbs. at 8 pence per lb.	-	19.	-
4 Scyths with rings -----	1.	4.	-
1 old Seed Plow	-	10.	-
500 lbs. of powdered beef at 2 pence per lb. ..	4.	3.	4.
3900 lbs. of Pork at 3 pence per lb.	48.	15.	-
140 lbs. of green hyde at 2 pence per lb.	1.	3.	4.
20 Bush. of English Salt	2.	-	-
8 old Chests 32/. 1 hackle 30/.	3.	2.	-
1 old Spinning Wheel & 2 lin. Do	1.	18.	-
A large old bible & other books	3.	-	-

[End of Cedar Park Inventory].

Elizabeth Talbott Lawrence Galloway died in 1705. Richard Galloway II later married, July 30, 1719, Mrs. Sarah Smith Sparrow of nearby Sparrows Rest. He died the 28th day of the 8th month, 1735/36, and was buried in Old Quaker Burying Ground.²⁸ His widow, Sarah, subsequently married for the third time, November 14, 1738, Henry Hill (a Mariner) and died in February 1755 at the age of eighty-three.²⁹

By the terms of the will of Richard Galloway II, who died in 1736, title to his plantation at West River passed to his only son, Richard, Jr. Earlier, in 1715, Richard Galloway, Jr., had married Sophia Richardson. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, born January 16, 1721, inherited the entire estate of her father at his death in 1741.³⁰ However, her inheritance was subject to the life estate of her mother, Sophia. At the death of Richard Galloway, Jr., management of the plantation at West River was taken over by his widow and she continued her interest in Quaker affairs and the nearby West River Quaker Meeting. It was not until 1781, the year of the death of Sophia, that her daughter Elizabeth became the sole owner of the properties.

²⁸ Pedigrees and Notes (New York, 1883), Friends Library, Stony Run.

²⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

³⁰ Wills 22, f 410 (H. of R.).

On December 14, 1737, Elizabeth Galloway of West River married Thomas Sprigg of Long Meadow, Washington County.³¹

According to a story of true love and true religion: "Gay Thomas Sprigg came acourting: the lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Galloway of West River, Maryland. The Galloways were strict Quakers. Thomas pleaded his cause, but Elizabeth said 'No I cannot marry out of Meeting.' As he turned sorrowfully away he heard a whisper of hope. 'If thou thinkest thee could change thy religion Thomas.' A year went by—one day Elizabeth sitting on the low step of her front door saw a gentleman with a straight coat and broad hat (typical Quaker dress) riding toward her. As he alighted she stepped forward saying 'I knew thee would come back, Thomas.'" ³²

After the marriage of Thomas Sprigg and Elizabeth Galloway the couple lived at West River and Thomas helped in the management of the estate. They also were active in Quaker affairs. Elizabeth was a birthright Friend, while Thomas became a member of the Society just before his marriage. An only child was born to this marriage, a son, Richard, at West River in 1739. Richard Sprigg married Margaret Caile of Dorchester County in 1765.

There is another interesting story having to do with the marriage of Richard, only son of Thomas and Elizabeth Galloway Sprigg, to Margaret Caile. Richard was born and raised at West River Farm. He lived there with his father, mother, and grandmother, Sophia Richardson Galloway. It was said of the ladies: "They lived in the calm repose of Quaker life, having no cares outside their home, and associating mostly with neighbors of their own denomination. They had lived so long in this quiet way that they regarded their old mansion as consecrated to the customs and uses of 'Friends Society'; great therefore was their mortification when they learned from Richard that he was about to marry out of their circle of 'Friends.' However, they were wise and considerate old ladies [Elizabeth could not have been over forty-nine] and perceiving

³¹ Richard S. Steuart *et al*, "Dr. George Steuart of Annapolis and 'Doden' . . . (unpub. ms Md. Hist. Soc.), pp. 25-26.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

it could not be prevented, they promptly determined to make the best of it. 'Richard, my son,' said his mother, 'it would not be agreeable to us to be called on to change any of our old ways, and it would be equally disagreeable to change your young wife, heretofore accustomed to the leasure of the gay world, to be compelled to live as we live. Therefore, it would be better, my son, for all parties, that thee and thy wife should have a separate home. The farm of Strawberry Hill is unoccupied and, as thee knows, is a beautiful place. Build a good house upon it and make thyself as comfortable and as happy as money can make it. It is near all the gay and fashionable people of Annapolis, and their society is better suited to thee and her than ours. But, my son, thee must not give us up, we love thee as much as ever, thy presence is always a comfort to us. Continue thy good management of the estate and come when you can to see us.'³³

Richard Sprigg built his home at Strawberry Hill, which was one of the fine houses in the Annapolis area. With his bride he moved there in 1766.³⁴ It was said that "it is one of the most beautiful places near Chesapeake Bay, commanding an extensive inland view and out over Kent Island and to the Eastern Shore, and far up and down the Bay and the Severn River."

In his diary for September 29, 1773, George Washington recorded: "Dined at Mr. Sprigg's and went to a play in the evening." Describing the house in 1796, Rosalie Eugenia Stier, daughter of Henri Stier, a wealthy Belgian emigre' who was leasing it, wrote to her brother, Charles: "Our new house is so enormously big four rooms below, three large and two small ones on the second floor besides the staircases, and the finest garden in Annapolis in which there is a spring, a cold bath house well fitted up and a running stream, what more could I wish for?"³⁵

The house which stood near the site of the present Naval Hospital and Cemetery, within the grounds of the U. S. Naval Academy, has long since been destroyed. Richard Sprigg pre-

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁵ Ruby R. Duval, "The Naval Academy Cemetery on 'Strawberry Hill,'" *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXXI, No. 8, Whole No. 510, 1945, p. 937.

sumably continued management of his mother's and grandmother's estate at West River. Five daughters were born to the union of Richard Sprigg and Margaret Caile, at Strawberry Hill. They were Sophia, born in 1766, who married John Francis Mercer in 1785; Rebecca, born 1767, who became the wife of Dr. James Steuart in 1786; Elizabeth, born 1770, was the wife of Hugh Thompson in 1795; and, Henrietta and Margaret, born in 1775 and 1789, respectively, remained single.³⁶

After the birth of Margaret in 1789, following the death of his mother the same year, Richard Sprigg and his family removed from Strawberry Hill to West River Farm.³⁷ His father had died at West River in 1782 and his grandmother, Sophia Galloway, passed away in 1781. Thus, for the first time in many years, there were young people at the old estate.

The *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Saturday, July 23, 1796, published the following: "On Wednesday, the 13th inst., departed this life, Mrs. Margaret Sprigg, the wife of Richard Sprigg, Esq., at his seat at West River. A lady early distinguished for rare endowments of mind and person—long a victim of a series of ill health, the unsubdued strength of an accomplished understanding was still actively employed in duties useful to her family and pleasing to a numerous society."

Again, on November 25, 1798, The *Maryland Gazette* of Annapolis, carried the following notice: "On Saturday, the 24th inst., died at his seat on West River, Richard Sprigg, Esq., in his 49th year."

As has been noted before, at the death of Sophia, widow of Richard Galloway, Jr., in 1781, their daughter, Elizabeth Galloway Sprigg, became sole owner of West River Farm. Until that time the plantation had probably been managed by her husband, Thomas Sprigg, and their son, Richard, of Strawberry Hill. The next year, 1782, Thomas Sprigg died and thereafter, until about 1790, Elizabeth lived there alone in the shadow and atmosphere of the West River Meeting of Friends. She was to see the affairs of that historic Meeting transferred to Baltimore about 1785.

The will of Elizabeth Galloway Sprigg, dated April 6, 1789, displays the utmost confidence of this strong but retiring lady in

³⁶ Steuart, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

her only son, Richard, and her dedication to the perpetuation of ownership of her ancestral house and lands in the family.

“As my only beloved son Richard Sprigg has given me his word to give to my beloved granddaughter Sophia Mercer, his first born, all the lands on West River which will go to him at my death and as I have no doubt it being done I will say no more about my lands.”³⁸ Her will also included bequests to Sophia Mercer and four of her sisters.

Upon his return to West River about 1790, Richard Sprigg's main concern was the health of his wife. His vast holdings of land, both at West River and in other parts of Maryland, also required constant attention. At his death in 1798 he carried out to the letter his promise to his mother. The following is from his will dated July 31, 1798: “I give to my eldest daughter Sophia Mercer all tracts and parcels of land on which I now reside bordering West and Road rivers in Anne Arundel County and contiguous—lately resurveyed and reduced into one tract called West River Farm containing 2000 acres of land.”³⁹ His will also includes other bequests of both personal and real property. He directed that six of his slaves be manumitted for faithful service. Also to be given freedom was “the yellow woman Bet and her youngest child Charles and I request that my daughter Sophia shall pay to the said woman Bet in quarterly payments at the rate of \$20 annually or an equivalent at the election of Bet during the natural life of said Bet for her particular care and attention to her late Mistress during her long and severe illness.” This is but one example of the appreciation and compassion on the part of slave owners of Maryland and, particularly, those of Quaker background. Sophia Sprigg Mercer was designated as her father's executor.

It has been impossible to find any information relating to changes made in the old dwelling at West River Farm during ownership in the Sprigg family. Need for enlargement did not exist during that period and the quiet and retiring nature of Sophia Galloway and her daughter, Elizabeth Sprigg, would not reflect any change in the old way of life. When Richard Sprigg and his family returned to his West River home, Mrs. Sprigg

³⁸ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 1, f 105 (H. of R.).

³⁹ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber J. G. No. 2, f 62 (H. of R.).

was evidently in very ill health, so it is not likely that any major changes were made between 1790 and her death in 1796.

The addition of some 225 acres of land on the east side of the original Ewen grant, Ewen upon Ewenton, during the period of Sprigg ownership of West River Farm is explained in the will of Thomas Sprigg of 1782.⁴⁰ This land, a part of Watkins Inheritance, was granted to John Watkins and resurveyed for him October 6, 1677.⁴¹ Thomas Sprigg acquired the land prior to 1782. In his will he bequeathed to his daughter, Elizabeth Sprigg, the land bought of Stephen Watkins adjoining West River Farm. It then passed from Elizabeth Sprigg to her son Richard and, by his will, to Sophia Mercer. It is now a part of Ivy Neck.

On February 3, 1785, Sophia Sprigg married John Francis Mercer, who later became Maryland's tenth Governor.⁴² The *Maryland Gazette* of February 7 of that year carried the announcement: "The 3rd inst. was married the Hon. John Francis Mercer, a delegate to Congress from Virginia, to Miss Sprigg of this City." The ceremony was held at Strawberry Hill, the home of the bride's parents, Richard and Margaret (Caile) Sprigg. A resurvey of Sophia's ancestral property at West River was made, and after the death of her father in 1698, it was repatented to her as West River Farm.⁴³

John Francis Mercer was from a distinguished Virginia family. He was born May 17, 1759, at Marlborough, the Mercer seat in Stafford County, near Mt. Vernon. Graduating from William and Mary College in 1775, he received a commission as a Lieutenant in the Continental Army February 26, 1776; was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777; and was promoted to the rank of Captain June 27, 1778. He studied law under Thomas Jefferson and was a member of the Continental Congress. As one of the delegates from Maryland to the Convention for the drafting of the Constitution of the United States, he took a leading part in the proceedings of that body. Colonel John Francis Mercer was elected Governor of the State of Maryland and served from 1801 to 1803. He then retired from public life.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ A. A. Co. Wills, Liber T. G., f 60 (H. of R.).

⁴¹ Patents, Liber C. B. No. 2, f 218, L. O.

⁴² Mercer Collection, Records from Mercer Bible (H. of R.).

⁴³ Patents, Liber I. C. No. P, f 512, L. O.

⁴⁴ Mercer Collection, Records from Mercer Bible.

After Governor Mercer's retirement he and his family came to live at West River Farm partly through force of circumstances. After their marriage in 1785, the Mercers lived at Strawberry Hill, the home of Mrs. Mercer's father, Richard Sprigg. All of their five children were born there. However, only John, born June 24, 1788, and Margaret, born in 1791, lived to full maturity. Removal to Marlborough on the Potomac River, near Mt. Vernon, had been considered; but, soon after his gubernatorial term ended the Mercer mansion was totally destroyed by fire. It was then decided not to rebuild and Marlborough was sold. This led to the move to Mrs. Mercer's estate at West River. It is probable that Governor Mercer's share of the sale of Marlborough was used to renovate the old house. It seems likely, too, that the second partition to provide a center hall and the present fine stairway were installed at this time. With the coming of the Mercer family soon after 1800, West River Farm entered a new era.

Sophia Sprigg Mercer died and was buried at West River Farm in 1812.⁴⁵ She apparently left no will, but Colonel Mercer soon deeded his interest in the property to the two surviving children, John and Margaret. It was during the period between the death of Sophia in 1812 and of Colonel Mercer in 1821 that the name, Cedar Park, became associated with the old estate. After the sale of approximately 225 acres of West River Farm to James Cheston II, of adjoining Watkin's Neck, later Ivy Neck, November 7, 1817,⁴⁶ John and Margaret Mercer divided the remainder of the farm land, excepting some 74 acres surrounding the old house which was called the "Park." March 10, 1818, John Mercer deeded his share of the "Park" to his sister Margaret. This area which Colonel Mercer had enclosed for a deer park abounded in cedars (as it does today) so the name, Cedar Park, logically developed.⁴⁷

President Monroe and some of his Cabinet visited at Cedar Park May 30 and 31, 1818. Young Margaret acted as hostess for her father. She is quoted as saying, "The President and Cabinet spent two days with us last week. Tell your mamma that the old gentleman won my heart entirely by some traits

⁴⁵ Chancery Record, No. 153, L. O.

⁴⁶ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W.S.G.-5, ff 310-311 (H. of R.).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f 453 (H. of R.).

of feeling that I did not expect from him; and propitiated me entirely for Mrs. M. by a story he told for her. Mr. Calhoun [John C.] who was with him is one of the greatest men I ever saw."⁴⁸

In addition to the sale of a part of West River Farm to James Cheston II, John Mercer obtained a considerable loan upon his part of the property from the Farmers Bank of Annapolis in 1820.⁴⁹ This was to cause much trouble and embarrassment later on. The mortgage did not cover the "Park" section of Cedar Park as it was then known. Exhaustive research has not revealed the disposition of this mortgage money. In view of later developments, it must be presumed that at least some was used to enlarge the old homestead.

Colonel John Francis Mercer died at Philadelphia, on August 30, 1821, in the 64th year of his age. His remains were placed temporarily in a vault at St. Peter's Church in that city. They were later removed to Cedar Park and buried in the graveyard at the foot of the garden.⁵⁰ His son, John, born June 24, 1788, at Strawberry Hill, was educated at St. John's College, Annapolis. On June 20, 1818, he married Mary Scott Swann, daughter of Thomas Swann of Alexandria, Virginia. As a Major in the United States Army, he accompanied Major General Winfield Scott as his aide-de-camp, to inspect military fortifications abroad, after the War of 1812. He lived most of his life at Cedar Park, but died at Belmont, Loudon County, Virginia, May 22, 1848. There were nine children born to John Mercer and Mary Swann. Two of these, George Douglas, born September 18, 1831, and Wilson, born July 17, 1834, served as officers in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. All of the children benefited under the will of their aunt, Margaret Mercer, at her death in 1846, when Cedar Park was bequeathed to them.⁵¹

During its long life up to the time of the Civil War, two women left an indelible imprint upon the old estate, Cedar Park. Sophia Richardson Galloway, who lived there from her

⁴⁸ Caspar Morris, M.D., *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer* (Philadelphia, 1848), p. 33. Also see *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, June 4, 1818, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Chancery Record, No. 153, L. O.

⁵⁰ Mercer Collection. Also A. A. Co. Wills, Liber T. H. H. No. 1, ff 381-382 (H. of R.).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

marriage in 1715 to her death in 1781, was a strong and dedicated Friend. She brought with her an efficiency and purpose in the management of the estate. Margaret Mercer, on the other hand, whose home it was from the early 1800's, was delicate and often unwell. She was a leader in Christian education and a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Both were descended from founding Quaker families. Sophia Galloway's grandfather, William Richardson I, was one of Maryland's early Friends, a Quaker Minister, and friend of George Fox. Margaret Mercer was the great-great-granddaughter of Sophia Galloway and was descended from Richard Galloway I, a Friend and founder of that family in Maryland. Together they seem to have imbued the ancient dwelling and surrounding "Park" with a quiet gentleness and charm.

Margaret Mercer founded a school or academy for young ladies at Cedar Park about 1825. Although, "she announced to her friends her determination to convert the ancestral home into an Academy, expecting to receive but a limited number of pupils, during the whole time that she continued her residence at West River she had as many pupils as she could accommodate, even after the erection of an extensive addition to the original mansion."⁵²

⁵² Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 101. The following is a list of scholars and teachers compiled as of 1831:

Baltimore, Maryland: Elizabeth Sherlock, Elizabeth Donaldson, Elizabeth Howard, Elizabeth Gilmore, Elizabeth Todhunter, Elizabeth Birkhead, Frances Donnell, Louisa Howard, Maria D'Arcy, Margaret D'Arcy, Catherine Todhunter, Sarah Carroll, Lucretia Vaubiber (Van Biber), Henrietta Stockett, Emily Dorsey, Agnes Owen, Maria Williams, Jane Metcalf, Margaret Harrison, Ann Bowley, Catherine Stockton, Eliza Finley, Augusta Barnes, Ann Stockton, A. M. Bromwell.

Annapolis, Maryland: Matilda Macubin, Mary Ridgely, Nancy Ridgely, Anne Claude, Adeline Kent, Josephine Harwood, Kitty Murray.

Prince George's County, Maryland: Mary Contee, Kitty Bowie, Ann Mullikin, Ellen Mullikin.

Pennsylvania: Ann Coleman, Margaret Coleman, Jane Hall.

Kentucky: Caroline Bullitt.

Eastern Shore of Maryland: Henrietta Handy, Anne Keer (Kerr), Matilda Groome, Mary Tilghman, Margaret Tilghman, Ellen Lloyd, Mary Williams, Ann Carroll, Julia Carroll, Sally Martin, Mary McLaine, Julia McLaine, Milcah Skinner.

Virginia: Bella Carter, Parke Carter, Charlotte Carter, Grace Garnett, Anne Page, Mary Harrison, Mercer Harrison, Lucy Harrison, Cotney Bowdin, Sally Cocke, Mary Boyd, Lucy Oliver, Lavinia Randolph, Sally Minge, Marcia Minge, Frances Anderson, Lucy Gunfney (Gwathmey), Mary Pages.

Washington, D. C.: Frances Hagner, Susan Fowle, Rebecca Fowle, Roseina Jones, Mary Jones, Frances Lee, Sophia Taylor, Mary Hagner.

There can be no doubt that changes were made in the dwelling house about this time. Also the existence of a large frame building, close to the northeast end of the old house, is proved by a sketch made later in the nineteenth century.⁵³ A frame addition attached to the southwest end of the old house was also built.

Some time during the early nineteenth century another addition was made to the main section of the house. This was partly of brick and partly of frame, and projected from the center part of the homestead like the stem of a T, towards the garden on the water side. It provided a large parlor and a similar sized bedroom above. This replaced the earlier porch and porch chamber mentioned in the 1736 inventory. The width and height of the original porch and porch chamber can be readily visualized from a cut in the original roof. This opening begins about fifteen inches below the roof-tree and expands to approximately ten feet at the level of the eave. The length of the projection, however, has not as yet been determined. The large detached frame building that probably served as a dormitory for the school girls has long since disappeared.

Miss Mercer and her assistants operated the school at Cedar Park for eight or nine years. The growth of her brother's family, who resided with her (there were nine children) induced her to close the school at West River and move elsewhere; so, in 1834, she removed to Franklin, in the vicinity of Baltimore, where she hoped to obtain a still larger patronage. Her stay there was short and she soon transferred her establishment to Belmont, near Leesburg, Loudon County, Virginia.⁵⁴

During her residence at Cedar Park, Margaret Mercer endeared herself to her neighbors, to her pupils who came from many states, and to the slaves inherited from her father. She was a devout Christian, although, according to Bishop John Johns of nearby Sudley, not always a complete conformist to the

West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Miss Fenwick, The Misses Hall, Martha Iglehart.

Georgia: Sarah Campbell, Sarah Wheeler.

Louisiana: Roseina Benoist.

Elk Ridge, Maryland: Ellen Cook, Elizabeth Thomas, Sally Dorsey.

Teachers: Miss Margaret Mercer, Miss Sarah Handy, Miss Maffit, Miss Sanderson, Miss Godman (Codman?), Mr. Krebs, Mr. Dydier, Mr. Bristow, Mrs. O'Connor, Mrs. Sterling, Miss Christie.

⁵³ Now the property of the owners of Cedar Park.

⁵⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

Protestant Episcopal Church. She was an active and often vocal member of the Society for the Colonization of Liberia, finally manumitting her slaves.⁵⁵ At a time when the slavery question was moving towards a climax, Margaret Mercer brought into her household, as a servant, an ex-slave whose redemption she had purchased. Noting his superior intelligence and his assiduous attention in nursing the sick, she arranged that he have access to the office of Dr. Lindsley, one of the professors in the Medical College of Washington, D. C., to carry on his studies. Working as a waiter at night to support himself, William Taylor became a Doctor of Medicine. Later he removed to Liberia and practiced among his people there.⁵⁶

Margaret Mercer, in expressing love and affection for her ancestral home, Cedar Park, often referred to the family burying ground there. Between the time of her father's death in Philadelphia and the interment of the remains at West River, she wrote: "I should rejoice to think that I was never to go beyond the sight of that little enclosure where will shortly repose silent, low in beds of dust, those who loved me first, last, midst, and, I devoutly trust, without end."⁵⁷ Earlier she had written: "I went yesterday into the Graveyard and the violets which I had planted with my own hands, close to the head of my mother's grave, had spread all around and the ground was enamelled with them."⁵⁸ The old graveyard, now enclosed, is covered each spring with a blanket of white narcissus, and the winter snows are often colored crimson from the mass of holly berries shaken from the overhanging trees.

Always considerate of the welfare of others, Margaret Mercer reluctantly closed "Miss Mercer's School" at West River. Soon after the school had become established at Belmont, she wrote to her friend, J. H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, asking if he would contribute "a simple but tasteful plan" for a small chapel. She described, "The sight is a slight elevation in a skirt of wood near the road."⁵⁹ Evidently, he acceded to her request, for a chapel stands today some several hundred yards from the main house. After her death at Belmont in 1846, a monument was erected in front of the Chapel which is inscribed as follows:

⁵⁵ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber W.S.G. No. 14, f 196 (H. of R.).

⁵⁶ Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Sacred
 to the Memory
 of
 Margaret Mercer
 Born July 1st, 1791
 Died Sept. 17th, 1846
 Her remains repose beneath
 the Chancel of this
 Chapel built by her own
 self denying labors.
 This Monument
 erected by her pupils
 as a testimony of their
 admiration of her devoted
 Christian character and
 of their gratitude for her
 invaluable instructions.

Her remains were later brought to Cedar Park and re-interred in her beloved family burying ground.⁶⁰ The monument at Belmont gives the date of her birth as 1791. A stone at Cedar Park has the date 1795. Dr. Caspar Morris in his book *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer*, published in 1848, gives the earlier birth date.

Under the terms of Miss Mercer's will, West River Farm, or Cedar Park, was bequeathed to her nine nephews and nieces, children of her brother, John. There were several partitions of the property within the family. A part called Parkhurst became the property of Richard S. Mercer.⁶¹ The dwelling of the same name was built by him, probably soon after 1846. It is now the home of Judge and Mrs. William H. Kirkpatrick. In 1867 Ella W. Mercer deeded to Richard Hardesty, and others, 120 acres called the Mill Fields, now known as Atholl. Thomas Swann Mercer evidently received the Orchard Fields, since one of his descendents sold that property to Dr. James H. Murray in 1882.⁶² That tract of (some) 136½ acres is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. E. Churchill Murray, known as Lands End.

Following the end of the Civil War, Cedar Park moved into

⁶⁰ Mercer Collection.

⁶¹ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber I.H.N. No. 6, f 166 (H. of R.).

⁶² A. A. Co. L. R., Liber S.H. No. 19, f 127 (H. of R.).

a new era. May 7, 1869, Mary M. and Wilson C. Mercer deeded that property, through certain trustees, to their cousin, Fanny H. Cheston Murray, wife of Dr. James H. Murray.⁶³ Before the war, Dr. and Mrs. Murray had moved from Arden, which they had built near Harwood in Anne Arundel County in 1843, to Warrenton, Virginia. Subsequently, Dr. Murray served in the Confederate Army. Wilson C. Mercer, who sold the Cedar Park property in 1869, had also served in the Confederate Army. He was a Cavalry Officer and had been captured and imprisoned until the end of the War.⁶⁴

Since 1869 the house and surrounding "Park" land has been in possession of Dr. and Mrs. Murray and their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Through Mrs. Murray, all are descendants of Richard Galloway I, one of Maryland's first Friends. From 1673 to the present, all resident owners have been either Friends or descendants of founders of the West River Quaker Meeting. Cedar Park has always held an impressive place in the life of West River. Yet, over the last several generations, even its unique quietness and charm has seemed to soften in the care of these gentle people.

For some years the venerable old dwelling has been held in protective preservation by the owners, Mr. and Mrs. E. Churchill Murray. Title has now passed to their daughter, Marjorie Murray Bridgman, and her husband Eveleth, who, with their five children, now reside there. As Mr. Bridgman is a descendant of the Sprigg family, the young generation re-establishes, at Cedar Park, the earlier relationship between that family and the Galloways of West River. Renovation has been completed. Most of the changes made over many generations of ownership have not been disturbed. However, for the first time, the house has complete modern conveniences, and its aged bones can relax in the luxury of central heat. Thus, the words of the poet Philip Thomas, of Lothian, Anne Arundel County, dedicated to Cedar Park in 1857, have become alive, again:

The Old Mansion now reflects its rays and
long and bright and lovely may it blaze.

⁶³ A. A. Co. L. R., Liber No. 3, f 400 (H. of R.). Mrs. Murray was christened Francina Henrietta Cheston.

⁶⁴ Mercer Collection.

THE BALTIMORE MOBS AND JOHN HOWARD PAYNE

By GRACE OVERMYER

IT was the city of Baltimore which had virtually launched the playwright, actor, and composer of "Home Sweet Home," John Howard Payne, on three years of theatrical touring, and it was to Baltimore that Payne turned when his fortunes, personal and financial, were again at low ebb.¹ He had made his stage debut at the age of 17 in his native city, New York, in February, 1809. In October of that year he first visited Baltimore, acted for two weeks at the old Holliday Street Theater, and was very enthusiastically received. In Boston between the New York and Baltimore engagements, he had made his first appearance as Hamlet—the earliest American to essay the role—with Elizabeth Poe, mother of the infant, Edgar Allan, as Ophelia.

Now, early in 1812, Payne, low in funds and saddened by the death of his father, came back to Baltimore. Here he had many loyal friends, including three who were among the town's leading citizens.² They were William Gwynn and Jonathan Meredith, lawyers, and Alexander Contee Hanson, editor. Gwynn was a man many years older than Payne; Hanson and Meredith were only in their twenties. All were ardent Federalists, at a time of intense partisan feeling and rumors of impending war.

These friends of young Payne were men of high personal and mental calibre. Gwynn³ was declared to have been "one of the

¹ This article was originally written as a separate chapter of *America's First Hamlet*, a biography of John Howard Payne, by Grace Overmyer (New York, 1937), but was crowded out of the published work by considerations of book length.

² A fourth influential Baltimore friend, mentioned in W. T. Hanson's book on Payne (see Note 7), was Edward J. Coale, bookseller, who published Payne's juvenile poems in 1813.

³ John E. Semmes, in *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times* (Baltimore, 1917, pp. 207, 371), William Gwynn is described as "a theatre-goer and intimate with all the celebrities; one of the kindest and most benevolent of men . . . knew the words of more songs than any man I ever knew, and could, or thought he could, sing them to all the tunes that could be made up."

most reliable counselors of his day"; and incidentally, it was in his office that young David Poe ⁴ (father of Edgar Allan Poe) had attempted to study law. Gwynn was a man of wide interests, not only a lawyer but also an editor, his paper being the *Federal Gazette*. He was, as well, an early advocate of vaccination as an aid to public health, and was founder of the first gas company in the United States.⁵

Of Meredith, who would become an authority on commercial law, it was stated that "to the manner of a man of the world he joined the knowledge which placed him high in the ranks of his profession. . . . When he had completed the investigation of a case, it could fairly be assumed that there was nothing more to be found in the books concerning it."⁶

Hanson,⁷ later a United States Senator, was a man whose ancestors had been distinguished in governmental affairs—his grandfather, president of the Continental Congress and his father a secretary to George Washington. Yet for some years before 1812 young Hanson had found himself in disagreement with the government of his country; and so deep was his feeling that he had established a newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, to give expression to his views.

Although Payne's first stage appearances in Baltimore, in 1809, had created excitement and enthusiasm unprecedented in that city,"⁸ when he returned in 1812, it was to a city restive under the threat of war, and to a theatrical prospect decidedly unpromising. He made half a dozen appearances, but they were, in the words of Wood, the manager, to "sadly diminished

⁴David Poe deserted the law to go on the stage. Payne's reminiscences of Baltimore (*Ladies' Companion* [1837], VII, p. 185), says that David Poe had a brother, Sam Poe, a sea captain lost overboard on a voyage to the West Indies, who was "a better actor than his brother . . . A very eccentric and entertaining person . . . the best mimic our country has produced. A theatre within himself—author, actor, scene-painter, could even be the music between the acts . . . all mother's wit."

⁵In the group of Baltimoreans who founded the first American gas company were Gwynn and Rembrandt Peale, the artist.

⁶Jonathan Meredith (1785-1872). The statement concerning his legal supremacy is in Semmes *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁷Alexander Contee Hanson (1789-1819), was the great-grandfather of Willis Tracy Hanson, Jr., Schenectady banker, and author of *The Early Life of John Howard Payne* (Cambridge, 1913).

⁸Payne, in later years, would pay this tribute to Baltimore: "What a society I recollect on my first visit to Baltimore! What an endearing welcome! I hope to have it in my power some day to give a picture of what was surely the Augustan Age of Baltimore . . . when all its hearts seemed to me so warm and all its minds so brilliant." Overmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

houses.”⁹ The town was simply not in a theatre-going mood.

Circumstance, however, was to associate Payne prominently with Baltimore in 1812, but that circumstance was not theatrical. It was his participation, with several townsmen and a few outsiders, in personal defense of the life and property of Editor Hanson, after destruction of his newspaper plant by the “Baltimore mobs.” This resistance is referred to as an activity in support of freedom of the press, which in effect it was, though on Payne’s part it was primarily an act of loyalty to a friend in a situation of great danger. Apparently the only reason for Payne’s involvement was that he happened to be on hand at the time.

The attack on the *Federal Republican* office was a minor episode in what is generally regarded as a minor war, the War of 1812. But no battle, or no war, is minor to those who lose their lives in it; and in this local outburst of violence, one distinguished patriot, General James Lingan, was killed, as was also a member of the mob; while an eminent Revolutionary officer, General Henry Lee, known as “Lighthouse Harry,” interesting to posterity as the father of Robert E. Lee (then only five years old), received such severe wounds that he died as a result of them, some years later.¹⁰

The citizens of Baltimore, particularly those of means, had been generally impoverished (or so they regarded themselves), by the government’s embargo on commerce with England. Quite naturally they were not enthusiastic supporters of that policy or of the war which followed its adoption. Hanson was particularly outspoken, and in his paper had repeatedly attacked President Madison and administration policies generally. The incident that set off the violence was Hanson’s severely worded editorial which appeared on June 20, 1812, two days after the declaration of war.

⁹ William Wood’s *Personal Recollections of the Stage* (Philadelphia, 1855, p. 171), gives this laconic appraisal, entirely in box-office terms, of Payne’s Baltimore appearances at this time: “In 1812 the theatre followed a down-hill course throughout the Baltimore season, though strengthened by the engagement of Fennell and Payne. Payne performed 6 nights to sadly diminished houses: \$355, \$315, \$244, \$255 and benefit, \$656. This benefit, by advice of some friends, he threw up as insufficient, taking in return another, which reached only \$567.”

¹⁰ Gen. Henry Lee, a former Congressman and governor of Virginia, was also noted as a literary man, and it was he who wrote the resolutions on the death of Washington, originating the famous phrase, “First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

This was one of those crises in which the upper classes oppose the policies and acts of the established order, while citizens of lesser rank rise to the defense of the government, although in so doing they paradoxically take the law into their hands. The act of razing the *Federal Republican* office and destroying the presses was only the beginning, however, since two days after this occurred, the fiery Hanson, not to be intimidated, resumed publication of his paper from Georgetown, D. C., for circulation in Baltimore. A week later he announced that he proposed to reissue the paper in his home city and "shame those who supposed the mob to be invincible."¹¹ He accordingly set up a publication office in a private house in Baltimore's Charles Street.

While Hanson was still in Georgetown, Payne had made a trip to that town to call on his friend and benefactor. Finding the editor in a mood to return to Baltimore, Payne "suggested that that would be imprudent without preconcerting a plan of defense." For such a plan he volunteered his services, though obliged to admit that in "endeavoring to fortify my mind against the terrors of attack, I could not anticipate, and possibly could not govern, my sensations when the stones should fly, the doors crash and the glass shiver into atoms."¹²

For all this admission of natural fears, Payne was allowed to accompany Mrs. Hanson and children "to a place of safety about three miles outside of Baltimore,"¹³ and later he was deputed to ride through the countryside and muster other defenders. As a result, a number of Federalist sympathizers, including General Lingan and General Lee (the latter only a visitor to the community), went to the Charles Street house, where, in the interval, "a quantity of arms and ammunition had been secreted." Hanson said that the mob "would not attack when it knew we were prepared, and if it did, one volley would disperse them."¹⁴ As a matter of fact, the knowledge that the

¹¹ From Payne's testimony in *Report of the Committee on Grievances and Courts of Justice of the House of Delegates of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1813), pp. 14-18.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ On his return from abroad, in 1832, Payne wrote (c. July 25, 1832) the widowed Mrs. Hanson, assuring her of "grateful recollections of your kindness to me in early days and of the earnest friendship of one who is no longer here to receive my acknowledgments" (From the collection of the late Thatcher T. P. Luquer, Payne's grandnephew Columbia University Library).

¹⁴ Payne's testimony, *op. cit.*

defense was armed was merely sufficient to stay the mob until it too was supplied with arms.

As Payne had been serviceable in rounding up defenders, he was sent out on horseback by General Lee, on the night of June 27th, to view the situation in the outskirts, and this fact may have saved the younger man's life. For on returning to Charles Street to report quiet in the rural areas, he found the house surrounded by the mob. He left his horse and went on foot to the home of William Gwynn, who has supplied this account:

I was first informed by Mr. John Howard Payne that Alexander Contee Hanson had come back to Baltimore with several friends who were in the house in Charles Street, and that Hanson intended to issue the *Federal Republican* from that house. I went to the house, saw Mr. Hanson and was introduced to General Lingan, went home and to bed and was waked at 10 p. m. by Mr. Payne, who said that the house in Charles Street was attacked, windows broken and that those within had fired over the heads of the mob to alarm them. At his request I dressed and went with him to Charles Street, which was very noisy. . . . A cannon had been placed in an alley opposite the house, aimed at the upper story. Doors had been burst open and a leader of the mob shot dead. At daylight the mob increased and Thomas Wilson (editor of the *Sun*, a paper taking the government's side in the embargo controversy), with a pistol in each hand and a sword and scabbard under his arm, was very active and vociferous, urging the mob to fire the cannon and declaring they must have blood for blood.¹⁵

Gwynn, the lawyer, knew the necessity of orderly procedure, and he and Payne went in search of the proper official ("a justice") to sign an order to bring out the militia. As most officials had been intimidated, that was no easy quest.

An escort was finally recruited—about fifty armed guards on horse and foot—and the mob persuaded to take away the cannon "on the assurance that persons in the house would be taken into custody." The military "formed a hollow square, which Mr. Hanson and his friends from inside the house, entered, and, thus attended by hundreds crying for vengeance, to which the apathy of the well-disposed gave increased activity . . . reached the gaol."

¹⁵ Gwynn's statement, report, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-34.

After the mayor had promised that neither Mr. Hanson nor his friends would be bailed, orders were given to disperse the military. Gwynn's account concludes the story: "That was a signal for destruction. The mob collected with savage impetuosity and attacked the sanctuary of the prisoners. The outer door was opened by treachery, the inner door yielded to rage and force. Seven or eight gentlemen were thrown into a heap, under the impression that they were dead. Among them, the good, venerable and gallant General Lingan" actually was dead, and General Lee critically injured.¹⁶

The mob then attacked the post office "in order to destroy copies of the *Federal Republican* in the mails. This caused the ordering out of the whole militia, though the soldiers were in sympathy with the mob and only by the mayor's assurance that you are not protecting the proprietor of the paper, you are marshalled here to protect the property of the United States," were they persuaded to restore order.

Although there is nothing in Payne's correspondence to indicate that participation in this frightening adventure greatly impressed him, it may have been a contributing cause of a serious illness, which he mentioned briefly in a letter to his sister Lucy, written from Georgetown two months later: "I shall soon recover from an attack of bilious fever, at the height of which my life was despaired of."¹⁷ This letter also referred to an historic consequence of the Baltimore disorders—the funeral service for General Lingan, at Georgetown, two months after his death. Lingan not only was a hero of various military engagements, he had also been one of the famous prison ship martyrs of the Revolution. Those were the American soldiers, captured by the enemy, who were held under unspeakable conditions on board the notorious prison ships, anchored in Wallabout Bay, off Brooklyn.¹⁸ That Lingan survived that horror, although with permanently impaired health, may be because, as an officer of rank, he apparently figured in a prisoner ex-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Payne to his sister Aug. 28, 1812, Luquer collection.

¹⁸ It is estimated that several thousand Americans died on the prison ships. In 1808 the bones of many of them were found and buried in a tomb erected in Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, and the address of dedication was made by Joseph D. Fay, a New York lawyer, who, it so happened, was a friend and admirer of Payne. When the permanent monument was completed a hundred years later, the address was made by President Taft.

change.¹⁹ The subsequent death of this patriot, in advanced years, at the hands of an irresponsible mob, was therefore an event that stirred the public imagination. "A funeral oration for General Lingan and splendid procession will take place here on Tuesday next," Payne wrote to Lucy. "General Washington's grandson, Mr. Custis, will deliver it."

The throngs which gathered for this ceremony were so great that they could not be accommodated in a church, and the service was held "on an open-air platform, overhung with lofty oaks. While Lingan's mangled body slept in some obscure grave, the train moved to the music of a funeral dirge. The hearse was drawn by horses clad in mourning; the general's horse, in mourning, led by a groom. Minute guns were fired from the first ship ever built in Georgetown and named *The General Lingan*."²⁰

Carriages had been reserved for Hanson and his friends, and Payne probably rode in one of them. His letter to his sister, apparently written before the ceremonies, contains some further details:

We dined afterwards under the *marqué* which Genl. Washington carried with him from the beginning to the end of the war. Hanson and myself spent the night with Custis recently, and Hanson slept in the bed, and on the side of it, where Washington breathed his last. . . .

Hanson and myself went in a gig to call on Genl. Lee. He is dreadfully mangled by stabs and slashes with knives, all over his face. . . . The Grand Jury have found presentments for manslaughter against the defenders of Mr. Hanson's house, but my name is not included among those presented.

During the early months of the following winter, Payne apparently divided his time between Baltimore and New York, and in the Maryland city his good friends were concerting a plan and collecting a fund of \$2000 to send him abroad.²¹ At

¹⁹ Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* has this entry p. 352: "Lingan, James M., captain of Rawling's Continental Regiment, to rank, 1778; taken prisoner, Nov. '79; exchanged, 1780; retired, 1781; died, 1812." In other records he is referred to as General.

²⁰ From "An Account of the Funeral Solemnities in honor of the lamented Gen. James M. Lingan," prefacing the *Oration of Mr. Custis at Arlington* (Washington City, 1812).

²¹ The possibility of Payne's going abroad had been rumored even before the means were provided. *The Dramatic Censor* of Philadelphia, in an issue of

a time when, according to a contemporary historian, "an annual salary of \$3000 gave its possessor the reputation of being a wealthy man;"²² \$2000 was a considerable sum. In addition to Hanson, Meredith and Gwynn, a contributor to the fund was the Baltimore merchant, J. N. D'Arcy, who would later join Payne in London. It is known that the versatile youth had been offered employment on Hanson's re-established paper, but this young Payne declined "because of the load of embarrassment I am compelled to remove, previous to my permanent settling in any way."²³ Apparently he still felt that the stage, with all its faults, held the best possibility of eventual disentanglement, and in the hope of achieving this, assisted by his Baltimore friends, he turned his face toward England.

On the 17th of January, 1813, the brig *Catherine Ray*, "flying a white flag as an emblem of innocence among the belligerents,"²⁴ heaved uneasily in the icy waters of New York Harbor. Amid "the bustle, rattling of ropes and crowds of passengers, hallooing from one end of the ship to the other," Payne found his stateroom. His brother Thatcher,²⁵ and that faithful friend, Joseph D. Fay,²⁶ came aboard with him, while "a crowd of friends on the wharf were alternately seen and lost to view by the changes of the ship's position."

The brig was tugged slowly out of harbor, and "many hands could be seen waving, when faces could no longer be discerned." Young Roscius²⁷ had left his native land. Not for twenty years would he be cheered by those friendly faces and those heartening hands; and some he would never see again.

Jan. 1810, says: "From some English papers in our possession we find that the fame of the young gentleman has already reached Europe; in such sort, too, as in all probability will insure him a very favorable reception, should he be disposed to try the enterprise . . . however, we hope the justice of his own country will prevent the necessity of merit such as his seeking encouragement in strange and distant lands."

²² Semmes, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

²³ Having become disillusioned with theatrical life, Payne had tried to establish a reading room in New York, thereby contracting many debts, as yet not fully paid.

²⁴ Payne's log of the voyage, Luquer collection.

²⁵ Payne's younger brother, Thatcher Taylor Payne, who became a New York lawyer.

²⁶ See Note 18.

²⁷ The name Young Roscius, for the Roman actor, Gallus Quintus Roscius, 126-62 B. C., was much applied to Payne by the press of the time.

SIDELIGHTS

ELECTRO VITRIFRICO IN ANNAPOLIS: MR. FRANKLIN VISITS THE TUESDAY CLUB

By ROBERT R. HARE

When Benjamin Franklin visited Annapolis early in 1754, he attended a regular meeting of the Tuesday Club.¹ He made a modest contribution to the evening's ribaldry—the mock trial of a member accused of selling the club's Presidential Chair was in progress—and, according to the club's *MS History*,² the following conversation took place:

Secr: As this trial, Gentlemen, seems not in a way to be soon determined, I would move That as this gentleman is to leave the club soon, he may, from a long standing, be transmogrified into an honorary member, as others before him have been.

Q. Com: Sir, I humbly second that motion.

Jon: Grog: Why Mr. Secretary, you would not have us dock the gentleman, I suppose the member, however he may stand now at this juncture, is as long as ever.

Dep. Pres: ha, ha, ha, the longstanding members methinks are waggish.

Mr. Electro Vitrifrico (a stranger invited to the Club)³ Longstanding members, I think gentlemen, with submission, are not so properly waggish, because if they stand they cannot wag.⁴

There is substantial documentary evidence—three “fair” transcriptions of the club's raw notes—to support the authenticity of Electro Vitrifrico's quip, or at least to suggest that Mr. Franklin may have said something of the sort at the 217th meeting of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club of Annapolis. The meeting was held on Tuesday, January 22, 1754, at the home of Dr.

¹ Although there are frequent references to the Tuesday Club in works dealing with Colonial Annapolis, only one article has been published: Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, “The Tuesday Club Medal,” *The Numismatist*, LVIII (December 1945). Franklin's visit is mentioned, in passing, in Walter B. Norris, *Annapolis, Its Colonial and Naval Story* (New York, 1925), p. 63.

² *History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, MS, bound in three volumes, in the Johns Hopkins University Library.

³ “Electro Vitrifrico” (electric glass-rubber) is, of course, Benjamin Franklin.

⁴ *History*, III, 295.

Alexander Hamilton (1712-1756), Scotch-born physician who was the club's founder, prime mover, and indefatigable secretary.⁵

Mr. Franklin came to Annapolis on business connected with his recent appointment as Postmaster General of the Colonies. In the January 17, 1754, issue of the *Maryland Gazette* there appeared the following item:

Annapolis

Last week arrived in Town, to regulate and settle the affairs of the Post Offices, Benjamin Franklin, Esq; of Philadelphia, and William Hunter, Esq; of Williamsburg, his Majesty's Post Masters General of the Continent of North America.

That Mr. Franklin also had other more personal business to transact in Maryland is suggested by a paid advertisement that appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on February 21, 1754, and in five subsequent issues:

Baltimore County, Feb. 18, 1754

Whereas Benjamin Franklin, Esq; of Philadelphia, has constituted me his Attorney in Fact, for the Western Shore of this Province, for transacting his affairs: This is therefore to require all persons indebted to him, on this side of the Bay, to make speedy payment of their respective debts, else they must expect trouble, from

Their humble servant,

William Young

When Mr. Franklin visited the Tuesday Club, however, he was no doubt welcomed more for his philosophical accomplishments than for his standing in the world of commerce and public administration. In 1749 Ebenezer Kinnersley had performed Franklin's electrical experiments at public lectures in Annapolis and he, too,

⁵ Dr. Hamilton kept virtually all of the club's record during the entire period of the club's activity (1745-1756) and they exist, as it were, in triplicate. There are two "fair copy" minute books which differ very little, one among the Dulany Papers at the Maryland Historical Society, and one in the Johns Hopkins University Library. Both are more than 600 pages long, and are co-extensive, covering the first full decade (1745-1755) of the club's life. An additional minute book, covering the last few months of the club's life (May 27, 1755-February 10, 1756) is in the Maryland Collection of the Library of Congress. The History, cited in n. 4, above, is also the work of Dr. Hamilton; he seems to have begun it in 1754, relying upon the minute books, memory, fancy, and sheer verbal elaboration. It differs notably from the minute books by using "clubical" pseudonyms for both members and guests, by not maintaining a strict chronological order, and by including extensive secretarial commentary on the proceedings.

had been a guest of the Tuesday Club.⁶ The jocose members were prepared, in 1754, to welcome Benjamin Franklin as Mr. Electro Vitrifrico himself.

Franklin already had very close business and personal relations with Jonas Green (1712-1767), the very active Tuesday Club "Jon: Grog" and the publisher of the *Maryland Gazette*; and Green was, besides, postmaster of Annapolis, an office which had a direct bearing on Franklin's visit. Green had worked for Franklin in Philadelphia for three years before coming to Annapolis in 1738, and continued to have business dealings with him for many years. The Annapolis printer was not, as is sometimes suggested, a charter member or even a very early member of the Tuesday Club—he joined at the 75th meeting, in 1748—but he was almost immediately made Poet Laureate and Master of Ceremonies, and was more informally styled P.P.P.P.P: poet, printer, punster, purveyor, and punchmaker.

The "Q. Com."—short for Quirpum Comic—in the *History* is Beale Bordley, and the Deputy President (usually Crinkum Crankum) is William Lux, both Annapolis worthies and "long standing members." At the meeting which Franklin attended, Lux presided in the absence of the gouty president, Charles Cole, an aging merchant whose contributions to the club were more material than intellectual. According to the records, Cole provided splendid refreshments when the club met at his home and, Dr. Hamilton wryly observes in the *History*, accustomed the members to a degenerating luxury. Cole missed many meetings in spite of Dr. Hamilton's prescriptions, and he died in 1757, a year after his physician.

Dr. Hamilton—"Loquacious Scribble" and sometimes "Secretarius Scriblerius" in the *History*—seems to have had a light but profitable practice in medicine, and the instincts of a man of letters. Yet he seems to have intended little more than a single pamphlet for publication.⁷ His *Itinerarium*, a journal account of a voyage

⁶ On May 16 and June 13, 1749. A full account of Kinnersley's demonstrations and lectures in Annapolis, as well as an account of his association with Franklin in the experiments, is contained in J. A. Leo Lemay, "The Ingenious Mr. Kinnersley: A Biography of the Reverend Ebenezer Kinnersley, A. M. (1711-1778)," an unpublished University of Maryland Master's thesis, 1962.

⁷ *A Defense of Doctor Thomson's Discourse on the Preparation of the Body For Small-pox*, . . . Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1751, 27 pages. Dr. Hamilton's other publications may include *De Morbis Ossium* (Diseases of the Bone), his 1737 doctoral dissertation, and a number of anonymous or pseudonymous essays in the *Maryland Gazette*. Among those which suggest his style are the "What News?" essay in the issue of January 7, 1746, and one signed Theophilus Polypharmacus, M. D., in the issue of February 4 of the same year.

he made in 1744 to the New England Colonies, he gave in MS form to an Italian friend. It was not found and published until the beginning of this century.⁸ Dr. Hamilton established and sustained the Tuesday Club for the sole purpose of alleviating an educated gentleman's boredom with life in the "wretched" capital of the "poor, sickly, confused" Maryland Colony.⁹

He was born in Edinburgh in 1712, the son of the Principal of the University. He received his doctorate from the Medical School in 1737, and two years later settled in Annapolis. As early as 1743 he knew himself to be consumptive, and his New England voyage, in 1744, was in part therapeutic. In 1747 he married Margaret Dulany, daughter of the wealthy and influential Daniel Dulany. The bride was, according to the *Maryland Gazette* (June 2, 1747), "a well-accomplish'd and agreeable young Lady, with a handsome Fortune." But Dr. Hamilton's chief concern seems to have been the Tuesday Club. In 1754 he prepared his will and, even though he was already beginning to miss meetings, began the club's extensive *History*. He made the last entry in the club's records on February 10, 1756, and on May 11 he died. The *History* was apparently complete, and two of the volumes indexed. He was 44 years old.

When Franklin visited Annapolis the club was meeting every two weeks, and Electro Vitrifrico attended only one meeting. In all club proceedings a determinedly burlesque tone was maintained; and Franklin's quip, as well as the dialogue which gave rise to it, is a fair sample of "clubical" wit.

Just what Franklin said on that memorable occasion is, however, to a degree uncertain; for Dr. Hamilton, in the two fair copies of the minutes, casts some doubts on the reliability of his own record:

If the abstract of this political trial seems imperfect, the secretary thus apologizes for himself. Having no pen and ink at hand, he was obliged to use a lead pencil, and by the attrition and rubbing the writing was so obliterated, before he could find leisure to get it transcribed into the record book, that partly his memory, and partly his invention, served as a *succedaneum* for the defect of his eyes.

⁸ There have been two editions: *Hamilton's Itinerarium, Being a narrative of a journey*, etc., Limited Edition, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University: St. Louis, W. K. Bixby, 1907; and *Gentleman's Progress, the Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, edited with an introduction by Carl Bridenbaugh: published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948. The MS is at present in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, Cal.

⁹ The adjectives are Dr. Hamilton's. *Itinerarium* (Chapel Hill, 1948), pp. 189 and 199.

The account in the record book at the Maryland Historical Society conforms almost exactly to the report in the *History*, except that the pseudonyms are not used. The account in the Johns Hopkins book is a minor variant:

D. Pres: ha, ha, the long standing members I think are waggish.

Mr. Frank: Long standing members, I think are not properly waggish, because if they stand they cannot wag.

The guest from Philadelphia, however, did not get in the last word. All three accounts report the rejoinder of Alexander Malcolm, the club Chancellor:

Chanc: With your leave, Sir, members must stand before they can wag.

Thus did the learned trial proceed, and was not determined any how, the delinquent [Beale Bordley] privately slipping out of the Club room, for fear of some severe sentence being denounced against him.¹⁰

Fellow guests with Franklin at this meeting were Dr. Thomas Thornton and John Ridout, both of the Annapolis vicinity and familiars of the club. Dr. Thornton (Dr. Nolens Valens in the *History*) was a witness in the mock trial, and made a learned contribution:

Beal: Bord: Gentlemen, you won't allow me to ask this evidence any questions.—avast there I say!—no dragoon law.

Chanc: Yea Sir,—but Club law—Club law.

Dr. Th: Thorn: Is that what is called Argumentum Baculare?¹¹

The meetings of the Tuesday Club were accompanied by food and drink, according to Club law and custom, and this was supplied by the host of the evening. One suspects, in reading the garrulous records, that the members, both long standing and honorary, and their guests, also fortified themselves in advance. Perhaps Dr. Hamilton, however, whose secretarial duties gave rise to almost 3,300 pages of fine goose-quill script, drank nothing but ink.

¹⁰ Transcription from JHU minute book. There is a variant in the MHS book: "Chanc: With your leave, Sir, I say yea, members must stand before they can wag or be waggish to any purpose."

¹¹ MHS minute book. *Baculare* is perhaps from L. *Baculus* or *Baculum*, a stick, staff, or sceptre, and hence a club. The Tuesday Club members, many of them professional men, affected their Latin.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland including the *Truman, Vaughan, Covington, Lloyd, Robins, Chamberlain, Hayward, Carmichael, Murray, Bennett, Earle, Chew, Hemsley, Tilghman, Goldsborough, and Other Families*. By JAMES BORDLEY, JR. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1962. xii, 344. \$10.

Americans today are more aware than ever of their past. Interest in colonial houses and those who lived in them has become a national study and pastime to the point of obsession. People flock to Williamsburg and Winterthur, sign volumes of guest books at American shrines, go in droves to "open house" and "garden weeks," and buy books on the subject so avidly they become collectors' items.

Maryland has its share of beautiful old houses about which much has been written, but seldom does one find so rewarding a book as Dr. Bordley's on Colonial and Revolutionary Marylanders, their houses, and way of life. It is a documented study of upper class planters and their descendants down to the 20th century. The Hollydays and their relations built ships and sailed them, were merchants, doctors, lawyers, and held political, judicial, and military office in the province, state and nation. Today their houses are show-places drawing visitors from far and near.

The founder of this Hollyday family was Thomas (1668-1703), a merchant and ship-builder, who came to Maryland in 1678 and built "Billingsley" in Calvert County. His sons were Colonel Leonard (1691-1741) who built "Brookfield" (now destroyed) in Prince George's County, and James (1696-1747) who built "Readbourne" and sired Henry (b. 1725) of "Ratcliffe Manor," imposing river front houses on the Eastern Shore. These men and their descendants married into equally important families about which Dr. Bordley writes informingly.

The wives of these Maryland planters ran large households when the plantations were domains, administered to the sick and, if need be, fought injustices to the highest court. Such was true of Sarah (Covington) Lloyd, widow of Edward Lloyd II of "Wye House" in Talbot County, and wife of James Hollyday I of this family.

When Edward Lloyd was president of the Council and acting governor he was accused by enemies of taking certain fees to which he was really entitled by law. He had his case plead before the Lords of Trade, in London, but died before he was vindicated at home. Sarah went before the lower house without gaining redress, then appealed to the Governor and Council where she won her suit.

This attractive woman was the daughter of Nehemiah and Rebecca (Denwood) Covington, Quakers, of "Covingtons Vineyard" in Somerset County, Maryland. As a girl of seventeen she so charmed the brothers Edward and Philemon Lloyd, heirs to one of Maryland's large fortunes, that both fell in love with her. They saw her first when she came to Yearly Meeting at Third Haven (at Easton) in 1700. After the Meeting was over the brothers set off separately, not knowing each others intention, for her father's house in Somerset. When Philemon arrived there stood his brother's "turnout" by the door. Aside, they agreed, that whoever had seen her first could first propose.

"The minute I took my seat in the Meeting House and looked around," Philemon said, "this young girl's face was singled out. . . ."

"Now the first offer is mine," replied Edward, for I saw her "on a pillion behind her father, and heard them ask the way to the Meeting. . . ." Edward won his suit and she became mistress of "Wye House" in Talbot County.

After Edward's death Sarah married James Hollyday (1696-1747) a young lawyer of ability who was thirteen years her junior. He had helped her with legal problems concerning the Lloyd estate, and though consulted on legal matters by leading men in the colony gave up active practice after his marriage to hold public office and lead the "Court Party" in Maryland. He served in the Assembly, was judge of the county and provincial courts, treasurer of the Eastern Shore, and member of the Governor's Council. He and Sarah built "Readbourne" on Chester River in Queen Anne's County between 1733 and 1740, though part of this time he spent in London.

After his death in 1747 Sarah herself went abroad where she died at her daughter's London house. A painting of her, in low neck dress and pearls by Gustavus Hesselius, is reproduced in the book.

Sarah's daughter, Rebecca (Lloyd) Anderson lived on Tower Hill and her house was "as bright and airy as any . . . in London." Here she entertained the Calverts, Dulanys, Ogles, Lloyds, "Squire" Carroll, the Signer's father, and other Maryland aristocrats. Her parties usually ended with a dance in the ballroom. She was close to her Hollyday half-brothers who came to visit. When James, II

was studying law at the Middle Temple he spent much time with the Andersons . . . "Sally" Anderson, his niece, was a special favorite and accompanied his flute playing on the spinet.

James is believed to have introduced the banjo to London society. When he returned to "Readbourne" he sent one to his cousin Lady Browne, wife of Sir William, and her musician, "proficient on a "guittar," played it at her entertainments. It created such a sensation that Sally wrote her uncle for his scale so she could both play and teach it. James was surprised that this "rude" instrument should prove so attractive. When first brought from Africa by the slaves the strings were of grass. What changes had been made by this time is not known.

Sally wrote her uncle amusing London gossip. At a "Drawing Room" at court she thought Queen Charlotte "no beauty and looks like a foreigner." A "Ridotto," after the coronation, was more to her liking with "dancing and much gambling until stopped by the King."

Sally's father William Anderson was a retired sea-captain who had a flourishing shipping business, and was sales agent for his brothers-in-law Richard and Edward Lloyd. The Lloyd brothers, said a contemporary, "have only goods for their own families. Mrs. R. Lloyd says they are cursed dear." Confidential communications to Lord Baltimore were sent in William Anderson's care, as well as important messages to Benjamin Franklin when he was a colonial agent in London.

William Anderson made a fortune which was only to be lost by his unbusiness like son, James, the eldest, who was raised in luxury and had no aptitude for commerce. James spent his time escorting his family around until his marriage to Meliora, daughter of Governor Samuel Ogle of Maryland. He was then made a partner by his father. No sooner had his father become too ill to manage his affairs, than James took the reins and proceeded to ruin the firm. Creditors took over and, after getting his mother to mortgage her property for 10,000£, he sailed to Maryland where he wasted what was left of this once handsome fortune, a fortune estimated at a quarter of a million dollars in his father's day. James died at "Tulley's Delight," a small farm near "Readbourne," and was buried without a prayer. A religious service, arranged a few days later, was unattended by his sisters, whom he had ruined, and the family of Henry Hollyday II.

Dr. Bordley's biographical sketches of the Hollydays and their kin are filled with family lore and contemporary comments about events leading up to the Revolution, the war itself, and successive

episodes in American history. He tells that Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman (1744-1786), the patriot and Washington's friend and aide, rode James Hollyday's white horse on part of his historic ride from Yorktown to the Continental Congress.

A more recent descendant of the Tilghmans, through James, another Revolutionary patriot, is John Hays Hammond, Jr. (b. 1888) who invented a torpedo for coastal defense controlled by wireless energy, a system of radio control for ships, and other useful devices. His father John Hays Hammond, also a Tilghman descendant, was sentenced to death by the Boers for his connection with the Jameson raid. This was commuted to imprisonment, then to a \$125,000 fine when he returned to this country to pursue his distinguished engineering career and serve as special ambassador from this country at the coronation of George V of England.

It was Richard Hollyday (1842-1907), the last Hollyday owner of "Readbourne," who first interested Dr. Bordley in the family history. After Dr. Bordley's marriage to Margaretta Carroll, Mr. Hollyday's daughter, in 1899 this interest crystalized into a plan for a book. Along with his successful medical career, Dr. Bordley found time to read hundreds of letters, account books, diaries and other family records to accomplish this task. The result is an outstanding family history.

Professor Walter Blake Norris and Captain Walter D. Sharp, who prepared the book for publication, and the late James W. Foster, former Director, and the Maryland Historical Society are to be congratulated for the publication of this work.

GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II

Dover, Delaware

The American College and University: A History. By FREDERICK RUDOLPH. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. ix, 516. \$6.75.

Professor Rudolph has attained greater success than anyone else in making something meaningful out of one of the most frustrating areas of American history. The history of higher education seems to promise so much, for in many ways the colleges are the very capstone of civilization, the source of leadership and ideas in a society, the mold and mirror of a nation's ideals. Historians have flocked to the subject. In the past fifty years at least 200 books have appeared—some by great scholars like Becker, Morison, Nevins, Curti and Barzun—to present the history of one institution as the

story in miniature of the best in society. And yet, alas, the books have not really been broadly significant. They seldom rose above the specific; patterns in the development of higher education hardly emerged; the meaning was not apparent. Finally, during the past few years, scholars like Hofstadter, Brubecher and Rudy, and now Rudolph, have taken the magnificent raw materials, and by putting them all together have set out again to find the history buried beneath the facts. Professor Rudolph, especially, is beginning to say something really significant.

He analyses the extraordinary passion for colleges in the earliest days of settlement as pioneers consciously sought to create leaders for a world that was truly brave and new. Deism of the 1780's added impetus to college founding, and a few years later American nationalism, sectarianism and moral zeal added further impetus, so that by 1830 frontier Ohio boasted 33 institutions of higher learning, while all of Great Britain got along with four. At the same time, Professor Rudolph believes that these pre-Civil War American colleges were basically failures because of their aristocratic attitudes, their reactionary classical curriculum, and their anti-intellectual moralism.

Reform began, he believes, toward the end of the nineteenth century when universities began to displace the old-time colleges. Reform was sparked by the coming of German scholarship at The Johns Hopkins, by the coming of electives which allowed specialization, by the new vocational courses and public service ideals of the land-grant institutions, by an influx of coeds, and by big-time football and intercollegiate rivalry. By the 1920's these reforms had been carried to excess. The high "educational plants" had dehumanized education, and the small colleges reasserted themselves. Today the universities and colleges balance each other.

This is a book of generalizations, and along the way Professor Rudolph scatters countless minor themes and incidental ideas. Some of the least important are the most fascinating. For me, the brief analysis of the first fraternities (p. 149), the one-page history of college debating (p. 451), or the correlation of college football with Social Darwinism (p. 381) are alone worth the reading of the book.

On the other hand, this is far from the last word on the development of higher education. Many elements in the story are missing; many of the generalizations are fuzzy and hard to understand; many are doubtful, or contradictory, or just plain untrue. It is jarring, for example, when the author says that the Lutherans and Unitarians are Calvinists (p. 55), that the Jacksonians were opposed

to religion (p. 205), that "the descendants of Bacon and Rousseau . . . obliterated" humanism in the 1880's (p. 306 and repeated p. 453), and that college deans are more hostile to scholarship than college presidents (p. 435). Professor Rudolph has made a brilliant foray into a fascinating and frustrating field, and probably he will encourage others to even greater success.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

President James Buchanan. A Biography. By PHILIP SHRIVER KLEIN.
University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962.
xviii, 506. \$7.50.

James Buchanan climbed the political ladder in the wrong half of the nineteenth century. Had he lived in the post Civil War era, his name might now rank high in Professor Schlesinger's presidential polls of historians—like Cleveland's or Arthur's, who shone by comparison with incompetents and non-entities. But it was the Crisis Decade of the 'Fifties which made inordinate demands on Buchanan and found him wanting.

Nor should the presidential failure have come as a surprise. All of Buchanan's previous career—so bland, so basically uncommitted, so colorless (despite a full participation in the rituals of popular politics), so dull—indicated unmistakably that imaginative leadership was not in him. His nomination by the Democrats of 1856 testified to the bankruptcy of national politics at that moment. Put forward in the hope that reasonable temporizing might preserve the status quo for four years, and ease the nation's problems out of sight, Buchanan floundered for several reasons. First his nature—both with regard to personal relationships and his abhorrence of ideological extremes—precluded the sort of lashing out in adversity which made Andrew Johnson our most memorable presidential failure; and second, the nature of the crisis, barring capitulation on one side or the other, indeed made it an irrepressible conflict.

These views of Buchanan are not those adopted by Professor Klein in this full scale and gentle account of the ill-starred bachelor from Lancaster, Pa. But they seem to me to spring from this tale honestly told. Klein gives us the best Buchanan biography to date, through a thorough use of Buchanan manuscript material. Many other collections of private papers are carried in the bibliography, but with few exceptions (such as the Howell Cobb Papers) have not been fully utilized. The Buchanan who emerges is always

sane and sensible, and equally plodding and derivative. Klein traces his advancement through the prescribed stages of state legislator, congressman, senator, minister, cabinet member, and the final costly prize.

The author knows ante-bellum Pennsylvania politics. He masters the confusions of Keystone factionalism, and keeps the groupings well-ordered before the reader's eyes. But missing from the account is a comprehensive attempt to relate the "superstructure" of state politics to the economic and social movements which influenced the political shifts. For example, antimasonry, silly as it was on its own terms, is now regarded by historians as an important part of social protest in that era. Klein makes references to antimasonic candidates, but makes little effort to deal with the movement. And the changes in the state's economy during Buchanan's lifetime merited discussion as political determinants. As for the Buchanan administration, Klein admits that his treatment was not exhaustive in view of what he apparently considers the definitive nature of Nichols' *Disruption of American Democracy*.

Klein has written a friendly apologia for a much maligned individual. His style is clear, though cliché-ridden. From it comes the portrait of a man one would gladly have for an uncle. From 1857 to 1861 Buchanan was clearly the wrong man for the job. Could anyone, whatever his outward displays of energy, have done better? Probably not, but as a Jacksonian, Buchanan should have known that the appearance of lassitude is not the way to impose one's will. The problem of Buchanan in the secession crisis will remain to supply forensic fuel for countless generations of historical revisionists and their foes.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

America's Polish Heritage: A Social History of the Poles in America.

By JOSEPH WYTRWAL. Detroit: Endurance Press, 1961. xxxi, 294. \$6.50.

Following the pattern established by earlier studies of immigrant groups, Dr. Wytrwal recounts the various stages of Polish removal to America, the predominant motives which prompted the uprooting in each stage, and the efforts made by Polish-Americans to preserve the culture of their homeland in the New World environment. He also includes chapters that describe the long and troubled history of the immigrants' old country in somewhat more detail

than is usual in such works—perhaps most Americans' ignorance of Polish history justifies this elaboration.

The author divides Polish immigration into three phases: the "adventurer" pioneers of 1608-1776; the political refugees of 1776-1870; and the primarily economically-motivated mass migration that got underway about 1870 and persisted until the Statue of Liberty's lamp went out in the 1920s. Each wave carried with it some notable individuals who made distinctive contributions to America's development—soldiers, intellectuals, scientists, actors and artists—and, of course, Wyrwal does not overlook listing their names.

Yet, it seems to this reviewer that Wyrwal fails to spell out very specifically just what the total impact of Polish immigrant culture, considered *as a whole*, has been on our evolving American civilization. Perhaps this is because the mass of Polish-Americans, coming after 1870, proved more successful than other groups in isolating themselves from the mainstream of American life. Their protective organizations—such as the Polish National Alliance and particularly the clergy-dominated Polish Roman Catholic Union, whose activities the author recounts at length—for a long time walled Polish-American influence within narrow and inbred limits bounded by the home, the church, the parochial school, the corner saloon, and the soccer field. But perhaps their very success in doing so inhibited establishment of the sort of contacts with American society in general which might persist, and at least symbolize America's Polish tradition, after the narrow walls had collapsed, as they inevitably must.

With the growth of adulthood of native-born second, third, and fourth generations of Polish-Americans, and with the virtual cessation of immigration after 1924, the nationality and religious-centered activities of the P. N. A. and the P. R. C. U. began to lose their appeal and the "assimilation" of the younger people made rapid strides. Dr. Wyrwal is much concerned with this phenomenon and with the future, as a distinct element, of the rapidly disintegrating Polish-American community. Although his handling of these important matters is overly-encumbered with sociological jargon, nevertheless his discussion of the nature of "American nationality" does benefit considerably from the flood of new insights that students of immigration have provided us with in the last few years. In this respect, at least, Wyrwal's book is superior to some of the earlier works of its type.

The author seems to view philosophically and with resignation the fate that is befalling Polish-America. "Fifty years ago," he writes, "the Polish orator was wont to disclaim, 'We love Poland as our mother and America as our bride.' Today it would be truer

to say: 'We love America as our mother and Poland as our grandmother of whom for a fast-growing number of us there will soon be little left but fond tradition.' " But perhaps even the awareness and enjoyment of that "fond tradition" is limited only to the small number of Polish-Americans who choose to treasure it. Most other Americans have never been permitted to savor it, and hence cannot cherish it, as they do the symbolic vestiges of other American immigrant groups' cultures. Perhaps the earliest generations of Polish-Americans protected themselves too well—and all in vain.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

Roosevelt and Howe. By ALFRED B. ROLLINS, JR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. x, 479. \$5.95.

Professor Rollins' book deserves success. It is well-written and scholarly, so that both the amateur and the professional historian may find satisfaction in it. Its subject matter is of first-rate importance and has long needed full scale treatment. Its facts are accurate and the interpretation of them is reasonable and objective.

This is, among other things, almost a full-length biography of Louis McHenry Howe. But the major figure is, of course, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is difficult to see how anyone, from now on, who wants an understanding of our very complex thirty-first president, can neglect this book. F. D. R. is here with his many virtues: his energy, his broad interests, his tolerance and humanitarianism, his love of life and of the game of politics; and his numerous faults: his occasional arrogance, his carelessness, his indecisive moments, his weakness for flashy ideas (Professor Rollins' phrase), and his sly politicking.

Roosevelt and Howe should go on the shelf just before Robert Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*. The two books go together. They deal with the same subject. The same Roosevelt turns up in both of them. So, very nearly, does the same presidential confidant and handy man.

Howe and Hopkins turn out to have been astonishingly alike. They performed quite similar services for the president—trouble shooters, confidants and companions, Machiavellian political connivers, speech writers, ever faithful, ever loyal friends come hell or high water. There was no overlapping in their careers. Hopkins came along after Howe was gone. It appears that Roosevelt needed

just that kind of man near him. Probably all presidents do, if they can find such a rare person. F. D. R. found *two* of them, one after the other! They were men of quite different background than the president, men dedicated entirely to him and dependent upon him, but men who could say "no" and argue, and then, if they lost the argument, loyally and selflessly carry out the tasks the boss asked of them.

Both Howe and Hopkins had a lusty sense of humor; both could be rather ruthless and somewhat underhanded at times; yet both were fundamentally moral, idealistic, and humanitarian. Both seemed to have an almost psychic understanding of the way F. D. R.'s mind worked. Both were sickly men. Neither of them hesitated to spend money lavishly for what they considered the public good. They even had quite similar tastes. Both wrote poetry of a sort, and both liked to play the horses. Probably Hopkins was a somewhat bigger man than Howe. It does not seem likely that Louis could have played the part taken by Harry in international affairs. Yet Louis was an extraordinary man. Perhaps he could have, given the opportunity.

A battered veteran of the Liberty League would not like this book. But most people on the sunny side of him would. Eleanor-haters would not like it either, because it pays, incidentally, a fine tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt. It seems to me that the picture the author gives us of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his times is the one that is going to be accepted by historians of the future, when Americans have moved far enough from the New Deal to be truly objective.

WALLACE P. BISHOP

Northeastern University

John C. Calhoun—Opportunist: A Reappraisal. By GERALD M. CAPERS. Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1960. viii, 254. \$6.75.

The later biographers of Calhoun, as Professor Capers notes, have tended to make the Carolinian the symbol of the Lost Cause, of the purity of southern motives. They have portrayed an irreproachable statesman and political philosopher, a man moved only by high patriotism to seek high office, a figure too lofty for "low personal ambition" or the "sordid methods of his rivals" (p. 78). Capers is well aware of the problems which must be confronted in a re-examination of this likeness. In the first place, "Human motivation

is often difficult to determine" (p. 189). In the second, Calhoun's "letters and speeches contain ample evidence that in his own mind he was not sacrificing his principles for personal ambition, and he vehemently denied the allegation" (p. 189). Capers acknowledges that "At no stage in his career can it be clearly proved that he consciously placed his own fortunes above those of the nation" (p. 79). What then is Capers's point? It is that Calhoun, "Calvinistic in mental habit and temperament, . . . could never admit personal ambition but had to rationalize his policies and his every political act exclusively in terms of national interest" (p. 78). In fact, Calhoun's "desire for the presidency was always a factor which, at least subconsciously, influenced his conduct" (p. 189).

In my judgment this avowedly "hypothetical . . . interpretation" (p. vi) rather more fails than succeeds. To be sure, Capers does supply some evidence of Calhoun's deviousness, and, despite the fact what appears as deviousness is in part attributable to a political tradition of concealment and pseudonymity at least as old as the *Federalist Papers*, Capers' off-white image is more credible than the shining portaits of Wiltse and Coit. Capers' failure lies partly in an oversimple explanation of Calhoun's behavior; nor is the subconscious documentable. He fails in other respects as well. His first seven chapters provide numerous object lessons in academic irresponsibility ranging in seriousness from self-contradiction and unwarranted insinuation to poor taste. His study uncritically subscribes to a number of challenged interpretations (for example, the Pratt and Hacker theses concerning the origins of the War of 1812), and reveals no familiarity with the pertinent work of Brant, Balinky, Dangerfield, Snyder, Dorfman, and others. Nor can he make up his mind about the meaning of his own findings. On one page (192) Calhoun is depicted as honestly regarding the preservation of the Union "as his major objective"; on another (254), it is clear that "he put his allegiance to the South ahead of it."

STUART BRUCHEY

Michigan State University

Washington Village and Capital, 1800-1878. By CONSTANCE MC-
LAUGHLIN GREEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.
xi, 445. \$8.50.

To write the political, economic, social and cultural history of a city can easily bog down in trying to do the research on the land deeds alone, if not sorting gossip from fact in the local papers.

Constance Green is well aware that she could not cover everything and makes no pretense of writing the "definitive" history. The result is a survey of the history of Washington with emphasis upon aspects of its history according to the availability of materials and her own inclinations. To most readers the chief interest is sure to be the political story, for the confusion which resulted when the U. S. Congress tried to legislate for the District is as fascinating as it was frustrating. She slips quietly and easily through the social history and what cultural changes there were, but she pauses to write in some detail about the founding of schools, orphanages, poor homes, the Smithsonian Institute, etc., to fill out the general political and economic narrative. She has frankly omitted architectural history, a book in itself, and partially available in several good monographs. If there is any fault, it is her slender characterization of the personalities involved in some of the incidents she emphasizes.

Her work provides the first, modern and well documented history of the city. She plans one more volume, but I suspect that two would be better. The growth of Washington after 1879 was rapid and complicated, the reports of the District committees alone are endless and absorbing. Having made a fine start, it would be unfortunate if she had to compress to phrases and sentences subjects which deserve and need paragraphs and pages to explain.

Her bibliographical essay is excellent and long over-due, and her bibliography and notes should provide an excellent starting point for future students. Aside from her contribution to urban history, she has demonstrated the virtues and faults of the U. S. Congress from a point of view not well known or understood. And this side-view of the Congress is a very real contribution to our understanding of that peculiar institution.

ALEXANDER R. BUTLER

Michigan State University

The Landon Carter Papers in the University of Virginia Library: A Calendar and Biographical Sketch. By WALTER RAY WINE-MAN. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1962. viii, 99. \$7.50.

This small volume of the papers of Landon Carter (1710-1778) of Sabine Hall deals with the life and times of a typical representative of the ruling class of eighteenth-century Virginia. This collection, although small, is an important one because of the man and what he represents.

Mr. Wineman has written a concise biographical sketch of Colonel Carter which places him in his proper historical perspective. While not large, the volume nevertheless is one which the scholar of pre-Revolutionary Virginia must consult. One can only wish that we had similar calendars and biographical sketches in print of some of the Marylanders whose papers are available for use.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

The Lords Baltimore. By NAN HAYDEN AGLE and FRANCES ATCHINSON BACON. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. 134. \$3.50.

This seems to be the first book about the Lords Baltimore written specifically for young people. Placing most of its emphasis rightly on George and Cecilius, the planner and the firm establisher, Mrs. Agle and Mrs. Bacon have covered the whole story of Maryland as palatinate and royal colony. Only slightly fictionalized, and making no other special concessions to immaturity, it reads along very pleasantly and well. Leonard Vosburgh has contributed many attractive drawings as illustrations. The story of course is an excellent one, with all the elements of success, and its logical end comes logically at the beginning of the American Revolution, only a step away when the last Lord Baltimore, Frederick, died in 1771 without a legal heir.

Mrs. Agle and Mrs. Bacon, who are respectively a Baltimore teacher and a Baltimore librarian, call Henry Harford his illegitimate son right straight out, not mincing words because this is a book for young people. Young people have heard of illegitimate sons before, and this is straight history. The authors also use many words which young people may not have heard before, and will have to look up and ask about, but this too is all to the good; the trend toward books written from an approved list of easy words seems a pernicious one. There is no index, which is certainly not bringing up children in the way they should go, and there are a few irritants (Lady Anne Arundell again), but the book is very well researched and conscientiously written and as a whole may be well recommended.

The definitive adult book about the Lords Baltimore remains, of course, to be written.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

From Shiloh to San Juan: The Life of "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler.

By JOHN P. DYER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. viii, 275. \$5.

This work originally appeared in 1941. The revised edition of the biography of Major General Joseph Wheeler, C. S. A., (1836-1906) contains more emphasis upon his Civil War career than does the earlier study. Wheeler was just under thirty years of age when the Civil War ended, so he had the opportunity to commence a new and active life. It went from that of the soldier to the businessman then to the politician and finally back to the soldier, in which capacity he served in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

"Fightin' Joe" was probably one of the most colorful of all the Civil War cavalry commanders. Short and wiry, he led the Army of the Tennessee cavalry through many engagements before he was finally taken prisoner in May of 1865. In 1898, he immediately offered his services to his country as evidence that the scars of the Civil War had finally been healed and the country once more united. He also served with the same degree of distinction at Santiago.

While Wheeler had no apparent Maryland connections, he did have many Northern ones. This book, however, should be of interest to Marylanders because like the earlier edition, it is by all odds an outstanding biography of an outstanding military leader.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Lords Baltimore.* By NAN HAYDEN AGLE and FRANCES ATCHINSON BACON. Illustrated. By LEONARD VOSBURGH. New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. 134. \$3.50.
- Shipcarvers of North America.* By M. V. BREWINGTON. Barre, Mass.; Barre Publishing Company, 1962. xiv, 173. \$12.
- Guide to Old Georgetown.* By GERTRUDE ORR and ALICE COYLE TORBERT. Washington, D. C.; Premier Press, 1962. \$1.
- By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War.* By BERN ANDERSON. New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1962. xxii, 303. \$5.95.
- H L M The Mencken Bibliography.* Compiled by BETTY ADLER with the assistance of JANE WILHELM. Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. xi, 365. \$7.50.
- Baltimore's Music: The Haven of the American Composer.* By LUBOV KEEFER. Baltimore; J. H. Furst Co., 1962. xvii, 343. \$2.50.
- Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in The Massachusetts Bay Colony.* By EMERY BATTIS. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xv, 379. \$7.50.
- Joseph Nichols And The Nicholites.* By KENNETH CARROLL. Easton, Md.; The Easton Publishing Company, 1962. 116. \$3.75.
- Republican Heyday: Republican Through The McKinley Years.* By CLARENCE A. STERN. Ann Arbor, Michigan; Edward Brothers, Inc., 1962. 97. \$1.25.
- Resurgent Republicanism: The Handiwork of Hanna.* By CLARENCE A. STERN. Ann Arbor, Michigan; Edward Brothers, Inc., 1963. 96. \$1.25.
- William Fitzhugh And His Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents.* Edited by RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. (Published for the Virginia Historical Society) xvi, 399. \$7.50.
- Chinese Export Porcelain For the American Trade 1785-1835.* By JEAN McCLURE MUDGE. New York; University Publishers Inc., 1963. Published by The University of Delaware Press. xxii, 284. \$15.
- Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes and Bugeyes.* By MARION V. BREWINGTON. Cambridge, Md.; Cornell Maritime Press, 1963. x, 171. \$10.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL CONTEST

Following are the winning entries in the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Annual Genealogical Award for 1962. *First:* G. Rodney Crowther, III, 4411 Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase 15, Md., for "Lowe of Denby, County Derby, England, and Maryland." *Second:* John B. Mahool, Jr., 4411 Klinge St., N. W., Washington, D. C., for "Genealogy and Biography of the Descendants of Abraham Jackson of Fell's Point, Maryland, and His Wife Ann Alment Jackson." *Third:* E. Earl Hearn, 6106 Pinehurst Road, Baltimore 12, Md., for "The LeComptes. A History of the Family of Monsieur Antoine LeCompte and His Descendants from the First Settlement in Dorchester County in 1659."

Authors of family pedigrees, charts, and other papers concerned with Maryland families are invited to submit manuscripts in this contest which was initiated in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker and is designed to promote the preparation of family records and their deposit in the Society's library. Preference will be given those papers that present a connected and orderly account of one or more families closely identified with the State. Entrants may be either members or non-members of the Society, and all papers entered will become the property of the Society. Prizes are \$35.00 *first*; \$25.00 *second*; and \$15.00 *third*. Entries for the 1963 Award should be received on or before December 31, and should be addressed, "Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md."

House and Garden Pilgrimage—Once-a-year opportunity to visit an unusual number of this country's most handsome and historic homes and many of her loveliest gardens. This year's House Tours concentrate on the famous Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, and the countryside close to Baltimore. The Water Cruises for the first time will leave Baltimore for a trip down Chesapeake Bay to Oxford, colonial seaport whose fame preceded Baltimore's. The schedule follows:

Saturday, April 27.....Charles County
 Sunday, April 28.....Calvert County
 Thursday, May 2.....Long Green Valley
 Friday, May 3.....Anne Arundel County
 Saturday, May 4.....Queen Anne's County
 Sunday, May 5.....Talbot County
 Tuesday, May 7.....Guilford Walking Tour
 Thursday, May 9.....Worthington Valley
 Friday, May 10.....My Lady's Manor
 Saturday, May 11.....Kent County
 Sunday, May 12.....Cecil County
 Saturday, May 18: Water Cruise...Chesapeake Bay and
 Walking Tour of Oxford

Sunday, May 19: Additional Water Cruise if demand warrants

The Pilgrimage is sponsored by The Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, Maryland Historical Society, The National Society of Colonial Dames of Maryland, and the Baltimore Museum of Art. For tickets and other information contact Pilgrimage headquarters: Room 223, Sheraton Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Md. Cedar Park will be included in this years tour.

Brown—I would appreciate information relative to the descendants of Benjamin Brown, Sr., who died in 1762 at Brown's Cove, Albemarle Co., Va. He is also known to have owned large tracts of land in Hanover and Louisa Co's., Va. He married a Miss Wilson, and by her was the father of: Benjamin Jr., William, Bartlett, Lucinda (or Lucretia), and Agnes. He married secondly, Sarah Thompson (or Dabney) and they were the parents of: (Lucretia), Barzalai, Benajah, Bernard, Bernis, Bezaleil, Brightberry, Dabney and Elizabeth. (The two last named are listed by Woods. No other record has been found.) This family of Brown is known as the "B" Browns.

R. G. BROWN, III
 818 N. Kellogg, Carthage, Texas

Bordley—Information is wanted on the parents of Sarah Bordley, born about 1763-64, died in Baltimore October 23, 1832. She married Peter Ruth (Root, Rute) in Baltimore, March 26, 1785. In addition to children William, Peter, and Sarah, who died young,

they had three daughters: (1) Mary Maria Ruth, b. May 15, 1788; died March 20, 1825; married Capt. Alexander Thompson; (2) Elizabeth Ruth, b. December 22, 1790; died June 25, 1872; married Capt. Plummer Southcomb; (3) Catherine Overe Ruth, b. October 22, 1798; died July 1, 1887; married Capt. William Frisbie.

(Miss) MARIE EVELYN BIERAU
4319 No. Pershing Drive, Apt. 2
Arlington 3, Va.

Baumgartner—I want information about David Baumgartner (Bomgardner, etc.), born Frederick Co., Md., probably c. 1785, died Huntingdon Co., Pa., 1845. Was he son of Michael?

MRS. CLARK KINNAIRD
76 Mine St., Flemington, N. J.

Hopkins—Wanted names of parents of Mary Hopkins of Anne Arundel Co., and date of her marriage to Benjamin Hewitt (Hewett or Huet) about 1790; also names of parents of Benjamin Hewitt who owned "Carthogena" at Drayden, Md. and Forest Plantation at Valley Lee, St. Mary's Co., Md., in 1834; also names of parents and husband of Mary Booth and names of parents of her husband. Mary Booth died in St. Mary's Co. about 1783/85. She appears to have been the mother of Joseph Booth of West St. Mary's Manor who died about 1815.

VINCEN J. HUGHES
4402 Raspe Ave., Baltimore 6, Md.

American Spies—I am preparing a book-length history of America's espionage effort from the time of the first permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607 to the close of the first World War. I should very much like to hear from any readers of the *Magazine* who may have knowledge of little-known episodes involving Americans in the act of spying. "Spying" I by no means restrict to military intelligence—gathering alone. It embraces any American effort directed against representatives of an alien authority, whether that was an Indian in the colonial period, a British soldier during the Revolution, the Mexicans in the 1848 war, etc. Americans dispatched abroad as secret agents of this Government are also

included. Data on any such topics will be gratefully acknowledged and, where at all feasible, publicly commemorated in my forthcoming book.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS
A-2, Homewood Apts., Baltimore 18, Md.

Clayton—Information is requested on the parents of Sarah Clayton the Elder (b. —, d. 1794), wife of Wm. Clayton of "Chesterfield," Queen Anne's County (b. —, d. 1766). Sarah mentions her nephew, George Baynard, [Jr.] and her nieces Rachel and Mary Baynard in her will. George Baynard, Sr. m. [3rd] Anne Wright at St. Luke's, Church Hill, in 1751. Anne was the mother of George Baynard, Jr. (Col. George Baynard, 1752-1794). Who were Anne Wright's parents, and did she have a sister, Sarah (?)

BRYDEN B. HYDE
Gibson Island, Md.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. RAYMOND W. TYSON is Associate Professor at the University of Mississippi in the Department of Speech. He previously taught at Pennsylvania State University, Columbia University, and Davidson College.

MR. JOHN W. BLASSINGAME is Instructor in the Social Science Department at Howard University.

MR. J. REANEY KELLY is a student of Maryland history and the author of "Old Quaker Burying Ground" which appeared in the December, 1960, issue of the *Magazine*. At present he is working on a book, "Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County," to be published by the Society.

MISS GRACE OVERMYER is the author of a book on John Howard Payne, *America's First Hamlet*. She has published numerous magazine articles and two other books: *Government and the Arts*, a pioneer survey of official aid to the fine arts in the United States and more than fifty foreign countries; and *Famous American Composers*, brief biographies of a dozen musically creative Americans, with emphasis on historical backgrounds.

MR. ROBERT R. HARE is Instructor in English at the University of Maryland. He was a feature writer for the *Baltimore Sun* and *Evening Sun*, 1939-47. Currently, he has in press a facsimile reprint edition of the novel, *The Emigrants*, to which he has added an important introduction concerning the authorship of the work.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE YEAR 1962

December Fifth
Nineteen Hundred Sixty Two

Maryland Historical Society
Baltimore, Maryland

We have examined the accompanying Balance Sheet, resulting from cash transactions, of the Maryland Historical Society as of September 30, 1962, and the related Statement of Operations for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the assets and liabilities of the Maryland Historical Society at September 30, 1962, resulting from cash transactions, and the income collected and expenses disbursed during the year then ended, on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK
Certified Public Accountant

EXHIBIT A

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

Current Assets

Cash in Bank—Operating Funds	\$ 4,227.89
—Special Funds	23,320.56
Cash On Hand	<u>100.00</u>
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS.....	<u>\$ 27,648.45</u>

Fixed Assets

Real Estate (Keyser Memorial Building).....	\$100,000.00
Air Conditioning	10,330.00
Books	1.00
Manuscripts and Prints	1.00
Printings and Statuary	1.00
Furniture and Fixtures	<u>1.00</u>
TOTAL FIXED ASSETS	<u>\$110,334.00</u>
TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS	<u>\$137,982.45</u>

Restricted Fund		
Cash		\$ 18,228.53
Endowment Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$ 2,587.95	
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society	90.00	
Mortgage Receivable	11,915.87	
Real Estate	491,828.96	
Due from Current Fund	3,041.46	
Bonds	984.08	
Stocks	117,482.49	
Ground Rents	666.66	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS		\$628,597.47
Forward		\$784,808.45
Daingerfield Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$ 104.34	
Bonds	67,312.54	
Stocks	95,305.50	
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS		\$162,722.38
Wild Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$ 159.26	
Bonds	12,705.00	
Stocks	49,106.45	
Ground Rent	1,307.00	
TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS		\$ 63,277.71
Williams Fund		
Cash Corpus	\$ 1,049.16	
Due from Current Fund	3,582.30	
Bonds	4,987.33	
Stocks	189,169.38	
TOTAL WILLIAMS FUND ASSETS		\$198,788.17
		<u>\$1,209,596.71</u>

EXHIBIT A

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES

Current Liabilities		
Due to Endowment Fund	\$ 3,041.46	
Due to Williams Fund	3,582.30	
Special Fund Account	32,629.86	
Accrued Salaries and Expenses	6,051.79	
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		\$ 45,305.41

Net Worth	
Reserve for Latrobe Papers Repair Fund	\$ 2,802.21
Surplus—Schedule # 1	<u>89,874.83</u>
TOTAL NET WORTH	\$ 92,677.04
TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH	<u>\$137,982.45</u>
Restricted Fund	
Restricted Fund	\$ 18,228.53
Endowment Fund	
Endowment Fund Reserve	\$628,597.47
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND	\$628,597.47
	<u>\$784,808.45</u>
Daingerfield Fund	
Daingerfield Fund Reserve	\$162,722.38
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND	<u>\$162,722.38</u>
Wild Fund	
Wild Fund Reserve	\$ 63,277.71
TOTAL WILD FUND	<u>\$ 63,277.71</u>
Williams Fund	
Williams Fund Reserve	\$198,788.17
TOTAL WILLIAMS FUND	\$198,788.17
	<u>\$1,209,596.71</u>

EXHIBIT A
Schedule # 1

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
STATEMENT OF CURRENT FUND SURPLUS
SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

Balance—October 1, 1961	\$112,083.40
Deduct	
Excess of Expenses over Income for the Year ended September 30, 1962 (Exhibit B)	\$19,208.57
Amount designated as Latrobe Collection Repair Fund	<u>3,000.00</u> <u>22,208.57</u>
Balance—September 30, 1962	\$ 89,874.83

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS
CURRENT FUND

for the year ended September 30, 1962

INCOME	
Dues and Contributions	
Dues	\$26,883.00
Contributions	<u>1,508.65</u>
TOTAL DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS	<u>\$28,391.65</u>
Investment Income	
Securities—Net	\$26,614.49
Real Estate—Net	10,589.91
Trust	<u>3,840.85</u>
TOTAL INVESTMENT INCOME	<u>\$41,045.25</u>
From the State of Maryland	
Archives Account	\$ 1,399.92
Index Fund	<u>4,835.84</u>
TOTAL STATE OF MARYLAND INCOME	<u>\$ 6,235.76</u>
Other Income	
Sales of Publications	\$ 2,757.46
Magazine Advertising	933.50
Service Charge and Fees	414.47
Sales of Fixtures—Thomas House	<u>3,096.67</u>
TOTAL OTHER INCOME	<u>\$ 7,202.10</u>
TOTAL INCOME—Forward	<u>\$82,874.76</u>

EXHIBIT B
(Continued)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1960

Forwarded

	\$ 82,874.76
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EXPENSES

Salaries and Wages	
Salaries	\$55,668.97
Pensions	3,418.16
Social Security	<u>1,804.24</u> \$60,891.37
Library	
Books and Manuscripts	\$ 2,293.51
Binding and Repairs	678.63
Supplies and Photostats	<u>1,391.86</u> \$ 4,364.00

Gallery and Museum		
Repairs	\$ 558.31	
Exhibits	5.93	
Supplies and Expense	468.58	\$ 1,032.82
Publications		
Magazines and Bulletins		\$ 8,992.86
Building Maintenance		
Maintenance and Repairs	\$ 1,052.94	
Supplies	802.98	
Heat, Light and Power	4,019.01	
Insurance and ADT	5,818.20	\$11,693.13
State Funds (Non-Salary)		
Index Fund		\$ 204.51
Other Expenses		
Addresses	\$ 1,271.92	
Membership Promotion	494.67	
Postage	1,404.96	
Telephone	1,469.05	
Office and Other Supplies	1,507.52	
Depreciation	28.75	
Accounting	720.00	
Continuation of Directors' Salary	1,750.02	
General Travel, etc.	2,138.88	
Latrobe Papers Cost	4,118.87	\$14,904.64
TOTAL EXPENSES		<u>\$102,083.33</u>
EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER INCOME		<u>(\$ 19,208.57)</u>

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